La Revue Africaine de Sociologie est une publication semestriel du CODESRIA à Dakar, au Sénégal. On accepte tout article des chercheurs africains et non-africains concernant la problématique des analyses sociales de ce continent et en général. La Revue axiste d'abord comme support pour l'extension de la pensée sociologique et anthropoloque entre les chercheurs en Afrique. Tout travail pertinent venant de l'extérieur du continent est néanmoins aussi considéré. Des contributions ou en français sont acceptées.

African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie 17, 2, 2013
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EDITORIAL:

This issue carries three pieces of work, which readers of this journal, familiar as the subject matter might be to them, have hardly been given space in the journal. These are Tom Sanya's *Talking Heritage: Africa at the Crossroad of Tradition and Modernity*, Eric Nsuh's *Memory and Disenchantment in Nadine Godimer's None to Accompany Me and Zoe Wicomb's Playing in the Light* and the piece by Philippe Stéfanini and Samuel Ravatua-Smith titled *Phenomenon of Social Conversation Among farmers in France: From Traditional Agriculture to the Spiriluna Superfood*. In terms of the sub-disciplines in sociology, they fall, generally into sociology of development (the focus on architecture not withstanding), literature and agriculture or rural sociology respectively. The Editors felt that these sub-disciplines have not been accorded the attention they deserve in the journal over the tears and were pleased to welcome the pieces of work when they were submitted by the authors. The reviewers gave positive reviews and the *African Sociological Review* considered it necessary to have them appear in the same issue.

Tom Sanya is concerned with, in general, development issues. He asks whether, given the ethical imperatives of today's world, what he refers to as traditional building heritage can realistically make any fresh contributions to an alternative development model? Using Uganda as a case, he explores this core question. Eric Nsuh is concerned with showing how Nadine Gordimer, in *None to Accompany Me* and Zoe Wicomb, in *Playing in the Light* represented the past in these two post-Apartheid novels and the influence on the ontological situation of the characters in the novels. His point is the familiar one that the behaviour and present conditions of the characters in the works of the above novelists have been shaped by the trauma of their past. Philippe Stéfanini and Samuel Ravatua-Smith attempt to shed light on the phenomenon of social conversion that occurs when farmers change from traditional agricultural practices towards a less well-known form of aquaculture; in this case, the production of the Spirulina superfood (Arthrospira platensis). Though the focus is on farmers in southeast France, the practice resonates with some farmers in Africa

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Talking Heritage: Africa at the Crossroads of Tradition and Modernity

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Abstract

This paper address the question: given the ethical imperatives of today's world, could traditional building heritage realistically make any fresh contributions to an alternative development model? The above questions are explored via a dialectics between the traditional earth building methods and modernity as widely understood in Uganda. Heritage is conceptualised as constitutive of interactions between processes, products and people, and the environment The paper tests the conjecture that, claims to culture and its preservation, constitute a multi-layered veil which advertently or inadvertently obstructs Ugandans from comprehending and making the deep structural changes required to re/produce their desired architecture and lifestyles.

Key words: Heritage, modern architecture, critical regionalism, museology, Uganda, sustainability

Résumé

Ce document traite de la question : compte tenu des impératifs éthiques du monde d' aujourd'hui , patrimoine de construction traditionnelle pourrait faire réaliste des nouvelles contributions à un modèle de développement alternatif ?
Les questions ci-dessus sont explorées par une dialectique entre les méthodes de construction en terre traditionnelles et la modernité aussi largement compris en Ouganda . Patrimoine est conceptualisée comme constitutive d'interactions entre les processus, les produits et les personnes et l'environnement Le papier teste l' hypothèse selon laquelle , prétend à la culture et à sa préservation , constituer un voile multicouche qui entrave délibérément ou par inadvertance Ougandais de comprendre et de faire la structure profonde changements nécessaires pour re / produire leur architecture et leur mode de vie souhaité .
Mots clés: patrimoine , architecture moderne , le régionalisme critique , de la muséologie , de l'Ouganda , de la durabilité

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Introduction

This paper is an analysis of building heritage. The term "building" is used in three senses: as the physical artefact (the *building*), as the *building processes* (the construction processes), and as the process of construing (or building) the heritage of things in society. This equivocal stance is reflected throughout the paper – be it in the dialectical analytics of the tension between tradition and modernity or in the normative arguments for hybridisation. This broad conception facilitates a deep engagement with building heritage in a modern context, especially because, as Berman (1983) argues, any modern condition is quintessentially pregnant with its contradiction. Modernity has generally enhanced people's living standard. Yet, most in the developing world remain, by modern measures, at a miserable standard of living.

The paper starts with an analytical overview of the evolution of heritage conception. A link is then made to the architectural theory of Critical Regionalism to leverage arguments for a more explicitly ethical approach to building heritage in Uganda, in Africa and in general. The arguments are empirically grounded in insights from three focus discussions on the building material earth. Through these means, the paper investigates the relationship between building heritage and development, a possibility that the author believes has remained sub-altern and marginal.

Changing Heritage Conception

Heritage had traditionally been defined in relation to objects (see UNESCO 1972). However, by the 1960s, there were growing objections to this object-oriented focus which gradually resulted in changing conception of what heritage is and can be; who can define it, and the processes that can be used for its validation. This gathered momentum in the 1990s. The defining difference was a shift from an object focus to a process focus (Bortolotto 2006). Where UNESCO's 1972 definition of heritage was limited to tangible objects, the emerging conception, which was formalised in the Yamato Declaration (UNESCO 2004), expanded the definition to include the processes that underpin the production and maintenance of the objects. The shift manifested changes at deeper paradigmatic level. Initially a Western paradigm with a linear view of history predominated, but the emergent approach was underpinned by a Japanese non-linear paradigm (Bortolotto 2006).

There are apparent intersections of the emerging conception of heritage with Critical Theory perspectives. This is evidenced by a remarkable shift from what is an elitist heritage conception to approaches more encompassing of popular viewpoints. Now, it is not just monuments which are to qualify as heritage, but all sorts of objects – even the very ordinary ones. Previously, the only methods considered legitimate for

heritage authentication were those elitist of the scholarly and scientific communities such as museology, philology, archaeology and ethnography. But by problematising the notion of "authenticity", these were now expanded to encompass non-elitist and non-academic methods such folklore and implicit knowledge of indigenous communities. The new conception of heritage was constructivist, had a higher level of relativism, and was accommodative to participatory, bottom-up, decentralised approaches (UNESCO 2004, Gonzalez-Perez and Parcero-Oubina 2011).

UNESCO called for a reappraisal of heritage perspectives to facilitate recognition of the vernacular, the oral, and the profane instead of just the monumental, classical, the literate, and the sacred.

Simultaneously, there was a shift from a retrospective heritage reference-frame to a progressive outlook. Where previously the main concern of heritage was with that which may disappear, the new conception was accommodative to that which may appear; where heritage was before conceived as fixed and static, it was now seen to be more dynamic; where conservation was seen as a struggle against degradation, disappearance, destruction and change, the new approach vouches for focusing on processes as devices for continuous identity and cultural re/production, and creation. The new perspectives gradually evolved to encompass in heritage all the values of culture as expressed in everyday life, including attaching greater importance to the activities calculated to sustain the ways of life and forms of expression by which such values were conveyed (UNESCO 2004; Bortolotto 2006). With regard to museum policies, this brought as a consequence the need to change from the model of the traditional museum, which is supposed to preserve collections of authentic objects, to that of a cultural centre and forum, which is supposed to support the making of culture through innovation and elaboration following the French model of the ecomusée (Bortolotto 2006).

The above developments in the conception of heritage are encapsulated in two documents, which are 30 years apart: the UNESCO Convention declaration (UNESCO 1972) defined heritage on the basis of "outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science" and the "outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view". In contrast, the Yamato Declaration (UNESCO 2004) emphasises the tangible and intangible elements "that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage".

Critical Regionalism

Critical Regionalism is a dialectical theory that prudently hybridises the positive aspects of regionalism and universality while simultaneously remaining critical to the negative content of each. Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivres are credited with invention of the architectural theory of "Critical Regionalism". (Frampton 1983; Tzonis and Lefaivres 1990).

The conundrum resulting in the dialectical conception of Critical Regionalism is captured by Paul Ricouer:

… universalization, while being advancement of mankind, at the same constitutes a sort of subtle destruction, not only of traditional cultures … but also of [the ethical and mythical creative nucleus of great civilizations and great cultures]. Thus we come to the problem confronting nations just arising from underdevelopment. In order to get on the road toward modernization, is it necessary to jettison the cultural past which has been the raison d'etre of the nation? …There is the paradox: how to become modern and return to sources? (qtd in Frampton 1983).

Modernism has opened unprecedented technological and expressive possibilities to, literally and figuratively, raise architecture to previously unimaginable heights. But this has often been at a high cost to the natural environment and societies. Buildings contribute more than proportionately to source-side and sink-side environmental problems (UNEP 2009). Furthermore, buildings and settlements are evolving as a conspicuous embodiment of today's socio-economic problems of poverty and inequality. Moreover, as newer building methods spread, traditional methods and solutions are being forgotten along with their positive attributes. Critical Regionalism emerged with the optimistic intention to advance tradition by mixing it with a tamed modernity. Critical Regionalism embodies dialectical conceptions at several levels. As remarked by Frampton (1983), Critical Regionalism is a fine balancing act between modernism and tradition in building processes and product; it embraces the progressive aspects of Modern Architecture but rejects increasing fascination with the image of modernism at expense of its performative and social roles. Modernisms formative functional and social roles are apparent, for instance, in the mantra of *form follows function*, in the revolutionary fervour of Architect Le Corbusiers's "Architecture or Revolution" and in such movements as the *Neue Sachlikeit* in Germany. Critical regionalism aims to refocus modernism from growing fascination with architectural imagery per se back to these

Critical Regionalism later evolved to stand in opposition to the regionalism of consumerism exemplified by kitsch, pastiche buildings in resort architecture and in the 1980s post-modern style ironic evocations of the vernacular. Critical Regional is therefore also conceived in opposition to image-driven architecture or the problem of architecture as fashion. In its place, Critical Regionalism aims for an architecture that is spatial and experiential. Architect Aalva Alto's pelting down of the cheap

neon bank advertisement sign that had been brazenly been placed on the modern but location-specific Saynatsalo Town Hall is emblematic of the opposition between cheap commercialism and architecture of civic virtue.

Critical Regionalism circumvents image-fascination by basing on building tectonics and the specificity of place to produce an architecture whose essence is derived from construction processes, locally available materials and sensitivity to the environment. This approach to architecture resonates with architectural phenomenology and to the return to "thingness" as expounded by Scandinavian architect Christian Norberg-Schulz (1986, 1984) and others such as Thiis-Svendness (1987). If the building is comprised of a boundary that separates outside space from the indoors, the making of that boundary (the tectonics) and the specificity of the place that determine the qualities of the outside become key aspects of the architecture. The boundary is (a) a tectonic element – constructed through processes that consume environmental , social and economic resources with attendant negative and/or positive consequences (b) a definer of spatial qualities in the interior and of building form on the exterior (b)a sieve between the outside the indoors which tampers how sunshine, heat, light, air, views flow in and out – with this having implication for the comfort and welfare of the occupants, and impacting on the building's operational requirements (it is significant that buildings consume 30% of global energy with the bulk of this going towards operation of buildings). Already by the 1920s, Lewis Mumford was theorising urban ideas were to become the seed of Critical Regionalism and sustainable design. Noteworthy here is his approach of organicism – where the urban was to be reconceptualised for co-existence between man as a mythical spiritual individual existing as part of a mutualistic community, nature and topography in a holistic ecosystem (Luccarelli 1995).

In tectonics, Critical Regionalism finds overlaps between local craftsmanship and Modern Architecture's tenet of construction as a driver of aesthetics as propagated for instance by architect Mies van der Rohe in the aphorism *God is in the Detail*. While cross-fertilising with influences from outside, Critical Regionalism's aesthetic is differentiated depending on locale because of variations in available resources, skills, and artistic sensibilities. Thus, Critical Regionalism provides a set of common rules whose interpretation in different contexts results in differentiated architecture. It has an overt ethical basis. It is driven by a generosity of spirit captured in the dialectical phrase of a *regionalism of a shared humanity* (Frampton 1983). By basing on regional customs and resources and being responsive to site-specific circumstances, Critical Regionalism produces an architecture that is both ecologically benign and cost-effective in contradistinction to the mechanical approach of violating nature through brute force to control environmental conditions. Instead of modernism's approach of bulldozing of a site to provide a tabula rasa for new construction, Critical Regionalism responds to the possibilities of the site through sensitive layering and building positioning; where the mechanical order solely depends on air-conditioning, Critical Regionalism aims to maximise comfort using passive means resulting from a nuanced understanding of context.

Critiquing some Prevailing Heritage Conceptions via Critical Regionalism

In reviewing the literature, one finds that there is veracity in arguing that what sets Critical Regionalism apart from some conceptions of heritage is a non-equivocal ethical basis. In fact, a basis in ethics is the raison d'etre of Critical Regionalism. Critical Regionalism makes apparent some unacknowledged ambiguities, contradictions and limitations in new museology discourse and practice. In this paper it is argued that reference to Critical Regionalism can make a significant contribution to formation of a logically consistent but versatile heritage conceptual framework in line with the expressed intentions of the Yamato Declaration (2004) and as argued by Bortolotto (2006).

New museology discourse and practice suggests certain unifying themes in this emergent field: heritage gets to be fragmented and distributed into a cultural landscape; culture and values are embraced as integral, if sometimes intangible, elements; and the everyday man is included in its definition and interpretation. But further analysis of these basic predications reveals two models that exhibit different, sometimes contrasting, characteristics. This paper henceforth refers to these models as the *static model* and the *dynamic mode*l. In actuality, no model exists in pure form but there is almost always a predominance of one over the other.

The Static Model

In the static model, an area comprising of the major ecological and cultural elements, the people and their (productive) lifestyles as well as the interactions between all these are preserved for visitors to experience in situ. The local population is involved in definition of what qualifies as heritage and in its curation and/or interpretation to visitors. This by far seems to be the model adopted by most ecomuseums in the world today.

The static model gets to be successful in areas with a combination of factors:

- a strong tangible heritage past,
- a sympathetic population with relatively esoteric skills who stand to benefit from ecomuseum tourist
- a unique cultural landscape with a strong sense of place.

Started in France in the 1960s, ecomuseums have spread across Europe and other parts of the world – mainly in the global North. Examples include Seixal Ecomuseum in Portugal, Switzerland, ecomuseums based on the *Heimartsmuseum* model in Germany and many others in Europe, the Americas and the rest of the world. With the right combination of factors and management (and good marketing) a static ecomuseum can become a self-sustaining source of income for the local community. For this reason

it can be a tool for development *for that particular region.* The efficacy of the static model for sustainably balancing the needs of development and conservation using a sustainable approach is demonstrated in the Ha Long Ecomuseum in Vietnam. The Ha Long Ecomuseum was formed to preserve an area of immense natural beauty (including a unique fishing culture, rare flora and fauna, and special caves, grottoes and islands) which was under threat from exploitative development. In 1994, UNESCO listed the Ecomuseum as a World Heritage Site. A ground-breaking project in this ecomuseum is the Cua Van Floating Cultural Centre, the world's first floating museum (UNESCO 2013 - website).

In Africa, Ecomusée de people Lebou, Yoff in Senegal is the only one in the Ecomuseum Observatory Database (Davis 2011). However, many ecomuseums in Africa also display strong characteristics of the static model. These include: Tanje Village Museum in Togo (www.tanjevillagemuseum.com/), Abasuba Community Peace Museum opened in 2008 in Kenya (http://www.abasuba.museum/), and Sikasso museum, the failed Zimbabwe culture house model (Davis 2011), and National Cultural Centre Kumasi.

The Dynamic Model

In contrast to the static model, the dynamic model is an evolving one which privileges proactive creation of the new over preservation of the old. The dynamic model recognises that place-based heritage conservation is important for nurturing identity, self-worth, purpose and belonging. But beyond that, it reacts to present societal circumstances to constantly work towards uplifting the well-being of the local community through sustainable development. This is a creative model in which heritage evolves with changing societal needs and circumstances. And because societal evolution is precipitated by both local and extraneous forces, the dynamic model is by definition an open system. This is the model that seems to be suggested by the Yamato Declaration (UNESCO 2004) Bortolotto (2006).

The Ecopole, Dakar in Senegal provides a good example of the dynamic approach. The museum was developed by a partnership between Senegalese and Canadians. Experts and local people worked together in its conception and realisation. It is based on two contemporary problems: garbage recycling and poverty reduction. It weaves into informal business networks to enhance their crafting skills and business acumen, to increase the value of their outputs and to expose their products to larger markets. By partnering with other organisations, the Ecopole acquired a factory in Dakar centre which has become ecomuseum's administrative and gathering centre. It was opened in 1996 with Senegalese and Malian presidents present. People gather to network, exchange knowledge, display and sell products, hold workshops and seminars, engage in debates, and set up fairs and competitions. Other roles of the Ecopole include raising

literacy, and improving health and hygiene levels. The Ecopole has begotten seven related satellite centres. The satellites are based on the same dynamic model but with different activity foci (see Davis 2011)

The Ecopole was preceded by a proposal for the Ecomuseum of Ziguinchor, also in Senegal. The theoretical framework aimed at mobilising an ethnically mixed area to counter the effects of climate change and provide an educational role. The objectives of the Ecomuseum of Ziguinchor were mostly teleological and ethically underpinned. The objectives included illustration of traditional methods of soil conservation and animal husbandry, education about the dangers of pollution, deforestation and overfishing, informing the community about their geography, history and culture, promotion of local crafts and exploration of ways to conserve genetic diversity. This museum was unfortunately never realised (Davis 2011).

Is the Static Model Ecomuseum Good for Sustainable Development?

Corsane and Holleman argue that because ecomuseums focus on regions that are relatively mono-cultural and stable, their contribution to new museology remains limited. If this argument is extended to include the afferent disposition of many ecomuseum, it becomes apparent that the static model could potentially result in uncritical perpetuation of a myopic status quo. Depending on the prevailing local circumstances, this can work to unfair advantage or disadvantage of the ecomuseum community.

Scenography

By sticking to an uncritical sense of their cultural heritage, communities are wont to develop the ecomuseum as a kind of stage-set of the past to stoically resist change and maintain a cultural landscape as a theme park. Such an ecomuseum becomes a kind of cultural Disneyland in the service of nostalgic contemplation and narcissistic tourist consumerism. The result, as Bigell argues (in Denes 2013), is a "packaged and marketed" living culture which ironically falls short of the ecomuseum ideal.

While acknowledging that through static-model ecomuseums tourism sustainable livelihoods for some small communities have been realised, it is imperative to point out that these are mostly located in the global North. In a global ethical framework, it is arguable that this reflects and contributes to global laissez-fair economic and consumption patterns in which only 80% of global income is focused in 20% of the global population (Milanovic 2011). A critical attitude to cultural heritage would therefore scrutinise the relevance of such a model for, not just local, but global sustainable development.

Perpetuation of Insular Backwardness

The flipside to the above argument is that static model ecomuseums in a developing country context can (be used to) uncritically preserve perspectives that perpetuate a community's underdevelopment. By diversifying the arbiters of cultural heritage from experts to include the everyday man, new museology approaches could degenerate into self-absorbed populist smugness. Alternatively, in their aspirations for modernity, communities may ignore or fail to see the value in their history and culture:

… [a] problematic aspect of identity-building work that must be guarded against is the encouragement of uncritical self-adulation. … [Additionally] target groups [may] often have a distorted or decidedly negative sense of their own identity … (thesis …).

Therefore, whereas the *horizontal social capital* (in the form of positive identity, self-worth and belonging) that results from an ecomuseum is welcome, it would be self-defeating if it is not attenuated with *vertical social capital* pulses that critically link the local into a broader ethical development framework to challenge the conditions of regional and universal socio-economic inequalities[1]. Given that, by and large, Africa is economically underdeveloped, and because many ecomuseums in Africa tend towards the static model, it is not surprising that the income they generate for the community is at best paltry – barely sufficient to keep the locals on the margins of existence. By constantly evoking the need to preserve "our culture" such ecomuseums wittingly or unwittingly keep the community unaware of the meta-structures that maintain their underdevelopment.

Confining indigenous people to execution of a limited role at the service of footloose tourists perpetuates the status quo in patterns of production, income distribution and consumption. Far from Critical Regionalism's freedom, such repetitiveness results in restriction. The restrictions keep indigenous people occupied with taradiddle at the opportunity cost of engaging in empowering, beneficial and productive activities for direct fulfilment of their needs.

Process is not Necessarily Creative

There is an unexplored undercurrent in Bortolotto's (2006) argument to the effect that just because it shifts in conception of heritage from object to process, new museology gets to be capitulated from a static to a dynamic creative realm. However, not all processes necessarily qualify to be any different from kitsch surface effects. Rote repetition of process, as evident in many ecomuseums, is closer to enactment of surface effects than to true creativity. It precludes emergence of the new, the unexpected. Arguably, such processes themselves ossify into some kind of museum "relics" to be anachronistically

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1   *See World Bank 2013 for the concept of social capital*

perpetuated in the exhibition of a supposedly unchanging past unblemished by contemporaneity. They preclude the genuine creativity that has the capacity to re/produce lifestyles and identity in a dynamic evolution of sustainable cultural heritage development required by as encapsulated in the Yamato Declaration (UNESCO 2004).

Taking an example from the Ha Long, a successful ecomuseum by most measures, a young couple sings a song which was traditionally sung when a young man proposed to a woman. This song should be an obvious source of amusement to tourists. But if the singing is all the young couple does as they desperately await another opportunity to sing the same song, the set-up degenerates into a jaded replication of culture – a replication unconnected to the original nuptial intentions. It becomes but a mere simulacrum.

Conclusions on New Museology

This section compares and contrasts Critical Regionalism with new museology discourse. It simultaneously argues that, apart from the two sharing several characteristics, Critical Regionalism is more comprehensive and offers avenues for conceptual enrichment of new museology.

Commonalities

According to Corsane et al (2008), An Ecomuseum was defined by the *Declaration of Intent of the Long Net Workshop*, Trento (Italy) in 2004)as: a dynamic way in which communities preserve, interpret, and manage their heritage for sustainable development. Sustainable development requires:
- place-based development
- ecomuseums to play a key role as catalysts of social capital development

There is a lot in common between new museology and Critical Regionalism. First, both new museology and Critical Regionalism are conceived as vehicles for sustainable development. Second, as argued above, place-rootedness is central to Critical Regionalism. It has also been argued that ecomuseums embody a locales "spirit of place" (Davis 2011; Corsane et al 2008). Therefore, phenomenology is as integral to ecomuseums as it is to Critical Regionalism.

In the search for sustainable development, both new museology and Critical Regionalism encounter apparently irreconcilable forces: conservation and societal development. The consequence of this is an inevitable dialectical conception of each. Thus ecomuseums aim at sustainable "*heritage development* "as Critical Regionalism aims for a *hybridised local* architecture. The phrases "heritage development" and "hybridised local" are oxymorons. But they capture the complex and nuanced responses demanded by the societal dilemmas sustainable development must engage with.

Bigell (Denes 2012) proposed that the ecomuseum represents one of the last bastions of the commons that hasn't been commodified or privatized. As a collectively managed space encompassing tangible and intangible social and natural assets, the ecomuseum represents a space of resistance to capitalist domination and the logic of private property. Similarly, Critical Regionalism is arrayed as architecture of resistance against debilitating laissez capitalism (Frampton 1983.)

Prospects from Critical Regionalism

Despite the above commonalities, interrogation of new museology discourse and practice reveals certain shortcomings that do not exist in Critical Regionalism. Ecomuseum discourse reveals concepts that are beneficial for global sustainable development. However, these concepts remain scattered and, to this author's knowledge, have not been encapsulated in a single comprehensive conceptual framework. Perhaps this is because ecomuseums and new museology are relatively recent notions (the inaugural ecomuseum conference was only in 2012 in Seixal, Portugal).

In this section, it is argued that Critical Regionalism provides pointers to a single conceptual framework to bring together the currently scattered ideas of the new museology; as well as circumvent some the pitfalls that ecomuseums are prone to falling into.

Bigell (in Denes 2013) recognises that "the opposite of the ecomuseum is the theme park". Yet, as argued above, static ecomuseums can easily degenerate into scenographic stage-sets and uncritical, insular perpetuation of an undesirable status quo. Critical Regionalism, counters such by mixing the local and the universal while interrogating each. In Critical Regionalism, it is recognised that any attempt to circumvent the dialectics of the creative process through unceasing repetition can only result in consumerist iconography masquerading as culture.

De Varine and Dutta (in Denes 2013) provide a rejoinder that ecomuseums should not be focused on preservation of the past but should be used to solve the problems of the present and planning for the future. Simultaneous mixing of pulses from the past, and the present for an improved future are intrinsic in Critical conceptualisation.

Ecomuseums as widely conceived are only suited to relatively homogeneous and stable regions (Corsane and Holleman 1993). In contrast, Critical Regionalism challenges every locality to continuously cross-pollinate its rooted culture with universal influences.

In short, where the new museology easily succumbs to insular perpetuation of debilitating parochialism, Critical Regionalism, while reaffirming the local, simultaneously interrogates prevailing circumstances by stimulating communities into a meta-criticism of the limitations of their worldviews (Frampton 1983). By so doing, Critical Regionalism continually reaffirms but transcends the local. In a context of globally generated lifestyle aspirations, it is arguable that sustainable cultural heritage

in underdeveloped Uganda and Africa can only result from cross-pollution between local and universal. Arguably, this necessitates adaptation of the dynamic model of building heritage to facilitate interrogation of the local and universal status quo and the shattering of the boundaries of closed systems for the effective fragmentation of in situ heritage into constantly evolving cultural landscapes (see Figure 1 below).

Fig 1: Ways of Construing Heritage: experts may see value where others don't

this model borrows from but enriches Gonzales-Perez and Parcerov-Oubina (2011). The heritage value given by experts are not always coincidental with heritage value given by local communities - in fact, the two are sometimes contradictory. Because of their esoteric knowledge, experts are able to see heritage (e.g. in process, networks or fragments) where the community may not. In this paper, the value in earth building processes is not readily apparent. but experts can see it, in a dynamic ecomuseum model, use this value in working with the community towards sustainable development (also see figure 2). Network = tangible products (objects) + people + culture + landscape + environment.

Linking to Focus Group Insights

UNESCO recognises the heritage value of earth architecture by listing buildings constructed of the material. According to UNESCO (2013), 10 percent of World Heritage Sites incorporate earthen structures. UNESCO is has also instituted extensive efforts to safeguard and improve building earth methods specifically under the World Heritage Earthen Architecture Programme (WHEAP). The author shares UNESCO's heritage valuation of earth building but studies in Uganda reveal that the general populace remains largely oblivious to earth building heritage (Sanya 2007). The expert (UNESCO) and non-expert (ordinary Ugandans) perception of the cultural heritage value of earth building are apparently at variance. By executing an analysis of three focus group results, the ramifications of this variance for building heritage are discussed in reference to new museology and Critical Regionalism.

The focus group discussions were undertaken in 2006 as part of a PhD study. However, the results were found to be incompatible with the PhD. This paper therefore provides an opportunity to use the results for the first time.

The objectives of the discussions were first, to get an understanding what people value in a residential house; second, to analyse whether these could be fulfilled by earth building techniques; and third, to enter into a discussion with the participants on how they perceive the building material earth's technical and expressive capabilities.

Linking the above objectives to the static and dynamic models of heritage conception, and their relationship to Critical Regionalism as discussed above, ramifications of the focus group results for building heritage in Uganda will be presented.

Three focus group discussions were undertaken. One was in an urban area – Kampala – and was comprised of young urban professionals (Yuppies). The second was in a provincial town – Bugiri – a district-level administrative and commercial capital. The final one was in Banda, a rural area in Uganda.

Question 1: Describe the kind of house you would like to have for yourself and explain your answer

This question was aimed at understanding whether people's expectations of a good house are strongly linked to building materials. From the proceedings in regard to this question, the following emerged as key themes: spaciousness; strong relationship with nature; prestige; quiet/serene; cosiness.

Evidently, most of these answers do not have much to do with building techniques but are dependent on architectural design. That is, any competent architect would be able to, through a creative design process, realise these qualities in a building regardless of the material used. The exception is the prestige theme: the building material earth is generally considered socially unacceptable in Uganda. On the other hand, strong relationship with nature is arguably favoured by the innate properties of earth (earth as a building material requires little or no processing and it offers a warm "earthy" colour pallet).

