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Editorial Comment

ZANGO will, truly, never cease to fascinate its readers. In all its editions, the Journal always contains thought-provoking articles that it parades before its readers. The present edition, for its part, covers an array of contemporary issues which range from politics to culture, education and health.

The authors of the various articles in the present edition have analysed their issues from a rich and exciting variety of perspectives, extending our knowledge in many areas of the human enterprise. In the lead article, Alex Mwamba Ng'oma and Mussie Tessema take a cue from the burgeoning literature on governance and security issues in contemporary Africa. They assert that elections, and the manner in which they are administered, are a major cause of political conflict in many of Africa's 54 member countries. The co-authors explain that, in addition to the unfavourable environment in which national elections are generally conducted, election results are often discredited simply because the losing candidates opt to interpret technical irregularities experienced in election administration as acts of electoral fraud perpetrated by the victorious candidates, in connivance with the Election Management Bodies. Ng'oma and Tessema then use evidence from the Republic of Zambia to illustrate that proper, effective and efficient institutional arrangements can actually promote and enhance the ethical and professional administration of national elections, and thereby reduce the high incidences of post-election conflict in Africa.

Much ink has been spilt on how women are generally portrayed in African Literature. However, the same cannot be said about the continent's elderly – both men and women. Very little appears to have been documented about various issues concerning Africa's aged. In his article, Cheela F.K. Chilala attempts to fill up the gap, by addressing various issues concerning Africa's elderly people, past and present. Chilala's article provides answers to various issues of how Africa's old people are perceived, characterised and treated in African fiction. The article also attempts to compare the portrayal of the aged in African and in Western literature.

It has been posited, and rightly so, that education is the passport to the future. For, indeed, the future belongs to those who prepare for it, either as individuals or as nations. In their article on education, Chakanika Wanga *et al.*, analyse the educational efforts made by the Government, in post-independence Zambia, to respond to the severe manpower shortage that the country was faced with. The co-authors note that, in order to produce more of the human resource that the country seriously needed in various facets of national development, the government-owned University of

Zambia introduced extension education as one of the offerings. The co-authors point out, nonetheless, how this well-intended educational policy was met with serious implementation challenges. On that basis, they offer various lessons of how extension education can best be run in a country, to avoid the problems that Zambia experienced.

In their article on health matters, Harriet Ntalasha *et al.*, explore the perceptions that characterise the use of anti-retroviral therapy (ART) in combating HIV and AIDS. Their key observation is that people's perceptions of the use of ART appeared to be evolving from negative to positive. That, according to the authors, is important in the sense that the observed change appeared to encourage those who were afflicted, to enlist and remain in the HIV continuum of care. The authors, thus, recommend that it is important for society to redress the negative perceptions of ART and to harness the positive ones, as a way of supporting participation in ART.

Studies abound that seem to favour the use of the mother tongue as the most effective language of instruction in the early years of formal education. Taking a leaf from such studies, the Zambian Government, in 2013, rolled out a new educational curriculum which stipulated that the language of instruction in the country's lower primary schools (that is Grades One to Four) would be the local language spoken in the area and not English which was simply acquired. Kenneth Kapalu Muzata took a keen interest in this policy shift. His article on familiar language versus mother tongue blends historical findings, published research and surveys. The author outlines the challenges faced by this policy shift. He also offers some recommendations on how to address the challenges encountered.

Finally, government decisions and actions sometimes tend to bring the state and its citizens into sharp conflict. In the Journal's closing article, Abdullahi Idiagbon recounts how the removal of subsidies in 2012, by President Goodluck Jonathan of Nigeria, ignited countrywide protests, characterised by the chanting of anti-government slogans, music, speeches and cartoons. Idiagbon employs a multi-modal approach to study the discourse of protest. The author comes to the conclusion that a protest staged by multitudes on the street, with the help of a public address system, placards and images is very effective and can attract not only national but international coverage as well.

I hope that the reader will derive great pleasure in reading this assortment of articles.

Alex Mwamba Ng'oma, PhD

Chief Editor

ETHICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS NECESSARY FOR THE PROFESSIONAL ADMINISTRATION OF NATIONAL ELECTIONS: Evidence from the Republic of Zambia

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*'All modern democracies hold elections, but not all elections (held) are democratic' -
U.S. Department of State's Bureau of International Information Programmes*

Abstract

This article takes a cue from the ever-growing literature on governance and security issues in contemporary Africa. It postulates that elections, and the manner in which they are administered, are a major cause of political conflict in many of the continent's 54 member countries. In addition to the unfavourable environment in which elections are generally conducted, election results are often discredited simply because the losing candidates opt to interpret technical irregularities experienced in election administration as acts of electoral fraud perpetrated by the victorious candidates, in connivance with the Election Management Bodies. This article uses evidence from the Republic of Zambia to illustrate that proper, effective and efficient institutional arrangements can promote and enhance the ethical and professional administration of national elections, and thereby reduce the high incidences of post-election conflict in Africa. From this perspective, the article presents seven such institutional arrangements.

Introduction

Contemporary Africa has been ravaged by what one commentator has aptly described as a 'governance crisis' (Salih, 1997: 1). This crisis, as illustrated by several of the continent's member countries,¹ has been characterised by political unrest and, in some cases, outright civil wars. This harsh reality is what has constituted the bedrock of the continent's economic and livelihood crises, together with their social ramifications. As if to conform to its western-centric description as the 'dark continent', contemporary Africa has the lowest per capita income and is home to at least 15 of the 27 poorest countries in the world.²

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This article takes a cue from the ever-growing literature on governance and security issues in contemporary Africa. It postulates that elections, and the environment in which they are organised and administered, rank very highly in the catalogue of the major causes of political conflict and instability in many African countries. It is a well-known fact that polities worldwide differ in their capacities to organise and conduct elections that are, and must be, democratic, peaceful, free, fair, credible and transparent, or can simply be said to be truly above board. In Africa, as the cases of the Ivory Coast, Kenya, Madagascar, Nigeria and Zimbabwe have recently demonstrated, elections (can) sometimes constitute a tightrope walk between war and peace, or between stability and instability. As Pastor (1999: 1) has rightly noted, ‘accidents (do) occur at the intersection between political suspicion (of electoral fraud) and the technical incapacity’ of electoral bodies to organise and conduct national elections that are credible. Many elections are often discredited simply because the losing candidates opt to interpret technical irregularities as fraudulent electoral acts perpetrated by the victorious candidates, in connivance with the electoral bodies tasked to organise and manage elections. Such technical shortcomings may, however, be simply due to administrative shortcomings in the way elections are administered.

Although a panacea for political stability is nowhere in sight anywhere in the world, this article proposes that proper, effective and efficient institutional arrangements can promote and enhance the ethical and professional administration of national elections and, thereby, reduce the high incidences of post-election conflict in Africa. From this perspective, the article identifies and analyses the following as the minimum institutional arrangements: a good and democratic Constitution; a suitable legal framework of the electoral process; an appropriate electoral system; an efficient and independent election management body; alternative dispute resolution and management mechanisms; a free and independent media; and a vibrant civil society.

This article uses evidence from the Republic of Zambia, to illustrate the workings of the suggested institutional arrangements. However, the article also makes reference to selected African countries as and when necessary. Furthermore, the data contained in this article has been gathered through desk research. As such, appropriate acknowledgement has been made accordingly.

Desirable Ethical and Institutional Arrangements

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the predecessor of the African Union (AU), did recognise the many challenges that emanated from disputed elections in its various member States. In an attempt to address those challenges, the continental body, on 8 July 2002, convened the 38th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, in Durban, South Africa. That Ordinary Session

culminated into what has now come to be known as the 2002 OAU/AU Declaration on Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa (AHG/Declarations 1-2: XXXVIII). The Declaration outlined, among other things: (a) the principles that African nations are expected to abide by when organising and conducting elections – elections which should be peaceful, free, fair and credible; (b) the responsibilities of the member States in the proper administration/management of national elections; and (c) the rights and obligations of the citizens in their involvement and participation in the electoral processes of their various countries (IDEA, 2012). The 2002 OAU/AU Declaration was made with the sole purpose of creating an environment which, it was hoped, would pre-empt election-related disputes and violence, thereby giving peace, unity and stability a chance to take root on the African continent.