Question 2: What are the main factors you would put into consideration when planning to build a new house?

This question was aimed at assessing whether the factors of consideration in building a new house were explicitly linked to building materials. From the proceedings in regard to this question, the following emerged as key themes: suitability for family living, access to city centre, security, planned area and finance. These are again mostly not affected by building technique per se and, in fact, all but one belong to the realm of urban design. The exception here is finance, which is actually favoured by earth since, in Uganda, it is cheaper than the common alternative (brick) (see Sanya 2007).

Question 3: Would you live in house built with un-burnt soil blocks? Explain your answer

This question was aimed at getting an idea of the participants' attitude towards earth as a building material. It aroused intense debate. In all three groups, it generally started off as antipathy towards the material. The following emerged as key themes: technical performance; demonstration effect; interior space environment; cost effectiveness and value; and relevance to culture.

One participant mentioned that she would consider living in an earth building because she has experienced them as having a more favourable internal living conditions but this did not arouse much discussion. Similarly, the material's strong associations with local building traditions did not inspire much discussion.

The technical performance arguments were mostly given against the material. They came down to two main factors: fragility of the building material earth when exposed to moisture and its susceptibility to termite attack.

In regard to cost effectiveness and value, some participants believed that because the material is inherently weak, a lot of expenditure is required to use it to attain acceptable technical performance. But some participants countered that earth buildings are actually cheap since they are mostly occupied by the poor; whereupon an animated discussion arose about the relationship between value and price; with participants being divided on the subject. Further on in the animated discussions on this question, there was a gradual shift from overwhelming antipathy toward the material to a vacillation of opinions in individual participants and within the groups. This change was initiated by a combination of fragments of positive perceptions and a few participants who convincingly vouched for the good examples of earth buildings in Uganda they had come across. Eventually, the prevailing (but not sole) conclusion was that participants would be more receptive to earth buildings *if* exposed to positive demonstration.

Concerning demonstration effect, the overwhelming sentiment expressed was that exposure to earth building has largely had negative demonstration effect in terms of technical and expressive capacity of the material as well as because of the material's associations with poor people's abodes, vis: the rural hut which houses most Ugandans in rural areas and the urban shanty houses. It was also raised that there is dearth of positive demonstration. The overwhelming negative demonstration of the material can only be counteracted by positive demonstration. The urban participants came across as being more accommodative to the idea of earth buildings in the rural areas but not in the urban.

Emerging Insights

The biggest problem of earth is one of perception as opposed to the actual capabilities of the material that can be attained with good design and construction. It emerges that this is down to poor demonstration and outright misconceptions.

What is needed for a good house is within the scope of a competent architect to achieve with earth but there is a gap created by negative demonstration which can be counteracted by deliberate positive demonstration. The negative demonstration is due to misconceptions about the technical, spatial and expressive possibilities of the material based on (i) earth is coupled to the traditional hut which is limited to a circular single-cell form, and which is mostly limited in both spatial variation and formal-aesthetic possibilities. Ugandans aspire for rectangular multi-room houses and many have only seen brick houses of this kind. Furthermore, earth as building material is coupled to the problems of grass thatch – specifically susceptibility to fire and the need for periodic thatch replacement. These problems are transplanted to earth by association (ii) there are misconceptions about the technical performance of earth whereby the fragility of the material is conflated with fragility of earth buildings. Yet, it is standard construction practice that any building material only functions as part of a construction system with the material being used in specific ways according to its inherent properties and in combination with others (it is not often that one finds a building made of one material only). As part of a skilfully executed building system, the susceptibility of earth building materials to water and termite attack need not be feared (because it is prevented by design and detailing). There are at least twelve examples of earth construction systems proven by buildings that have lasted over centuries. There are also contemporary examples to fit all sorts of aesthetic tastes (Houben 1989, Minke 2000).

From the provincial town and the rural area, even as the people expressed their desire to live in brick buildings, they resignedly expressed a forlornness arising out of an awareness of their limited financial circumstances. Such dejection, characterised by a rejection of what tradition offers, and incapacity to achieve what modernism brings is common amongst poor. It seems for them the only way to getting a house that speaks to their modern aspirations is by jettisoning old techniques and anything associated them.

A new insight from the FGDs is the interconnectedness of the problems and their ultimate expression as low social acceptability. All the problems of earth revolve around low social acceptability which in turn results from the perceived poor technical and aesthetic possibilities of the building material. This can be modelled as a positive feedback mechanism whereby low social acceptability makes the material as only a poor man's choice thereby perpetuating the low investment of knowledge and resources, and hence resulting in even more socially unacceptable buildings for the poor. The obvious allusions of this to the fate of other traditional ways of sustenance and creation need not be reiterated.

Because they do not discern the material's value, local communities are unwilling to preserve its heritage and they would probably be unwilling to preserve it as part of a static model ecomuseum. Moreover, by failing to recognise the material's value in reference to their current building needs, the community remains disempowered and despondent in their belief that their traditional methods have nothing to contribute in the modern world. The optimistic angle is that the social unacceptability is not strongly engrained as suggested by the vacillation of opinions among the participants who were opposed to earth building and by strong support from those who have seen earth perform. This is a crack that can be capitalised on by the experts to weaken the general antipathy towards the material. But this can only be by placing the material in a dynamic building heritage model as investigated below.

The Participants Concerns about Sustainability Criteria

Sanya (2007), through rigorous analysis of various literature sources, identified a number of sustainability criteria for the comparison of building techniques. The nature of questions 2 & 3 above offered a chance for the sustainability criteria to be mentioned by those who wanted to. The table below now presents whether and how strongly each sustainability criterion featured during the discussions. Strength was judged qualitatively based on the number of people giving the same viewpoint, the conviction with which it was said and how much reaction it spurred.

Table 1: Participants Concerns about Sustainability Criteria (Source: Tom Sanya 2007)

SUSTAINABILITY CRITERIA		
Criteria	**Sub-Criteria**	
1. Social	(1a) Enhancement of community/social relationships	*
	(1b) Decentralizing skills and power	0
	(1c) Social/political acceptability	***
	(1d) Relevance to local culture	*
2. Environmental	(2a) Building interior (comfort and health)	*
	(2b) Effect on wider flora, fauna and habitats	0
	(2c) Contribution to pollution (of air, water and land)	0
	(2d) Resource depletion	0
	(2e) Recyclability of materials and nature of demolition debris	0
3. Economic	(3a) Job creation for locals	0
	(3b) Reduction of money/ forex outflow	0
	(3c) Affordability	**
	(3d) Durability	***

Key to Table
0 Not featured   * Weakly featured   ** Featured   * Strongly featured**

From the table, it is clear that while making decisions about a house, the participants do not consider most sustainability criteria at all or as being important. Many of the above sustainability criteria are very generous in time-scale and societal scope. But participants were mainly concerned about criteria of immediate concern to them as individuals. This is actually not surprising, since most people's perspectives are limited to themselves and their closest relations over the short term (see Meadows et al 1972).

Acceptability featured strongly and was debated at length during question 3. This was mainly in regard to the negative social connotations that earth architecture evokes in Uganda. *Relevance to local culture* featured briefly – mainly during the discussion of question 3 – but did not stimulate much debate in support or opposition. *Building interior* was mentioned by only one participant (in Kampala) in a passing comment during question 3 and even that did not arouse much debate. Affordability was mentioned in both questions 2 and 3. It especially aroused much debate around questions of value during question 3. *Durability* is an issue that occurred again and again during the discussion of question 3 – largely linked to the perceptions of the material's technical capabilities.

All the sustainability criteria that were not mentioned during the discussion are those without any obvious immediate impact on the individual. These are criteria that occur at a wider level in terms of society, environment and economy. These are: decentralising skills and power, effect on wider flora, fauna and habitats, contribution to pollution, resource depletion, recyclability of materials & nature of demolition debris, job creation for locals, reduction of money/forex outflow.

Most sustainability criteria are of wider social, temporal and spatial scale – ostensibly without immediate impact on most people. For people to accept a building material purely on sustainability grounds, they must be appreciative of the magnanimity in sustainability outlook. And it may take intervention from by people who are aware of the bigger picture to promote a sustainable approach to building heritage. This points to a need for experts and administrative bodies to recognise and promote such heritage. It also requires continuous dialogue to facilitate simultaneous fulfilment of local individual needs and that broader sustainability (see Figure 2 below).

Learning from the Focus Group Discussions: Communication in Building Heritage

Gonzalez-Perez and Parcero-Oubina's (2011) distinguish between primary heritage and value heritage. Primary heritage is discernible intuitively and in a straightforward manner without any need for explanation or interpretation. Each element of primary heritage is discrete and usually tangible. Value heritage on the other hand can only be discerned after an explicit valuation processes based on a set of criteria and following a particular method. To discern this heritage, someone must know the criteria and the methods applied. And as these are discipline-specific, knowledge of such heritage is normally the preserve of experts. Value heritage consists of a system of interconnected

elements, fragments, processes and cultural attributes. It is much more difficult to discern. In Uganda, earth buildings (predominantly the traditional hut) are not appreciated by most people as primary heritage but are viewed in negative light. That is, there is no apparent primary heritage value of earth building in Uganda for most people. Arguably, for the Ugandan relegated to living in a mud hut, formation of a static model ecomuseum would not offer much hope in this case.

But the above analysis demonstrates that there is inherent heritage value in earth building which has been recognised by UNESCO (2013) and others (e.g. Houben 1996; Minke 2000…) This value can be exposed by considering, not just the material or the predominant buildings associated with the material in Uganda (the hut and the shack), but by contextualising the material as part of a broader system of local and international techniques and examples that demonstrate the material's technical and expressive capacity. The sustainability value of the material is also not yet part of the popular conscience but, as Sanya (2007) and UNESCO (2013) propose, earth has strong sustainability characteristics. In the present circumstances, the kind of valuation needed to identify such value can best be speared-headed and disseminated by the experts who see that earth building can fulfil individual people's short-term needs under a broader sustainable development ethical framework. This is the case for involving experts in heritage valuation today. It must be appreciated that social acceptability is a prerequisite for construing cultural heritage value (Gonzalez-Perez and Parcero-Oubina 2011). Therefore, even more important, is the need for professionals to engage in an interface zone with society – an area for dialogue where top-down and bottom-up views iteratively intermesh and hybridise in the quest for creative crystallisation of a dynamic cultural heritage in tune with local aspirations and means. The focus group discussions pointed to participants' openness to positive demonstration in changing prevalent conceptions about the material. Therefore, erecting good demonstration buildings through creative cross-fertilisation between the traditional and the universal would increase earth building heritage value. The interface zone between the experts and society would gradually broaden to include skills training, legislation, financial instruments (credit, grants and subsidies/taxes) to build earth buildings and their heritage value in Uganda and Africa (see Figure 2 below).
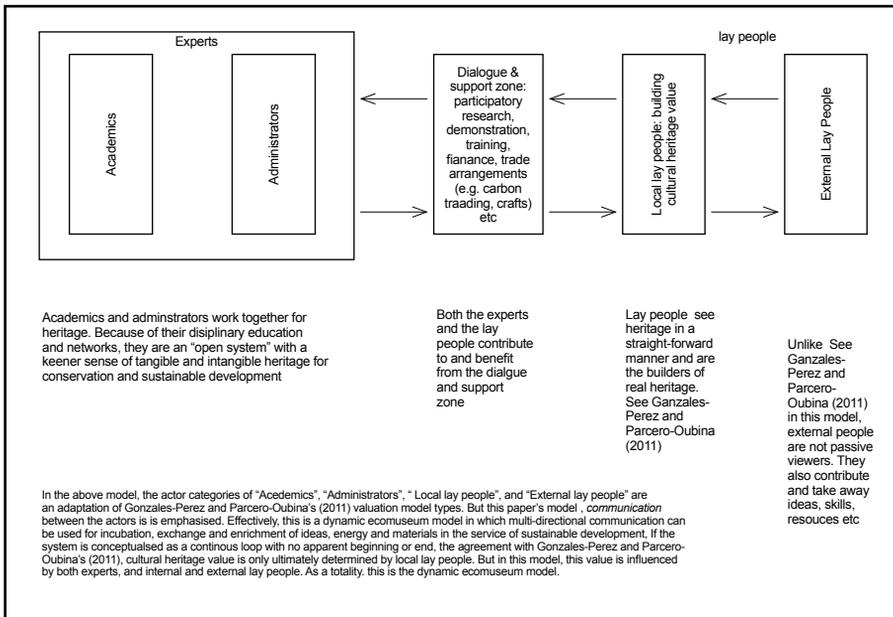
Fig 2: A Dynamic Model for Building Cultural Heritage [in this model, the possibilities of earth for sustainable heritage building can be realised)

Conclusion

In just a few centuries of modernism and industrialisation, the world has experienced vast improvements in quality of life, health, and nutrition and consumption choice. But this has been at a high cost to the environment and society. The scientific-mechanical paradigm is based on the belief that it can control nature and has little, if anything, to learn from tradition. In the face of modernism, heritage started off as a way of preserving historical artefacts but has evolved to also be about the present and the future, re/creation, re/production and sustainable development. Simultaneously, development models are evolving to be more appreciative of the lessons traditions the world over can offer in facing contemporary global predicaments. This paper has identified two models of heritage in new museology discourse: the static model and dynamic model. The static model is demonstrably uncritical and prone to pitfalls that new museology aimed to circumvent. The dynamic model is more in line with the new museology as encapsulated in the Yamato Declaration (UNESCO 2004) and as contended by Bortolotto (2006). The static and dynamic models are terms uses in this paper to capture the diverse, scattered, and usually contradictory concepts in the discourse and practice of the new

museology. The paper argues that the architectural theory of Critical Regionalism can bring together these ideas in a comprehensive and versatile heritage framework in consonance with the Yamato Declaration and more relevant to Uganda's and Africa's contemporary needs. In fact, the analysis suggests that given our development state, there is a strong case for adaptation of the dynamic model, which shares a lot with Critical Regionalism. By linking the arguments to results of three focus discussions, the assertion that new museology can result in despondence or populist shunning of cultural heritage is substantiated and illustrated with a visual model. The papers argues that dialectical conception of the material's heritage bringing together expert and popular conceptions in a constructivist framework and cross-pollinating the local and the universal would result in dynamic evolution of earth building heritage. Such a dialectical conception is only possible under a dynamic ecomuseum model conceptual frame that takes a leaf from Critical Regionalism as a comprehensive theory allowing both reaffirmation and transcendence of the local.

Perhaps the most potent pulse in such a dynamic heritage conception is its scope for ethical meta-criticism whereby communities are spurred into interrogating broader frameworks that impact on their circumstances. Such meta-criticism would awaken indigenous societies the world over to the realisation that resources, knowledge, power , wealth and heritage are not centralised in a few places but can, true to a Foucault's (Rouse 1994) assertion, potentially permeate everywhere, in everybody, every day, in all actions. Using local earth resources under a dynamic and critical heritage conception, the condition of global sustainability is feasible based on the dialectical proposition that free development of each will be a precondition for free development for all) (Berman 1983). Dynamic heritage building would facilitate people to critically utilise local resources to produce for their needs and thus provide numerous points of resistance to counter the spread of a tantalising but debilitating image of seductive modern homogeneity.

Like the megalomaniac Faust who killed the old couple and razed their house down for the last construction site (Berman 1983), burgeoning modernism is killing off indigenous cultures, leaving poor people with nothing but a menial job (if they are lucky to find one) and in shackles of elusive consumerist imagery. By empowering themselves with the awareness that the resources and skills they have available can prudently be used for local development, emasculated people everywhere can make realignments at local level to subvert and overcome the spread of a mediocre development informed by a mean worldview. Thus empowered, people shall realise that clay is not the material of which our feet are made but alludes to the local ground and resources on which we shall found in a dynamic process of building heritage value for present and future generations. Whether in the sands of the Sahara, the laterites of the Savannah, the volcanic soils of Java or the clays of Amazon, humans will set up locally compatible units of development and resistance as they build heritage in pursuit of their own wellbeing and happiness within a global ethical framework.

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Memory and Disenchantment in Nadine Gordimer's None to Accompany Me and Zoe Wicomb's Playing in the Light.

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to show how Nadine Gordimer, in None to Accompany Me and Zoe Wicomb, in Playing in the Light have represented the past in their post-Apartheid novels and how it has influenced the ontological situation of the characters in the above texts in question. This paper is, therefore, based on the premise that the behaviour and present conditions of the characters in the works of the above novelists have been shaped by the trauma of their past. It is for this reason that the characters look at the past with anger and acrimony against those who perpetrated acts of nefariousness against them.

Résumé

Le but de cet article est de montrer comment Nadine Gordimer, à None pour moi et Zoe Wic-omb Accompagner, en jouant dans la Lumière ont représenté le passé dans leurs romans post-apartheid et comment il a influencé la situation ontologique des personnages de ce qui précède textes en question. Ce document est donc basé sur la prémisse que le comportement et les condi-tions actuelles des personnages dans les œuvres des romanciers ci-dessus ont été façonnées par le traumatisme de leur passé. C'est pour cette raison que les personnages regardent le passé avec colère et amertume contre ceux qui ont commis des actes de nefariousness contre eux.

Introduction

Memory is a human activity that plays a very great role in the existence of man and his wellbeing. Each and everyone have the propensity to recapitulate what had happened to him or another person in the past. In, *Social Memory and Contemporaneity*, Gulnara A. Bakieva asserts that "Interpretation of the past, reminiscences of the future, and the creation of contemporaneity are the ontological requirements of any society." (1) This assertion shows the importance of the past, which is known through memory, in shaping the ontological situation of man and moulding his future. She further articulates that:

"Events and facts of the past and present are pressed into social memory and form a mnemonic time and space different from physical time and space." (1). The word, "memory", comes from the Latin word "memoria" which means a remembrance or recollection. Consequently, memory essentially denotes the capability or power of remembering, retaining, or recalling past experiences in the life of an individual or a group of people and a nation. In the domain of psychology and psychiatry, memory is defined as the ability of an organism to store, retain, and subsequently retrieve information. The psychiatrists, Larry R. Squire and Richard D. McKee, in "Biology of Memory", expostulates that:

Psychotherapy itself is a process by which new behaviours are acquired through the accumulation of new experiences. Thus, memory is at the heart of psychiatry's concern with the individual, personal identity, and growth and development. Memory makes possible autobiographical recollection, it connects the present moment to what came before, and it is the basis for cultural evolution. (317)

The critical theory, chosen for this paper, is the Sociology of Knowledge. This approach came into sociological discourse as the handiwork of the German sociologist Karl Mannheim. The approach, in its essence, is the study of the relationship between human thought and the social context within which it arises, and of the effects prevailing ideas have on societies; it is not a specialized area of sociology but instead deals with broad fundamental questions about the extent and limits of social influences on individual's lives and the social-cultural basics of our knowledge about the world. In his article "Sociology of Knowledge", Karl Mannheim argues that art and human thinking in general is not an intrinsic or psychological enterprise. It is extrinsically determined by the individual's experiences and the social and historical context in which he finds his/herself.

He further concludes his argument in the following words:

The history of art has fairly conclusively shown that art forms may be definitely dated according to their style, since each form is possible only under given historical conditions and reveals the characteristics of the epoch. […] Just as in art we can date particular forms on the ground of their definite association with a particular period of history so in the case of knowledge we can detect with increasing exactness the perspective due to a particular historical setting. (242-243)

The recollection of memory is one of the topical issues which are discussed in post-Apartheid literary and cultural discourses. South African writers such as André Brink, J.M. Coetzee, Zakes Mda, Nadine Gordimer, Gillian Slovo just to mention a few, were eye-witnesses of the Apartheid era. So, consciously or not, the writers are retrospective in their works, even when they treat post-Apartheid issues. In his article entitled "Stories of History: Reimagining the Past in Post-Apartheid Narrative", André Brink argues "[…] in favour of an imagined rewriting of history or […] of the role of the imagination in the dialectic between past and present, individual and society" (37). This imaginary rewriting of history cannot be possible without exploration of memory. This explains

Brink's statement that "Reinventing the past through the imagination involves primarily […] a peculiar machination of memory. And memory […] comprises not only act of recovery but processes of suppression"(36). In other words, Brink is contending that the memory of a people can create nostalgia of their past as well as it can also act as a source of painful suppression. However, in the context of South Africa, memory is perceived as a source of oppression and trauma.

Nadine Gordimer and Zoe Wicomb have adequately explored the concept of memory. In this paper, the focus is on both writers. Two works are chosen to examine the notion of memory: Nadine Gordimer's *None to Accompany Me* and Zoe Wicomb's *Playing in the Light,* both, considered as post-Apartheid novels, explore the past and how it has influenced the ontological situation of the characters. This assumption in this paper is that the behaviour and present conditions of the characters in the works of the above novelists have been shaped by the trauma of their past. It is for this reason that the characters look at the past with anger and acrimony against those who perpetrated acts of nefariousness against them. In "Telling 'Free' Stories? Memory and Democracy in South Africa Autobiography Since 1994", Sarah Nuttall argues that memory is always much about the present as it is the past. (76) This means that an individual's past is as important as his present. Consequently, both should be given importance. The characters, in these novels, think about the past not with nostalgia, as romantic poets will do, but with disgust, hatred and depression.

Nadine Gordimer's novel, *None to Accompany Me*, commences with a group photograph, which Vera discovers on her shelf. It is a picture Vera had snapped with her friends during a holiday party and sent "[…] to her first husband in his officers' quarters in Egypt during the war […]" (*None* 4). This picture creates suspense in the story because, at this initial point, the reader is compelled to read ahead to understand what the picture symbolises. More so, the suspense is further seen where on this picture Vera, encircles the head of a man who is on her left. This explains why the narrator declares "[…] a man on her left, a circle round his head. He was identified by name in a line squeezed vertically alongside her account of the weather." (*None* 4) It is for this reason that the omniscient narrator begins the story with a rhetorical question: "And who is that?"(*None* 3). This question also generates suspense and creates the curiosity to know the person on the photograph and the reason why his head has been encircled.

As one reads deep into the story, the suspense is gradually unravelled in that one realises the meaning of Vera encircling the head of the man on the photograph. The idea is to inform her first husband that this man is now her new husband. The narrator confirms this when he says, "What was written on the back of the photograph was not the message. Her message was the inked ring round the face of the stranger: this is the image of the man who is my lover. I am in love with him, I'm sleeping with this man standing beside me; I've been open with you." (*None* 4). Moreover, the narrator asserts and acknowledges that there is "[…] the recognition of specific memory the photograph

arouses […]" (*None* 3). This is probably the memory of her first white husband, she had divorced, for the probable reason that he had been serving the Apartheid regime – a regime Vera detested and fought against. The picture, therefore, is a symbolic representation of the past, which results to Vera's trauma.

Vera's first husband brought this picture back home, after the war, to Vera because he did not understand the symbolic message from the picture; he instead read the message at the back of the picture but did not take note of the person on the picture whose head had been ringed – which indeed was the real message Vera wanted to pass across to him. (*None* 4) The discovery of this picture on her shelf, takes Vera forty-five years backward. These years are the years of the Apartheid era. The narrator says that "After forty-five years she was looking at the photograph again and seeing there in its existence, come back to her and lying on a shelf under some old record sleeves, that it was true: the existence of his innocence forever." (*None* 5)

Furthermore, the omniscient narrator declares that Vera is astounded when she comes across this photograph since, before this time; she believed she had destroyed everything that had to do with the past or the old Apartheid order. The narrator says that "Vera Stark, lawyer-trained and with the impulse to order that brings tidiness with ageing, came upon a photograph she had long thought thrown out with all she had discarded in fresh start over the years". (*None* 3-4). The issue of discarding everything for a new life shows that Vera does not want to keep any legacy of her gruesome, disparate and disintegrating past. The author, by making Vera discover this photograph, proves that one cannot run away from one's past no matter how sordid it might be. Also the writer brings out the discriminatory attitude of the Apartheid regime through the concept of retrospection and hindsight. This attitude was central in the daily activities of the Apartheid regime. This explains why NM Shamuyarira, in "Opening Remarks to AASP Seminar on "Whither South Africa" in 1988 contends that:

> *The apartheid is both violent and exploitative. There is plentiful evidence for this. However, the most peculiar feature of the apartheid state is its racial character – the ruling class is a racial oligarchy that has vast privileges of education, skills, and expertise that are generally denied to the black majority. (vi)*

In the novel, one realises the forceful and crude removal of blacks and coloureds from areas which had been allocated for whites. This was in connection with the Group Area Act of 1950 that carved certain areas to be inhabited only by whites and Europeans. The omniscient narrator asserts that the Apartheid regime "[…] went off to bulldoze the homes of a community, pack the inhabitants and their belongings on trucks drawn like any other government equipment from the State's stores and transport them to an area designated by the appropriate department." (*None* 12-13) The forceful and discriminatory eviction of blacks and coloureds from their houses is, indeed, what the

Legal Foundation was criticizing in the days of Apartheid. This attitude shows that the Apartheid doctrine was inhuman and ruthless to blacks and coloureds.

The inhuman and exploitative undertone of the Apartheid regime is further echoed by the omniscient narrator when he says that after the state department has evicted the people from their homes:

There they were supplied with tin toilets, communal taps, and sometimes, if these could be drawn from the stores department, tents. Sheets of corrugated tin might be supplied for them to begin building shacks. They might be allowed to bring along bits and ends left intact by the demolition of their houses – a window-frame or some boards - but cows and goats had to be left behind […] (None 12-13)

This passage is to show how the Apartheid regime had little care for blacks and non-whites in general. It is further said that the regime gave the people, who had been forcefully evicted from their houses, "tin toilets", "communal taps", "tents", and "sheets of corrugated tin" so that they could begin constructing not houses but "shacks". These elements are vivid metaphors of the horrific and detestable conditions under which the blacks and non-whites lived during the Apartheid era. More so, the passage also echoes the exploitative tendency of the white Apartheid regime when it is said that when these people were evicted from their homes, their cows and goats had to be left behind. This is an element of economic exploitation because the government wanted the people to be removed from these areas but insisted that their cows and goats, which are symbols of economic values, should not be taken along with them. This attitude of the Apartheid regime is similar to the man in the African proverb who detests a cow but drinks the milk of the same cow. This explains why the narrator, in a sardonic tone, poses the rhetorical question: "what would the beasts feed on, in a stretch of veld cleared and levelled for the barest human occupation?" (*None* 13) These beasts symbolise the white regime and its bestial behaviour towards the blacks and coloureds.

In addition, memory and recollection is seen when the narrator, through the use of the flashback technique, goes back to the days of racial discrimination and conflict to show how Oupa, the clerk and driver of the Legal Foundation, was arrested and molested by the Apartheid regime. Oupa's suffering is a metaphor for the sufferings of all who vehemently criticized Apartheid during this period. Robben Island, in this case, is symbolic and representational of the memory of the Apartheid struggle, oppression and tribulation. Harriet Deacon, in "Remembering Tragedy, Constructing Modernity: Robben Island as a National Monument" heeds to this symbolism when he asserts that:

Throughout South African history Robben has thus performed a vital symbolic role. Oliver Tambo commented in 1980: "The tragedy of Africa, in racial terms (has been) concentrated in the southern tip of the continent - in South Africa, Namibia and, in special sense, Robben Island'. Yet within the public memory of the new South Africa, it has now also become an important symbol of triumph of human rights over horrors of the atavistic system of apartheid, a symbol for national transformation. For many South Africans, Robben Island symbolizes 'the indestructibility of the spirit of resistance against colonialism, injustice and oppression'. (163)

The above comments show that Robben Island, in the days of Apartheid, had a different symbolism from the meaning it now has in the present post-Apartheid context. In the past, this prison symbolized the repressive nature of the Apartheid administration and also the determination of the oppressed in the struggle against racial segregation. This symbolic meaning stems from the fact that it was in Robben Island that anti-Apartheid fighters were incarcerated. However, Robben Island in its post-Apartheid context symbolizes the victory of liberty over oppression.

In a conversation between Oupa and Vera Stark, the omniscient narrator says: "Then he [Oupa] began to talk to her [Vera] about his four years in Robben Island, seventeen to twenty-one" (*None* 15). Recounting this event to Vera brings out memories of trauma and disintegration of the past. Through Oupa's memory, one also realizes the corrupt and decadent nature of the Apartheid society. The narrator affirms that "[…] the theft [of Vera's car] revived something else […]" in Oupa's mind (*None* 16). This makes him reminisce on his own state in the days of Apartheid, when he was awaiting trial on the mainland in a cell with criminals. This incident happened before he went to "the Island". He narrates his experiences with the criminals in the cell where they bribed the warders, and even their white counterparts, in order to survive. Oupa says that the murderers and gangsters in the cell "'[…] were brilliant'" and "'—Nothing to touch them for brains'" (*None* 16). Pamela Jooste, in *Frieda and Min*, has also portrayed the corrupt nature of the Apartheid context where Min, the white female protagonist, is incarcerated for her anti-Apartheid activism, and where the security forces, on their part compel her to bribe them before she is released.

A further analysis of the conversation between Oupa and Vera reveals the fact that the detainees of Robben Island were given inhuman and nefarious treatment. This awful and horrific treatment of political detainees was the subject in almost all fictional works composed by artists and writers who detested this system of governance. This treatment of political prisoners forces the inmates to resist the prison warders by going on hunger strike (*None* 15). The omniscient narrator further says that Oupa stopped his conversation with Vera and returned to it some other time. The narrator says:

He broke off and returned to it on other days, remembering things he had forgotten or not wanted to remember; not only the brutality and heedless insult of walls and warders, but also the distortions in his own behaviour he now looked upon. Sometimes with disbelief, talking to her, sometime with puzzlement, even shame" (None 15).

The above passage by the narrator brings out memories of disenchantment and dehumanization of these prisoners during the Apartheid period. The passage also shows that even in the present post-Apartheid situation, Oupa looks back to what happened to him in Robben Island in shame, distress and depression.

The maltreatment of these prisoners in Robben Island encouraged the inmates to have a bond of unity and brotherhood among themselves since they had a unity of vision and were fighting for a similar goal. The narrator explains, "There was the comradeship, the real meaning of brother" (*None* 15). The word "comradeship" in the political context depicts that the detainees had the same political goal and vision while the use of the word "brother" shows the unity and intimacy that existed among the inmates during this period. However, despite the unity among the prisoners, there were times when they had conflicts and misunderstandings among themselves that even resulted to fighting. Oupa explains " – But you suddenly hate someone, you can hardly keep your hands off his throat – and it's over nothing, a piece of string to tie your shoe, one time a fight in the shower about whose turn it was!" (*None* 15)

When Oupa had finished narrating the ordeal of what he and the other political criminals had gone through at Robben Island, Vera asks this question to him: "– You ever come across any of them again outside?" (*None* 16). The collective pronoun "them" in this question refers to the prison warders or the soldiers who maltreated the detainees in prison. Consequently, Vera probably wants to inquire whether Oupa holds the oppressors in bitterest hate or not especially in this new dispensation of the post-Apartheid context. Oupa's reactions to this question shows that he still demonstrates vivid memories of the terrifying and dehumanizing past. The narrator says, "Oupa pressed his elbows to his ribs and brought his shoulders up to his ears". (*None* 16) This vivid description is used by the narrator to show Oupa's indignation of the past and those who perpetrated acts of injustice and political subjugation against the South African people. This is justified by the exclamatory sentences Oupa uses to bring out his feelings and reactions of the past. He exclaims: "- Those people! Man! J-e-ss-uss!" (*None* 16) These exclamatory sentences are very effective in the sense that they bring out a feeling of disgust and indignation of the Apartheid era.

The visit of the black couple, Sibongile and Didymus, to the Stark's residence recalls the sentiments of the past. These two families, the Maqomas and the Starks, have a long-standing relationship because both of them were involved in the Apartheid struggle before its abolition. This is made lucid when the narrator says that:

When the railway line is abandoned, the tracks aren't taken up. Under weeds and grass, they remain, marking a route. For the start, with Sibongile and Didymus Maqomas, suddenly sitting in the Starks' living-room again after more than twenty years, there was an unexpected warmth and understanding across the conditioned inhibitions of colour, between couples sharing youth and the ties of children (None 38).

The first two lines of the above quotation have a proverbial inclination. The narrator remarks, in a proverbial manner, that a rail way line which has been abandoned does not necessarily mean that the tracks have been wiped off. Even when weeds and grass grow on it, some spots will still be seen to commit to memory that the rail was once used. This is an allusion to the fact that Maqomas and Starks families cannot forget their past in the traumatic Apartheid context. It is in this context that this visit takes the couples into a retrospect of twenty years to reflect on the struggle they waged against the Apartheid state.

The narrator further recounts an event, which took place five years before when Didymus clandestinely came to South Africa from exile. When he stopped at Vera's house, disguised as a clergyman, she apparently did not recognize him. Without asking him, Vera thought he was a black pastor coming to ask for her church contribution. It is only during their conversation that Vera discovered that the man was Didymus who "[…] had been smuggled into the country and that he had a purpose about which she must not ask" (*None* 40). Didymus had secretly entered the country in the midst of tight security to give Vera a letter so that she could help him post it to Europe. The dialogue between Didymus and Vera, in this flashback, depicts the rate of insecurity, fear and uncertainty during the period of Apartheid. Vera, out of fear and nervousness, says:

> "—*can't believe it! But I'm so afraid for you what they'll do to you if they catch you – you could just disappear you know that, they keep infiltrators in solitary confinement for months under interrogations, months and months before they piece together enough to bring them to trial. If they ever do—*" (None 41-42).

The above statement, by Vera, brings out the abuse of human rights in the Apartheid era – where political prisoners were caught and locked up for years without trial. In addition, Vera's use of the contractions (Can't, I'm, they'll) in the passage above gives an image of fear and suspicion that pervaded the Apartheid atmosphere. The omniscient narrator further evokes this atmosphere of fear and suspicion through the rhetorical question that "What would she do if the police did come, what if they were waiting somewhere hidden in the street, sitting in a car, ready to take him as he walked out of her game?" (*None* 42). This rhetorical question shows that the Apartheid era was one of uncertainty since nobody, especially the freedom fighters, could say with certainty what will happen to them in the next minute. In addition, it is out of this fear of the unknown that Didymus pleads that Vera should defend him in case he is caught. He says: "—you'll defend me if I come to trial, Vera, I count on you—" (*None* 42)

The gruesome and spiteful context, in which the South Africans lived during the Apartheid days, is also seen in the contrast drawn by Didymus between the present context and the Apartheid situation. When Sibongile and Didymus come to the Hillbrow hotel, Sibongile complains of the adverse condition of the hotel. Sibongile even describes the hotel as "this filthy dump, this whore-house for Hillbrow drunks".

Didymus, however, consoles her that she should just persevere and bear it, for the days of Apartheid were worse. He says "—Sibo you've lived much worse. It didn't kill us-—" (*None* 45). The use of this contrast is to show that the post-Apartheid era, with all its imperfections, is comparatively better than the Apartheid situation.

During the period of Apartheid, the regime did all it could to penetrate and disintegrate the Movement – even when the members were on exile. The regime infiltrated the Movement with spies and when they were caught, they were largely brutalized and some were even lynched. In a dialogue between Sibongile and Didymus, after her assignment abroad to negotiate on the takeover of the property of the Movement in the countries where the members were taking their asylum, Didymus asks her whether she visited some of the camps in these countries. These were the camps where infiltrators and spies of the Movement were incarcerated. The narrator articulates that:

> *Recently there had been released by the Movement a public report of things done there [in the camp]; unspeakable things. When the report was about to come out he had thought he'd better tell her what he had never told her: that for a time, a desperate time when the Freedom Fighters and the Movement itself were in great danger by infiltration, he had been an interrogator – yes – a jailer, there. He'd told her the code names of others who were running the place and how two of them had joined him eventually, in protest against the methods being used to extract information. She knew, all right, about whom he was enquiring when he mentioned those names. (None 128)*

This information, which is realised through the use of the flashback technique, enhances the concept of memory and social disintegration in Apartheid South Africa. Through this flashback, one realises that the Apartheid regime could go to any length to curb a move that was aimed at destabilising the smooth function of the system.

The Movement is doing all in its capacity to keep the history of the exile alive. This is due to the fact that its members do not want posterity to forget about the struggles of the South African people. Most importantly, in order to build a strong and united post-Apartheid nation the past should not be shoved into oblivion. In a discussion between Sibongile and Vera, the latter asks the question: "-I hear Didy's commissioned to do a book. A history of the exile period, is it? -" (*None* 132). The idea of writing the history of the exile is an aspect of keeping the memory of the past intact. This is because the development of a people and their wellbeing partly depends on its history. The people need to know the errors they committed in the past in order not to commit the same errors in the present and the future.

The use of memory is also realised in Zoe Wicomb's *Playing in the Light.* Just like Gordimer, the author explores the idea of memory, through the use of the flashback technique, to reveal the brutal and uncompromising nature of the Apartheid regime whose agent of brutality was the Forces of Law and Order. This view is substantiated

MEMORY AND DISENCHANTMENT IN NADINE GORDIMER'S NONE TO ACCOMPANY ME AND
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in the novel when the narrator avows that "[...] the past is contained in endless dreary rows of parcelled days, wrapped in tissue paper, each with its drop of poison at the core." (*Playing* 61) This view shows how gruesome and frustrating the South African past is.

Through memory, one realises that John Campbell in his youthful days was suffering from identity crisis. He testifies that he used to question his father why his siblings including him, had English names. The narrator comments thus:

> *In the cramped tin-roofed terraced house in Observatory, he often thinks of the old farm: the house with whitewashed walls and black window frames; the loft, which stretched the entire length of the roof, with its black wooden door. All the farm houses had woodwork painted in gracht green. Why not theirs? Why had he never asked his father? But his father was a man of few words, a man without letters who refused to answer questions. Or perhaps knew none the answer. Why do we have English names? Why, why why? His father mimicked. Is that all you can ask? Ask no questions and you'll hear no lies. (Playing 5)*

From the passage above, many facts are known about the childhood of John Campbell. Firstly, the narrator mentions "the farm houses" which is an indication that he is from a typical agricultural family. Secondly, his father could not tell him why he gave them English names. This biographical information shows that John was suffering from identity crisis – since a person's name is also a carrier of his identity because every name is borne within a particular culture. One can also infer that, by not giving John Campbell this information, his father was hiding something from him.

The narrator further comments on the special skills of John Campbell in distinguishing the sounds of cars from afar even without seeing them. As a police officer who was in charge of traffic, he spent most of his life working in the city. This explains why the narrator says that:

> *John has a special ear for traffic. Which is not surprising, given that his working life was spent on crossroads and traffic islands, appreciating the sounds that he came to identify as one might separate instruments in a symphony. That, for the young man from Karoo, was the essence of the city: a symphony of sound, of people chattering in Afrikaans or English or, in their neighbourhood, switching smartly in mid-sentence between the two; of buses, bakkies, cars, and lorries. (Playing 5)*

From the above quotation, the narrator remarks that only Afrikaans and English were the languages that were spoken by the South African citizens in the city. These languages are metaphors of oppression and domination in the days of Apartheid – since they are the languages of the Afrikaners and South Africans who had British descent. This indicates that during the Apartheid era, the African culture was relegated from the centre to the periphery. This shows why, in *Frieda and Min*, Pamela Jooste narrates the Apartheid imbroglio and shows how non-whites and anti-Apartheid activists were fighting to rescue that African culture from suppression.

The narrator says that John Campbell's name was misspelt by the police officer at the Traffic Department when he first pronounced his name to him. Instead of Campbell, the police officer wrote "Kembel." However, John does not correct him because of fear. It is in connection to this that the narrator admits thus: "[...] John, who could read and write perfectly well, knew that it would be a mistake to correct a man so dapperly turned out in khaki – yes, those were days before the airforce-blue uniform" (*Playing* 5). The above statement creates humour; the reader is amused to see how one is afraid to correct somebody who spells his name wrongly. Underneath this humour, lies a penetrating satire on the brutality and furiousness of the Apartheid police against the citizens of South Africa. It shows that the Forces of Law and Order were so brutal that the citizens were even afraid to correct them when they were wrong. The narrator, in order to strengthen this satire, asks the following rhetorical questions: "Why fuss over a spelling that made not the slightest difference? Or if it did, if that was all it took to turn him into someone new, a man of the city with prospects, who was he to complain? The name could easily be corrected later without offending the officer" (*Playing* 5). From these rhetorical questions, one realises that John Campbell did not want to anger the police officer that is why he did not care to correct him. In addition, one realises that John, in his youthful days, was suffering from the crisis of identity. He used to question why they – his brothers and sisters had English names. The narrator says that "[...] his [John] father was a man of few words, a man without letters who refused to answer questions" (*Playing* 5). John's father could not tell why he had English names probably because he wanted to hide his identity from him for the probable reason that identity was a crucial issue in the days of Apartheid.

Wicomb also uses memory to depict the racial orientation and thinking of some South Africans in the days of Apartheid. This racist tendency is seen through the character traits of Marion's mother, Helen, and her friend Annie Boshoff. When their servant, Tikkie, dies, Marion who is five years old at the time wants to attend the funeral ceremony. Her mother refuses on the pretext that they will organise theirs at home, which they never do (*Playing* 32-33). Marion's father, however, criticises this attitude and cautions them that God would not forgive them for not going to the funeral. In hearing this Annie Boshoff mocks at Marion's father saying "[...] that was kaffirboetie talk. There was no need going to a servant's funeral, no matter how old or wonderful she was." (*Playing* 33) This attitude does not only bring out the concept of racial segregation in the Apartheid era; it also portrays the fact that the Apartheid society was also based on class distinction. However, the narrator argues that Annie does not understand that Tokkie was more than just a servant to the family and especially to Marion.

In the dialogue between Brenda and Boetie on the situation of violence and insecurity in the society, the former accused the latter for being complacent with the Apartheid system by voting for it the first time it was it was instituted in 1948. In her furiousness, Brenda questions him: "Really? You don't think that years of oppression and destitution and perversion of human beings, thanks to the policies that you voted in, have anything

to do with you?" (*Playing* 36) This rhetorical question interrogates the Apartheid era and memories of it because it shows, according to Brenda, that the present chaos and insecurity in post-Apartheid South Africa is due to the policy of racial segregation that was officially instituted in the country in 1948 when Dr. Malan and his National Party won the election. This rhetorical question also identifies Boetie as a pro-Apartheid activist – which was a customary attitude of most whites during this era. Even though Boetie rejects this allegation by responding to Brenda that he did not vote for Apartheid, she finds it difficult to believe him. (*Playing* 36) It is in this guise that Brenda makes the sarcastic comment that "It's impossible to find a person in this country who voted for the Nationalist Party. God knows how that phantom called apartheid came into being all by itself[…]" (*Playing* 36) This sarcasm is to lampoon the hypocrisy of those who voted for the Apartheid system; with the new dispensation, nobody wants to identify him/herself with the regime.

Through the use of memory, one realises that there was constant friction between the church, as an institution, and Apartheid state. In principle, the church operates on the ideology of equality and social justice. So in the context of Apartheid, it was normal for the church not to be in unison or agreement with some of the Apartheid laws. The omniscient narrator comments that Father Gilbert, the Anglican priest, was always at loggerheads with the regime. He further comments thus:

> *Being English and therefore a radical, he had to demonstrate the parish's abhorrence of apartheid, especially after the example set by Huddleston, the young firebrand priest of the north, who for all Father Gilbert could see spent rather more time messing about with young jazz-playing tsotsis than serving God. (Playing 159)*

The above passage shows that the church was not an accomplice in the policies of the Apartheid state. It did not mince words when it came to criticising the ills of the Apartheid system. It is in connection to this that the narrator, in paraphrasing Father Gilbert, says: "The church must make a stand, he said, or so Trevor Huddlestone preached, and history, he was sure, would prove him right in his endeavours to fight the iniquitous [Apartheid] system" (*Playing* 160)

In addition, in order to nib the Apartheid policy in the bud, Father Gilbert focuses his attention more on the youth so as to dissuade them from supporting the execrable and unjust Apartheid doctrine. This is probably because, sensitising the youth on the iniquities of Apartheid will make the policy evanescent since the youth are the leaders of tomorrow. The narrator asserts that Father Gilbert did not spare any opportunity that came his way "[…] to make young people aware of the iniquities of racialism and apartheid." (*Playing* 159) This English Anglican priest, therefore, can be compared to Martin Luther King Jr. who spent the greatest part of his life fighting against racism, inequality, and social injustice in America.

Also, the use of memory conveys an image of poverty and hardship among non-whites during the Apartheid era. Since the policy of Apartheid was discriminatory against the blacks and non-whites in general, it did not give them the opportunity to be economically rich as the whites. "Father Gilbert", in narrator says, "spoke with passion about the parishes in the townships, the poor coloured people who were so lacking in facilities and resources that they were vulnerable to devil's work and dagga" (*Playing* 67). These coloured people are so poor that they cannot even build a church of theirs. "[...] so a group of freshly confirmed girls were sent out to take Sunday-school classes at the new church in Bonteheuwel, kindly donated by the ladies of the southern suburbs" (*Playing* 67). This gesture by the ladies of the southern suburbs is an indication that the under-privileged groups were at the mercy of members of the civil society – and not of the state. It also shows the degree to which the state neglected these groups and treated them unjustly. In addition, even at the level of education, nonwhites because of their poverty-stricken nature, found it very difficult to educate themselves to a particular length. This is the case with Tokkie – who is being nicknamed as Thomasina by Flip Karelse. The narrator asserts that she could not go to the high school because her family had no money to sponsor her to that level – despite the fact that she was intelligent at school as testified by Flip Karelse who falls in love with her because of this (*Playing* 135).

While in her mother's room, "Marion sits cross-legged on the floor, leaning against her mother's dressing table, from which she has taken the Black Magic box" (*Playing* 116). In this box is found "[...] nothing among the meagre remains of Helen's possessions that gives anything away" (*Playing* 116). The most significant and symbolic item she discovers in the box is "A registry office marriage without any guests, with no family. There is Helen's green identity card marked WHITE, with a photograph that does not do justice to her beauty" (*Playing* 116). The most striking item in this box is Helen's identity card, which has been marked white to show that she is a member of the white race – (which of course is faulty because Helen, just as her husband John Campbell, is of the coloured race who was mistakenly classified as white in the Apartheid days.) This identity card recalls to memory the days of Apartheid when South Africans were segregated and tagged. The racial affiliation of people was more important and any other thing was secondary. This is attested to the fact that, on the card, her race is written in bold and in upper case. This is to prove that the information concerning her race is more important than any other information on the card.

The National Library is one of the structures which is an epitome of the collective memory and the historical past in the South African society. In fact, the role of this library is not too different from that of museums that have also helped in shaping the memory of South Africans. In her article entitled "Museums and the Reshaping of Memory" Patricia Davidson argues that. "Museums, like memory, mediate the past, present, and future. [...] museums give material form to authorized versions of the past, which in time become institutionalized as public memory. In this way, museums anchor official

memory." (15) It is for this reason that Marion spends her lunch hour in the library. Her intention of visiting this library is to look for information about "play-whites" in South Africa. In the novel, play-whites were those coloured South Africans who were mistakenly classified as whites by the Apartheid administration. The narrator says that when Marion reaches the library, "[…] the woman in navy blue [the librarian] who has noted her look of defeat and disappointment asks so soothingly, so kindly whether she can be of any help, that without hesitation Marion says yes, she would like to find out about play-whites." (*Playing* 120) In the course of the search, the narrator defines play-whites thus: "Play-white, they imagine, must be the condition of whiteness but whiteness itself, according to the library's classification system, is not a category for investigation." (*Playing* 120) This statement is a scornful and scathing satire on the question of race in the days of Apartheid. It shows that during this period in the history of South Africa, the determination of one's race was very complex and complicated; there were coloured South Africans who were declared white but were later reclassified and vice versa.

The use of memory is reminiscent of the white supremacist mentality in the days of Apartheid – which found in-roads into all South African structures and institutions. The whites saw themselves as superior to the Africans and dragooned non-whites to believe in the idea as well. Most coloureds were even happy to be mistaken for whites. This created serious identity crisis and split personality especially among members of the coloured race. The narrator affirms that John Campbell, though from the coloured race, was content to be mistaken for a Boer. (*Playing* 126) "Indeed", the narrator says, that was what had sparked the idea of becoming white – not an act of imagination on his part, no, merely a happy case of mistaken identity." (*Playing* 126) When he is mistaken for a white in the Traffic Department, he does not notify the superintendent; he lives with this mistaken identity – with all the advantages that follow it – until the end of Apartheid.

Memory further reveals distress and despair in the days of Apartheid. This is because the omniscient narrator discloses that children were also caught in the heat of racial segregation. This is very traumatising because children are generally considered to be the national-builders of tomorrow. So their copying of the racist propensity of their elders, it was not a good sign for the future of Apartheid South Africa. The narrator starts by recounting that Helen saw […] no point in being known in the coloured neighbourhood when, frankly, there was no future in attachments to such people, when the new lives she envisaged demanded a clean slate." (*Playing* 129) Helen is one of the play-whites in the novel; she is actually coloured but just as her husband, she has been mistaken for a white. She does not see herself and family interacting with members of the coloured community for – according to her – they had a futureless future. This thinking shows how depressed non-white South Africans were in the days of Apartheid. It is in this context that the omniscient narrator appends and corroborates that "As for the poor-white estate across the railway line, from where barefooted children threw stones at the coloured houses, shouting Swartgat, swartgat, that too was an object lesson. That raggedness was not what she had in mind at all." (*Playing* 129)

In addition, Zoe Wicomb probes into the past, in the history of South Africa, to satirise some of the Apartheid laws – especially those that define the concept of race and colour. In the novel, the author shows the complexities and complications that are involved in defining the racial orientations of South Africans – especially the coloureds. While in the National Library, the narrator comments that Marion and the librarian "[...] pore over the laws and confusing racial definitions." (*Playing* 120) This comment, by the narrator, depicts the contradictions that were embedded in the racial laws during the Apartheid era. This incongruity in the racial laws is further buttressed when the narrator recounts thus:

> *The 1946 franchise laws allowed mixed blood in one parent or grandparent, but the new bill of 1950, designed to formalise and fix the categories of coloured and white, conflicted with the earlier one. Coloureds could now elect European representatives to the House of Assembly, but many whites who until then had thought of themselves as European were in the fifties transferred to the newly established separate coloured voters' roll. (Playing 120–121)*

As Marion and the librarian probes deeper into the archives in the library, they realise that the definition of who a white person is, following Act No. 20 of 1950 contradicts the Population Registration Amendment Act of 1960. The narrator says that in 1950, a white person was defined as: "one who in appearance obviously is, or who is generally accepted as a white person, but does not include a person who, although in appearance obviously a white person, is generally accepted as a coloured person." This law does not depend on any scientific or rational parameter. In other words, the law has to do with perception and not reality. It means that coloureds, who supported the Apartheid policy, were considered whites while whites who were adversarial to this policy could even be considered as non-white. It further alludes that being white or non-white in the days of Apartheid was a matter of ideological orientation (*Playing* 121). This law, however, was modified in 1960 and the amended definition read as follows:

> *A 'white person' is a person who (a) in appearance obviously is a white person and who is not generally accepted as a coloured person; or (b) is generally accepted as a white person and in appearance obviously not a white person, but does not include any person who for the purpose of classification under this Act, freely and voluntarily admits that he is by descent a native or a coloured person unless it is proved that that the admission is not based on fact. (Playing 121)*

After studying the two laws, Marion doubts whether there is any real difference between them. This is seen in the use of the rhetorical question by the narrator when he says: "But is that any difference, Marion asks, from the 1950 Act?" (*Playing* 121) One can infer from this question that Marion finds no intrinsic difference between the former law and its amended one. Also, the study of these laws is reminiscent of trauma, distress, and anguish during the Apartheid era. The narrator says:

The librarian lifts an admonishing palm, purses her lips to silence Marion, but it is not long before she succumbs to laughter. In vain they try to stifle the sound; they stagger drunkenly between the aisles before sliding with the heavy tomes onto the carpeted floor, where they rock with quiet laughter. Tears stream down their faces. There are decades worth of folly trapped in these pages. (Playing 121)

The librarian further affirms that in the fifties and sixties, in South Africa, the Apartheid regime ran into confusion on the definition of who a white is. This confusion probably stems from the fact that some coloured South Africans were passing for whites. The omniscient narrator remarks that "Must have been a hell of a confusing time, between the fifties and sixties, when whiteness was not yet properly defined, the narrator says." (*Playing* 121) This assertion depicts the view that even the regime, in the days of Apartheid, found it difficult to say who a white is.

One realises that white superiority complex was rife during the Apartheid era. This explains why there were coloureds that saw themselves as whites. Just like Marion, Flip Karelse is also a coloured South African who is very comfortable because he is recognised as a white. The narrator describes him as "[...] a handsome, light-skinned man with dreamy hazel eyes." (*Playing* 135) In the novel he fell in love with Tokkie who is, indeed, a non-white. When both of them go out for a pleasure trip on Sunday, Flip Karelse brings her back to her house very late. The narrator says that "No girl should be brought home after sunset; that was the rule, and it was because the Karelses thought of themselves as white, and therefore superior, that he dared to disobey." (*Playing* 137) The above statement, by the narrator, depicts the concept of white superiority and mistaken identity during the Apartheid days. This is made lucid from the narrator's phrase that "the Karelses thought of themselves as white." In other words, this is just a perception but not the reality because this family is actually coloured not white. The white community merely mistook them for whites. This passage further shows that the white race was looked upon as superior; those who were recognised as members of this race had the latitude to trespass the laws and conventions of the society with impunity.

Zoe Wicomb also criticises ethical and moral corruption in the days of Apartheid. This type of corruption was mostly found within the ranks or milieus of important personnel in South Africa. One of such characters is Councillor Carter who is a member of the Anglican Church – but very corrupt and morally loose. When Helen Campbell goes to his office to request for an affidavit from him to prove that the Campbells are known members of the white community, Carter requests to have sex with her before she could obtain her request. (*Playing* 143) Helen reminds him that she is a married woman but this information rings no bell in Councillor Carter's mind, resolute to have sex with her. The attitude of Councillor Carter shows the immorality that was orchestrated by the elite in the days of racial segregation in South Africa. Carter has the courage to make such an immoral advance to a married woman like Helen because he knows that she is in

desperate search for this affidavit. Councillor Carter, therefore, is an extended metaphor of the entire elite in Apartheid South Africa. The author, therefore, levels a pungent attack on this increasing rate of immorality amongst the elite during the Apartheid era.

Apart from Councillor Carter, Mr Boshoff is also another character who has been used by the author to portray the moral dereliction of the Apartheid era. Just like the case of Carter, this moral decrepitude of Mr Boshoff is also seen through the author's use of the flashback technique. The narrator records this scandal when he says that "Mr Boshoff caught with his pants down on top of a coloured girl, his buttocks white and frozen in the policeman's torchlight. In the very backseat of the Chevvie where Marion and Annie bounced about with the dog on Saturday-afternoon drives to Milnerton Beach." (*Playing* 193-194) This repugnant and decadent act, however, should not just be blamed on Mr Boshoff's moral bankruptcy and impoverishment alone. It was the general trend even amongst young girls at the time. So it is this coloured girl who seduced him into this act as one reads from the assertion of the narrator that "This coloured girls may not be oil paintings – the girl's mouth was distinctly African – but she certainly know how to tempt a man, to ruin his life." (*Playing* 194)

John Campbell sees the past as traumatising and wants to unleash it to her daughter Marion. By so doing, he believes that he will be released from the trauma, depression, and the nightmare of his family history. What is psychologically disturbing is the fact that he is aware of his consciously mistaken identity – of which his daughter, Marion is not aware of. So he wants to make her know the story of his family which he has been concealing from her. Up to this moment, Marion has been living in the mistaken identity that she is from the white race meanwhile she is really a coloured South African. This explains why the narrator describes John as "[...] an emblem of the phantasmagoric past." (*Playing* 155) This description means that John has elements in his past that are hidden from others. John chooses the Wynberg Park because he wants an environment that both of them can talk without any hindrance. The narrator comments: "John barely recognises his own courageous voice: Come child, we'll go to Wynberg Park and I'll buy you an ice cream. There we can talk nicely in the shade, clear up this whole business and forget about the past." (*Playing* 155)

When they reached the park, John Campbell gives a detailed account of his life and the manipulation they had to do in order to be recognised as members of the white community although they are coloureds. (*Playing* 156-157) The narrator reveals that John was very happy when the Traffic Superintendent mistook him for a Boer. In other words, he was happy to be mistaken for a white. This does not necessarily mean that he loved or admired the white race. In the days of Apartheid, the white race was the superior race. So non-whites, especially those from the coloured race, were happy if they were mistaken for whites. This made them gain access to the white community and benefit from the political and social dividence that comes with it. Also, the superiority complex of the white race is seen when it was held that coloureds could not work in the Traffic Department for, according to the Apartheid regime, it was abnormal and, above

all, degrading, for a coloured to control white drivers. This superiority complex of the white race is further elucidated from the narrator's utterance that "[...] being white in the whole is surely about being at ease, since the world belongs to you." (*Playing* 152)

Non-whites were almost in constant and frantic demonstration against the racist Apartheid legislations. This was one of the major root causes of violence and uncertainty during this period. The narrator insinuates that Fourie, the husband of Elsie, was one of the ringleaders against the unjust Apartheid laws. This information is found in the local tabloid or newspaper called Cape Times. The narrator remarks:

> *On the front page of the Cape Times there'd been a photograph of coloured men waving defiant fists, and Fourie in the centre named as a prominent Unity Movement rebel. They'd led a procession through the streets of Cape Town, congregating on the Grand Parade, where Fourie and others had spoken against the new laws. (Playing 170-171)*

In addition to the above fact, the narrator affirms that "The late seventies were terrible years. One just didn't know whether you'd see your children alive the next day. John didn't go to the university until he turned thirty; Bella was in the military wing, away for years all over Africa; and our youngest, William, shot dead on the border." (*Playing* 171) What made this period in South Africa so terrible, unpredictable, and volatile was the Soweto Massacre which took place on the 16th of June 1976. This was when Soweto children initiated a mass protest, primarily in reaction to the introduction of Afrikaans as the language of instruction in their schools. The forces of law and order opened fire at the crowd of students and massacred hundreds of them. This macabre incident in Apartheid inspired the creation of many literary productions. One of such is Nadine Gordimer's novel, *Burgher's Daughter* (1977), which is an allegorical rendition of the incident of 1976. It is for this reason that the novel was banned from the South African reading public when it was published.