On 26 May 2001, at a meeting held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, the OAU was transformed into the AU, by the representatives of the 54 member countries in attendance. Only Morocco opted out of the new continental body. A year later, on 9 July 2002, in Durban, South Africa, the AU was finally launched officially, thereby effectively replacing its predecessor, the OAU. During the First Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the African Union, the new continental body, on 9 July 2002, (in Durban, South Africa), adopted the protocol relating to the establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union. The Council was mandated to perform several functions. However, all of them were interrelated and converged around the promotion of peace, unity, stability and security in the member countries of the AU (Fish *et al.*, 2010 Assessment Study).

Finally, on 30 January 2007, the leaders of the AU member States met in Addis Ababa, during the 8th Ordinary Session of the African Union. At that meeting, the delegates adopted the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (Rukambe, 2011). A key objective of the Charter was the promotion of a culture of holding transparent, periodic, credible, free and fair elections as well as the institutionalisation of the legitimate authority of representative government and regime change. In a nutshell, the 2007 AU framework sought the promotion, by all member States, of adherence to the universal values and principles of democracy and the respect for humanitarian principles.

It can, thus, be seen from the foregoing brief background information, that the AU has endeavoured to create normative frameworks which, if adopted and implemented faithfully, can promote a culture of organising and conducting legitimate, credible, free, fair and transparent elections in all the AU member states. That way, political tension, conflict and instability related to elections can effectively be averted or minimised in the AU member countries.

At a regional level, Southern Africa has already put three normative frameworks in place. First, there is a set of ‘Norms and Standards’ which was adopted by the SADC-Parliamentary Forum in Windhoek, Namibia, on 25 March 2001. This framework covers three main areas, namely; Elections and individual human rights; Elections and governments; and Transparency and integrity in the electoral process (SADC-PF, 2001).

Second, there is an instrument consisting of ‘Principles for Election Management, Monitoring, and Observation in the SADC Region’. This instrument was crafted in 2003, in Johannesburg, South Africa, by the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA). Like its SADC-PF counterpart, the 2003 instrument covers several areas of the electoral process as follows:

1. The institutional framework of elections;
2. Activities in the pre-election period;
3. Activities during the election period;
4. Activities in the post-election period; and
5. Election observation and monitoring in the entire electoral cycle.

Third, and finally, there is a document known as the ‘SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections and Elections Observer Missions’. This document was adopted by the SADC Heads of State and Government in 2004, in Mauritius. The principles contained in this document commit the member States to good electoral practices and also define their duties and responsibilities in the electoral processes of their respective countries.

What is required, therefore, is for the African nations to adopt both the continental and the regional framework for the ethical and professional administration of elections and to scale them down to the level of domestication into national frameworks. Caution must be exercised, though, to be mindful of the fact that the domestication of continental and regional frameworks of ethical and professional administration of elections is one thing and practically translating them into a culture of democratic, free, fair and credible elections is another thing altogether. This being the case, measures must be put in place, by the AU and the various regional bodies in Africa, to ensure that the excellent principles contained in the continental and regional frameworks for the ethical and professional administration of elections do not remain mere academic or public relations exercise. This chapter proposes that one way of enforcing adherence to, and the application of these principles is by making them legally binding on all the member countries. That way, countries failing to observe, or apply them can be called to account.

The ensuing paragraphs present several suggested institutional arrangements deemed to be desirable for the ethical and professional administration of national elections.

1. A Good and Democratic Constitution

A good and democratic national Constitution³ is, as the case of the United States of America has demonstrated, a recipe for lasting peace, unity, stability and development in a nation. This is because such a Constitution transcends individual as well as partisan interests and binds the nation together in a unity of purpose, without discrimination. African nations should, thus, take a leaf from the USA, and do everything in their power to put good and democratic Constitutions in place and to faithfully use them in their governance practices.

A good and democratic Constitution endures because it is not imposed on the citizens; rather, the citizens give it to themselves, through consensus building and inclusive participation in the Constitution-making process. To emphasise, consensus built around both the content of the Constitution and the manner, or process, of its promulgation is what makes this sacred document stand the test of time. Any attempt, either by an individual, a group of individuals or a political party, to manipulate the Constitution, either in the Constitution-making process or in its application, most certainly relegates society to anarchy and chaos. All the individual members of society, irrespective of their colour, sex, gender, religion, language, and ability or disability, irrespective of the political arrangement in place, and also irrespective of the social and economic dynamics in the nation, should be able to find solace and comfort in the national Constitution (Committee for a Clean Campaign, 1996).

A good and democratic Constitution, furthermore, is a grand stabiliser and pacifier of society; this is because such a Constitution serves a number of important functions which directly translate into the aforementioned societal benefits (Odoki, 1991). First, a good and democratic Constitution is an embodiment of the hopes, beliefs, values, ideas, interests, aspirations and principles upon which society is organised and governed (Johari, 2010). These elements, taken together, shape society's vision and give it direction in its march to the future.

Second, a good and democratic Constitution determines the structure of government and, accordingly, demarcates it into what is traditionally known as the three branches of government, namely; the legislature, the executive and the judiciary (Raymond, 1973). By demarcating the structure of government in this manner, the Constitution also apportions functions to the said branches of government as well as defines and limits their powers, thereby establishing the cardinal principle of checks and balances among them.

Third, a good and democratic Constitution establishes a government based on the rule of law rather than a government based on the rule of men (Johari, 2010). The United Nations Security Council explains that the rule of law prevails in a nation when 'all persons, institutions and entities, public and private, including the State

itself, are accountable to laws that are publicly promulgated, equally enforced and independently adjudicated, and which are consistent with international human rights norms and standards'. The principle being propounded here is simply that the law, rather than the arbitrary will or momentary and changing whims and caprices of men should rule (Nwabueze, 1993). When the rule of law prevails, anarchy and dictatorial government are avoided and peace, unity and stability are given a chance to flourish.

Fourth, a good and democratic Constitution is the basis for political participation in public affairs. This is because such a Constitution embodies enforceable principles, such as civil and political liberties, which guarantee the citizens' enjoyment of their freedoms. Above all else, such principles, together with the laws that they give birth to, are enforceable by the Judiciary, and this pre-empts the temptation by some people to take matters into their own hands whenever they feel aggrieved.

Fifth, and finally, a good and democratic Constitution creates a socio-political framework which acts like a peace treaty in society (Odoki, 1991). To elaborate, when consensus is built in the Constitution-making process, the citizens are more likely, thereafter, to embrace the Constitution as their own document and are, naturally, more inclined to accord it the respect it deserves. In other words, the people will be more willing to safeguard and defend it in all situations.

In a nutshell, to satisfactorily fulfil the foregoing purposes, a Constitution should be a product of a process that answers the following three cardinal questions in a non-biased way (Mwale, 2005): Why do we need a new Constitution? What should be the content of the new Constitution? What process should we follow in reviewing the Constitution? In seeking answers to these fundamental questions, furthermore, consensus-building is the password that actually binds the citizens together and leads to the crafting of a good, democratic and enduring national Constitution. In Africa, some of the political conflicts that the continent has witnessed have been sparked off partly by the fact that the political players who have led the Constitution-making process have tended to ignore the guidance of answers to these important questions. Instead, they have opted to pursue personal or partisan agendas. Zambia's Constitution-making process is a case in point.

Since independence in 1964, Zambia has had five Constitution Review Commissions that is, the Chona Constitution Review Commission of 1972; the Mvunga Constitution Review Commission of 1990; the Mwanakatwe Constitution Review Commission of 1993; the Mung'omba Constitution Review Commission of 2003; and the Silungwe Constitution Review Commission of 2011.

Zambia's past Constitutional Reviews indicate that various factors, among them political, economic, and personal considerations of incumbent presidents and their respective political parties, were the drivers of these processes. Nonetheless, and

as one enthusiastic observer has correctly noted, the majority of the Zambian people did not embrace the outputs of the first three Constitution Review Commissions. That was because they regarded the recommendations of the three Constitution Review Commissions as lacking legitimacy since they all were government-driven as opposed to being people-driven (Mwale, 2005).