In the days of Apartheid, there were South Africans, especially those of the coloured race, who consciously and deliberately disguised their real racial identity and passed for whites. Mostly, women dressed in white wigs in order to mask themselves and cover up their real racial identity. In a discussion with Marion, Vumi conferred to her that the idea of identity disguise was just a survival strategy which was used by his mother. Vumi says to Marion: "Oh no, he says, mine were okay; people do what they can to survive. And when apartheid came to an end, my mum just took her wig off, right there among the coloureds, and now they're living nice and comfy in a black neighbourhood. I just love their impertinence – he laughs uproariously." (*Playing* 206)

In a discussion with Marion, at the end of the novel, Brenda promises to write the biography of John Campbell. In the novel, she does not really call it biography but "story". Her inspiration to document John's story comes as a result of the discussions she had been having with him when Marion was on vacation to Europe. This is because,

on her vacation to Europe, Marion did not tell her father. This explains why he kept calling her office. Out of love and pity, Marion visited him and presented him a gift of a bottle of brandy. In most of their discussions, he told Brenda the history of his life which according to her is interesting and worth documenting. (*Playing* 217) The idea of writing the story of John shows that Brenda is determined to keep history alive for posterity to come and read. However, Marion takes very serious offence against this project or initiative to write her father's story. The narrator says that, on hearing this, "Her voice is cold with rage. So in the guise of a do-gooder, you went back to prise more out of a lonely, senile old man who was grateful for your visits? Sis. How dare you! Why don't you write your own fucking story?" (*Playing* 217) Marion's indignation depicts that she wants to sever links with her past which is symbolised in her father.

In conclusion, this paper set out to explain the concept of memory in post-Apartheid fiction and its importance in Nadine Gordimer's *None to Accompany Me* and Zoe Wicomb's *Playing in the Light*. This paper postulates and affirms that memory, in post-Apartheid literary and cultural discourses, have been used to portray the sordid realities of the Apartheid days and also to show that characters in post-Apartheid narratives "look back in anger" when memories of the past are being evoked by the omniscient narrators or the characters themselves. The past, which embodies the memory of Apartheid, is a continuous nightmare to the non-white South just as the history of slavery and slave trade keeps haunting the Caribbeans and African-Americans today.

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The Phenomenon of Social Conversion among Farmers in France: From Traditional Agriculture to the Spirulina Superfood

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to shed light on the phenomenon of social conversion that occurs when farmers change from traditional agricultural practices towards a less well-known form of aquaculture: the production of the Spirulina superfood (Arthrospira platensis). Certain farmers in southeast France converted their professional lifestyles and started producing the greenish alimentary bacteria known as Spirulina. It is often referred to as blue-green algae, but it is actually a cyanobacteria with nutritional, environmental, agricultural and therapeutic benefits.

Through interviews and surveys with local farmers, we use a qualitative approach to analyzing the overall impact that occurs when farmers engage in life-changing professional conversions. The results from our analyses highlight a general phenomenon that occurs among farmers referred to as "social conversion".In general, the research provides useful insights about the cycle of social conversion and it's impact on farmers from professional, social and ethical perspectives.

Keywords: social conversion, Spirulina acculturation, agricultural ethics, sustainable food production, Spirulina aquaculture

Résumé

Le but de cet article est de faire la lumière sur le phénomène de la conversion sociale qui se produit lorsque les agriculteurs changent de pratiques agricoles traditionnelles vers une forme moins connue de l'aquaculture : la production de la spiruline super (Arthrospira platensis) . Certains agriculteurs du sud-est France ont converti leurs modes de vie professionnelles et a commencé à produire les bactéries alimentaires verdâtres connus comme la spiruline . Il est souvent désigné comme les algues bleu-vert , mais il est en fait une cyanobactérie avec des avantages nutritionnels , environnementaux , agricoles et thérapeutiques .

Grâce à des entrevues et des enquêtes auprès des agriculteurs locaux , nous utilisons une approche

qualitative à l'analyse de l'impact global qui se produit lorsque les agriculteurs s'engagent dans des conversions professionnelles qui changent la vie . Les résultats de nos analyses mettent en évidence un phénomène général qui se produit chez les agriculteurs appelé « conversion sociale " .Dans générale , la recherche fournit des informations utiles sur le cycle de conversion sociale et son impact sur les agriculteurs de perspectives professionnelles , sociales et éthiques .

Mots-clés: *conversion sociale , la spiruline acculturation , l'éthique agricoles , la production alimentaire durable , la spiruline aquaculture*

Introduction

The Spirulina superfood has often been studied from a consumer's point of view, with emphasis on attitudinal, emotional or symbolic perspectives[1]. The food itself fascinates us, in a sense, refreshing memories and evoking values: "the example of the beef prohibition in China, a prohibition that continues to have an impact on social processes, ethics and agricultural religious practices after a century of revolution"[2]. However, very few scientific studies focus on the professional activities responsible for building the food as a symbol and furthermore strengthening its perennity[3]. Durand (1993) describes the phenomenon well: "the human becomes one with the food as he ingests it and it is absorbed into the mysterious depths of the human body"[4]. Durand analyzes and evokes the act of ingesting food from a mystical (or ironical) psychological perspective. The author implements analogies and similitude's in order to nourish this unorthodox approach to analyzing the phenomena. The principle dynamic occurring is characterized by a fusion between humans and their food. The powers attributed to certain exceptional foods are generally seen as social symbols composed of beliefs, or representations, and "talk of transformation, which implies a discussion of the different degrees of potential modification"[5]. An anthropological approach allows us to shed light on this phenomenon of social conversion; as the farmer and the food bond and create social/biological singularity. Contemporary societies are attached to the notion of hetero culture developed by Jean Poirier; "the situation in which a society finds itself is nourished by two principal matrixes which are essential (quite possibly vital) and antagonistic: *tradition* and *modernity* otherwise observed as continuity and innovation"[6].

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1   Moulin L. 1975, L'Europe à table. Paris, Elsevier, p. 204

2   Aubin F. 2007, Vincent Gossaert, L'interdit du bœuf en Chine. Agriculture, éthique et sacrifice. Archives de sciences sociales des religions, p. 265.

3   Micoud A., 2003. Ces bonnes vaches aux yeux si doux. Communication, n° 74 : 217-237.

4   Durand G. 1993, Les structures anthropologiques de l'imaginaire, Dunod, 560 p.

5   Berger P. et Luckmann T. 1992, La construction sociale de la réalité, Paris, Méridiens klincksieck, p..214.

6   Poirier J.1993, « Tradition et novation. De la "situation coloniale" à la "situation hétéroculturelle" », in Gabriel Gosselin (dir.), Les Nouveaux enjeux de l'anthropologie. Autour de Georges Balandier, Paris, L'Harmattan (coll. « Logiques sociales »), p. 75.

Today, anthropology can be considered as a discipline that is increasingly focused on innovation and transformations into modernity. Georges Balandier (1991) emphasizes this perspective: "the movement into modernity evokes novelty and unprecedented evolution, the obscure and the unknown within our own society; entire domains that may appear as 'foreign' or confusing"[7].

Spirulina is a new food that is not very attractive due to it's earthy odor and blue-green color. In France, it is produced on a relatively small-scale in the southeast Var region. This production has allowed farmers to introduce this super food into society as an "admissible food" (often referred to as an alimentary supplement)[8].

As a result, Spirulina produced by these farmers goes beyond a technical aspect; it creates new cultural and social representations, new confrontations, new networks, new attitudes, which structure their daily lives and especially reconstructs their identity; Hence the process of Spirulina acculturation and social conversion. As Claude Dubar highlights "identity is never given, it is always constructed and reconstructed with rather great uncertainty and is more or less sustainable"[9]. More precisely, our analyses focus on the process of transformation, which occurs among individuals who pass from one type of agriculture to another and more particularly, from one form of intensive terrestrial agriculture with a strong and prevalent social identification to microbial aquaculture of a marginal alimentary supplement: "Spirulina".

We focused on the adaptation capacity and changes encountered by certain farmers (in the Var), who were initiated into the culture of production and consumption of this unique and modern superfood. The study is intended to reveal the phenomenon that we refer to as "social and ethical conversion" that is encountered by farmers who cultivate Spirulina. With a qualitative approach we aim to better understand the processes that these farmers undergo resulting in a veritable reconstruction of their identity. From a more general perspective, we are interested in the transformation of modern societies *as a process that is unique and observable* and can be considered as the fundamental basis for the evolution of social practices and cultural systems.

With the cooperative participation of Spirulina farmers and consumers in the Var, our study highlights new behaviors, new practices, and new representations that contribute to the creation of new ethical values and lifestyle changes.

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7   *Balandier G. 1991, «Regard Anthropologique sur la modernité et la postmodernité», in Corps, religion, société, présenté par F.LAPLANTINE, Lyon, PUF, p.117.*

8   *Fischler C.1990, L'Homnivore–le goût, la cuisine et le corps, Paris, Odile Jacob, 414 p.*

9   *Dubar C. 2002, La socialisation : construction des identités sociales et professionnelles, Paris, Armand Colin, 255 p.*

The Spirulina superfood

For a long time now, botanists have referred to Spirulina as a blue-green algae (Cyanophycea); however, it has been confirmed by microbiologists (notably Woese in 1987) to be a cyanobacterium. Through the process of photosynthesis, Spirulina develops rapidly in warm, shallow, brackish water environments. Woese elaborates on the subject of Spirulina: "from a systematic point of view, they are Prokaryotes placed in the kingdom of Eubacteria"[10]. These cyanobacteria "were the incredibly active agents behind the metamorphosis of our terrestrial environment. They rendered the earth habitable by continually liberating oxygen that would form the atmosphere and breathing air. As a result, they allowed all forms of plants, animals and humans to make their appearance in this world"[11].

Numerous studies have been conducted and show the impressive nutritional qualities of Spirulina including: high protein contents (more than 50% of its dry weight), rare essential lipids, numerous minerals (world record for the outstanding quantity of iron it provides) and vitamins (all except ascorbic acid). Additionally, the rapidity of Spirulina's growth and the fact that its growing environment is easily reproduced has especially attracted the attention of farmers. Without the presence of cell walls, Spirulina is perfectly digestible raw on dried. Numerous nutritional analyses have proven the bioavailability of Spirulina's micronutrients[12].

From an agronomic and biological perspective Spirulina has maintained its "sustainable" aspect and has always been highlighted for its low consumption of water and high absorption rate of carbonic gas[13].

Spirulina also has therapeutic properties. It contains several molecules, which have been the object of studies, notably for their biological activity and positive impact on human health. Its immunostimulatory and antiviral properties have made Spirulina an interesting solution to malnutrition. However, it should be noted that clinical trials have been conducted with humans, yet due to the limited scope of these studies additional research is needed[14]. Certain effects of Spirulina have been observed, particularly in laboratories and with animals[15].

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10 Woese C.R.1987, *Bacteria Evolution, Microbiol Rev, 51, 221-271.*

11 Brosse J. 2005, *La magie des plantes, Paris, Albin Michel, 311 p.*

12 Falquet J. 1996, *Spiruline, Aspects Nutritionnels, Genève, Antenna Technologie, 126 p.*

13 Fox, Ripley D. 1996. *Spirulina: Production & Potential. Aix-en-Provence: Edisud.*

14 Simpore, J., et al., 2005, *Nutrition Rehabilitation of HIV-Infected and HIV-Negative Undernourished Children Utilizing Spirulina. Annals of Nutrition & Metabolism. 49*

15 Cases J. 2001, *Selenium from Selenium-rich Spirulina is less bioavailable than Selenium from Sodium Selenite and Selenomethionine in Selenium-deficient rats., J Nutr., 131(9):2343-50.*

Wittrock and Nordsted first described the species in 1844 under the name of *Spirulina Jenneri platensis Nordsted*. Spirulina is characterized by miniscule filaments (0,1 mm long) wound in spiral coils. Appearing roughly 3.5 million years ago, it is one of the most ancient inhabitants of our planet and has been consumed for centuries by certain populations. This primitive creature, a veritable living fossil, still thrives naturally in certain saline lakes. Today, Spirulina is a superfood supplement that can be easily integrated into our daily diet. It can be added to a cup of orange juice in the morning, sprinkled on a vegetable salad, mixed in with yogurt, jams and jellies, or mixed in a vinaigrette sauce. The possibilities are endless - as long as the Spirulina is not cooked which significantly decreases its nutritional efficiency. Yet in all honesty, the smell and color of certain dry Spirulina is not very appetizing. On the contrary, fresh, well-prepared Spirulina is delicious and encapsulated forms have nearly no smell or taste.

It's only been 40 years since we've mastered the techniques of farming Spirulina in artificial settings instead of its natural environment. Today in Occidental countries, commercial production has developed and Spirulina is being proposed to consumers around the world; notably in undeveloped regions where Spirulina is proposed to victims of malnutrition by nongovernmental organizations who sponsor small small-scale farms.

Premises for Professional/Agricultural Conversion

The way that agriculture and new forms of culture are regarded has changed over the course of time[16]; with the exception of cereals, which have been present in the Mediterranean region as an essential food since ancient times. Aristotle highly regarded farmers and esteemed them to be among the most important people in society; he favored the production of new crops and forms of agriculture and considered farmers as "the people which democracy most truly belongs"[17].

In the middle ages, most people's diet consisted of vegetable soups (roots and herbs) in which, meat or fish was added if available, and pieces of bread were dipped in and eaten. The principle sources of calories were obtained from breads/cereals. The ancient Greeks considered that a man must earn his bread *by the sweat of his brow*. Cereals were "*sitos*", human foods that were sanctified by the Christian religion in delegating bread as a principal element of the Eucharist[18]. Another example includes the beliefs around the chestnut tree[19], which were neither human food nor Christian food, as a result, they were considered as a subsidiary form of food as opposed to an essential one.

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16 Mazoyer, Marcel, and Laurence Roudart. 2002. *Histoire des agricultures du monde: du néolithique à la crise contemporaine*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

17 *Citation from Aristotle, Politics of Organizing Power in Democracy and Oligarchy*, book VII, Chap. II

18 Flamand J.-C.2004, (Var 2020 : *Quel futur pour l'agriculture*), Agrobiosciences, TPM, 35 p.

19 Riciardi-Bartoli F. 2009, *Image de la châtaigne au travers l'histoire*, 105 p

The 17th and 18th centuries made notable progress in the domain of agriculture with the growing of new plants and the implementation of new farming techniques. New crops were developed including corn, potatoes, chestnuts, dry fruits and vegetables, rice, and grapes. The soil was enriched with the cultivation of turnips and forage legumes, and green manures were implemented into the agricultural practices.

The 19th century was host to the agricultural revolution and a time when new agronomic approaches were implemented in order to increase yields with a variety of grains and cereals which more or less depleted soils on which they grew. It is at this point in time when we encounterd the birth of agrarian individualism (the enclosure movement), which is ultimately responsible for the transformation from subsistence to capitalist agriculture. In this era, agricultural production became an increasingly technical and chemical oriented process.

The 20th century was characterized by intensive modern agriculture with economic incentives (high yields and profits); from a biological perspective, disastrous secondhand effects were neglected. Today, institutions demand more comprehensive and environmentally friendly agriculture, leading to the experimentation with Genetically Modified Organisms (GMO's) or new species deemed more "sustainable".

Since 2004, a new and unique training program was created in the Var at the Center for Training and Professional Agricultural Promotion (CFPPA). This program is the first of its kind and is endorsed by France's Ministry of Food, Fishing and Agriculture. At the completion of the program students are awarded a specialized diploma[20] in the production of the sustainable superfood and alimentary supplement "Spirulina". This new branch of aquaculture has been institutionally validated for its agro-environmental and nutritional qualities.

Additionally, more and more farmers in the Var, and particularly horticulturist, have stopped their activities and abandoned their greenhouses in search of a conversion to new agricultural activities. As a result, over the last four years, certain farmers have chosen to enroll in the professional training program and engage themselves in the production of Spirulina. Consequently, the first "Spiruliners"[21] began to appear in the Var and a transformation emerged towards a form of social singularity. With an average of seven new producers per year (installation and production of Spirulina), the Var has developed a new agricultural sector certified by the Ministry of Food, Fishing and Agriculture[22], which has spurred a new and modern economic niche.

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20   *Specialized in Local Initiatives (SIL) delivered by the Center for Training and Professional Agricultural Promotion in the Var*

21   *Name attributed by Spirulina producers designating a person who produces Spirulina; the new term was also reapplied to France's National Federation of Spiruliners*

22   *The Ministry of food, fishing and agriculture currently assists the installation of "Young farmers" in this domain of production.*

In Southeast France's Var region, farmers have been significantly impacted by an intensification of diverse pressures and influences, which has consequently forced them to redefine their identities. These different forms of pressure are essentially derived from associative sources such as environmental protection and terrestrial development organizations. Horticulturalists are a typical example of what these associations label as "peasant polluters".

The Var region in France offers an ideal environment for farmers who are in search of restructuring their identity; especially in correspondence with their own personal values and search for a place in society (with meaning beyond economic fulfillment).

Socialization through Spirulina Acculturation

Through the firsthand experiences of farmers we observed the existence of common factors and invariants in the context our analyses e.g. the conversion from one familiar form of agriculture to another type that is very atypical. By orienting themselves towards the production of Spirulina, certain farmers are not only looking for a new and original form of alimentary production; it's much more than that, their identity is at stake. In this paper we attempt to reveal that Spirulina, through its various representations, is a veritable fruit of identity reconstruction and that the daily practices of these farmers are a sign of their social belonging (group identity). In observing these farmers, we are simultaneously "studying the divisions of society"[23].

In light of negative public opinions labeling farmers as "polluters" and "poisoners", the Varois[24] farmers included in our study were motivated to enroll in the Spirulina production training program because it offered a new form of accreditation to their professional occupations. It appears as if they've passed from one status as irresponsible, to a more highly esteemed status as respectful to the environmental and to their own well-being. This new lifestyle change not only encompasses a professional conversion, but more importantly *a social and ethical conversion*.

The professional dimension of one's identity is of particularly special importance. Everett Hugues emphasizes the essential fact that "the world within which we live while we are exercising our professional occupation" cannot be reduced to a simple economic transaction (labor/money): "the individual personality and social identity of the subject is at risk. The act of engaging in one's professional occupation crystallizes the individuals' self-interpretation, providing a clearer definition of social belonging and consequently social recognition." As a result, the social conversion of these farmers conditioned the construction of a new social identity. It appears in our study as a type of "remarkable

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23   Grignon C.2001, (Le « je ne sais quoi » et « le faute de mieux »), in casse croûte, aliment portatif, repas indéfinissable, revue autrement, 206 : 15-24.

24   From the Var Department of PACA Region, Southeast France

transformation"[25] where particular "objects of passion" such as Spirulina, induce delicate identity transformations. This is especially due to the fact that training is implemented well beyond the spatiotemporal boundaries of the academic setting. This is evident as farmers implement knowledge and training in their daily social/professional practices *well after the expiration of the training period*.

The term *socialization* possesses various significations. It is part of the fundamental concepts of sociology (as well as anthropology and social psychology) and can be interpreted from many diverse perspectives that are evoked when observing "social" phenomena. As a result, theories of socialization have unique traits that differentiate them from the major theories of social research. From a more global perspective: "the act of socializing transforms the antisocial individual to a social one; it modifies the state of mind/way of thinking and the way the person feels and acts. Consequently, the act of socializing stabilizes the individual's personal understanding of their acquired behaviors. This internalization of norms and values is also conducive to the development of social constructs (rules, limits, etc…) which are applied during social exchanges and responsible for increasing solidarity among members of the group in which the individual interacts"[26].

In the context of our work regarding the "Spirulina culture", the concept of socialization describes the acquisition of new professional and alimentary practices (consumption of Spirulina). Additionally, it represents the different types of learning that the individual is confronted with and how, over the course of their professional development, the food itself becomes a symbol of social belonging.

This professional socialization appears complex from "structural" and "biographical" perspectives as the farmer's undergo insertion into a new profession while developing new knowledge and public recognition of their newly accredited competence. In all social processes and notably socialization, subjects are engaged in action/reaction exchanges. In our analyses, we found it necessary to observe the social dynamics that farmers experienced throughout the learning process in order to understand how the cultivation and consumption of Spirulina *transcends* throughout process.

George Herbert Mead[27] evokes that for the social actor, learning starts at an early age as they are introduced with the concept of elaborating knowledge. This process of knowledge acquisition is powered by diverse phenomenological occurrences and developments[28].

Socialization can be defined by the immersion of individuals into what is referred to as the "past world" which represents a "cultural and symbolic universe" as well as the individuals "knowledge about the world"[29]. Children absorb the social world in which

25 *Charlot B. et Glasman D.1998, Les jeunes, l'insertion et l'emploi, Paris, PUF.*

26 *Cherkaoui M.1990, « socialisation », Dictionnaire, Larousse, p.181.*

27 *Mead K.-H.1963, Mind, Self and Society, trad. L'esprit, le soi et la société, présentation de J. Caseneuve, Paris, PUF*

28 *Schutz A. 1967, The Phenomenology of the Social World Evasion, North Western University Press.*

29 *Hugues E. 1996, Le regard sociologique, Essais choisis, Textes rassemblés et présentés par Chapoulie J.M., Paris, l'E.H.E.S.S.*

they live "not as if it is one possible universe among others, but as the universe itself."
The children's educators implement the initial phase of socialization; it is followed by a
secondary phase of socialization that enriches the fundamental basis of the individual
with more specific and professional knowledge. Throughout this process values, norms
and symbolic codes are internalized and constitute the individual's personalized culture
notably with "the internalization of specialized institutional sub-world's". These forms
of specialized knowledge are referred to as *professional knowledge* and constitute a new
form of knowledge. What are the impacts of socialization in the process of Spirulina
acculturation and the phenomenon of social conversion?

Common objectives and individual reinterpretation –driving forces behind the social conversion phenomena

Through a comprehensive participant observation method, we collected data and
results from two targeted groups composed of 30 individuals each. The first group was
represented by farmers enrolled in the Spirulina production training program and the
second group consisted of Spirulina producers who completed the training course and
were already professionally active.

The participants had varied personal agendas, strong personalities and differing ideas
about this bacterium, but there was a surprisingly high level of commonly shared views
about the representations that Spirulina evoked. There are various models of perception
that can come into play when speaking of Spirulina cultivation and consumption;
however, they all serve to justify a certain practice: environmentally ethical food
production. In our study groups, this universally shared perspective acted as a "total
social phenomenon" with a significant impact on transforming the farmer's professional
and social perspectives.

A generalized layout of the social conversion cycle can be broken down into three
stages that are intertwined and evolve simultaneously:

-- Failure before Spirulina: most of the interlocutors had similar past experiences with
unsuccessful professions; ultimately finding themselves in a type of "no man's land" in
the professional sphere. Along with unsuccessful professional occupations in the past,
participants were also confronted with failure at economic, social and ethical levels as
one of the farmers explains:

"I was burnt out, nothing functioned anymore. I was economically torn and labeled as
a "peasant polluter"; a disastrous image that my profession imposed. Everything seemed
to lose value and I didn't know where to go with my life." The majority of the farmers
had past professional activities that failed; errors along their professional paths that
acted as a precursor to their own identity crises. They represented intensive agriculture
as polluting the environment, disrespectful towards man and nature, obsolete and

degrading for the overall image of farmers. As a result of these types of experiences, all of the interlocutors embarked on a path looking for a new orientation and identity that would satisfy their needs. These past experiences led to a certain distrust of agricultural institutions and primed them for an experience that would change their life. For the farmers who participated in our analyses, their past failures triggered an existential quest and introspective approach to finding their place in life and society.

Professional training allowed the farmers to discover Spirulina and the culture around its production and consumption. The training also resulted in a transformation of their worldviews; an effect that was intensified due to the group dynamic. A collective group dynamic was established as the participant's developed commonly shared representations. As a result, the collective identity was conceived and a sense of belonging created. The participants adopted new social practices and enriched themselves with exposure to new life ethics that were more respectful to the environment and their own health.

We observed the phenomenon of social conversion at the individual level and indicators leading to the construction of a group. This social conversion started with the initial training when the farmers discovered Spirulina in a group setting. During this initial stag, they were accompanied by professors who opened up a new worldview to them; one that corresponded with their expectations.

The similarities between farmers who had mutually endured unsuccessful professional endeavors led to a considerable increase in individual motivation and a cohesive group dynamic. These future "professionals" began to create daily ties that intensified development of a strong group dynamic. A form of social singularity was created as they integrated themselves into the Spirulina culture and established the grounds for the process of social and ethical conversion.

The discovery of Spirulina acted as a revelation to a new worldview that resonated with the farmers deep inner desires for identity reconstruction; the social and ethical conversion was initiated.

The end of the cycle of social and ethical conversion is represented by the professional installation and new accreditation as "specialized in aquaculture and the production of Spirulina". This final stage solidifies the phenomenon of social and ethical conversion by modifying the participants inherent cultural system. Along with their new accreditation, the farmers reveal a new life philosophy to their families and the "outside" world; a critical factor in their individual self-perceptions. Today, beyond their new behaviors, these professionals represent the food and culture of Spirulina as sustainable, ethical, modern and as a form of social solidarity. For these newly trained farmers, this primitive bacteria at the origin of life on earth acted as a total social phenomenon that provided a universal solution through the re-appropriation of their inherent power as individuals and professionals. As Jean-Marc, one of the farmers described: "with Spirulina, my worries are gone." Along with new accreditation and professional competencies, Spirulina as a

food and culture reconnected these farmers with their proper morals and allowed them to impliment new, more ethical values and rituals. They naturally abandoned their old representations in exchange for new, more operational ones that paved the way for their desired way of life. They wanted to differentiate themselves from an agricultural system that seems to be dangerous for man and the planet. They've broken out of a system that suffocated them in order to become *Spiruliners*[30].

The farmers in our study have become stronger people who've found a new sense of liberty with an ethical way of life and profession that corresponds with their social and ethical beliefs. At the end of this cycle of social and ethical conversion, the farmers who participated in our study expressed a feeling of relief; their emotional and psychological tensions were dissipated. They distanced themselves from past failures and consistently expressed that the quality of their life is better than ever before; their needs and expectations were satiated with the Spirulina culture.

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Declining Job Security Level and Workers' Perfomance In Selected Banks, South Western Nigeria

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Abstract

The study assessed bank workers' level of job security and also investigated the relationship between job security level and job performance among employees of the banks. The study adopted cross-sectional research design where primary and secondary data were sourced. Primary data were obtained through both quantitative and qualitative techniques of data collection while Secondary data were extracted from Annual Reports of the selected Banks. The sample consisted of 210 bank workers selected for questionnaire administration and 15 workers for In-depth Interviews (IDIs) especially those that have been working with the bank for the past three years. These comprised both permanent and contract workers. Quantitative data were analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistics while qualitative data were analyzed through content analysis. The result showed that majority (58.7%) considered the level of their job security to be low while (41.3%) considered the level of their job security as high across the selected banks. However, bank by bank evaluations of low level of job security did not show any major differences as Stanbic–IBTC Bank reported (51.4%), Wema Bank (70%), and First Bank (51.4%). The findings also showed that workers, regardless of their perception and feelings of job loss reported increase in their performance. Hence, there existed no significant relationship between job security level and performance ($X2 = 0.75$; $p> 0.05$). The paper concluded that declining job security level is inevitable in the banking industry because of reforms in the Nigeria banking sector. However, this did not lower workers' performance, otherwise performance were enhanced. It then recommended the need for Nigerian banks to employ the required number of workers they are capable of providing for and put an enabling environment for workers to perform.

Key Words: *Job Security Level, Workers' Performance, Bank Reforms, Bank Categorization.*

Résumé

L'étude a évalué le niveau de sécurité d'emploi des employés de banque de et également examiné la relation entre le niveau de sécurité d'emploi et le rendement au travail des employés des banques . L'étude a adopté la conception de la recherche transversale où les données primaires et secondaires ont été puisées . Les données primaires ont été obtenues par les deux techniques quantitatives et qualitatives de collecte de données tandis que les données secondaires ont été extraites des rapports annuels des banques sélectionnées . L'échantillon se composait de 210 employés de banque sélectionnés pour l'administration du questionnaire et 15 travailleurs pour des entrevues en profondeur (IDIS), en particulier ceux qui ont travaillé avec la banque pour les trois dernières années . Ces travailleurs permanents et contractuels compris . Données quantitatives ont été analysées à l'aide de statistiques descriptives et inférentielles alors que les données qualitatives ont été analysées par analyse de contenu. Le résultat a montré que la majorité (58,7%) a examiné le niveau de sécurité de leur emploi devrait être faible alors que (41,3%) considère le niveau de leur sécurité d'emploi élevé dans les banques sélectionnées . Cependant , la banque d'évaluations bancaires de faible niveau de sécurité d'emploi n'a pas montré de différences majeures que Stanbic - IBTC Banque rapportés (51,4 %) , Wema Bank (70 %) , et First Bank (51,4 %) . Les résultats montrent également que les travailleurs , indépendamment de leur perception et le sentiment de perte d'emploi signalé augmentation de leur performance. Par conséquent, il n'existait pas de relation significative entre le niveau et la performance de la sécurité d'emploi (2 = 0,75 , p > 0,05) . Le document conclut que la baisse de niveau de sécurité de l'emploi est inévitable dans le secteur bancaire en raison des réformes dans le secteur bancaire au Nigeria . Cependant , ce fait le rendement des travailleurs non inférieurs , sinon les performances ont été améliorées . Il a ensuite recommandé la nécessité pour les banques nigérianes à employer le nombre de travailleurs qu'ils sont capables de prévoir et mettre un environnement favorable pour les travailleurs à effectuer.

Mots clés: emploi niveau de sécurité , la performance des travailleurs, réformes de la Banque , la Banque catégorisation .

Introduction

The specter of losing one's job as a result of corporate restructuring, merger and acquisitions, or organizational downsizing looms in the foreground for many of today's employees. Since the late 1970s, economic recessions, industrial restructuring, technological change, and an intensified global competition have dramatically changed the nature of work (Howard, 1995). Millions of workers have been displaced while others have become involuntarily part-time unemployed, hired on temporary employment contracts, or experienced a fundamental and involuntary change in their sets of beliefs about the organisation and their place in it (Jacobson, 1991).

In United States, about 500 companies alone have reduced their total workforce from an aggregate 14.1 million employees to 11.6 million between 1983 and 1993, with approximately 500,000 U.S employees facing job loss each year as a result of these transitions (Simons, 1998). In Nigeria, workers retrenchment on a massive scale started at the close of 1983 by the military government a few months after the overthrown of the civilian regime. A total of 5000 workers were retrenched as a measure to resuscitate the depressed economy through reduction of overhead costs (Denga, 1985). However, job security is the assurance (or lack of it) that an employee has about the continuity of gainful employment for his or her work life. It usually arises from the terms of the contract of employment, collective bargaining agreement, or labour legislation that prevents arbitrary termination, layoffs, lockouts and may also be affected by general economic conditions.

Research on job security has provided consistent evidence across firms, industries, and countries that declining job security level is associated with negative employee attitudes, behaviours, and health which in turn affect work performance (Sverke, Hellgren, and Naswall, 2002). Substantially, banking reforms have been an ongoing phenomenon around the world starting from 1980s, but became more intensified in recent time because of the impact of globalization which is precipitated by continuous integration of the world market and economies. In Nigeria, the reforms in the banking sector was triggered by the economic downturn cum weaknesses in the banking system characterized by persistent illiquidity, undercapitalization, high level of non-performing loans; weakness in the regulatory and supervisory framework; weak management practices; and tolerance of deficiencies in the corporate governance behaviour of banks (Uchendu, 2005). This posed a threat to the operation of many banks resulting in sudden replacement of many banks Chief Executive Officers (C.E.Os) for example, Union Bank, Oceanic, Intercontinental, FinBank and Afribank in August 2009.

In 2009, in the Nigerian banking industry, large numbers of bank workers were retrenched, leaving the remaining workers with fear of uncertainty and heavy workloads, such that they work under tense conditions nursing fear of losing their jobs anytime. In addition, the industry has witnessed the laying off or demotion of most qualified employees in order to minimize costs and maximize profit. However, this trend in the banking sector has devastating and long lasting effects on the well-being of affected bank employees. This is coupled with its attendant effects on the organizational commitment and performance of those in the system arising from inability of bank workers to maintain positive attachment to modern work in the absence of security of employment. Thus, the growing interest in the ways in which workers adapt to what is now a normative situation, employment in jobs that offer only limited or no security is the major thrust of this paper.

Review of Relevant Literature

Kronhauser (1965) identified declining job security level as a phenomenon to be considered in the changing world of work. From the existing literature, there are global and multidimensional conceptual explanations of job security level. The global perspective supports the assumption that job security level can be conceptualized as the overall concern about the future of one's job (Hartley, Jacobson, Klandermans, and Van Vuuren 1991). The literature shows the use of this conceptualization in the context of change or crises, such as political change, mergers or re-organizations. In these cases, job insecurity is normally considered to be the phase prior to unemployment (Dooley 2003). On the other hand, multidimensional conceptualization holds the view that job security level is a more complex phenomenon than only the fear of not losing a job and includes dimensions such as the fear of not losing job features, including job stability, positive performance appraisals and promotions (Greenhalgh and Ojedokun 2008; Jacobson 1991). McCarthy (1993) reported that declining job security level show a significant relationship between organizational change and workers performance. Paradoxically, losing one's job brings about devastating side effects that render most workers vulnerable to suicidal tendencies. A retrenched worker in Nigeria evidences a galaxy of psycho-social conditions. He loses authority as viable head of the family, he faces financial emaciation, his social status receives a new and lower ranking, his self concept tends to be negative while a desire to take own life and that of another person increases.

There are some inconsistencies in the empirical evidence for how job security level and performance are related. Some studies have empirically confirmed the expectation that lower levels of job security would be associated with decreases in self-rated performance (Armstrong-Stassen, 1993; Ojedokun, 2008). There is, however, another view on performance in relation to job security level, which suggests that employees who perceive risk of layoffs may increase their work efforts in order to be more valuable to the organization, and therefore not be made redundant (Brockner, Tyler, and Cooper-Schneider, 1992; Sverke and Hellgren, 2001). However, the relationships between job security level and employee reactions may not be as clear-cut as implied by this brief review. Several issues need further research attention before any valid conclusions as to the implications or consequences of job security level can be drawn.

Theoretical Framework

This paper explores Political Economy Theory and Herzberg's two-factor Theory of Motivation for understanding the influence of job security level on workers' performance. The Political Economy Theory explains the influence of environmental factors (economies and polities) on the existence of lives of individuals and groups.

Ultimately, the model explains how government policy affects the operation and structure of banking activities whereby most banks find it difficult to pay their workers' salaries. Hence, the need to cut down their expenditure by reducing the number of workers through layoffs so as to cut down their costs and maximize profits. On the other hand, Herzberg's two-factor theory viewed job security as a motivating need in the work situation which once assured readily or consequentially enhance performance on the part of employees.

However, the fusing together of the two theories made significant contributions to the study of the condition of workers in the selected banks. Marxian theory is helpful in identifying employment relations between employers and employees while Herzberg's theory provides insights into the goals and incentives that tend to satisfy individual needs.

Methodology

The study was carried out in Ibadan, the capital of Oyo State, located in South-West Nigeria. The study adopted cross-sectional research design and involved the collection of both primary and secondary data. Secondary data were extracted from Annual Reports of the selected Banks. Primary data were obtained through quantitative (semi-structured questionnaire) and qualitative {In-depth interviews (IDIs)} research instruments involving those who have been working with the banks for the last three years. The banks involved in this study were randomly selected in line with the categorization of Nigerian banks into regional (Wema Bank), national (Stanbic-IBTC Bank) and international (First Bank). Regional offices of the banks situated in Ibadan were purposively selected with four other branches, each selected at random through balloting. The population consisted of workers in the banks. The denial to access the sampling frame for workers' population necessitated the adoption of purposive sampling technique, where the desired sample size of 210 respondents were drawn. These comprised both permanent and contract staff at middle level and junior level cadre (that is, 70 respondents from each bank) in order to ensure equal representation. These categories of workers were chosen because they have witnessed the process that led to the laying off of their other colleagues and that put them in the best position to give insights into the subject matter at hand. The questionnaire elicited information on bank workers' level of job security, and relationship to job performance among bank employee in Southwestern Nigeria. Fifteen IDIs were conducted with one interviewee selected from each branch including regional offices of the banks totaling five interviewees from each bank. This complemented information elicited through questionnaire to have a rich data.

Findings

Perception of Job Security Level

This section deals with the comparative analysis of respondents' perception and views on job security level among workers in the selected banks. The Likert scale format was utilized in which individual respondents was presented with five alternative responses for each statement, ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5).

Table 1: Mean Score Analysis of Workers' Perception of Job Security Level in the Three Banks

Indicators	First Bank	Stanbic-IBTC	Wema	Total
Unfavourable government policy in banking sector makes the future of job to be uncertain	4.23	4.34	4.17	4.25
Recent bank reforms can lead to staff lay-off.	4.26	4.26	4.44	4.32
Restructuring and change in organization can make my present post redundant	3.54	3.73	3.43	3.57
Downsizing brings anxiety over my job	3.89	3.96	4.46	4.03
Absence of trade union makes my job unprotected	3.97	2.94	3.86	3.92
My employer will likely lay-off staff due to harsh economic environment or recession in the banking sector	3.81	3.74	4.13	3.90
My financial income is likely to be unstable and uncertain due to the recent reforms in the banking sector.	3.60	3.41	3.99	3.67

Source: Field Survey 2012

Table 1 showed the relative impact of using the mean score value of the respondents' perception of job security level in the three selected banks. The data presented indicates that there were significant differences in respondents' perception of job security level and its influence on their work across the three selected banks. In the overall analysis, recent bank reforms leading to staff lay-offs had the highest mean score (4.32) on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), an indication of the outcome with greatest anxiety and apprehension on the workers. On the contrary, restructuring and change in organization resulting to present post redundancy has the lowest mean score (3.57) and consequently, an indication of the least anxiety and apprehension over workers work. Comparatively, Table 1 showed that there were no significant differences in respondents' perception of restructuring and change in organization resulting to present post redundancy as the figure displayed reveals a fairly related pattern of response in

First Bank (3.54), Stanbic-IBTC Bank (3.73), and Wema Bank (3.43). Comparative analysis on interbank focus showed that recent bank reforms leading to staff lay-offs had the highest mean score in Wema Bank (4.44) as contrasted to similar mean score obtained in Stanbic-IBTC Bank (4.26) and First Bank (4.26). It can be inferred from these findings that majority of the employees saw recent bank reforms as a problem which might likely affect their jobs. This feeling was mostly welcomed by workers in Wema Bank compared to the two other banks (First Bank and Stanbic-IBTC Bank).

In the same vein, Table 1 indicated that downsizing as a stressor of anxiety over jobs had the highest mean in Wema Bank (4.46) compared to Stanbic-IBTC Bank (3.96) and First Bank with (3.89). Delving into employer laying-off staff due to harsh economic environment or recession in the banking sector, the study revealed that the impact was mostly felt in Wema Bank (4.13) compared to First Bank with (3.81) and Stanbic-IBTC Bank (3.74). The inference drawn from our findings is that harsh economic environment or recession in the banking sector makes the future of their jobs unprotected and uncertain. Also, the mean score table revealed fairly similar data across banks on unfavourable government policy in banking sector which makes the future of jobs to be uncertain with Stanbic-IBTC Bank having (4.34), First Bank (4.23), and Wema Bank (4.17). It can be deduced from this finding that government policy posed a serious threat on bank workers which can be characterized by retrenchment, wage and salary slash, job cut and reduction of staff strength among others. The interpretation from the above can be likened to the work of McCarthy (1993), who reported that declining level of job security show a significant relationship between organizational change and the measure of job security level.

Table 2: Distribution of Respondents by Perceived Level of Job Security

Perceived Level of job Security	Categories of Bank						Total	
	First Bank		Stanbic-IBTC Bank		Wema Bank			
	N=70	%	N=70	%	N=70	%	N=210	%
Low/Declining Security	36	51.4	36	51.4	49	70.0	121	58.7
High Security	34	48.6	34	48.6	21	30.0	89	41.3
Total	70	100	70	100	70	100	210	100

Source: Field Survey 2012

Table 2 clearly showed that majority (58.7percent) considered the level of their of job security to be low across the selected banks. It can be deduced from these findings that at least (6) out of ten (10) respondents perceived that they had low level of job security (job insecurity). The table further indicated no distinct or significant lines of demarcation in the figures computed across banks as Stanbic-IBTC Bank reported (51.4percent), Wema

Bank (70percent), and First Bank (51.4percent). However, (41.3percent) considered their level of job security as high. By implication, the perception of declining job security level is a severe threat to employees' work and personal lives. Thus, majority of the employees in the three selected banks were affected. The findings of this study affirmed the assertion of De Witte (1999) that if individuals feel their needs are threatened by a perceived insecure employment situation, they are also experiencing a threat to the vital economic, social, and personal aspects of their lives. Previous studies have shown that employees with perception of declining job security are more likely to engage in work withdrawal behaviour and report lower organizational performance (Q'Quin, 1998).

Extract 1: IDI/ HR/Male/32years/First Bank/January, 2012

"Most people in the banking industry are always concerned about the security of their jobs, as a result, people project ahead what will happen tomorrow. I don't know what will happen to me tomorrow, and this tends to make workers to be apprehensive and not want to have a 100 percent concentration on the job".

Extract 2: IDI/ HR/Female/29years/Stanbic-IBTC Bank/January, 2012

"Job security level is of the mind and it is greatly influenced by what happened around your environment. If people around you are losing their jobs, you get jittery that it might soon get to you and if such is not happening around your environment and you don't see people losing their jobs, you seem to see it as something so far from you and you feel secure. Basically, is more of an environmental issue".

Extract 3: IDI/HR/Male/30years/ Wema Bank/January, 2012

"Basically what we have is low level of job security. Declining job security in a nut shell simply implies inability to retain or secure a job for a very long time. And this is what is hap-pening in most banks today, which in turn affects performance, involvement, dedication and commitment and all the rest"

Table 3: Comparative Analysis of Respondents' Performance to Work in the Three Banks

Indicator	First Bank	Stanbic-IBTC	Wema	Total
There is high labour turnover in this organization	3.73	3.30	4.06	3.70
There is increased profitability and growth in this organization	4.27	4.19	4.13	4.20
Service delivery is efficient	4.20	4.01	4.19	4.13
I always meet the targets given to me by my bank	3.94	3.94	3.94	3.94
I am satisfied with the conditions of my work	3.21	3.39	2.96	3.19
I am satisfied with the employer-employee relationship of my bank	3.19	3.39	3.20	3.26
I am always motivated by my employer	3.53	3.56	3.34	3.48

Source: Field Survey 2012

Table 3 presented a comparative analysis of measures of performance with reference to job security level in the three selected banks using the mean score values. Findings in table 3 showed that the mean score for the total sample points to a range of (3.19) to (4.20), with the indicator increased profitability and growth in banks scoring highest mean (4.20) and indicator satisfaction with conditions of work having lowest mean (3.19), a strong indication that performance are held in high esteem irrespective of the conditions of work as well as perception of declining job security level on the part of the employees. Cross sectional analysis of the three banks, on efficiency of service delivery, the strong point was reported at First Bank Plc. (4.20) followed by Wema Bank Plc.(4.19) and the least score was recorded at Stanbic-IBTC Bank. The inference drawn from these findings is that the banks place premium on effective and efficient service delivery as a prerequisite to performance of their respective banks.

The findings showed in Table 4 further revealed that out of the six (6) indicators used for this evaluation, all presented a relatively high level of positive assessment of strong outcome, except in Wema Bank where the indicator of satisfaction with the conditions of work had the lowest mean scores of 2.96 on the table. The implication of this finding is that this particular indicator in Wema Bank posed a weak influence on the employees as they are less satisfied with the conditions of their work.

Table 4: Distribution of Respondents by Level of Performance

Level of Performance	Categories of Bank						Total	
	First Bank		Stanbic-IBTC Bank		Wema Bank			
	N=70	%	N=70	%	N=70	%	N=210	%
Low Performance	37	52.9	35	50.0	27	38.6	99	47.1
High Performance	33	47.1	35	50.0	43	61.4	111	52.9

Source: Field Survey 2012

Table 4 clearly illustrated that above half of the employees (52.9percent) considered the level of their performance to be high across the selected banks. It can be deduced from these findings that at least (6) out of ten (10) respondents subscribed to high level performance. The table further indicated little distinct lines of demarcation in the figures computed across banks as Wema Bank reported (61.4percent), Stanbic-IBTC Bank (50.0percent), and First Bank (47.1percent). However, less than half of the employees (47.1percent) considered the level of their performance as low. It can be inferred from these findings that feeling of declining job security by workers improves their performance in respective banks. By implication, this finding corroborates the findings of Brockner, Tyler, and Cooper-Schneider, (1992); Sverke and Hellgren, (2001) which suggests that employees who perceive risk of layoffs may increase their work efforts in order to be more valuable to the organization, and therefore not be made redundant.

The above is contrary to the view expressed by interviewees on the influence of job security level on performance:

Extract 4: IDI/Employee/Male/29years/First Bank/January, 2012

"Declining job security level will affect performance of the employees, where the workers are not performing; in the long run it will affect the return of the employers and shareholders".

Extract 5: IDI/Employee/Male/31years/Stanbic-IBTC Bank/January, 2012

"Declining job security level affects performance. In the process of seeking another job outside the bank, going for some other interviews, and talking to friends would have reduced the time putting into the present job while performance is time driving, you have specific time to meet specific budget and specific demands. When you are not secured, you are not going the full length because you are thinking very soon; you might lose your job. At times some other people might have gotten some other offers and just be whiling away time".

Extract 6: IDI/Employee/Male/34years/Wema Bank/January, 2012

"Declining job security level will negatively affect performance of the employees. If workers are unable to meet up with the targets given to them, they tend to be less dedicated and might decide to even play around since they know that their jobs are not secured".
The analysis of data above is further substantiated by the Annual Reports of First Bank, Stanbic–IBTC Bank and Wema Bank showing performance at organizational levels in the three selected banks.
"Successful conclusion of the mid–and end–of–year appraisals, in which a total of 1,635 employees were promoted, representing about 22% of the total workforce, and about 1% of the workforce received underperformance letters and work placed on three months' proba-tion. This is expected to dovetail into the mid–and end–of–year appraisals. 1.2 billion was expended as pay for performance to incentivize contribution and retain superior performers"
(First Bank Annual Report, 2010)
"The earnings performance of the group improved significantly, Profit Before Tax (PBT) increased from 845 million to 12.73 billion i.e. 1,407%, and Profit After Tax (PAT) recorded a significant growth of 115,811%, from 9 million to 10.43 billion Naira. The 20% increase in our loan portfolio (from 327.19 billion to 392.74 billion) reflected our approach to creation of risk assets considering prevailing circumstances in the operating environment"*
(Stanbic–IBTC Bank Annual Report, 2010)
"The market capitalization of its stock at the end of 2010 was 991 million compared to 892 million at the end of 2009. Its market capitalization has remained unchanged during the year. Return on average equity doubled to 10.4% as a result of the improved performance. As we started the New Year, we have seen challenges arising from the socio–political situation in Nigeria. We believe that competition in the banking industry is bound to return as banks recover from the past years of difficulties and that the banking industry will be defined by further consolidation, especially in the larger market"**(Wema Bank Annual Report, 2010)***

From the foregoing, it can be deduced that the overall performance of each bank were on the increase. Excerpts from the Annual Reports revealed improved performance irrespective of the Socio-political environment of the country and workers' perception of declining level of job security.

Table 5: Cross tabulation of Association between Job Security Level and Workers' Performance

Performance	Job Security Level		Total
	High	**Low**	
Low	46.5% (46)	53.5% (53)	100% (99)
High	40.5% (45)	59.5% (66)	100% (111)
Total	43.3% (91)	56.7% (119)	100% (210)
χ^2 value = 0.748	df=1	Sig. = 0.387	

Source: Field Survey (2012)

Since the chi-square value from Table 5 displayed that P > 0.05, it can be established that the relationship between respondent's level of job security and performance is not statistically significant. The table further showed that both variables tend towards the same direction, as workers perceived the existence of job loss their performance is increased in order to be more valuable to the organization. We therefore, reject the alternative hypothesis (H_1), and accept the null hypothesis (H_0).

Discussion of Findings

The general research findings showed that the banking industry is becoming more volatile and unstable for employees. This is borne out of declining level of job security as an outcome of bank reforms (mergers and acquisitions), restructuring and change in the banking industry, downsizing and lay-off of workers. The upshot of declining job security level presents a fruitful area of research from both the individual (workers) and organizational perspective.

However, perception of declining job security level by workers was shown to have strong potentials of amplifying anxiety and apprehension for workers in the Nigerian banks. The mounting rate of organizational change indicates that job loss is an inevitable phenomenon that will continue to characterize modern working life in years to come. Bank workers saw bank reforms arising from unfavourable government policy cum harsh economic environment as a threat to their jobs, making the future of their jobs to be unprotected and unpredictable as could be seen in Table 3. This is in tandem with the work of De Witte (1999), Manski and Straub (2000), and Sverke and Hellgren (2002). They saw job security level as a subjectively experienced multidimensional phenomenon which may arise as a function of the interaction

between the objective situation and subjective characteristics. Also, if individuals feel that their needs are threatened by a perceived insecure employment situation, they are also experiencing a threat to the vital economic, social, and personal aspects of their lives. Thus, it was observed that workers' level of job security was lower in all banks among the respondents (See Table 2).

We found out from the study that unemployment and socio-cultural factors (such as poverty, family ties among others) must have contributed to the increased workers' anxiety and apprehension over their jobs. Downsizing in the banking sector is a reality, throwing thousands of workers who may have thought they had a lifetime job back into the labour market. To get another job, they may be forced to develop and diversify their skills. Many, particularly the old workers, might never be able to find jobs comparable to those they were disengaged from. These findings implied that unless organizational changes are managed in structured, systematic and constructive ways perceived by workers to be fair, banks will remain far from realizing the benefits of bank reforms.

However, the expectation that job security level is significantly related to bank workers' performance did not find support in this study. The findings showed that workers, regardless of their perception and feelings of job loss reported increase in their performance. This is an indication of no discernible difference between workers' perception and feelings of job loss and performance rather declining job security level improves workers performance as most workers want to be relevant and valuable in the banking system. This negate the findings of Armstrong-Stassen, (1993), and Ojedokun, (2008) who empirically confirmed that lower levels of job security is closely associated with decrease in self-rated performance. Moreover, job satisfaction, motivation and productivity level were found to be positively correlated to job performance. More precisely, declining job security level exhibited its negative influence on performance only in conditions when workers are dissatisfied and less motivated. On the contrary, when job satisfaction and motivation were sufficiently high, the negative influence of declining job security level on performance disappeared.

Thus, job security level and performance do not interact with each other in predicting employees' counterproductive behaviour in the workplace. However, it is possible for employees to be dissatisfied with their jobs and still achieve outstanding performance due to the nature and conditions of their jobs. Declining level of job security can motivate bank workers to increase their efforts because high performance might be perceived as a safeguard against being laid off or fired. This gives employees the feeling that their performance can change the likelihood of being considered for an exit (laid off or fired).

Conclusion

The study concluded that declining job security level and job loss are inevitable in the banking industry considering the ongoing reforms in the Nigeria banking sector. Job security level has become an important organizational phenomenon especially when faced with a shaky economic climate. Therefore, managers and employers should take into account the detrimental effects of declining job security level and try to cope with and prevent its impact by enhancing employees' commitment to work and performance. To achieve outstanding individual and organizational performance, management must be aware and conscious of the resultant effect of declining job security on their organizational or corporate image. It is hereby suggested that government has a key role of formulating favourable policy prohibiting arbitrary dismissal of bank workers especially when they are meeting up with the bank targets. Employer in the banking sector should employ the required number of workers they are capable of providing and taking care of. This will eliminate persistent turnover rate in most Nigerian banks.

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DONNER UN SENS AU NOM DU FESTIVAL DE LA VILLE LES ENJEUX DE LA RECONSTRUCTION
DES LIENS D'APPARTENANCE DANS UNE VILLE TUNISIENNE

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Donner un sens au nom du festival de la ville[1]
Les enjeux de la reconstruction des liens d'appartenance dans une ville tunisienne naissante

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Résumé

L'objet de ce papier est d'analyser, à partir de l'observation d'un festival local, les enjeux multiples de la reconstruction des liens d'appartenance pour des populations rurales, qui se trouvent engagées – du fait de leur urbanisation récente– dans un processus de réorganisation et de renégociation de ces liens et des représentations qui leurs correspondent. Les conflits qui ont accompagné et accompagnent actuellement le processus décrit s'expriment parfois en termes de luttes communautaires identitaires, mobilisant des ruraux, alors que l'enjeu concerne essentiel-lement l'accès et l'appartenance au petit espace urbain en formation.

Mots Clés : *Liens d'appartenance, rural, urbain, ville, citadin, citoyen, communauté, identité*

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to analyze, from the observation of a local festival , the multiple challenges of rebuilding the bonds of belonging to the rural population , who are engaged – from due to their recent urbanization – in a process of restructuring and renegotiation of these links and their corresponding representations . The conflicts that have accompanied and cur-rently accompany the process described are sometimes expressed in terms of community identity struggles, mobilizing rural , while the issue is largely about access and membership in small urban space training.

Keywords: Links of belonging, rural, urban, city, citizen, community, identity

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1   Ce texte a été écrit avant le déclenchement de la révolution tunisienne.

Un phénomène remarquable

Le point de départ de cette réflexion est un phénomène assez curieux marquant depuis plus d'une décennie le paysage politico culturel d'El Hencha(Tunisie, 40km au nord de Sfax, environ 7 milles habitants) ; le sens du nom du festival de cette ville est objet de désaccord au sein de ses habitants : festival d'Essalhi à El Hencha (Essalhi renvoie ici au prénom d'une personne ayant réellement existé dans la région), ou festival d'Essalhi (Essalhi renvoie ici à un genre musical bédouin ou « aroubi ».

Certains parmi les familles les plus prestigieuses, les plus anciennes dans les lieux et sur les terres desquelles le premier noyau urbain de la ville est construit, sont pour la première interprétation ; Essalhi , personnage ayant réellement vécu dans la région est l'un des leurs. D'autres, parmi les fraîchement installés dans la ville, soutenus en ceci par quelques autres anciens des lieux, sont pour la deuxième ; ils veulent changer le nom du festival comme suit : le festival de l'art d'Essalhi à El Hencha.

A l'échelle locale, les enjeux de ce festival concernent les fondements mêmes de la nouvelle identité politico culturelle des habitants d'El Hencha. A l'échelle globale, précisément celle qui englobe les relations de la ville avec l'Etat et l'élite politique qui le monopolise, ces enjeux concernent le contrôle étroit de la vie politique locale.

Ainsi le festival annuel d'El Hencha qui peut être perçu, entre autre, comme l'un des moments les plus intenses de l'histoire de la ville, où les habitants sont appelés à s'engager dans une mise en scène culturelle de leurs nouveaux rapports urbains, s'avère un moment politique par excellence où l'identité urbaine émergeante n'est, pour des acteurs intéressés, qu'un enjeu politique complexe se situant à plus d'une échelle.