Agreeably, Zambia's first Constitution Review terminated multipartyism and inaugurated the One-party State system of government, against the will of the majority of the people of Zambia. The second Constitution Review reverted the country to multipartyism but merely repealed the constitutional Clause which had proscribed multipartyism – it did not undertake a full review of the Constitution as was expected. The third Constitution Review controversially barred former President, Kenneth David Kaunda, from re-contesting the presidency on the pretext that he was not a Zambian since both of his parents were Malawian by origin. The same Constitution Review also prohibited traditional leaders from direct participation in partisan politics. The fourth Constitution Review proposed progressively that the Republican President should be elected by 50 per cent plus 1 of the total votes cast and that the Republican Vice President should constitutionally be the presidential candidate's running mate; these proposals were, nonetheless, turned down by the government. The fifth Constitution Review was intended to combine into one document, all the progressive suggestions contained in the first four Constitutions, but President Michael Chilufya Sata of the Patriotic Front (PF) defaulted on his promise of giving the Nation a people-driven Constitution in 90 days.

It is important to note that the making of a good and democratic Constitution is an exercise that is, and must be, grounded in very serious ethical considerations. This is because the exercise must address, as well, the question of the dignity of man which, itself, is not constitutional but rather God-given. Alongside this question, the Constitution must address also the moral questions of man's rights and freedoms, through an appropriate Bill of Rights, as well as the issues of the common good, and concern for vulnerable groups in society. When the Constitution addresses these and other important considerations in an impartial way, then, and only then, will it live up to its expectation, as the great equaliser and stabiliser of society? And this way too, peace, unity, stability, good governance and development will be given a chance in society.

2. A Suitable Legal Framework of the Electoral Process

Transparent, free, fair, and credible elections are widely recognised as a cornerstone of every democratic dispensation (Dercon and Gutierrez-Romero, 2010). From the

United Nations Declaration of Human Rights [Article 21 (3)] to the African Union's Charter on Democracy, Elections and Good Governance, to the SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections, the need for transparent, free, fair and credible elections is affirmed. By allowing citizens to decide the manner in which they want to be governed, such elections 'form the starting point of all the other good governance practices' (Bjornlund, 2010: 4). To elaborate, elections constitute an institutional arrangement for selecting, from among several candidates, the individuals perceived to be the best for public offices. In this sense, elections accord the citizens an opportunity to exercise their franchise and choose the people they really want to serve them as their representatives or spokespersons in public affairs.

Second, elections accord the citizens a chance to step forward and offer their candidature for public office. From this perspective, elections are and can be said to be, an avenue for the people's political participation in the public affairs of their countries. It is important for the citizens to be patriotic and, hence, participate actively in public affairs. For, it is now sufficiently clear, that globally, democracy is recognised as not being a spectator sport.

Third, elections are regarded as a vehicle for holding elected officials accountable to the voters. That is to say, elected officials who desire to be re-elected in the next round of elections must diligently serve the people as well as fulfill their campaign promises to them, in their first term of office, in order to win their hearts and minds (Johari, 2010; Nwabuzor and Muller, 1985; Ball, 1983). It was in this context that the British philosophy, jurist and social reformer, Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), once admonished that the people, as voters, actually possessed dislocative power and could, if they so wished, use it to dislodge and substitute elected officials whose public performance they adjudged to have been poor.

Fourth, elections are, by design, a vehicle for producing a legislature that is in tune with the hopes, dreams, aspirations and expectations of the citizens at a particular time. That is to say, those that come to be elected as lawmakers should champion the national agenda rather than pursuing personal interests.

Fifth, and finally, elections are intended to ensure that a government that is put in place has the blessings of the majority of the people. That way, such a government is likely to enjoy the sympathy and support of the people even in hard and challenging times.

Unfortunately, however, transparent, free, fair and credible elections, desirable as they are, do not just happen; rather, respective societies must consciously make them happen. The starting point for performing this political feat is for nations to make sure that they put in place, suitable legal frameworks for their countries' electoral

processes.⁴ The electoral process of a country is simply the procedure that is to be followed by the citizens of a country in choosing their preferred public officials as well as in offering their candidature for public office.

The National Constitution of a democratic country, discussed briefly in Section (a) above, normally contains a country's Electoral Act. The Electoral Act, in turn, contains, (or should contain), among other things, provisions that specifically address various aspects of a country's elections and the electoral process. It spells out, (or should spell out), the dos and the don'ts in the electoral process. It also states (or should state), in no unequivocal terms, the relevant qualifications for both the candidates and the voters in the electoral process. In the same vein, the Electoral Act also specifies (or should specify) the conditions under which either a voter or a candidate can be disqualified from participation in the electoral process. In Zambia, for example, the legal framework of the electoral process was created by the Electoral Act, Chapter 13 of the Laws of Zambia. It addresses, in no unequivocal terms, such issues as (Kabanda, 2008; Banda, 2004):

- (a) The way presidential, parliamentary and local government elections must be conducted;
- (b) The necessary qualifications for election as Republican President, MP, or Councillor;
- (c) The necessary qualifications for registration as a voter;
- (d) The grounds on which a potential voter can be disqualified from registering as a voter, and also the grounds on which a registered voter can actually be disqualified from voting;
- (e) The role and the powers of the Electoral Commission of Zambia in the electoral process;
- (f) The independence of the Electoral Commission of Zambia;
- (g) The appointment, remuneration and functions of electoral officers; and
- (h) Who may present an election petition and how?

The Electoral Act of a country is also the basis for the country's Electoral Code of Conduct. The Electoral Code of Conduct is simply a set of guidelines which stipulates the expected behaviour of all the political stakeholders. It specifies the kind of sanctions that await any stakeholder or organisation that does not comply with it. Zambia's Electoral Code of Conduct was formulated by the country's electoral body, in line with Section 109 of the Electoral Act, 2006. Its purpose is to create and promote conditions that are deemed to be favourable for free and fair elections. The Code has several Sections which deal specifically with various aspects of the electoral process.

They include the duties of all political players, political parties, the media, election monitors, election observers, and law enforcement agencies (ECZ, 2011).

To come up with such a Code of Conduct, Zambia organised several national workshops which brought the representatives of various stakeholders together. Because they provided input into the Electoral Code of Conduct, the stakeholders have had, generally, no problem abiding by its specifications.

3. An Appropriate Electoral System

The electoral system of a country, referred to also as the voting system, is, at the most basic level, the method used by the authority responsible for organising elections in the said country; it translates votes (for candidates) into seats (or offices) for representatives, although it can also be used, directly or indirectly, to translate policy preferences into decisions in a referendum (Norris, 1997; Liphart, 1994). A more comprehensive description, or definition, of an electoral system, should, however, include specifications of who qualifies to vote (franchise); who qualifies to stand as a candidate; how, where and when to vote; the size of the constituencies, and so on (Ball, 1983).

The choice, design, or reform of the electoral system of a country is a very complex undertaking and is one of the main sources of post-election conflict. This is because the electoral system determines who, among the candidates, gets elected and who does not, or which political party forms a government and which one does not (The Republic of Zambia, 2004). In many cases, the losing candidates, or losing political parties, tend to point an accusing finger, rightly or wrongly, at the electoral system in place. A case in point is that of the United States of America (USA) presidential poll of 7 November 2000 in which Al Gore won the popular vote but lost Florida's Electoral College and, thereby also lost the American Presidency to George W. Bush (son of former American President George H.W. Bush).

Bearing the foregoing concerns in mind, the Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) has suggested that the best approach to electoral systems design is that of first outlining the main goals of the desired electoral system. This, according to IDEA (1997), should then be followed by the selection of the electoral system, or a combination of electoral systems that best meet the stated goals (IDEA, 1997). From that perspective, IDEA (1997) suggests the following as the criteria that should be taken into account in the process of electoral systems design; the need to:

- (a) Create a Parliament that has a national character in its outlook, programmes and functions;
- (b) Create a voting system that makes it easy for the citizens to vote (accessibility

- to polling places) and also makes them feel that their individual and collective votes do matter in the electoral process (reliability);
- (c) Create a system that offers possibilities of alternative conflict resolution and management mechanisms and processes, such as reconciliation;
 - (d) Produce a government that is perceived by the citizens to be fair, impartial, and efficient;
 - (e) Create a system that holds the government as well as the elected representatives accountable to the electorate;
 - (f) Create a system that favours and enhances political party unity and stability rather than factionalism;
 - (g) Create a system that promotes the existence of a strong parliamentary opposition; and finally,
 - (h) Create a system that can be supported by the country's financial and administrative capacity.