Hypothèse générale de recherche

Les études classiques sur la ville comme espace économique, social et politico culturel (Simmel[1], Weber[2], Durkheim[3], Tönnies[4] et beaucoup d'autres) ont toutes relevé sa force désintégratrice et reconstitutive en matière d'appartenance individuelle et collective, notamment au moment du passage de la vie rurale à la vie urbaine. Ainsi dans l'expérience occidentale la ville moderne, en dehors du fait qu'elle représente une concentration spécifique d'habitat de communication et de richesse, éléments caractérisant en fait toutes les villes du monde, se distingue avant tout par le fait qu'elle représente un espace politico culturel où se déploient l'individualisme, la liberté et la citoyenneté. On y accède en usant de son droit de citoyen, en pratiquant sa liberté et en

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[1] Jonas, S., et Schweitzer, P., 1986, Georg Simmel et la ville, in, Watier P., (dire), Georg Simmel. La sociologie de l'expérience du monde, Paris Méridiens Klincksieck, p.p. 161-171.

[2] Weber, M.,1991, Histoire économique, Paris, Gallimard,

[3] Durkheim, E., 1960, De la division sociale du travail, Paris, PUF.

[4] Tönnies, F., 1994, Communauté et société, Catégories fondamentales de la sociologie, Paris, Universitaires de France.

exprimant son individualisme. La construction des nouvelles identités, la production des sens et la redéfinition des liens sociaux se réalisent en fonction de ces principes, soutenus objectivement par le développement de la division sociale du travail.

Y a-t-il d'universel dans ce modèle et peut-il nous renseigner sur la formation des villes modernes au Maghreb et ailleurs ? Autrement dit peut-on comprendre les conflits à propos du sens à donner au nom du festival d'El-Hencha à la lumière de ces considérations ?

Remarquons tout de suite que ce qui saute le premier aux yeux est le manque d'études portant sur cette question dont beaucoup d'éléments n'ont en réalité rien de particulier à l'occident, notamment la force désintégratrice et reconstitutive des villes modernes. Or il faut bien remarquer – et on nous taxerait facilement ici d'être prisonnier de l'ethnocentrisme de la théorie sociologique classique[5] – que les changements globaux qu'ont connus les villes maghrébines depuis plus d'un siècle ne semblent pas avoir affecté d'une manière nette le recours à la reproduction des liens d'appartenance communautaires pour construire la ville et y accéder.

Ce phénomène ne relève pas d'une caractéristique culturelle intrinsèque propre à ces sociétés, selon laquelle les liens d'appartenance ne peuvent être conçus qu'en termes communautaires, et plus précisément parentales. Car ici comme ailleurs la ville désintègre et reconstitue aussi. Il relèverait plutôt de la structure autoritaire – historiquement constituée – de la production politique de la ville : principes, pratiques et représentations. Ainsi la constitution de l'espace urbain -dans le cas des villes naissantes - et son extension -dans celui des vieilles villes- n'ouvrent pas aux habitants de celle-ci les voies d'accès aux nouveaux espaces qu'elles leur offrent, notamment les voies de leur gestion politico culturelle, selon des modalités relatives au processus d'individuation dans lequel le développement de la division sociale du travail, dont la ville est à la fois l'expression et le moteur, les engage d'une façon objective.

L'étude du conflit ayant lieu actuellement à El-Hencha à propos du sens à donner au nom du festival de la ville nous permettra de vérifier cette hypothèse.

Festival d'Essalhi (genre musical), festival d'Essalhi (nom propre)

Jusqu'à la fin des années 1980 El-Hencha n'avait pas de festival spécifique et régulier. Des tentatives sporadiques ont eu lieu pour organiser un festival à la zaouia de Sidi Hassen Bel Haj à environ 10km au nord d'El-Hencha, mais malgré que la dite zaouia était le lieu de rassemblement des populations de la région aux moments importants de leur histoire, ces tentatives n'ont pas abouti à la consécration de la zaouia comme lieu officiel d'organisation du festival et ce dernier n'a pas pris le nom du saint concerné ; le

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5   *Effectivement, n'ayant été que très faiblement soumis à un régime de propriété féodale, les paysans et les bédouins maghrébins n'accédaient pas à une liberté spécifique en passant à la ville. En revanche ce passage les a confronté au problème de l'identité urbaine et des nouvelles appartenances.*

centre de la dynamique sociale s'est déplacé vers El-Hencha.

Cependant au début des années 1990 le Commissariat Régional de la Culture a soulevé la question avec les autorités locales (Délégué, Président de la municipalité et autres) lesquelles ont constitué une commission chargée de discuter l'idée.

La commission était composée du Délégué, du Président de la Municipalité, du Directeur de la Maison de la Culture et de certains membres des 2 cellules politiques locales (il y en a 3 maintenant) rattachées à l'RCD(unique parti présent à El-Hencha). Après débats et tractations la dite commission a admis le principe de la création d'un festival local et en a proposé un thème et un nom devenus très vite objet de confusion et de désaccord parmi les membres de la commission.

Le thème choisi a porté sur un genre musical bédouin ou « aroubi » qu'on appelle « Essalhi ». Mais le mot « Essalhi », dont on voulait aussi faire le nom du festival, est en même temps un nom propre porté par un personnage reconnu localement comme l'un des meilleurs chanteurs de ce genre musical. Or le personnage en question est originaire du groupe lignager le plus célèbre dans l'histoire contemporaine de la région et dont l'un des membres était, comme par hasard, membre de la commission chargée de choisir le thème et le nom du festival.

Un différent éclata alors entre les membres de la dite commission : s'agit-il de célébrer « Essalhi», genre musical très apprécié dans la région et qu'on voulait par ailleurs enrichir pour en faire le label culturel de la ville, ou d'honorer la mémoire d'Essalhi personnage dont l'histoire privée ne concernerait que son groupe lignager traditionnel.

N'ayant pas réussi à trancher la question, la commission gela ses activités et le projet fut oublié durant deux ans. Cependant l'un des membres de la dite commission et aussi membre du groupe lignager d'où Essalhi, personnage historique est originaire, est devenu entre temps président de la municipalité d'El-Hencha. Fort de sa position celui-ci mobilise les ressources nécessaires et organise la première cession du « festival d'Essalhi à El-Hencha ». Au moment de son inauguration le président de la municipalité et président du festival déclare : « la commission chargée d'organiser le festival a tenu à ce que celui-ci acquière une spécificité à savoir la promotion de l'art populaire. C'est pour cette raison que tous les spectacles ont puisé du patrimoine que représente cet art pour lequel feu Essalhi ben Ali Essallami, dont le festival a pris le nom, a beaucoup contribué ».

L'acte souleva alors parmi la population locale, et surtout parmi ses intellectuels et acteurs politiques (des instituteurs et professeurs de secondaires, des membres de cellules politiques, etc..), beaucoup de questions centrées toutes sur les intentions du président de la municipalité.

Certains parmi les nouveaux venus, c'est-à-dire les non originaires des El-Hencha (groupe de population occupant historiquement les lieux), se demandaient à qui le festival est-il destiné ? À la ville d'El-Hencha avec tous ses habitants confondus, où à El-Hencha ancien groupe tribal, puisque Essalhi, personnage historique, y est

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originaire ? Pourquoi le festival met-il au premier plan le nom du personnage Essalhi dont la mémoire n'intéresserait que ses proches, et non le genre musical répandu partout dans la région et ailleurs et apprécié par *tout le monde* ?

Aussi parmi les El-Hencha eux-mêmes, certains, originaires d'anciens groupes lignagers jadis peu influents mais devenus récemment, c'est-à-dire après l'indépendance, relativement riches et politiquement puissant, ont vu d'un mauvais œil l'acte du président de la municipalité ; ils lui reprochent de vouloir utiliser le festival de la ville à des fins politiques privées.

Les enjeux politico identitaires de l'émergence de la petite ville d'El-Hencha

Depuis 1992 ces mêmes questions se posent à l'occasion de chaque cession. Mais pour mieux avancer dans l'analyse il serait maintenant utile de donner au lecteur une vue historique panoramique sur l'histoire de l'émergence de la petite ville d'El-Hencha.

Historiquement El-Hencha n'était qu'un point de halte entre El-Djem et Sfax que les autorités coloniales ont transformé, vers 1910, en marché rural mensuel puis hebdomadaire. La place du souk était située sur un habous de zaouia (habous Chirmita), mais les terrains environnants sont la propriété du cheikh local, lequel a simultanément réaménagé un puit et construit son bureau ainsi que quelques bâtiments de commerce et de fondouk pour la garde des animaux le jour du souk. Puis durant environ un demi siècle, c'est-à-dire jusqu'aux années 1960, seuls deux réservoir d'eau de pluie, un moulain, une huilerie et quelques petits bâtiments de fonction (poste, bureau du nouveau cheikh, boutiques,etc..) y ont vu le jour, sans attirer de nouveaux habitants.

Le nom El-Hencha -nous y avons fait allusion ci-dessus- est un emblème onomastique regroupant un ensemble d'anciens semi nomades, composés de plusieurs lignages et de familles d'origines diverses : ce sont les El-Hencha. Leurs voisins sont des groupements semblables, tels les Ouled Hamad, les Ouled Aîcha, les Ouled Tahar, les Ouled Sidi Hassen Belhaj, etc…Avant l'avènement de l'olivier ces groupements occupaient ici et là des terres de céréalicultures et des parcours mouvants selon les saisons, la pluviométrie et la sécurité.

En dehors donc du cadre politico administratif qui les rattache à l'autorité du cheikh (originaire des El-Hencha), de leurs liens avec le marché rural dans cette zone , et aussi malgré certains échanges matrimoniaux inégaux entre eux, ces groupements vivaient – à l'époque pré coloniale et même jusqu'à la première guerre mondiale- en unités relativement distinctes et autonomes ; la zaouia de Sidi Hassen Belhaj ne les rassemblaient qu'exceptionnellement (par exemple en 1881 pour débattre de la position à prendre via à vis de l'occupation) [6]. Ainsi on est jusqu'aujourd'hui des El-Hencha ou

6   Jadis tous ces groupements forment la sous fraction -unité fiscale : les Btatha-Ouled Mrah. Pour plus de détail, voir notre ouvrage : Du Mouton à l'Olivier, Tunis, CERES Production, 1994.

Henchi, Des Ouled Tahar ou Tahri, etc.. Et cette identité était toujours fonction des liens d'attache et d'échanges plus ou moins intensifs entre chacun et le groupe auquel il se sent appartenir selon l'objet de l'interaction avec le monde extérieur et ses échelles.

En fin, avant que ce petit centre de contrôle administratif et de commerce ne prenne définitivement le nom d'El-Hencha, les membres de ces groupements, y compris les El-Hencha eux-mêmes, l'appelaient Ettahouna (le moulin), puis El-Markez (le centre). Et comme on peut le remarquer les deux appellations évitaient de confondre El-Hencha, emblème ethnique désignant un groupe de population précis, et El-Hencha village naissant dans un milieu de semi nomades.

Lorsqu'à la fin des années 1960 Ettahouna ou El-Markez est devenu définitivement El-Hencha et en même temps chef lieu de Délégation (unité administrative intermédiaire entre la Imada –la plus petite unité administrative – et le Gouvernorat), quelques habitants encouragés par l'Etat - menant à l'époque une politique collectiviste - sont venus s'installer dans les lieux. Ils sont des Ouled Tahar, des Ouled Amor, Des Ouled Hamad et aussi des El-Hencha éparpillés ici et là autour du centre urbain naissant. Une question identitaire nouvelle leur s'est alors posée : quelle est l'identité sociale des nouveaux habitants d'El-Hencha ? Peuvent-ils se dire d'El-Hencha ou Henchi ? Et si oui dans quel sens ? Qu'est-ce que être d'El-Hencha et peut-on le devenir ?

C'est dans ce contexte que l'idée de créer un festival spécifique à El-Hencha au début des années 1990 est devenue une question hautement politique. Car dans une petite ville en formation, créer une activité culturelle populaire, c'est-à-dire engageant une large partie de la population, c'est créer un certain espace de relations spécifiques entre des habitants fraîchement urbanisés sur la base de leurs nouveaux liens d'appartenance à cet espace en construction.

Il faudra préciser ici que la conscience aigue de la portée politique et culturelle qu'a prise le conflit décrit est le produit de l'élite politique et intellectuelle locale, dont les membres se trouvent impliqués quotidiennement dans les débats et négociations concernant: la bonne marche des services urbains (aménagement des rues, approvisionnement en eau, électricité et téléphone, etc..), le droit d'en profiter d'une façon égalitaire et la chance d'accéder à la gestion administrative de cet espace spécifique naissant.

Or l'histoire de l'émergence de la petite ville d'El-Hencha a déterminé le cadre général dans lequel ces conflits et ces compétitions locaux se sont déroulés, en dotant les protagonistes de traits sociaux différents et de capitaux inégaux dont l'usage a fortement influencé le déroulement du conflit autour du sens à donner au nom du festival en question.

Nous avons fait noter plus haut que les lieux où la petite ville a émergé se situent à l'intérieur des terres des El-Hencha, et plus précisément dans les terres du groupe lignager d'où est originaire Essalhi, personnage historique. Or depuis l'époque pré coloniale jusqu'à l'indépendance ce groupe lignager a monopolisé le pouvoir politique local profitant, au passage, du soutien des autorités coloniales. Le mouvement national

DONNER UN SENS AU NOM DU FESTIVAL DE LA VILLE LES ENJEUX DE LA RECONSTRUCTION
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dans cette région s'est constitué sur la base du conflit politique ayant opposé certains pauvres et moyens paysans fraîchement sédentarisés parmi les El-Hencha et leurs voisins contre les membres influents et autoritaires du groupe lignager indiqué.

L'indépendance a politiquement déchu, pour un moment il est vrai, les membres puissants de ce groupe ; certains parmi eux ont perdu juridiquement et symboliquement le droit d'exercer toute activité politique, le cheikh a été démis de ses fonctions et remplacé par un nationaliste d'origine modeste venant d'un autre groupement voisin et l'Etat leur a confisqué quelques unes de leurs terres. Lorsqu'au milieu des années 1970 El-Hencha, devenue entre temps espace communal doté d'un conseil municipal, a commencé à attirer de nouveaux habitants, les voies économiques, politiques et culturelles d'accès à cet espace sont devenues objet de luttes ardues entre les divers acteurs que nous venons de décrire.

L'enjeu des luttes économiques étaient le foncier, l'immobilier et le commercial. En effet propriétaires des terres, les El-Hencha en général ont essayé quant ils étaient en mesure de le faire (eux-mêmes sont traversés de conflits dont leurs concurrents profitaient) de façonner l'infrastructure économique de la ville à leur profit notamment en contrôlant le marché foncier et immobilier. Ainsi, pour les nouveaux venus l'accès à la ville est devenu fonction de la place qui leur est réservée au sein de ce marché.

L'enjeu politique est l'accès à la gestion du nouvel espace urbain en construction. Car quitter l'habitat rural pour s'installer en ville ce n'est pas seulement devenir un contribuable d'un nouveau genre – être impliqué dans le payement d'impôt pour l'entretien de l'infrastructure urbaine- mais aussi avoir un projet de vie dont la réalisation est fonction des possibilités et des modalités d'accès directe ou indirecte à la gestion de cet espace. Or en espace urbain l'institution politique par excellence chargée de cette tâche est la municipalité. Et c'est à propos de l'accès à cette institution, et par delà aux moyens dont elle dispose pour influencer la réorganisation des liens d'appartenance avec l'espace qu'elle représente, que les acteurs politiques s'affrontent à El-Hencha.

En fin ces enjeux ont pris une dimension culturelle en général et idéologique en particulier, dont l'un des éléments les plus importants est la production du sens ou des sens que les acteurs donnent à leurs nouvelles formes d'interaction sociale. Ainsi l'accès aux cadres socio culturels permettant à ces acteurs de cristalliser le sens où les sens qu'ils cherchent à donner à leurs actions, tel l'organisation d'un festival, se sont transformés en objet de luttes aussi âpres que les luttes économiques et politiques.

On arrive ainsi au noeud du problème. Car depuis l'indépendance ces conflits n'ont de cadre d'expression que la structure politique fortement centralisée et imbriquées dans la structure de l'Etat, celle du PSD (ancien Parti Socialiste Destourien) devenu maintenant le RCD (Rassemblement constitutionnel Démocratique). Autrement dit, pour avoir une chance d'accéder économiquement, politiquement et culturellement à El-Hencha en tant qu'espace urbain, négocier son appartenance à cet espace et y réorganiser ses liens avec ses nouveaux partenaires, il faut devenir membre de ce parti et de là accepter

sa logique, même si celle-ci est contraire à la logique de la division sociale du travail en œuvre, c'est-à-dire au processus d'individuation et d'intensification des échanges marchands élargissant les horizons de l'appartenance sociale et identitaire.

Les conflits en cours autour du sens à donner au nom du festival de la ville condensent toutes ces luttes, tout en mettant au jour leurs liens avec l'axe central de la dynamique générale du politique qu'est le parti confondu à l'Etat. Or ce qui est remarquable à ce niveau, c'est qu'au moment où l'Etat s'adresse à ces protagonistes – à travers son appareil bureaucratique fondé sur des principes non communautaires – comme des individus citoyens isolés, même s'il leur interdit toute activité politique associative libre, le parti auquel il est confondu s'adresse à ceux-ci comme des représentants de communautés, conformément à la tradition politique Maghrébine reprise jadis à son compte par l'Etat colonial.

L'une des conséquences de cette stratégie, conception et démarche politique, a été que les nouveaux habitants d'El-Hencha (ville) non originaires des El-Hencha (groupement communautaire) n'ont pas réussi à s'intégrer dans la vie politique de la ville sur la base de leurs droit civiques sur lesquels l'Etat national est fondé en principes : ils n'ont pas pu devenir (sauf quelques exceptions facilitées par des échanges matrimoniaux) membres des cellules politiques RCD fondées par les El-Hencha (et peut-être se sont-ils interdits de le faire) et n'en ont pas fondées les leurs.

Ainsi depuis leur arrivée à El-Hencha, dont ils ont progressivement augmenté le nombre des habitants, les nouveaux venus ne possèdent aucun véritable outil politique leur permettant d'exprimer leur nouveau statut de citoyens de la ville ; l'accès au conseil municipal étant dépendant de l'activité des cellules destouriennes fonctionnant sur des bases communautaires.

C'est dans ce contexte que le sens à donner au nom du festival de la ville est devenu un enjeu politico identitaire de haute taille. Car imposer au nom du festival de la ville – à l'aide de l'autorité politique étatique –un sens relatif au nom d'une personne dont seul un groupe parental réclame la commémoration collective de sa mémoire, c'est imposer à la ville une logique d'appartenance identitaire communautaire ne laissant que peu de marge à la référence à la citoyenneté urbaine.

On peut remarquer ici que jusque là l'idée de faire du festival de la ville un festival de « l'art d'essalhi », genre musical qu'on dit apprécié par *tout le monde* dans la région, a échoué. Parmi les facteurs de son échec – outre l'incapacité subjective et objective des « non originaires des El-Hencha » de s'organiser politiquement et d'accéder aux structures urbaines productrices de sens – il y a les principes autoritaires de la production du politique. En effet le processus ayant mis en question les liens familiaux, de voisinage et de travail dans les campagnes environnantes, entraînant l'extension de la ville d'El-Hencha, n'a pas permis ses nouveaux habitants non originaires du groupement des El-Hencha de s'organiser politiquement selon des principes indépendants de leur histoire communautaire : à l'échelle supérieure, l'Etat interdit ou réduit au minimum la possibilité de s'organiser politiquement en dehors

des cellules du parti au pouvoir. A la base, ces dernières fonctionnent selon des principes communautaires traditionnels. D'où les difficultés pour une partie de la population de devenir citoyen de la ville et de s'y référer comme base identitaire.

Conclusion

L'objet de ce papier était de mettre au jour – à travers l'analyse d'un conflit autour du sens à donner au nom d'un festival– les enjeux de la reconstruction des liens d'appartenance dans une petite ville tunisienne naissante. L'analyse a dégagé trois idées principales.

La première est que les éléments de ce que nous avons appelé dynamique identitaire à El-Hencha ne sont pas strictement locaux. L'Etat national y intervient avec des moyens puissants et contrôle même son orientation générale : c'est lui qui a, à un moment précis, introduit l'idée du festival pour en faire l'un des aspects de la vie culturelle de la ville ; c'est lui qui a nommé et nomme encore (après proposition locale) les membres de la commission chargée d'organiser le festival ; ce sont ses agents, membres du parti politique monopolisant l'Etat depuis l'indépendance, qui y sont les plus présents.

La seconde confirme l'idée déjà formulée par plus d'un auteur selon laquelle l'identité collective, en l'occurrence urbaine, est une construction socio politique historique. Conflictuelle, elle est le produit de luttes âpres dont les résultats sont toujours remis en question selon les contextes, les échelles, les intentions et les stratégies d'action conscientes et inconscientes des acteurs, groupes et individus. C'est ce qui lui donne un caractère fragile instable et dans un certain sens illusoire.

La troisième est que le processus de déconstruction reconstruction des liens d'appartenance qu'engage la ville moderne partout dans le monde, grâce notamment à la dynamique de la division sociale du travail dont elle est l'expression par excellence, est fonction des principes de sa production politique. L'exemple de la petite ville d'El-Hencha, qu'on peut rencontrer dans d'autres lieux en Tunisie, au Maghreb et ailleurs, a montré que le système politique autoritaire tend à empêcher – quand il est en mesure de le faire- la construction de l'espace urbain selon des principes correspondant à certains types d'attentes politico culturelles individuelles et collectives libérées par l'éclatement des structures sociales traditionnelles, notamment dans les campagnes. Si la progression de la division sociale du travail crée des conditions objectives favorables au détachement de l'individu des exigences de la vie communautaire villageoise ou parentale, le politique l'y remet au centre.

C'est ainsi que beaucoup d'habitants de la ville d'El-Hencha, originaires d'un même groupe communautaire autre que les El-Hencha, entreprennent aujourd'hui des démarches pour fonder leur propre cellule destourienne. Leur but est d'accéder au conseil municipal et d'y avoir un poids politique « proportionnel à leur poids démographique et socio économique ». Ils comptent renégocier et redéfinir leurs liens d'appartenance à El-Hencha dans son sens double.

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The Management of Diabetes among the Rural Poor in South Africa

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Abstract

The objective of this study was to examine the management of diabetes mellitus Type 2 among the rural poor in South Africa. The focus group method was used. Data was elicited from 20 group sessions over a 20-week period on health beliefs and attitudes and rural-dwelling diabetes sufferers' strategies for managing the condition. The study shows poor knowledge of diabetes and poor self-management as delineated in the medical literature. The focus of the rural dwellers' self-management of diabetes was hypoglycaemic control through regular consumption of very-high-calorie food, the type of which have been found to lead to a diet that has very high carbohydrate, high in saturated fatty acids, excess salt and unrefined sugar. The rationale for this is the misconception that hypoglycaemia is a product of low food intake, which would seem to suggest their perception of illness and health belief than the understanding of chronic illness. It was concluded that the government and health care professionals have to do more to develop interventions to facilitate good self-management of diabetes among the rural people. Such interventions should address the sufferers' knowledge of diabetes.

Key Words: *Care interventions; Chronic Illness; Diabetes; Focus Groups; Health Belief; Health Monitoring; Health Policy; Rural Health; South Africa*

Résumé

L'objectif de cette étude était d'examiner le traitement du diabète sucré de type 2 chez les ruraux pauvres en Afrique du Sud. La méthode du groupe de discussion a été utilisé. Les données ont été recueillies auprès de 20 séances de groupe sur une période de 20 semaines sur les croyances et les attitudes de santé et les stratégies des ruraux vivant diabète malades du pour la gestion de l'état. L'étude montre une mauvaise connaissance du diabète et une mauvaise estime de gestion que délimité dans la littérature médicale. L'objectif de l'auto-gestion des populations rurales de diabète était le contrôle hypoglycémiant par la consommation régulière d'aliments à très haute teneur en calories, le type qui ont été trouvés à conduire à un régime qui a très riche en glucides, riche en acides gras saturés, l'excès de sel et de sucre non raffiné. La raison à cela est l'idée fausse que l'hypoglycémie est un produit de faible apport alimentaire, ce qui semble

suggérer leur perception de la maladie et de la santé conviction que la compréhension de la maladie chronique. Il a été conclu que le gouvernement et les professionnels de la santé doivent faire plus pour développer des interventions pour faciliter une bonne auto-gestion du diabète chez les populations rurales. Ces interventions devraient porter à la connaissance des personnes souffrant de diabète.

Mots clés: *Soins intervention; Maladie chronique; le diabète; Groupe de discussion; Croyance à la santé; Surveillance de la santé; Politique de la santé; Santé en milieu rural; Afrique du Sud.*

Introduction

Diabetes is a large and growing health problem in South Africa as in other parts of the world. The International Diabetes Federation (IDF) estimated in 2013 that 366 million people had diabetes in 2011 and estimates that by 2030, there would be 552 million. The data covered 216 countries and territories grouped with the federation's seven regions: Africa, Europe, Middle East and North Africa, North America and Carribean, South and Central America and the Western Pacific. The estimated 550 million diabetics by 2030 is significantly higher than the World Health Organization's (WHO) estimate of 300 million by 2025 cited by Norris et. al. in 2000; yet, there is no doubting the rapid increase of those with diabetes in the past decades. For example, in the predominantly rural Eastern Cape province of South Africa, where the current research was conducted, the province's Department of Health Figures show a 15.83% prevalence in 2001, 16.05% in 2002 and 19.20% in 2003 However, only 1% of adults are reported to be under treatment for diabetes in public clinics in the province.[1] A one-week survey of patients at 5 outpatient clinics in 5 hospitals and 5 health centres in Amatole, one of six district municipalities in the province, reveals that 21% of the patients has been diagnosed with diabetes (Oloyede, 2004). Type 2 diabetes mellitus, a syndrome characterised by insulin deficiency, insulin resistance and increased hepatic glucose, and formerly known as non- insulin dependent diabetes (Kaplan, et al., 1993) accounts for 95% of the diabetes patients, which would seem consistent with figures in many other areas of the world. This would continue to rise given the economic condition of the rural population and life style.

As an important condition for health monitoring, its continuous rise in South Africa will have a major impact on both the use of an already stretched health service due to HIV/AIDS. Current health policy concerns in the country and in the continent, which have brought about a research industry on acute communicable diseases (HIV/AIDS in particular) and spurned numerous health education and campaigns aimed at bringing them under control, appear to overlook the rising prevalence of

1   *Prevalence of Hypertension and Diabetes, Eastern Cape 2001–2003. Eastern Cape Department of Health Annual Report, 2003–2004*

chronic illnesses. An awareness of chronic illnesses like diabetes, hypertension and so on is thus salient. Formal chronic illness care needs to be improved. A valuable key to this is research in this area where the knowledge gathered can be fed into health programmes to improve the knowledge and health behaviour of the chronically ill. Available evidence suggests that the knowledge of both acute and chronic illnesses tend to be poor among those in the rural areas referred here to as areas characterized by small numbers of people, low population density, small communities geographically distant to urban resource centres and physical remoteness. In South Africa, as in most African countries, rural dwellers have meagre holdings or access to land, little or no capital and low opportunities for off-farm employment. They are generally viewed as being in poverty, which is far more than an absence of income and about disempowerment and limited horizons to fulfil and perceived to be 'traditional' in their practices. In their cosmology, illness is perceived as linked to social and supernatural causes and responses have typically been to use different treatment simultaneously – local herbs and biomedicine. The emerging picture of the chronically ill in the rural areas of Africa is thus that they scarcely access biomedical services or adhere to treatment regime to improve clinical outcomes. It becomes important therefore to investigate the ways that those in the rural areas diagnosed with Type 2 diabetes and who are required by health professionals to undertake and sustain a complex array of self-care behaviours manage the disease.

The main guiding questions of the study were: how do the poor in the rural areas diagnosed with Type 2 diabetes manage their diabetes? What is the level of their knowledge of diabetes? What modality of social knowledge underpins the ways that they manage their diabetes? The literature on lay health beliefs suggests that individuals draw on causal theories of illness available to them in their immediate cultural and social context to make sense of the illness and they choose from a range of available options, simultaneously and sequentially, depending on the causal theory, severity and time-frame of the illness to deal with the illness. Ware and Kleinman (1992:547) suggest, for example, that, "health and suffering, like other existential states are patterned by culture realized as local worlds of experience."