Although electoral systems fall into numerous categories, they can, in practice, be grouped into three broad families: (i) proportional electoral systems; (ii) majoritarian electoral systems; and (iii) plurality electoral systems.

4. An Efficient and Independent Election Management Body

As mentioned in Section 2 above, an election is deemed to be 'free' and 'fair' if it is, among other things, organised and conducted under democratic electoral laws and regulations. The terms 'free' and 'fair,' as used in Section 2 above, warrant elaboration, to pre-empt misunderstanding. To begin with, an election is deemed to be 'free' if the voters that are participating in it are allowed, in the pre-election, the election, and the post-election periods, to freely exercise or enjoy their political liberties or freedoms, (such as the freedom of assembly, freedom of expression, freedom of association, etc.). And an election is deemed to be 'fair' if the political environment or political playing field in which the election is conducted is level for all the contestants or political players and, thus, does not give undue advantage to anyone of them, or to the party that they belong to, if they are not independents. Thus, the freeness of an election applies to the electorate while the fairness of an election concerns the contestants or candidates and the parties they belong to if they are not independents.

Another criterion that an election must fulfil in order for it to be deemed 'free' and 'fair' is that it must be organised and conducted by an independent and impartial Election Management Body (EMB) or Electoral Commission (ECF, 2007). According to the Electoral Commissions Forum of SADC Countries, there are a number of conditions that an EMB should fulfil if it is to conduct elections that meet the

specifications of the free and fair elections criteria (ECF, 2007). First, the manner in which the EMB itself is established should be agreed on a priori, by all the major political players, or their representatives, and should be enshrined in the country's Constitution. That way, the work and the integrity of the EMB will most likely not be called into question, unnecessarily, by any of the political players.

Second, the composition of the EMB, (which should be gender-sensitive), together with the qualifications and appointment procedure of its personnel, should also be agreed on a priori, by all the major stakeholders, or their representatives, and should be enshrined in a country's Constitution as well. Consensus built around these and other related issues, such as openness and transparency in the appointment of the EMB officials, stands to enhance respect for, and credibility in the EMB and the work it is intended to do.

Third, the EMB should be granted leeway to operate independently – meaning that no entity or individual, either from within or from outside, should be allowed to manipulate, control or influence its work in any way whatsoever. For this condition to prevail, the independence of a nation's EMB must be guaranteed by enshrining it in the National Constitution.

Zambia's EMB is called the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ). The creation of the ECZ was provided for by the Electoral Commission Act, No. 24 of 1996 of the Laws of Zambia. The composition, appointment procedure of the commissioners, internal organisation, as well as the operations of the ECZ are all specified in the Electoral Commission Act, No. 24 of 1996 of the Laws of Zambia. However, the operations of the ECZ have not been without controversy. To begin with, all the commissioners are appointed by the Republican President, subject to ratification by Parliament. This is clearly out of step with the guidelines of the ECF of SADC countries which stipulate that the commissioners should be appointed by an independent committee representing key stakeholders, and should be ratified by Parliament (ECF, 2007). The leaders of the opposition political parties in Zambia have tended to question the independence, integrity and impartiality of the ECZ. Their observation, or concern, is that commissioners who are appointed by one person – the Republican President in this case – are likely to adopt an attitude of favouring the appointing authority.

Other complaints about the ECZ have centred around: how poor funding of the institution hampers its activities and operations, how lack of election-related technology hinders the institution's efforts in its attempts to organise and administer elections in an efficient and effective manner, in line with practices in modern societies, and, finally, how inadequate qualifications of some of the commissioners appointed to the EMB undermines performance. It is important to ensure that all the lingering

questions about a country's EMB are addressed and addressed adequately, to forestall confidence in the country's electoral process.

5. Alternative Dispute Resolution Mechanisms

Disputes are an inevitable feature of every human society. A dispute, simply put, is usually a short-term disagreement, or a difference in opinion, involving two or more people, or parties, about an issue, a procedure, and so on, which can sometimes have the potential to generate into a long-term, deep-rooted conflict of some kind. As noted earlier, disputes are not uncommon in the electoral process. This is particularly because of the high stakes that are involved in elections. It is not uncommon to hear that national election results have been disputed by the losing party and its candidates. This was the case when Hakainde Hichilema of the United Party for National Development (UPND) refused to concede defeat in Zambia's presidential by-election which took place on 20 January 2015. Hichilema insisted that his party had, in his view, won the election and that the election had only been stolen from him.

In view of the foregoing, countries can enhance their chances of promoting peace and national unity by devising effective ways and means of diffusing or neutralising societal tension before it escalates into long-term conflict. One way to do so is by putting in place, a carefully worked-out strategy for alternative dispute resolution (ADR). The term 'alternative dispute resolution', as used in this paper, refers to a wide array of practices, techniques and approaches employed in resolving and managing disagreements, alternative to full-scale court processes, such as litigation and the judicial enforcement of verdicts (Foundation for Cultural Policy Research Cupore, 2014). The commonest ADR mechanisms are negotiation, conciliation, mediation, arbitration, and expert opinions.

In Zambia, the ECZ has formed what are known as National Conflict Resolution Committees. These Committees consist of eminent persons who represent Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), political parties, and the Church Mother Bodies. The members of these Committees were first trained in conflict resolution and management skills. They operate at the local, district, regional and the national levels. Their mandate is to handle political disputes as soon as they become aware of them. That way, such disputes are nipped in the bud, before they escalate into serious political conflicts.

6. A Free and Independent Media

The media, both print and electronic, can, without hesitation, be described as the lifeblood of the democratic process. This is because of the vital roles that they play in democratic transition and consolidation processes. Firstly, the media plays an

informational role by publicising electoral issues and activities. They can, and do, inform the citizens of such things as: the kind of elections that will be coming up (that is, national, regional, and/or local); the dates and times of the by-elections; the participants or contestants in the by-election (that is, the political parties and their candidates) as well as the manifestoes and programmes of the various political parties; the scheduling of voter registration; delimitation of constituencies; the location of the polling stations and the times when they will open and close; the kinds of identity cards to be presented when registering as a voter and also when actually voting, and so on. The electronic media also perform a voter educational role by explaining, especially to citizens who are illiterate, the procedures involved in voting.

Secondly, the media, both print and electronic, play an analytical role, by critically scrutinising the contesting parties, their manifestos and their candidates as well. This requires that the media borrow from their banks of objective research on political parties and their credentials and convert party facts into working knowledge for the electorate. This way, they assist the citizens in making informed electoral choices rather than being guided by blind party loyalty.

Thirdly, media houses and institutions help the cause of democracy by providing fora for public debates and discussions. Such debates and discussions are important in a democratic dispensation because they accord the citizens an opportunity to listen to and, hence, be able to compare and contrast, the various viewpoints, opinions, ideas and beliefs of the various political parties and their candidates.

Fourthly, media houses and institutions play a watchdog role which aids democracy. This, they do by keeping a watchful eye on the entire electoral process and publicising their findings accordingly. For example, they investigate and report on allegations of electoral fraud or malpractices and, thereby, protect and enhance the integrity of a country's electoral process.

Fifthly, and finally, the media, both print and electronic, are, and can be, tools or instruments for peace-building and conflict resolution. The sad story of the 1994 Rwanda massacre reeks of the failure, by the media in that country, to build peace across ethnic groupings. By reporting truthfully and factually, the media can, in a nation, clarify misunderstanding and, hence, pre-empt conflict.

To be able to play these roles successfully and objectively, as well as to operate ethically and professionally, the media, both print and electronic, need to be free and independent from the control of any individuals, groups of individuals or institutions. To be truly independent, the media houses and institutions must not be owned by the government, or political parties, but rather by business houses. They must also not be dependent on the government for their funding.

In Zambia, two of the three leading newspapers – *The Zambia Daily Mail* and *The Times of Zambia*,⁵ are government-owned and controlled. The largest TV station the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC), is also government-owned and controlled. It is not uncommon for such media houses to offer slanted coverage, in favour of the government and against the opposition political parties. It is not surprising, therefore, that calls for the privatisation of such media houses abound.

7. A Vibrant Civil Society

In a democratic dispensation, transparent, free, fair and credible elections are, without doubt, a necessary benchmark. However, on their own, such elections are not a sufficient condition for forging and preserving peace, unity and stability in a nation. As Gilley (2010: 16) notes, ‘a healthy democracy requires more than elections.’ Another important ingredient in the recipe for a stable governance system is the presence of a strong, vibrant and resilient civil society.

A vibrant civil society, as described in the preceding paragraph, is undoubtedly one of the pillars of ‘the house of democracy’. Conceptually, there is no consensus on what should be included under the rubric of civil society. However, this term can be taken to refer narrowly to the aggregate of social organisations, associations and institutions that are not part of the public sector, are formed voluntarily, operate independently of the state, and exist predominantly to influence the government’s formulation and/or implementation of public policy, for the benefit of the members of the general public (Applebaum, 2012; Bjornlund, 2004; Blair, in Hulme and Edwards, eds., 1997; Fowler, 1997; Korten, 1997; The Commonwealth Foundation 1996; Nwabueze, 1993; Putnam, 1993; and Hansmann, 1986). To put it more succinctly, civil society encompasses the gamut of organisations, associations and institutions – collectively referred to simply as Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) – which includes: Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), Community-Based Organisations (CBOs), Voluntary Associations (VAs), labour unions, student unions, professional associations, chambers of commerce, ethnic associations, faith-based organisations, cultural associations, sports clubs, informal groups, and so on.

At the centre of a vibrant civil society are NGOs. A vibrant civil society, driven by NGOs, supplies the glue that binds a nation together. This, it does by being committed to public interest causes, such as environmental protection and management, good governance reflecting human rights protection, promotion of women’s issues, fighting corruption, and monitoring election (Carothers and Barndt, Foreign Policy, No. 117). To exemplify, a vibrant civil society demands that all the political players, particularly those in government, adhere to democratic tenets, values and expectations (Gilley, 2010: 16). In Zambia, NGOs have been instrumental in demanding that all the public

officials, in their political behaviour, always observe and abide by the known tenets, values and norms of democracy. In countries undergoing democratisation, NGOs tend to assume the role of midwives; they initiate freshmen democrats into a culture of political activism hitherto unknown to them (Ng'oma, 2008). For example, they teach the new political converts the need to be active participants in national elections, as candidates or as voters, or both, and to always observe the rules of the political game.

Non-Governmental Organisations are also concerned with the political exclusion of marginalised groups in society (Friedman, 1996). From this perspective, NGOs tend to put on the coats and hats of the agents of bottom-up democratic practice. In this role of theirs, NGOs seek to widen possibilities for the political participation of marginalised groups, such as women (Lijphart, 1984). In Zambia, for instance, the Women's Lobby and the Women for Change, among other NGOs, have been actively campaigning for increased women's participation in the country's decision-making processes in the top echelons of the corridors of power. Their efforts have not gone unrewarded. In January 2015, a woman, Inonge Wina - was appointed as Zambia's first ever Republican Vice President; and three years prior to that, three other distinguished women were given senior government appointments; one as Inspector General of the Police (Stella Libongani), the second as Director of the Anti-Corruption Commission (Roswin Wandu); and the third as Director of the Drug Enforcement Commission (Alita Mbahwe).

On a different note, a virile civil society can keep a watchful eye on the manner in which political power is put to use by those in whose hands it is entrusted. This way, CSOs can resist any attempts, by public officials, to use political power in ultra vires ways. Similarly, any attempts by public officials, to abuse the authority of their public offices can be checked by the masses, acting through CSOs. By performing such roles, CSOs contribute positively to the inculcation of a culture of the proper use of state power by elected officials. This is particularly important in newly democratising nations where the remnants of dictatorial tendencies tend to manifest and must, thus, be kept in check.

Finally, NGOs are involved, and they must be involved, in election monitoring worldwide, in order to enhance the credibility of the electoral process. The background to this activity is that emerging democracies, such as Zambia, generally encounter challenges in organising elections that can be deemed as transparent, free, fair and credible (Pastor, 1999). Questionable voter registration and voter education exercises, a marginalised or even silenced citizenry, inadequate technical skills on the part of the electoral officials, assertions of electoral fraud and insufficient or biased oversight by the electoral bodies and many other factors often conspire to taint the polling results obtained after an election (FODEP, 1996). It is from this perspective that election monitoring and election observation by CSOs become not only desirable but also important.

Election monitoring refers to the process of keeping a watchful eye over the entire electoral process of a country, so as to be able to objectively attest, after an election has taken place, whether or not the election in question was organised and conducted according to a country's electoral laws and procedures as well as according to the internationally recognised criteria for free and fair elections (IDEA, 1999). Election monitoring does not take place only on the day that the election is being conducted, rather, it covers three distinct periods, namely; the period preceding the election, the Election Day itself, as well as the brief period following the announcement of the election results. In all these phases, CSOs are available to bear witness to the process. The Carter Center of the United States of America is well-known for election monitoring worldwide. Zambia's Foundation for Democratic Process has monitored all the national elections that have been conducted in Zambia since the organisation's founding in 1991 (FODEP, 2012).

Conclusion

While conflict will always characterise plural politics, it is possible to implement measures to reduce its occurrence. This article has asserted that one way of forging peace, unity and stability in a nation is by paying proper attention to the manner in which national elections are organised and administered. More specifically, the article proposes that great attention should be paid to seven institutional arrangements as follows: ensuring that a country has a good and democratic Constitution; ensuring that a country has a suitable legal framework of the electoral process; putting in place an appropriate electoral system; creating an efficient and independent Election Management Body; putting in place alternative dispute resolution and management mechanisms; ensuring that the nation has a free and independent media; and allowing CSOs to emerge, to become strong and to operate without intimidation or interference. Consensus needs to be built around these institutional arrangements. That way, suspicion and disagreements that tend to lead to violent protest, and thereby disrupt national peace, can be avoided.

End Notes

1. Among them are: Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, Congo DR, Egypt, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mozambique, Rwanda, Tunisia, Somalia, and The Sudan.
2. WHO. (2011). 'The Abuja Declaration: Ten Years On.'
3. A Constitution, defined in political terms, is the supreme law of the land. In simple terms, it can be said to be a set of laws and principles, written or unwritten, which:

- (a) outlines the powers and limitations of government; (b) stipulates the structure or organisation and functioning of the government in terms of institutions, procedures and processes; and (c) specifies the rights and obligations of the citizens vis-à-vis the State (Raymond, 1973; Johari, 2010).
4. The term ‘electoral process’, as used in this chapter, refers to the series of political activities that culminates into the selection, by the electorate, of one person between or among competing candidates, to occupy a particular public office and serve as the people’s representative or spokesperson.
 5. The third one is the privately owned *Post Newspaper*.

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STANDING IN THE CIRCLE: Images of Old People in African Literature

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Abstract

A lot has been written about the portrayal of women in African literature, but very little has been written on how the old are portrayed. This work focuses on portraits of old men and women in African literature. Are they positive or negative? What factors influence the portraiture of the old? Is there a correlation between the portrayal and treatment of elderly characters in African fiction and society? Are the old portrayed the same in African literature as they are in Western literature?

Keywords: social gerontology, archetypes, stereotypes, wisdom, African literature, old characters

Introduction

This article is concerned with how the old are treated in African literature. This includes the question of whether the images of the old are negative or positive, and whether the treatment and portrayals reflect what goes on in the societies which produce the literature. This article analyses selected African literary texts, including three Zambian texts: John Luangala's *The Chosen Bud*, Binwell Sinyangwe's *Quills of Desire*, and Gideon Phiri's *Ticklish Sensation*. Other texts include Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* (1958), Wole Soyinka's *The Lion and the Jewel* and *Kongi's Harvest*, Meja Mwangi's *Kill Me Quick*, and Ferdinand Oyono's *The Old Man and the Medal*.

The question of how old people are treated in literature is not peculiar to African literature but can even be related to classical Greek literature, from as early as Homer's *Odyssey*, which includes an old blind prophet called Teiresias, a character who plays a critical role in later works particularly, Sophocles' *Theban Plays*, *Oedipus Rex* and *Antigone*. The old prophet is the mouthpiece of the Greek gods, the human guardian of divine wisdom.

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In *The Odyssey*, Odysseus goes down to Hades to consult the spirit of Teiresias regarding what to expect on his journey back home (Homer, 2003: 143-4). In *Oedipus Rex*, even Oedipus, who later turns against Teiresias, considers the blind prophet to be a source of wisdom and specially gifted with divine insight. When the city-state of Thebes suffers under the weight of a plague, Oedipus calls for Teiresias to help with a solution (Sophocles, 1974: 35).