The central organising concept of the study was 'manage', which refers to the sort of behaviour to promote health and prevent complications such as taking medications, monitoring blood glucose levels, following a diet, engaging in regular exercise and caring for their feet. In order words, when a person diagnosed with diabetes take steps, consciously, to ameliorate the effects of diabetes. The study was conducted in Nkonkobe (pop. 143,167) and Amahlathi (pop. 137,618) local municipalities of the Amatole District Municipality (pop. 1,657, 373) in the Eastern Cape Province (pop.). The poverty map of South Africa, which was constructed by Statistics South Africa, revealed that the province has about 70% of its population living in the rural areas (Hirschowitz, 2000). Taking account of a number

of indicators,[2] the map showed that the province is the poorest in terms of average monthly expenditure, has the poorest district council in the country and is the most in need of infrastructural development such as clean water and sanitation in terms of household index. It is the most in need of life circumstances as employment creation. Health problems are large; it has the highest prevalence of HIV/AIDS in the country. Quite clearly, those in the rural areas of South Africa, as indeed most countries in Africa, seem overwhelmingly burdened by functional limitations, higher rates of poverty, limited transportations and a high level of medical conditions. It is against this complex health, socio-economic and environmental problems experienced by the rural dwellers that the study could be cast.

Method
The Focus group

In recent years, a number of reliable and valid self-reported measures describing different facets of the management of diabetes through questionnaires and structured interviews have been developed (Toobert, et al. 2000; Harris et al. 2000). In addition to these are distinctive qualitative approaches such as symbolic interactionism and phenomenology, using methods such as grounded theory (Charmarz, 1990) that focus entirely on subjective accounts of health-related experiences. One of such is the focus group. In fact the literature reveals that research on a variety of health-related topics continue to be a major area of focus research, which generally involves organizing and running a series of small, focused group discussions and analysing the resultant data using a range of conventional qualitative techniques (there is an extensive methodological literature on the practical details of conducting focus groups. For example Barburr and Kitzinger, (eds.) (1998); Kitzinger, (1995); Krueger, (1994); Morgan, 1996, Morgan and Krueger, 1993; Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990). The method has proved useful in eliciting data on health beliefs and attitudes where the participants' own meanings of health and illness renders it possible to understand, for example, coping behaviour and adaptation to negative life events, as well as offering important insights into people's phenomenological life worlds (Fife, 1995, Radley, 1999, Hoppe et al. 1994). Analysis of these explanations concerns itself with the meaning of what is said.

The study being reported here used the Focus group method for the reasons above. It proved a useful method to learn about the vocabulary and thinking patterns of the participants in their rural context. Crucially, it enabled an understanding of the nature of their knowledge of diabetes. Above all, and most importantly, a clinically useful picture of the rural-dwelling diabetes sufferers' strategies of managing diabetes was obtained.

2   *These indicators are: a) Formal housing (brick dwellings, flats, townhouses, backyard rooms etc., b) Electricity for lightning from a public authority or supply company, c) Tap water inside the dwelling, d) A flush or chemical toilet, e) A telephone in the dwelling or a cellular phone, f) refuse removal at least once a week by a local or district authority, g) Level of education of the household, h) Average monthly household expenditure, I) Unemployment rate, j) Average household size and k) the proportion of children in the household under the age of five years. C.f. Hirschowitz, R (2000) Measuring Poverty, Statistics South Africa.*

Procedure

Participants for the study were recruited over a period of approximately seven months. They were eligible for the study if they were diagnosed with Type 2 diabetes at least 18 months prior to the study. This criterion was established in an attempt to ensure that the participants would be able to describe and discuss their experience of the diabetes and how they manage it. All participants had been seen routinely in the clinics, health centres and outpatient department of the hospitals surveyed for the study over a 12-month period. Most of the study participants (n=15) were recruited by word of mouth in the rural settings in the Nkonkobe and Amahlathi local municipalities. Another subset of participants (n=35) was recruited (from 58) at the outpatient department of the surveyed hospitals, the clinics and health centres. 10 recruited sufferers of diabetes were unable to participate. 40 diabetic patients eventually participated in the study (30 women and 10 men). Patients were included at the time of the first clinic visit within the 7 months of the recruitment process to avoid patient duplication.

The participants were grouped into 5. Each group had 8 participants. The allocation of participants to group was determined by proximity of residence to the site of group discussion, which affected the gender composition of groups. There were 2 groups that were predominantly female, one group had 4 men and 4 women, and the other 2 groups had 3 men each. There was a total of 20 group sessions over a period of 20 weeks. Four-sessions were held with each group, with a group coming after the other after the end of the four weeks. Sessions were held once a week with each group in what served as community 'hall' consecutively for 4 weeks. Each group session lasted 60 minutes. There were no ethical constraints on any of the participants during or after the group sessions. They were all guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality in the handling of the data and reporting of the research.

The participants received a 15-minute instruction (see Fig. 1) at the beginning of the first session. This was a brief summary of the project, which was read to them in Xhosa language (the local language in the Eastern Cape). It was emphasised to the participants that there was no interest in right or wrong answer; that they were required to just 'talk' to the issue as they arose in the group discussion. At no point was lead provided on any of the discussions except the starting issue of each session of the group discussion, which was determined *a priori* to give frame to the session. An 'assessment' of the participants followed the 15-minute orienting instructions. This was with their consent. This included demographic data, the recording of the prescribed medication, measurement of blood glucose level with ONE TOUCH Ultra Test Strips (Lifescan, Johnson and Johnson, UK) and the measurement of blood pressure with an automatic digital blood pressure monitor (Omron Healthcare, UK) after a 5-10mm rest.

During the recruitment period at the clinic and hospitals, effort was made to obtain the

glycosylated Haemoglobin, or HbA1c test results of the participants from data recorded in the patient notes. HbA1c is a blood test reflecting blood glucose levels over 2-3 months before the test is taken, thus giving an indication of long-term blood glucose control (Gonen et al. 1977). However, obtaining the HbA1c test result proved difficult, as most patients have not had test after initial diagnosis and also because many of the surveyed hospitals, clinics and health centres seldom carry out such tests because of lack of diagnostic instruments.[3] It wouldhave been useful to have the results of the HbA1c test. However, since the use of HbA1c as a measure of long-term blood glucose control in research and diabetic clinics has been the subject of debate (Snehalatha, et al., 2000), there was no further attempt to obtain the results. Semi-structured interview was conducted with the participants in the beginning to establish their socio-economic characteristics.

Fig 1 Orienting Instruction

I am interested in how people with diabetes manage their condition. I want us all to talk about diabetes, what you know about it, whether you know of people with similar condition, when you knew about your diabetes, how you got to know about it, what was done when you knew about it, what you have been doing since then, what other people with diabetes that you know do about it, what pains you experience, whether this affects you in any way – going to work, shopping or visiting family, relatives and friends. Obviously when one is ill, one uses medication, what medication do you use, who prescribed it, how regular do you use it, and if you know the cost, how much does it cost? Who pays for the drugs?

Data

The focus group discussion explored participants' thoughts, beliefs and attitudes regarding diabetes and its treatment. The discussions were audio taped, transcribed verbatim and translated from Xhosa to English. Data generated from the transcript can be described as very rich and meaningful. The thematic qualitative analysis (TQA) (Mason, 1987), which draws upon symbolic interactionism, phenomenological and grounded theory frameworks and aspects of discourse analysis for technique, was used. This is typically a two-stage procedure of the identification of themes and a more detailed interpretative conceptual analysis. The translated transcripts were systematically analysed using content analysis. Data were organized into topics by attaching words to segments of texts – symptom perception, perceived consequences (severity and impact of diabetes, vulnerability, to complications), perceived control of diabetes (self-efficacy, locus of control), treatment (benefits/costs) and practical and emotional support from family and friends. This was then thematised as: seeking health care,

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3   *This was highlighted in the Province's Department of Health Annual Report. See Prevalence of Hypertension and Diabetes, Eastern Cape 2001-2003. Eastern Cape Department of Health Annual Report, 2003-2004*

pharmaceutical treatment, dietary management, physical activity and social support. Everything else that presented itself as illuminating was noted. The organizing topics were derived from psychology research literature on coping. Much of the research on coping takes its cue from the conceptual work of Lazarus and Folkman (1984) who developed a measure consisting of a series of predicates, each portraying a coping thought or action that people sometimes engage in when under stress.

Embedded in the Ways of Coping scale is a distinction between two general types of coping:

i) The problem-focused coping and
ii) the emotion-focused coping. The former is aimed at solving or doing something to alter the source of the stress; the second is aimed at reducing or managing the emotional distress that is associated with the situation. Although most stressors elicit both types of coping, problem-focused coping tends to predominate when people feel that the stressor is something that must be endured (Folkman and Lazarus 1980). These two ways of coping are general because there are so many ways that individuals cope with stress. Indeed, as research (Folkman et al 1986, Scheier, Weintraub and Carver, 1986) show, there are quite different factors that account for the ways people in stressful condition cope with their condition. Carver et al. (1986) suggest that some emotion-focused responses involve denial, others involve positive re-interpretation of events, and still others involve the seeking out of social support. These responses are very different from each other and they may have very different implications for a person's success in coping. Problem-focused coping also involve several activities: playing, taking direct action, seeking assistance and screening out other activities. The analysis of the data drew from this.

Results
Descriptive

Participants' demographic characteristics and health references are presented in Table 1. Other results are presented using extracts from the transcripts as evidence. The mean age of the participants was 50 years as Table 1 shows. The mean age at diagnosis of diabetes was 44 years. The mean systolic blood pressure was 155 mmHg and the mean diastolic blood pressure was 103 mmHg. All the participants were prescribed oral medication. 20% of the participants drank regularly (average of 6 litres of beer per week). 10% had a family history of diabetes.

Table 1: Participants' characteristics

Age	Mean - 50 years Range – 42-61 years
Sex	Male - 10 Female – 20
Marital status	Married - 28 Single/Divorced/Widowed - 12
Mean age at diagnosis of diabetes	44 years
Mean duration of diabetes	6 years
Hypoglycaemic regimen	
Oral medication	All
On Insulin	None
Mean systolic blood pressure (mmHg)	155 mm Hg
Mean diastolic blood pressure (mmHg)	103 mmHg
BMI (kg/[m.sup.2])	34.1
Regular drinker of alcohol	20% (n=40)
Family history of diabetes	10% (n=40)

Participants' knowledge of diabetes

Table 2 below shows the participants' source of knowledge of diabetes and the number of the participants who got such knowledge from each source. All the participants were diagnosed diabetic by the doctor but the disease was not explained to them sufficiently for any reasonable claim to such knowledge. Only a handful were able to claim any form of knowledge of the disease from the sources listed in the Table. 20% claimed some form of diabetes knowledge from one-to-one consultation with the doctor.

"The doctor said I have this thing [diabetes] and he told me it is because I have too much sugar in my body. He said he would give me tablets and that I should use it in the mornings, that it would help"

"After the doctor said my eye problem is caused by diabetes, he said I must take tablets everyday and that I should see the nurse who will talk to me about it and the type of food to eat. I never saw the nurse but I knew it was diabetes then."

"The doctor told me that my problem was diabetes. He said old people have it and young people too but that mine is old people's diabetes."

25% of the participants claimed some form of knowledge of diabetes from the nurse. They said the nurse explained their condition to them when they went to hear the result of their blood test, which the doctor had ordered to be taken.

"The doctor said that I needed to do blood test. I went to the hospital after some days to do the test and I went back after many days. ……….. The nurse came to me carrying a file and she looked at me and after a while said that I have diabetes. She said that it was not a big problem but I have to look after myself and take tablets that the doctor would give me."

"It was the nurse that said that I might have diabetes but I must see the doctor. I saw the doctor who, after testing me said I must go to the blood test people. I went there and they said that I come another day for blood test ………… I saw the nurse and she said that I have diabetes."

10% of the participants got to know about diabetes from other sufferers. They said that those to whom they described their experience told them that the experience, which was similar to theirs, was diabetes.

"My neighbour told me it was the same thing he was suffering from before he went to the doctor who told him it was diabetes. He told me what the doctor said he should do."

"My children's friend told me her mother had a similar thing. That it is called diabetes and I must go to see a doctor. I did and had blood test and then was told I had diabetes. I was told to take tablets everyday."

Table 2. Diabetes Knowledge and source

Diabetes education	None
Dietician visits	None
Doctor consultation	20% (n=40)
Nurse	25% (n=40)
Other	10% (n=40)

Seeking health care: hospital and health centre visits

Formal services care (doctors, nurses, dieticians) is very critical in the management of diabetes even though it is a condition that can be self-managed. Such care, which typically has to be sought by diabetes sufferer, involves formal diabetes education, dietary education and monitoring of blood glucose in health-care settings (hospitals, health centres and clinics) where sufferers do not have the means for self-monitoring. The findings show that 5% (n=40) of the participants reported visiting any health care setting once in the past 12 months for "check-up". During the same period, there was an average of 5 severe diabetes sympthology experienced by all the participants. The narratives reveal that the participants do not have any knowledge of self-monitoring of blood glucose level, do not monitor their blood glucose levels and has never done so since being diagnosed with diabetes

and has not purposely visited health centres or hospitals to have their blood-glucose level measured. The 5% who reported visiting for "check-up" did so because of a weakening of vision and repeated episodes of fainting. The doctor who saw them linked these to their diabetes. Typical examples of this are:

"I do not know why I suddenly don't see and then feel weak and weak and so I went to see the doctor. My son said that I have to and he took me."

"I fell one day and have experienced it about four times before I think that I have to see a doctor. I hesitated for long because I thought it was because I felt hungry when it happened. Everybody kept saying that it could be too serious. So, I went to see the doctor."

Seeking health care in health care settings is often a difficult decision to make by the participants who find the experience unpleasant. What emerged from their narratives is that getting to these settings mostly involved "waking up early", difficulty of transportation and hours of waiting (often as a result of long queues and absence of key health personnel).

"I do not have the energy to go through the big trouble of having to wake up early to walk to the road and get transport to the hospital. It is far away and no taxis. So, I have not been there for many years now"

"When I struggle to take taxi and get to the hospital, I have to wait to see the nurse and then cannot see the doctor because when I am finished with the nurse, the doctor is finished for the day…..I have not been to hospital for over a year though I have this problem again and again."

"It takes a whole day to go there (hospital) and then you don't get anything because the nurse sometimes say there are no doctors and I leave without seeing a doctor. I go again until many times and then get tired of going. So, I have not been there (hospital) for a long time, probably two years."

Pharmaceutical treatment

The participants expressed the view that pharmaceutical treatment did not seem to be particularly beneficial. They perceived of drugs as failing to "cure" them. Their narratives focused mainly on the efficacy and 'toxicity' of hypoglycaemic agents. They saw the prescribed drugs as ineffective in "curing" their diabetes and tended to comment on the power of herbal medicines, which many emphasized cured the underlying causes of their constant tiredness, weakness and eye vision problem. Whilst they viewed the curative properties of herbs more favourably than hypoglycaemic agents, they reported using them when seeking immediate relief of "surface" symptoms.

"I keep taking tablets for sometime but it hasn't stopped my diabetes. I go to the herbalist who gives me drinks that I take and feel better".

"I don't understand this tablet thing. It is good to have them because I know I have been given something but it is not stopping this thing (diabetes) and the tiredness. The medicine from the herbalist is good for my body."

"I do not have drugs that I am told that I have to take everyday. How can you take drugs everyday if it cannot work? What is the purpose? So, I do not take it. I take the drink that I get from the herbalist."

"I now that drugs are good when you feel ill. For example, I take [panadol] when I have headache and then it stops. But I do not understand this [diabetes] drug, which the doctor says I take every-day of my life. Why? If it cannot help like when I take [panadol] for my headache, why take it?"

"I think what everybody is saying is true….. Why do you take drugs if you have this thing [dia-betes] forever? You just have to be careful not to be hungry and weak and then if you are, just try to drink local medicine. It is good because as everybody say, it makes the body heal well."

"Taking drugs every day for life is putting poison in the body. I don't use it anymore for a long time. I drink the local medicine and feel better."

Dietary Management

The participants seemed to agree that food consumption is beneficial to them in managing their diabetes. They seemed to have developed this as a principle with less knowledge of any dietary control which would include limited intakes of carbohydrate, salt, fat and so on. Most of them considered food as necessary to combat hunger and tiredness. What they claimed to eat hardly followed the standard recommended food intake for diabetes sufferers.

"Strong food is the medicine for it [diabetes]. I make sure I eat all the time otherwise I will always feel tired and fainting."

"What helps me is food. I feel tired many times if I do not eat. I have to eat a lot and I make sure I eat before I go anywhere because sometimes, you get tired and people do not know you have to eat."

"I have been having this thing [diabetes] for a long time and I think medicine cannot cure it. When I begin to tire and sometimes feel so weak that I feel like passing out, what always come to my rescue id food. I eat strong food mostly pap (local staple food in powder form made from corn and prepared with boiling water to make a hard paste. This is eaten with vegetable

and beef or lamb. It is very high in carbohydrate).
"I hear that one has to eat little strong food like pap….. But this is not good advice because it
is pap that helps me with my tiredness. I just have to eat many times a say."

"I don't like medicine because it doesn't work. If it works, I will not continue having this
thing [diabetes]. For me, food is best. I eat a lot because I don't get tired but I am slow some-
times. Maybe too much food….. {Laugh}… but I will not substitute food with drugs."

Physical activity

The participants' narratives revealed that physical activity in any form actually compromises their health. They believed that their tiredness and weakness resulted from "over-work". They did not therefore engage in physical activity as a part of diabetes self-management strategy. Though strenuous physical activity was part of their daily life because of the demands of the rural areas, this was seen as something to avoid. Their physical activities were thus work- related rather than therapeutic.

"I have to do physically demanding work and I sometimes feel a little bit worried because of
my condition…which cannot tolerate such activities"

"My body does not like physical activities as I get tired and weak …. .. So, I just avoid it"

"It does not make sense to do heavy things (physical activities) because there is no point in
creating more trouble when you have this thing [diabetes]. ….. It makes it worse."

"I avoid hard work (physical activity) because it is part of my problem. Sometimes I think
that it is not doing me any good if I continue with the long distance walk to the next village.
But I have to do it because I go there to sell things."

"I am getting old and need to be careful walking too long a distance. I think it [walk] con-
tributes …I am careful not to go long distance."

Social support

In the research literature, it has been shown that one of the ways that those under stress cope with it is to seek out social support. Carver et al. (1989) suggest that people seek social support for two reasons, which differ in the degree to which they imply problem focus. They seek social support for instrumental reasons – that is, they seek advice, assistance or information and they seek social support for emotional reasons. – that is, getting moral support, sympathy and understanding.

What the present study reveals is the latter support – the participants mostly sought sympathy. The nature of their diabetes condition is that there is hardly any symptom but when they experienced hypoglycaemia, they tend to make it known to all those around them. They did this because:

"When I feel this weakness, I cannot get things done because I can't lift myself. So, I let people know and I get help."

"I need people to know to understand that I need help when I find it suddenly not able to do things. They feel for you and help."

"I need people to take care of me when I suddenly feel fainting. They feel sorry and help. So, I make my condition known to them and I get support."

"I like the support I get because it makes feel well. Not that the thing [diabetes] stops but I feel relieved with the support. People show understanding and they help."

"I seek understanding because it is good for my condition especially when I become very weak and feel like fainting. The people around feel for you and help."

Discussion

The data reveals poor ignorance of diabetes mellitus and poor self-management of the condition among rural dwellers in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. The participants' practices of diabetes management were at odds with what has been delineated in the literature as appropriate strategy to self-manage diabetes – an integrated strategy consisting of drugs, physical activity and diet control in daily life. Drugs were perceived as ineffective and toxic, physical activity was regarded, as activity to avoid and cut down where total avoidance was not possible because of the demands of the rural areas. Dietary control did not feature in their strategy for diabetes management. The analyses indicated that participants' perceptions of drugs, their view of physical activity and the absence of diet control in their management of diabetes were interrelated: hypoglycaemic agents were believed to be ineffective and toxic and to avoid hypoglycaemia, they increased their food intake (their cuisine is characteristically carbohydrate and fat) and took more efforts to cut down on physical activities.

The findings show an *absence* of formal care; in other words formal health care services seemed to play no role in the participants' management of diabetes. This would seem to have contributed in no small measure to the poor management of the condition as the study shows.

Essential formal service interventions enable improving quality of life and self care which entails the range of illness behaviour undertaken by diabetes sufferers in relation to their diabetes. This would include providing appropriate information and anticipatory guidance: body weight maintenance, blood glucose control, and the treatment of hypercholesterolemia (American Diabetes Association, 2003). There was no evidence for this.

The focus of their self-management was hypoglycaemic control (as evidenced in their concern about "tiredness", "weakness" and "fainting"), which appears to be in line with formal diabetes care; yet, the strategy was incompatible with medical knowledge. According to current medical knowledge, hypoglycaemic control through dietary is important in diabetes management. An increase in fibre intake and very-low-calorie diet and restricted sucrose- containing food are clearly important. In the participants' perceptions, regular food intake was considered a legitimate therapeutic modality; however, this was because of the belief that their hypoglycaemia was usually caused by the lack of adequate food intake. Adequate to them meant consumption of very-high-calorie food, the type of which have been found to lead to a diet that has very high carbohydrate, high in saturated fatty acids, excess salt and unrefined sugar. It is important to point out that in as much as food was consumed in abundance to strengthen their physical constitution, that is, as a form of sustenance, it was considered essential ingredient to their quality of life. Food, in their cultural milieu, is salient in solidifying social relationship. So, for them, the idea of dietary control would seem out of place especially because it conflicts with societal norms of attending to the celebrations of others in the rural community. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that adhering to food restrictions, which good management of diabetes requires, thus present unique challenges to the cultural significance of food among rural dwellers in South Africa.

The participants' misconceptions about food make them overlook the importance of managing other risk factors, for example, body weight gain. Their diet as earlier indicated was hardly restricted and they seemed to be oblivious to weight gain. There was no evidence in their narratives of the cognition of weight gain as detrimental to their diabetes condition. Quite clearly, body weight maintenance did not feature in their management of diabetes. In fact, weight loss would not be considered a goal or important in diabetes management in South Africa because of the stigma associated to body weight loss, which is generally seen as physical evidence of HIV/AIDS. In as much as there is a global trend to look model-thin, this seems to be more among the non-black South Africans. The young and trendy black South Africans, who are easily predisposed to imbibe global western ideas and practices tend to be exceedingly cautious in "loosing too much" weight just as their elders are, for fear of the stigma of HIV/AIDS.

The misconception about food tends to affect, also, pharmaceutical intake. The focus on very high consumption of high-calorie food to combat hypoglycaemia would seem to have contributed significantly to them overlooking the importance of hypoglycaemic oral agents. The participants hardly took prescribed drugs as revealed in their narratives without the knowledge that oral agents for their condition are strictly to control blood sugar, which significantly reduce risk of microvascular complications including nephropathy (Gonen et al. 1977). Much more importantly though, was that hypoglycaemic agents were hardly seen as helpful partly because they viewed it as artificial chemical compounds that are toxic, while herbal medicine, coming from natural sources, was considered safer and more compatible with their physiological functions. To some extent, this would seem consistent with studies that have examined the reasons for non-adherence with drugs, for example, cholesterol- lowering drugs, have focused on medication or patient characteristics. Drug characteristics related to poor adherence have typically been poor drug efficacy, side effects such as nausea and cramping and inconvenience caused by taking the medication in a non-pill form (Bruckert et al. 1999). Patient characteristic related to poor adherence have principally been demographic (Shrott et al. 1997) and lifestyle, (e.g. lack of exercise and higher body mass index – Schrott et al. 1997).

The findings in the present study did not show any active adherence to medication indicating a reflection of the participant's poor knowledge of diabetes more than other valid reasons as those highlighted in the previous paragraph. The fact that they could not distinguish between chronic disease, which diabetes is, and, which is life-long but controllable and acute illness is very salient in understanding the non-adherence to medication of the participants. Prescribed drugs were viewed as curative. In other words they associated drugs to cure; drugs and cure of an illness were seen as synonymous. If one expected to be cured of an illness, drugs were seen as functional to that end. Drugs are thus means to an end. When that presumed end, *cure of an illness*, was therefore not the *real* end, (which is hypoglycaemic control), they therefore, saw no need for adhering to medication and consequently disengaged from taking drugs. This behavioural disengagement came out clearly in the narratives. This can be dysfunctional in the self-management of diabetes because of the proven efficacy of hypoglycaemic agents (United Kingdom Prospective Diabetes Study, 1998). This finding, behavioural disengagement from drugs, is consistent with research on medication adherence which suggests that patients will be least adherent when treatment is preventive rather than curative, when the illness is symptomatic and when the treatment is over a long period (Rand, 1995).

However, it would seem to be important to better understand the disengagement from prescribed medication as an adaptive response. This is because their behavioural disengagement was disengagement from prescribed drugs and not mental

disengagement from their diabetic condition. There was no evidence that they ignored their condition; the evidence is that they did not see any curative profit from adhering to prescribed drugs, which shows, more than anything else, their poor knowledge of diabetes as a chronic illness. The disengagement from prescribed drugs allowed the participants to *retreat* into their cultural milieu to tap into their cultural understanding of their condition and the ways to treat it. They were predisposed to this partly because their cognitive association of the prescribed drugs to cure was challenged. One must stress a point at this juncture. The fact that the participants, who are rural dwellers, were predisposed to seeking permanence to a life-long condition by shunning a medically-proven way of managing the condition would seem to tell us more about illness perception and belief than it tells us about their understanding of chronic illness. This broad statement is underlined by the findings reported in this present paper. Their narratives clearly revealed that where prescribed drugs do not seem to "work", they would resort to other forms of treatment. Secondly, the participants expect all illnesses to be curable unless, as in their cultural cognitive scheme, driven by a force beyond human control. They hardly described their diabetic condition with a specific frame of reference (chronic or acute). Their discussion was framed in terms of their experience of the illness. For this reason, there is merit in suggesting that the management of diabetes among the rural poor is informed more by their knowledge of the condition.

Conclusion

The research reported in this article was grounded in qualitative data generated from 5 focus groups of 40 participants. The findings suggest that the focus group approach used in the study offered useful means of eliciting and understanding the management of diabetes in rural areas characterized by limited health resources and long distance to such health resource centres. What would seem evident from the study is the importance of illness perception. How diabetes sufferers perceive their condition influence their management of it. The findings show that illness-related cognitions manifest in treatment adherence. Diabetes was hardly perceived as chronic in the sense of life-long and controllable and this formed the basis of the participants' disengagement behaviour from adhering to prescribed hypoglycaemic oral agents. Partly underpinning the participants' perception of diabetes is a total lack of diabetes education. The literature shows that patient education in the form of diabetes education, dietetic advice and instructions on self-management of blood glucose is an integral part of diabetes care. The present study provided evidence that there was no such education received by the participants.

What was particularly evident in the focus group discussions is the social support that the participants receive. This is informal support, which involves the support of family (including nuclear, extended family and kin). Unrelated people accepted as family members, supportive neighbours, friends and other community members are part of this informal circle of social support.

One critical point that must be highlighted which would seem highly relevant in health and development policy is that in regard to disease management, the poor in the rural areas are frequently faced with multiple tasks or demands that include accessing health resources and evaluating different treatment options. Many experience what has been referred to as 'access stress' where structural barriers – poor distribution of health services – distance and geography present them from successfully meeting such demands. They find that physically getting to a health resource setting is a Herculean task and tend to give up. Only when they experience very severe symptom of their illness do they push themselves to get to a health resource centre. For a chronic illness like diabetes, this may have adverse effect on the management strategies.

The findings are relevant to clinical practice in rural settings. Several studies of the management of chronic disease have identified the need for clinicians to gain a better understanding of patients' views about their illness and treatment as a basis for clinician- patient partnership. This applies to diabetes care in the rural areas. The findings can be seen as contribution to offering directions for developing interventions to facilitate good management of diabetes in the rural areas. Interventions could therefore address patients' knowledge. Rural sufferers of diabetes should be encouraged to perceive diabetes as life-long conditions that need to be managed even when the symptoms are absent.

Acknowledgements

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Land Use Correlates of Street Children in Ogbomoso, Nigeria

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Abstract:

Following the observation of increasing incidence of street children phenomenon in Nigerian urban centers, this study examines the relationship between land use and street children in Ogbomoso. Data on incidence of street children were obtained through the method of direct counting which was done on four different days of the week within defined Data Delineated Areas (DDAs) purposively selected across the residential zones of the city. The study employs z scores to compare the intensity of the problem across the selected DDAs. Data were also analyzed using pie chart, bar chart, graph and percentages. The study reveals that the incidence and categories of street children varies with land uses. It recommends, therefore that urban planners, governments as well as individuals have roles to play in proffering solutions to the menace. It also calls for more research works on the problem of street children.