This is a case of the wise old man archetype which we also find in Orwell's classic work *Animal Farm*. Old Major, the prize boar who sparks off the farm animals' rebellion against Mr Jones, is associated with wisdom: 'Old Major... was so highly regarded on the farm that everyone was quite ready to lose an hour's sleep in order to hear what he had to say' (Orwell, 1945: 5). Old Major had a 'wise and benevolent appearance' (*ibid.*: 6).

Within the Western tradition, however, the old person is sometimes portrayed as wicked, destructive, uncaring and selfish. The most common image is that of a witch. Thus, for example, in the famous Grimm tale, *Hansel and Grethel*, the two young children, Hansel and Grethel, lose their way and end up at the house of an old woman who, 'leaning on a crutch' (Grimm, 1993: 92), initially appears to be harmless. However, her behaviour is deceitful because, in reality, she is 'a wicked witch, who lay in wait for children' whom she would entice into her house, then kill and eat them (*ibid.*, 93). Hansel and Grethel, however, outwit the old witch and escape death.

In Shakespeare's play *Macbeth*, the events are largely shaped by the influence of three old witches whose entrance greets us at the beginning of the play (Macbeth, Act 1, Scene 1; Gill, 1977: 1). These Shakespearian hags are not associated with moral uprightness or wisdom, but rather with wickedness and devilish knowledge of the future which they exploit to manipulate Macbeth and influence events.

In Hans Christian Andersen's tale, *The Story of a Mother*, death is presented as a poor old man who mercilessly takes away a mother's beloved little baby. In the story, death is determined to take away the baby despite pleas of mercy from the child's mother, thus, projecting the image of a bringer of sorrow and pain (Andersen, 1993).

Theoretical Framework

This work is anchored on two theories. First, social gerontology and, second, Carl Jung's theory of archetypes. Brossoie (2015: 20) defines gerontology as 'the scientific study of ageing that examines the biological, psychological, and sociological (biopsychosocial) factors associated with old age and ageing.' Brossoie adds that '... biological factors include genetic background and physical health; psychological influences include the level of cognition, mental health status, and general well-being; and sociological factors range from personal relationships to the cultures, policies, and infrastructure

that organise society' (20). Social gerontology is, therefore, a subfield of gerontology, concerned with the sociological factors of old age and ageing.

Social gerontology is also concerned with the concept of old age. What do we mean when we say a particular person is old? What is ageing? These questions are pertinent to this study because they focus on the treatment of 'the old' in selected African literary texts. As Brossoie (2015: 4) observes, however, the concept of old age is slippery; 'Old age is a difficult and complex concept to grasp because the idea of ageing is constantly changing. What was thought to be old in the 19th Century is considered middle age now. Policymakers have used the age of 65 as a marker in establishing policies affecting old people. Whatever classification of ageing you choose to use is a matter of preference, as long as you realise the limitations and variations implied by the term old age.'

Brossoie (2015)'s observation implies, and justifiably so, that old age and ageing are social constructs. Perceptions of old age or ageing, therefore, may differ from one society to another. This is generally true of African societies, particularly as reflected in the texts selected for analysis in this study. A cross-cutting perception, however, is that old people are a valuable asset to any society because of their experiential knowledge. 'Throughout history, older people have been generally valued for their experience, insight, and the wisdom they can share with others. Leadership is frequently bestowed upon older adults because of a social belief that wisdom and experience are acquired over time. However, conferring respect and responsibility to older adults has not always been consistent' (Brossoie, 2015: 20).

The inconsistency referred to by Brossoie is due, in part, to the assumption that wisdom is not an automatic product of ageing. In other words, not every old person is wise, although the process of ageing can make one wiser due to having more experience. Bengston and Schaie (1999: 50) make a pertinent observation, 'As with many other phenomena of ageing, wisdom is not a natural outcome of living longer, but it does require some level of experience. On the other hand, wisdom qualifies as a potentially positive outcome of ageing and deserves serious attention.'

The inconsistency in respecting old people may also be due to ageism, which Brossoie (2015: 20) defines as the 'systematic labelling and discrimination against people who are old. Ageism, generally, tends to be associated with social stereotypes about older people. Brossoie (22) sheds some light on ageist stereotypes as orchestrated by the media, 'The media regularly perpetuate the stereotypes of older people through inaccurate and sometimes demeaning portrayals of old people as in print, advertising, and entertainment.... The entertainment industry plays a major role in perpetuating age stereotypes.... Movie scripts tend to feature old people as characters only when they are reclusive (*Finding Forrester*), dying (*The Notebook*), or facing their own mortality (*The Bucket List*).'

This study is concerned, in part, with the question of whether ageist stereotypes are a factor in the portrayal of the old in African literature as they are in the media. Generally, the study is concerned with how older people are portrayed, both negatively and positively, in African literature, using selected texts as a microcosm.

Carl Jung's theory of archetypes and the collective unconscious is an important tool for analysis in this study. In his seminal work, *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, Jung distinguishes between the personal unconscious and the collective unconscious, arguing that the former emanates from and is built upon the latter, which is a deeper layer in the human psyche and 'which does not derive from personal experience and is not a personal acquisition but is inborn' (1959: 4). The collective unconscious, Jung postulates, is not individual but universal and is distinguished from the personal unconscious by the fact that its contents and modes of behaviour are more or less the same in every society and all individuals. While the personal unconscious is attributable to the efforts of the individual, the collective unconscious is not; it is, on the contrary, acquired at birth; 'it is, in other words, identical in all men and thus constitutes a common psychic substrate of a suprapersonal nature which is present in every one of us' (Jung, 1959: 4).

The contents of the collective unconscious are what Jung refers to as images, or more commonly, archetypes (Rosenfield, 1967; Read *et al.*, 1969). Archetypes are inherited from our ancestors and are atavistic in nature. The fundamental facts of human life are archetypal in nature; birth, love, hate, beauty, truth, goodness, untruthfulness, friendship, enmity, growth and indeed ageing and old age, are archetypal in nature.

The Jungian theory postulates that the archetype is an indispensable and integral element of the collective unconscious and it constitutes definite forms in the psyche which are present everywhere, all the time (Read *et al.*, 1969: 42). For example, Jung argues that the archetype of the wise old man appears through the centuries, in all cultures. It is mainly manifested not only in the active imagination but also through dreams, which are an outlet of the contents of the collective unconscious (Read *et al.*, 1969: 215).

The wise old man is a repository of wisdom. In addition, the wise old man is distinguished because of his moral qualities, which he employs to test the moral qualities of other people. Jung argues, 'The old man, thus, represents knowledge, reflection, insight, wisdom, cleverness, and intuition on the one hand, and on the other, moral questions such as goodwill and readiness to help' (Read *et al.*, 222).

It is clear, from Jung's theory, that he associates old age with wisdom. It is worth noting, however, and especially in the context of this article, that Jung does acknowledge that, while archetypes have a positive favourable side to them, they also have a negative side. Jung gives an example of a Balkan tale in which an old man is handicapped by

the loss of one eye – symbolising the idea that he has lost part of his eyesight and by extension part of his insight and enlightenment (Read *et al.*, 1969: 226).

It may be concluded, therefore, that, generally, the old are a blessing to have around – that old age is an asset, not a liability. However, there are, as Jung acknowledges, exceptions to this archetype. This article will examine the place of the old people in African literature, as well as the extent to which characters of the old people may deviate from the norm because of personal deficiencies or character flaws.

The Old in African Literature

There is little difference in the portrayal of the old between Western folklore, on one hand, and Zambian folklore, on the other. Julius Chongo, one of Zambia's greatest dramatists and storytellers, told a tale entitled 'The Unfortunate Emigrants' about Sinoya and Mekerani. Upon their return to their village after retiring from the mines, the two men are tricked out of the belongings they buy from their pension by an old man – a wizard who turns them into pigs. The old man is, therefore, not only a trickster but also wicked (Wendland, 2004).

In African fiction, old people are generally portrayed as wise, be they male or female. This image is well captured in the character of Rev. Odhuno, an old man in Ogot's *The Old White Witch* who 'was often called Solomon because of his wise counsel' (Ogot, 1968: 10). Faced with a crisis caused by a nurses' rebellion at the hospital, Matron Jack banks on the wisdom of Odhuno to convince the nurses to return to work. Essentially, he has to mediate between the nurses who like him because he is 'fatherly and pure in heart' on the one hand, and, on the other, the European members of staff who look at him as 'Solomon incarnate – arbitrator and judge in difficult cases' (Ogot, 1968: 10-11).

The image of an old man as wise Solomon incarnate is central to the plot of Zambian author Luangala's novel, *The Chosen Bud*. Ndande, one of the younger characters in the novel, likens Old Sicholo, the eldest man of the Ngulube clan, to a tree stump and a stream:

... a parent is a tree-stump. Every child who has mucus above the upper lip of his mouth scoops it between his thumb and his forefinger, and then he comes to rub it onto the stump. Every pig that gathers a lot of mud after its bath comes to scratch itself on the tree-stump. When a dog is hard pressed by the need to relieve itself, it looks for a stump, it goes there, lifts its hind leg and relieves itself. And those of us who go hunting know very well that when you catch a hare, a squirrel or mouse you kill it better by dashing its head against the tree-stump. And it is on the stump where young shoots sprout to begin life again. An elder is like a stream which is always wet, they also said. Fire can start far away in the bush, but as soon as it reaches the stream,

even a weak child can extinguish it very easily. When we have a parent with us, we the young children will always boast of an easy source of a stiff nailed thumb which can crack our lice to give our loins some peace (Luangala, 1991: 58-9).

Quite often, therefore, the elderly characters in African literature tend to be projected or perceived as best placed to provide advice to the younger generations.

However, as in the case of the Jungian wise old man and African folklore, there are 'defective' versions of the wise old man. The latter do not always give advice and are sometimes manipulative. Thus, for example, the old man Boi, in Meja Mwangi's novel *Kill Me Quick*, starts off as an advisor and father figure to the two young men, Meja and Maina. Boi uses lies to recruit them for his white master, promising them a good salary, free food and accommodation (Mwangi, 1973: 14). When they arrive at the farm, however, they discover that the reality is far from what Boi had promised. When he is accidentally injured while visiting the two boys in their hut, he vows to pursue revenge. What follows is a subtle battle of wits between the old man and the two boys. In the end, however, the old man manages to frame the two boys and have them fired (Mwangi, 1973). Defeated, the boys can only refer to him as 'the old devil' (1973: 40).

An example of another elderly character who deviates from the image of the wise old man is Mazambezi in Chimombo's short story, *The Rubbish Dump*.

The old man works as an airport garbage collector, his daily routine is to remove garbage from the airport and deposit it at the rubbish dump outside the boundaries of the airport. However, not only does Mazambezi dump rubbish at the site, he also feeds from it and even encourages a young boy, Joey, to also feed from the rubbish heap (Chimombo, 1992: 80).

Mazambezi is not alone in his failure to provide appropriate advice and guidance and be an example to the young. Chambuleni, Wiza's father in Zambian author Binwell Sinyangwe's seminal work, *Quills of Desire*, initially appears to be a wise parent who advises his son thus:

'My son, life is like a queue. With patience, your turn always comes. When that time comes you are free to pick what pleases you. They say look after your neck; the beads to wear around it are as easy to find as the droppings of a chicken' (Sinyangwe, 1993: 3).

However, it is the same man who eventually indirectly causes the death of his son by attempting to force him to marry Gelina, a girl he is not in love with.

There is, however, a type of wise old man who takes the form of a trickster hero and is, therefore, not considered evil. Despite doing what is 'wrong,' such a character is praised and admired for their cleverness, as is the case with all trickster heroes of African folklore such as the spider in West Africa, the tortoise in South Africa and

the hare (or Kalulu) in Zambia. An example of a trickster-hero elderly character is Baroka in Soyinka's play, *The Lion and the Jewel*. Baroka finds himself competing with Lakunle, a much younger man, for the hand of Sidi, the belle of Ilujinle. While Lakunle is about 23 years of age, Baroka is a 62-year-old traditional ruler. Lakunle is the village school teacher and, therefore, the most educated in the area. He wants Sidi as much as Baroka does. He is confident that the mere fact that he is educated and the Bale is not, gives him an edge over the old man. He, thus, tries to impress her by using big words from the English dictionary, as well as by trying to show her that he is well-schooled in the Western way of life – the main reason he refuses to pay the bride price for Sidi.

Despite Sidi's insistence that he pays the bride price, Lakunle refuses – yet it is this ignorance of the traditional ways of his people that leads to Lakunle's failure to marry Sidi. The wily Baroka is aware of Lakunle's weakness of blindly following Western ways. He even mocks him.

True to his trickster-hero status, the Bale manages to come up with a stratagem to get Sidi for himself – and it works. He pretends to have become impotent, and, when she hears of the news from the Bale's old wife, she goes to his home to tantalise him. She says to Sadiku, the Bale's eldest wife 'I long to see him thwarted, to watch his longing. His twitching hands which this time cannot rush to loosen his trouser cords' (1974: 32).

Sadiku warns the young virgin, 'You will have to match the fox's cunningness' (32).

The Bale manages to lure her into a sexual encounter, deflowering her. In line with tradition, she becomes his wife. In the end, therefore, it is the cunningness of the old man that triumphs over the 'education' of the naïve young suitor. Baroka's wisdom and cleverness are evident not only in what he says but also in how he says it.

The clever language by Baroka is not an isolated case. Most elderly characters in African literature tend to use language characterised by wise sayings, imagery and proverbs. In Soyinka's *Kongi's Harvest*, for example, Oba Danlola uses elevated language associated with the wisdom of the old in African society. He says to the Superintendent (Soyinka, 1974: 64):

*The nude shanks of a king
Is not a sight for children –
It will blind them.
When an Oba stops the procession
And squats on the wayside,
It's on an urgent matter*

*Which spares neither king nor god.
Wise heads turn away
Until he's wiped his bottom.*

In *The Old Man and the Medal*, Nti, described as 'a man of mature years' (1967: 151), says to Engamba, 'I will put an ember in your pipe.' The more direct words would be, 'I will continue the point you are making' (164). Similarly, old Nana in *The Dilemma of a Ghost* uses proverbial language on a number of occasions. For example, she says to Esi Kom who complains about her son's departure from the ways of their people: 'Esi Kom, leave that child alone, for no one knows what the man of fame and honour was like when he was a child' (Aidoo, 1965: 9). At another occasion she advises Ato: 'Young man, one does not stand in ant-trail to pick off ants' (1965: 38).

In African literature, the elderly are also generally perceived as father or mother figures who should be treated as such by younger people. In Ngugi's play *The Black Hermit*, the elders are projected as father figures. For example, when the elders go to talk to Remi at his flat, Remi addresses them as 'Fathers of the tribe' (Act II, Scene II). In Oyono's *The Old Man and the Medal* (1967), Meka is respected as a father figure in his community. To illustrate, when Meka goes to Mammy Titi's for a drink, a young man gives up his seat for him out of respect (6). Culturally, the young man is expected to treat an elderly person, even a non-relative, as he would his father or mother. Meka is, as Engamba says, 'a man of ripe years' (158).

There is, therefore, a poignant contrast between the way Meka is treated in his African community and the way he is treated by the colonial authorities on the day he goes to receive his medal; instead of being given a seat, he is made to stand, isolated in a white circle, scorched by the hot sun, while the younger white people and Africans attending the ceremony have seats (Oyono, 1967, 85-92). Meka considers himself worthy of being respected as a father figure. Thus, when, after the ceremony, he is arrested and harassed by a young police constable, Meka pleads with the young man to respect him as a 'father' (125), 'Officer, my son... listen to me just one last time! I am not a prowler, my son!'

Not only are the old generally respected and revered because of their advanced age and advisory roles, it is considered taboo to disrespect them or disregard their advice. The general perception is that the old people have the capacity to curse disrespectful younger people. An example is the case of Kalimbambo in *The Chosen Bud*. When he harasses his grandfather Old Sicholo, the old man swears and curses. 'To be beaten by your own child! It was a cursed custom which taught the young to raise their arm against their elder! The good custom taught a child to stand still and receive the beating from an elder, whether deserved or not. The Nsenga custom taught a child never to answer back when an elder was speaking to reprimand him' (Luangala, 1991: 74-5).