Keywords: street children, land use, child hawkers, child beggars

Résumé:

Suite à l'observation de l'incidence croissante de la rue phénomène des enfants dans les centres urbains du Nigeria, cette étude examine la relation entre l'utilisation des terres et les enfants des rues dans Ogbomoso. Les données sur l'incidence des enfants des rues ont été

obtenues par la méthode de comptage direct qui a été fait sur quatre jours différents de la semaine dans les zones définies données délimitées choisis à dessein dans les zones résidentielles de la ville. L'étude emploie z-scores pour comparer l'intensité du problème à travers les DDA sélectionnés. Les données ont également été analysées à l'aide camembert, histogramme, graphique et pourcentages. L'étude révèle que l'incidence et les catégories d'enfants des rues varie avec l'utilisation des terres. Il recommande donc que les planificateurs urbains, les gouvernements ainsi que les individus ont un rôle à jouer dans proférer des solutions à la menace. Il appelle également à plus de travaux de recherche sur le problème des enfants des rues.

Mots-clés: *enfants des rues, l'utilisation des terres, les colporteurs de l'enfant, les enfants mendiants*

Introduction

There is increasing complexity and diversity of urban problems across the globe, especially in the developing countries. The multi- dimensional nature of such problems has presented a worrisome situation with the social aspects more pronounced (Obioha, 2009). One obvious manifestation of urban social problem is the phenomenon of street children. Street children have been a recurrent theme which, for long, has captured the attention of urban scholars internationally and within Nigeria. In Nigeria, street children are seen in their thousands roaming the streets and portraying a decadent social order. There exist many locations in which street children are found: public spheres such as markets, bus stops, car parks, garages, street corners, and under the bridges (Oloko, 1992; Okpupara and Odurekwe 2003; Owasanoye and Wemharm, 2004) and in some urban slums (CSC, 2004)

These street children pose problems which are enormous and multidimensional. The point of concern, however, is that the increasing number of street children in Nigerian cities constitutes serious and sundry environmental problems, health hazard and immense challenge to national security (Ngowanji et al, 2009). The phenomenon of street children has implication for the survival of these children as they are socially relegated and stigmatized. They may be subject to neglect, exploitation, and the female among them are exposed to sexual abuse (Ikechebelu et al, 2008)

Researchers over the years have examined the problems of street children from different dimensions. Faloore (2009) examines the social network and livelihood of street children, Ikechebelu et al (2008) decry the sexual abuse among female street children, Owoaje et al, (2009) examine the socio-demographic characteristics of street children in rural communities while Obioha (2009) establishes the relationship between poverty and the menace of street children. We suggest that most of the recommendations that have emanated from researchers and adopted by government are ineffective and inadequate. In this case therefore, we ask: why have these recommendations failed to achieved the desired results?

In the words of Jelili (2009), the analysis, control and management of most sociological problems or social vices (of which street children is one) in cities without recourse to their spatial implication account for the failure of most policies or effort at addressing such problems. The realization of this fact stimulates this study which examines the relationship between land use and street children in Ogbomoso, a medium sized urban center in Nigeria. We start with clarification of concepts and a discussion of the theoretical issues

Conceptual and theoretical issues

The term "street children" has many definitions in different societal and cultural settings thus demonstrating the claim by CSC (2009) that the term is increasingly recognized by sociologists and anthropologists to be a socially constructed category that in reality does not form a clearly defined, homogenous population or phenomenon. As such, particular circumstance in a particular society dictates who should be included in the definition (Owoaje et al, 2009), hence terms like latchiely child, vagrant, abandoned, waif, urchin etc. are synonymously used in different societies and at different circumstances to denote street children (Veale, 1992). The four categories of street children: children of the street, children who are part of a street family, and those in institutionalized care (WHO, 1995) reflect differing socio-economic and cultural context across countries (UNESCO, 2001). Further, street children are frequently associated with negative events (Owoaje et al, 2009). In Addis-Ababa, the term street children reinforce a negative image as they are collectively referred to as "Boco" meaning pig (Aptekar et al, 2003). In Nigeria, a peculiar type of street children known as "area boys and girls" has been anecdotally attributed to increase of violent crime in the society (Owoaje et al, 2009).

The situations described above make the universally accepted definition of street children difficult. Nevertheless, Veale (1992) conceptualized street children from two stand points: popular and legal meaning of street children. According to Veale (1992), the popular meaning of street children sees them in the context of the particular society in which they evolved whereas the legal conceptualization is historical in the criminalization of vagrancy in England. Vagrancy law in England has its root in societal perception of vagrants in the mid-nineteenth century and children were not exempted from such portrayal and as of today, were perceived as a social threat (Veale, 1992).

Despite these conceptualizations of street children, many emanating definitions of street children are often being contested. Therefore, many practitioners, policy makers have adopted the Inter-NGO (1995) definition of street children as any girl or boy who has not reached adulthood, for whom the street (in the broadest sense of the word, including unoccupied dwellings, wasteland etc.) has become her or his habitual abode and/or sources of livelihood, and who is inadequately protected, supervised or directed by responsible adults.

Given that the concern in this study is street children and land use, the later requires clarification. Lyold (1968) defines land as a delineable area encompassing all attributes of the biosphere immediately above or below the earth's terrestrial surface, including the soil, terrain, surface hydrology, the near-surface climate, sediments and associated groundwater reserve, the biological resources, and the human settlement pattern and infrastructure resulting from human activity. The concept of land use connotes the use to which the land is put, thus we have residential land use, commercial land use, educational land use, agricultural land use and so on. According to Rodrigue (2009), urban land use comprises two elements; the nature of land use and the level of spatial accumulation. While the former relates with activities that are taking place at a certain spatial unit, the latter indicates their intensity and concentration. For instance, central areas have a high level of spatial accumulation and corresponding land uses while peripheral areas have lower levels of accumulations.

Land use can be formal or functional. Formal land use are concerned with qualitative attributes of space such as form, pattern and aspect and are descriptive in nature while functional land use are concerned with economic nature of activities such as productive, consumption, residence and transport and are mainly socio-economic descriptive of space (Rodrigue, 2009).

Theoretically, many scholars have examined the relationship between urban space and social problems. In his socio spatial dialetic, Soja (1980) describes urban environment as having a continuous two way process in which people create and modify urban spaces while at the same time being conditioned in various ways by the spaces in which they live and work. Soja (1980) argues that space was in some ways homological to class structure. In this wise, the theory of social spatial dialetic plays a crucial role in the explanation of a multitude of social sins that have distinctive patter of intra-urban variation such as street children, prostitution, suicide, delinquency etc. Most aspect of social behavior (of which street children is one) seems to exhibit a definite spatial pattern of some sort, rather than being randomly distributed across the city (Knox and Pinch, 2000).

Ogunkan and Jelili (2010) articulate the theory of environmental determinism while analyzing land use and street begging. They discovered that certain land uses attract more street beggars than the others. It was suggested that certain environments attract certain kinds of people. What makes this suggestion relevant to this study is the fact that the child beggars (a form of street children) constitute parts of the identified beggars (Ogunkan and Jelili, 2010). What has been noticed from arguments above is that there is interrelationship between social or physical environment and social behavior (of which street children is one). One can see how planners and designers might be enraptured with the idea that environment can determine behavior. The theory poses the potential for solving many of society's woes simply by reconfiguring the environment.

The study area

Ogbomoso is located on the 8°101 North of the equator and 4°101 East of the Greenwich meridian. It is a derived Savannah region and it is 104 km North East of Ibadan, 58 km North West of Osogbo, 57 km South West of Ilorin and 53 km North East of Oyo. The physical and economic growth of the town began in 19th century; when there was an unrest through-out the Yoruba land due to inter ethnic wars and Fulani Jihad. This brought more than 140 communities to seek refuge in Ogbomoso because of its strong defense. Most of these people took permanent residence in Ogbomoso, and by the end of 19th century, a continuous built-up compact settlement was evolved from the hamlet, covering an extensive area of land

FIGURE 3.1   OYO STATE IN THE NATIONAL CONTEXT

Source: Adopted from Federal Ministry of Lands and Physical Planning, Abuja 2007.

FIGURE 3.2 MAP OF OYO STATE SHOWING OGBOMOSO

FIGURE 3.3 MAP SHOWING THE STUDY AREA
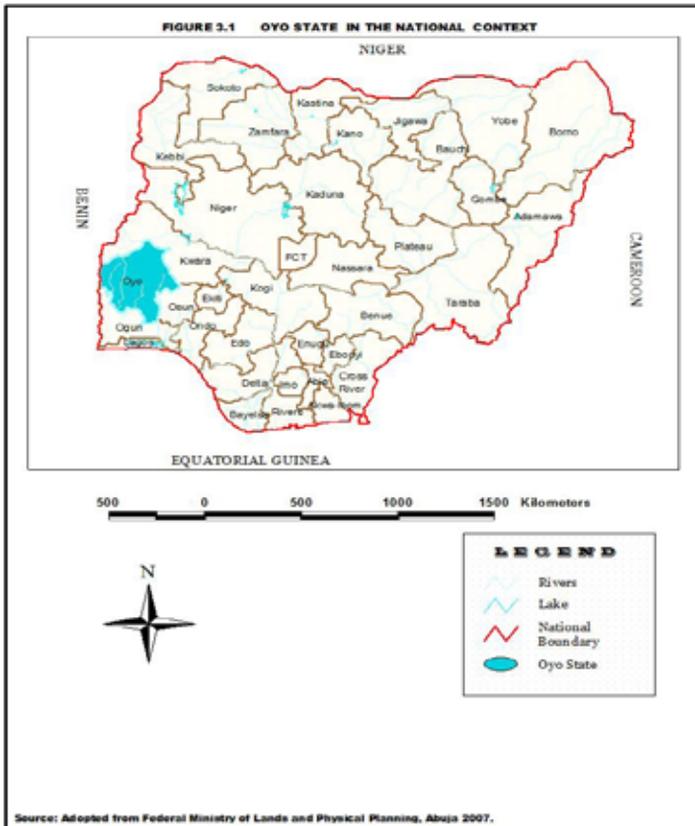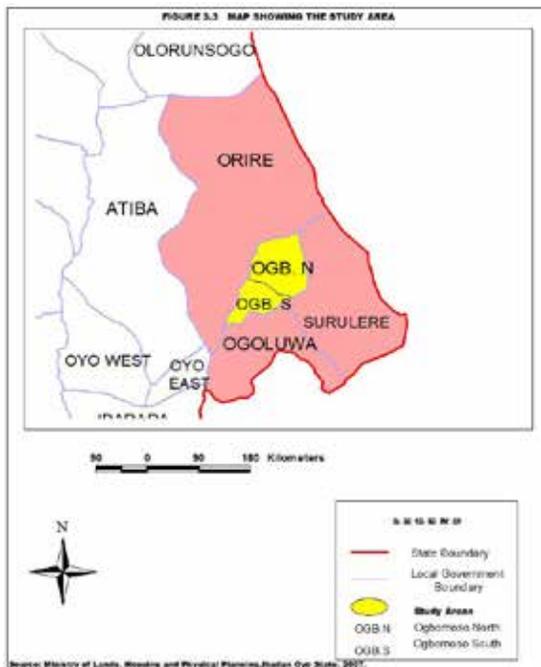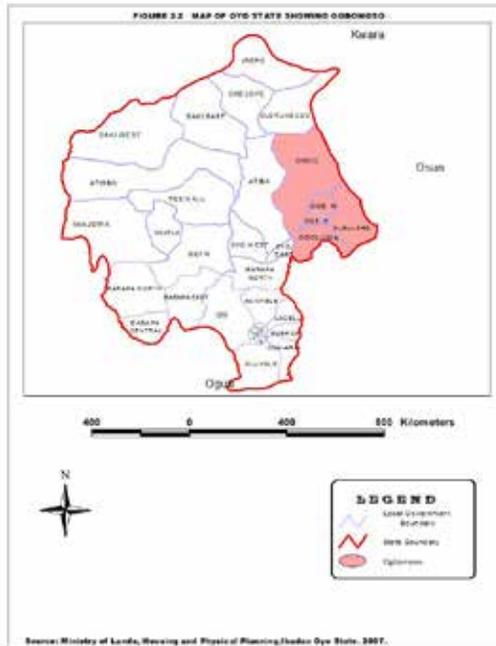
The rapid growth of the town is also induced by the advent of missionary and establishment of schools. The deportation of indigenous Nigerian by Ghanaian government in 1969 also brought physical and economic growth to Ogbomoso. The establishment of Ladoke Akintola University of Technology in Ogbomoso is said to have induced its phenomenal growth since 1991. The Urbanization process resulted from the development mentioned above led to the demographic change over time. For instance, the population rose from 25000 in 1885 (Bowen, 1957) to more than 166,000 by 1991 (NPC, 1991) and was said to be about 299,535 by 2006 census. The demographic changes have contributed to the expansion in built-up area of Ogbomoso. The built-up area of the town which was 2 km2 in 1935 and 4.5 km2 in 1963 (Opeloyeru, 1983) was estimated to have reached 24.3 km2 in 1995 (Popoola, 1997). In 2003, it has increased to 27.5 km2 (Abolade, 2004).

Ogbomoso, being a traditional, unplanned town that predated planning effort could not be identified by land use zones. Therefore it is easily identified by residential zones. It has no land use segregation; most its parts are characterized with admixture of land uses. The land use in each ward is dominated by residential type, but a few other land use types feature fairly prominently in a few wards (Tanimowo, 2006)

Methodology

Ogbomoso is a pre-colonial urban centre with vast spatial extent and well developed and easily distinguishable residential zones; urban core, transitional zone and urban periphery. Each residential zone is homogenous in terms of physical layout, socio-economic and environmental characteristics (Afon 2007). This framework provided the most available spatial unit upon which data were collected.

Having stratified the city into three zones, specific street children prone areas were identified in each zones. However, to allow for an objective comparison among zones, areas that have at least one or a combination of the characteristics of street children prone areas as identified earlier were chosen from each zone (Conceptualized here Data Delineation Areas "DDAs"). Four categories of DDAs were identified as follows:

  (i)   One largest mosque in each residential zone (determined by the size of the weekly congregation
  (ii)   One largest church in each residential zone (determined as in (i) above)
  (iii) One popular market in each residential zone (determined by the spatial extent and level of patronage)
  (iv)   One popular junction in each residential zone (determined by the intensity of use).
  (v)   One popular motor park in each residential zone (determined by level of patronage and spatial extent)

Table 1 Selected Data Delineation Areas (DDAs)

Residential Zones	Largest Mosques	Largest Churches	Popular Markets	Popular junctions	Popular Motor parks
Urban core	Oja igbo Central Mosque	First Baptist Church, Okelerin	Oja igbo/ oja jagun market	Rediffusion junction	Oja igbo motor pak
Transition Zone	Ansarudeen Central mosque, Caretaker	St David Anglican Church, Agbonyin	Old Wazo market	Takie Square	Sabo Motor Park
Urban periphery	LAUTECH central mosque	St Mary catholic church	New Wazo Market	Stadium Juction	New Ilorin garage

Source: Author's computations

In each of the locations described above, data on incidence of different categories of street children were obtained through the method of direct counting. This was carried out with the help of trained assistants. The counting shall be done on four different days of the week i.e. Friday, Saturday, Sunday and Monday.

The incidence of street children, which define the magnitude or extent of the problem in each identified area of the city, was measured in ratio scale through a surrogate or index "relative incidence of street children" (derived by the addition of number of street children identifiable in four days divided by four). The RISC so derived was subjected to standard scores otherwise referred to as z – scores to compare the intensity of incidence of street children in each zone and in each DDAs. The standard scores are obtained by linear transformation of the actual number identified such that the mean becomes zero and standard deviation becomes one. That is $(x - x)/0$.

Research Findings

The main findings of this study are presented in Tables 2 and 3 below. The tables were transformed for necessary analyses that follow. The analyses are presented in two broad subheadings (i) Land use pattern of Street Children and (ii) Street children categorization by land use

Table 2. Incidence of street children by land use in Ogbomoso

Residential Zones	Mosques	Churches	Markets	junctions	Motor parks	TOTAL
Urban core	39	33	49	16	27	164
Transition Zone	53	20	55	171	56	355
Urban periphery	20	8	35	6	21	90
TOTAL	112	61	139	193	104	609

Source: Author's field work

Table 3 Street children Categorization by Land use

LAND USES	STREET CHILDREN CATEGORIES							Total
	Child Hawkers	Child Beggars	Bus conductors	Load carriers	Street urchins	scavengers	Child Traders	
Mosque	35	40	-	-	2	-	35	112
Church	20	25	-	-	-	-	16	61
Motor Park	33	31	10	-	5	-	25	104
Market	41	10	11	16	15	4	42	139
Junction	63	31	11	21	9	10	48	193
Total	192	137	32	37	31	14	166	609

Source: Author's field work

Land Use Pattern Of Street Children In Ogbomoso

Table 4 Land use Pattern of Street Children in Ogbomoso

| Land uses	Urban Core		Transitional Zone		Urban Periphery		Total	
	RISC	Z- scores	RISC	Z- scores	RISC	Z- scores	RISC	Z- scores
Mosque	39	0.49929	53	-0.31092	20	0.17118	112	-20136
Church	33	0.01611	20	-0.88095	8	-0.85592	61	-1.24925
Motor Park	27	-046707	56	-0.25910	21	0.25678	104	-0.36573
Market	49	1.30459	55	-27638	35	1.45507	139	0.33341
junction	16	-153290	171	1.72735	6	-1.02711	193	1.46293

Source: Author's field work and computation (2012)

*Z-scores are used to compare two distributions with different units (Adana 1996). They are standard scores that reflect, at a glance, how measurements/observations vary from the mean As obtained from Z- scores from Table 4, the incidence of street children attracted by various land uses varies across residential zones. For instance, the incidence of street children attracted by mosque is high in urban core and urban periphery but it is relatively lower in transitional zone. The incidence of street children around churches is relatively lower in transitional and urban periphery; however, it is higher in urban core. Motor Park recorded higher incidence of street children in urban periphery but recorded lower incidence in urban core and transitional zone. For market, the incidence of land use is more pronounced in urban core and urban periphery while the incidence is less in transitional zone. Junction recorded a significant incidence of street children in transitional zone, but recorded a lower incidence in urban core and urban periphery.

What can be observed in this pattern is that the incidence of street children is not only the function of land use but also a function of urban physical attributes i.e. attributes of space expressed in term of form, pattern and socio economic activities. For instance, the high incidence of street children in Takie junction may be as a result of its location and economic relevance while the low incidence of street children observed in Stadium junction may be attributed to that fact that the area, Stadium, is a residential zone with minimal commercial activities.

The above pattern notwithstanding, street children are observed (Figure 4) to be more concentrated along road junctions constituting about 35% of the RICS, This is followed by market (23%), mosque (19%), Motor Park (17%) and church (10%)

Figure 4: Incidence of Street children by Land use
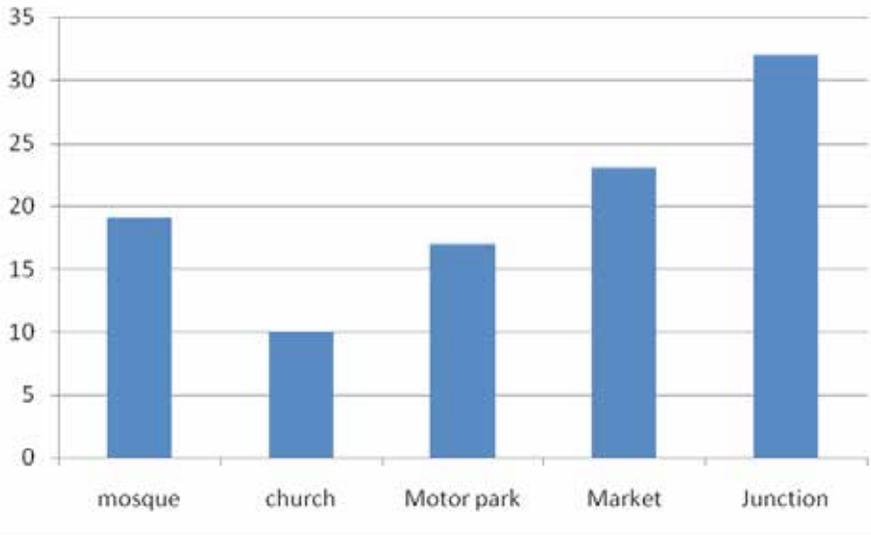
Source: Author's field work (2012)
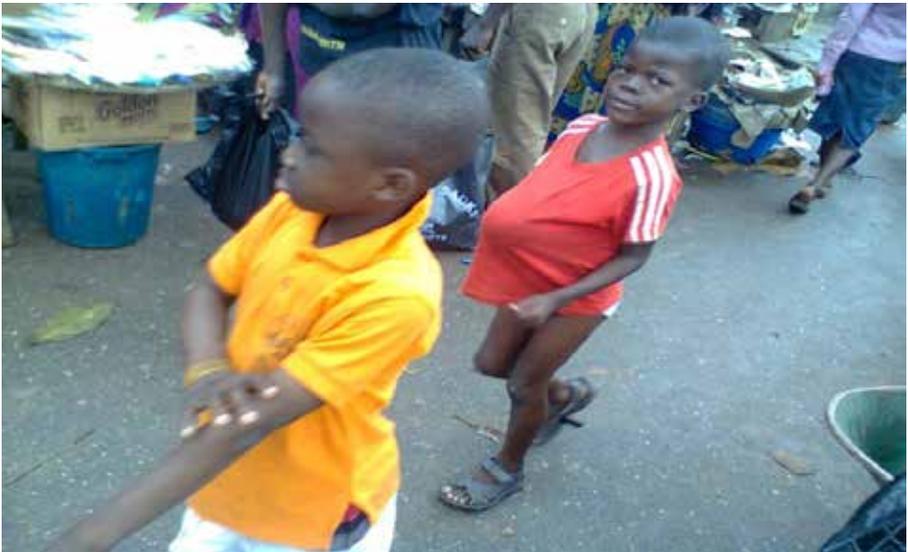
Plate 1: Street children sighted at Old wazo market

STREET CHILDREN CATEGORIZATION BY LAND USE

Previous studies on street children (WERK, 2002, Faloore, 2009, Fakoya, 2009) have emphasized the fact that street children are found at motor parks, markets, road junctions, religious centres (mosque and church areas), among other public places. However, such studies have not been able to link the categories of street children to different land uses. In order to fill this gap, this study has made attempt to categorize street children by land uses.

Figure 5: Street children Categorization by Land use
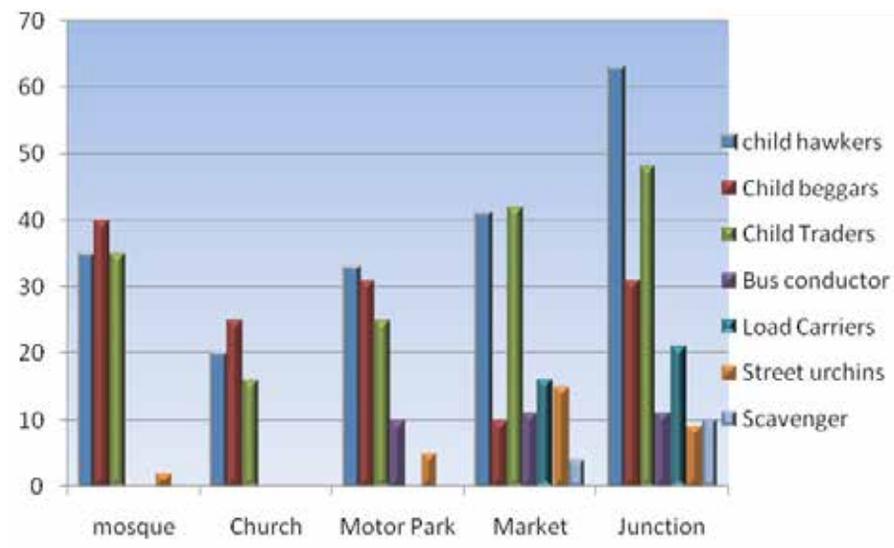
Figure 5 shows different categories of street children along different land uses. Child beggars recorded the highest proportion of street children found in mosque and church. This distribution may not be unconnected with the fact that Islam and Christianity encourage the giving of alms. In Motor Park, market and Junction, child hawkers are the most visible street children, followed by child traders except in Motor Park where child beggars are more visible than child traders. In the overall analysis (Figure 3), the highest proportion of street children in

Figure 6: Categories of Street Children

- child hawkers
- child beggars
- child traders
- bus conductor
- load carrier/ trunk pusher
- street urchin

32% 23% 27% 2% 5% 6% 5%
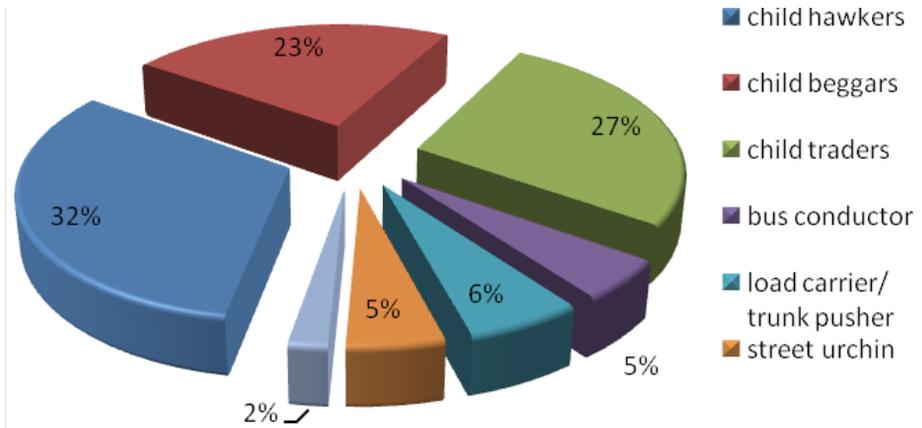
Source: Author's field work (2012)

Ogbomoso are child hawkers (32%). This is followed by child traders and child beggars (in that order) that account for 27% and 23% respectively of the street children identified. The least proportion of the identified street children are scavenger (2%), bus conductors and street urchins (5% each) and load carrier/ trunk pusher (6%)

Plate 2: A group of child hawkers at New Wazo market

Plate 3 Street urchins at Sabo Area   Plate 4: a group of street Urchins

Conclusion

This study has revealed that street children are an urban phenomenon which is not peculiar to certain parts of the urban centre. It is an urban social problem noticeable in every part of the city. However, it is observed that the problem is significantly higher in one part of the city than in the other. For instance, the magnitude of the problem is observed to be acute in the transitional zone of Ogbomoso than others. The planning implication is that as the city grows outward in concentric pattern, the urban social problems tend to move from the outer city to follow the pattern of urban development.

The study also observed that although, all land uses are important generators and attractors of street children, the magnitude and categories attracted vary from land use to others. In Ogbomoso, the highest generator of street children is the junction (31.70%). This is followed by market (22.83%) and Mosque (18.39%), with the least from church (10.02%). Be that as it may, it is pertinent to note that the highest incidence of street children across the residential zones is observed in Takie. Although this is not unconnected with the intensity of use which is informed by its locational characteristics, it is relatively unplanned. The implication of this is that the complexities of urban social problem (such as street children) are reflected in the disorderly arrangement of land uses or activities in cities, making some major land uses abodes of negative and/or undesirable activities,

The study also made a broad categorization of street children by land use. It examined the categories of street children as generated by varying land uses. It is observed that some categories of street children are found a certain land uses, however, child hawkers, child beggars and child trader are the highest generated categories of street children

In view of the above, the following are recommended to reduce the menace of street children in our urban center

(i) The urban stakeholders are advised to checkmate the urban social problem (including street children phenomenon) through adequate urban development management techniques. This is more important especially as the city grows

(ii) Urban planners and urban designer should be properly informed of the social vices each land use has the potential to generate. They should therefore be redirect their activities their activities and focus the development control exercise towards organizing land use activities to make it less attractive to street children

(iii) The problem of street children revealed the endemic nature of urban poverty, governments at various level are encouraged to tackle the problem of poverty in the country by embarking on poverty alleviating programme that will have direct impact on the street children

(iv) In addition to suggestion (iii) above, government should make it a legal duty to ensure that all children of relevant ages are included in the compulsory education and that education is provided virtually free of charge. I Government should, therefore, improve the educational infrastructure

(v) To complement the findings here, the study recommends that more researches be carried out on street children and land use to cover more cities and towns

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