In Soyinka's play, *Kongi's Harvest* (1974), Oba Danlola, the old deposed king, threatens to prostrate himself before the Superintendent, who represents the new illegitimate authority. The Superintendent pleads for mercy, aware that the Oba's act of prostration would be tantamount to cursing him. In response, the Oba mocks him.

SUPERINTENDENT: I did not make any impious demands of you. All I asked was for more respect to constituted authority. I didn't ask for a curse on my head.

DANLOLA: A Curse? Who spoke of curses? To prostrate to a loyal servant of Kongi – is that a curse?

SUPERINTENDENT: Only a foolish child lets a father prostrate to him. I don't ask to become a leper or a lunatic. I have no wish to live on sour berries.

There are cases, however, when elderly people are presented as caricatures rather than patriarchs and matriarchs to be revered. The protagonist of Phiri's *Ticklish Sensation* Jojo, for instance, describes his grandmother, Loliwe Kuzwe, in not-so-pleasant terms:

We loved moments when our eyes saw her wrinkled mouth chew words out. She had no teeth. I never saw one ever since I was born. None among us knew her age. She never told it. But I believed she must have been born when the moon was created. I came to this conclusion because she loved basking in the moonlight for long hours. I don't recall seeing her retire into her hovel when the moon was still shining. Probably she went to sleep with it; I don't know. She was a gaunt hag, who was slowly taking the shape of a shrivelled monkey. Bones stuck out of her ageing body. I wondered whether there was any flesh between those bones and skin that looked like snake peelings. She had such a squint that made you feel she was not looking at you when she was staring at us and when she was not (1973: 7).

It ought to be noted, however, that this description is in the context of the lighthearted tone of the novel. The description is consistent with the sense of humour that pervades the story. Similarly, the satirical tone of Mwangi's *Kill Me Quick* is the reason the narrator says of the old man Boi the first time we encounter him:

The old man hobbled down the back street with his large myopic eyes darting this way and that. Every now and then, he stopped to look uncomfortably behind him to peer into one of the large waste bins that littered the pavement. The stink was overwhelming and his large Negroid nose twitched uncomfortably. The afternoon sun was hot and under his white starched suit, the old man felt very uncomfortable. His sandals were slippery and dust-covered and slippery from sweat. Through the straps of the sandals, the horny toes peeped timidly out (1973: 12).

There are instances when the narrator of Oyono's *The Old Man and the Medal* portrays Meka in caricature-like terms, although it is worth noting that the novel is satirical in style. As Meka prepares to receive the medal, he has a zazou jacket made for him; however, he looks so ridiculous in it that his wife refuses to sew buttons on it, calling him 'a fool' (Oyono, 1967: 75). Ironically, however, Meka's wife Kelara goes on to force him to wear leather shoes that do not fit him well either – making him look more like an idiot (1967: 76).

It would appear gender is a critical factor in the way female elderly Africans are portrayed as compared to the way male elderly Africans are portrayed in African literature. African literature tends to apportion more power and leadership roles to the male elderly characters than to the female ones. It is worth noting that all the elders in *The Black Hermit* are men, as are all members of the ndichie in Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*. No woman qualifies to be part of the ndichie regardless of her age. Thus, when the boy Ikemefuna is given to the people of Umuofia as part of the compensation for the killing of Udo's wife, the elders of the clan decide that he 'should be in Okonkwo's care for a while' (Achebe, 1958: 25), which means he has to be taken care of by Okonkwo's most senior wife, Nwoye's mother. However, Nwoye's mother is not even consulted. Thus, when Okonkwo hands Ikemefuna over to her, he merely says to her, 'on the authority of the ndichie, he belongs to the clan. So look after him.' Nwoye's mother innocently seeks clarification, asking, 'Is he staying long with us?' Not amused, Okonkwo angrily says to her, 'Do what you are told, woman. When did you become one of the ndichie of Umuofia?' It is apparent that the fact that Nwoye's mother, like her husband, is advanced in years, does not qualify her to be considered wise enough to be part of the clique of elders of Umuofia. The ndichie is an exclusive club for the wise old men.

Similarly, in Luangala's *The Chosen Bud*, the old men are considered to be wiser than the old women. Even when there is a family meeting to discuss a crisis, the old men take prominence over the old women. Thus, for example, though the elderly women attend a family meeting at Sokoloku's, they do not take part in the decision-making (Luangala, 1991: 35). They often could only make polite comments on the decisions that had been made by the men, and that was only when they were asked to do so. Otherwise, they only listened and supplied the men with the necessary information in some cases. Even when they disagreed with the men's decision, they could not raise a protest. But even the women themselves knew that men would very often make the right decisions because men were strong-hearted and always very well composed in times of problems. Whenever a problem arose, probably an accident, women would only resort to crying while men would always think of what to do to solve the problem (1991: 35).

An elderly woman, however, may take the leading role in leadership when there are no elderly men to take the role. An example is Loliwe Kuzwe, Jojo's grandmother in *Ticklish Sensation*. In general, she can advise younger members of the family. For example, she says to them (1973: 7):

My son's children, keep on smiling in time of strife, strain or peace... Because if you shut up your mouth and remain pathetic, sullen and gloomy, your teeth will rot and fall out. It happened to me. Now I can't chew meat. All my good teeth are gone...

However, when a crisis develops in Njoka village, as the only elderly person around, she has to solve the problem.

Similarly, in *The Dilemma of a Ghost*, Nana, despite being the eldest surviving member of the clan, cannot lead discussions due to the fact that she is female. Thus, the critical discussions in the clan are led by Ato's two uncles, Petu and Akroma, particularly, Petu, even when Nana is around. Akroma, for example, says to Ato, 'Ato, they sent us to bring you a message and they asked us to take words from your own mouth to them,' (1965: 40). However, elderly women are sometimes associated with witchcraft, as is the case with Nyakasiya in *The Chosen Bud* (1991: 51), 'Nyakasiya was a very well known witch'.

It ought to be borne in mind, however, that wise old men and women of African literature tend to also be associated with the profound knowledge of the traditional ways of the people; they are the reservoirs of African cultural norms and indigenous knowledge systems. Western education, on the other hand, is projected as a threat to the indigenous African way of life. This indeed is the central thematic thread of Achebe's seminal novel, *Things Fall Apart*. It would appear that in as far as the characterisation of the old in African literature is concerned, Europeans may not be considered wise as they threaten the essence of the African ethos as epitomised by elderly African people.

The situation in Oyono's *The Old Man and the Medal* gives credence to this perception. While the pages of the novel are heavily populated with African characters, there is also a sizeable number of white characters, some of whom are elderly, such as the High Commissioner who comes to Doum to honour Meka with the medal. However, despite the fact that the French colonial administration chooses to honour Meka and the fact that he is of advanced age, they still fail to treat him with the respect due to an elderly African man. For a while they leave Meka standing in isolation in the middle of a white circle, in the hot sun, they, on the other hand, sit under the shade and comfort of the veranda of M. Fouconi's office (Oyono, 1967: 90).

It would appear that keeping a man of advanced age standing in the sun for more than an hour is considered, in this context, wrong and disrespectful. Meka himself is perturbed when he observes that, while he is scorched by the sun without his helmet,

the Europeans who leave to sit on the veranda ensure that they have their helmets on, 'They are wearing pith helmets and they are young... I am a poor old man but I have to leave my head baking in the sun like a lizard' (1967: 89). Thus, the Whites in *The Old Man and the Medal* are not portrayed wise but rather as evil, reckless, disrespectful, sadistic, hypocritical and even foolish – foolish enough to think Meka and his fellow villagers are too ignorant to ever see the hypocrisy and deceitfulness behind the awarding of the medal.

The Old Man and the Medal ultimately reflects the dilemma of elderly characters in the light of the deculturalisation and Westernisation of African society. In the colonialist's mind, Meka is just as ignorant as any other African who has not undergone Western education. On the other hand, to most of the Africans attending the medal ceremony, Meka is a symbol of wisdom. Westernisation is a threat to the revered position of elderly characters in African literature. Thus, for example, in *The Dilemma of a Ghost*, Ato returns from his studies in the United States with a different attitude towards his people's culture and traditions. He abandons the communal approach to life, which emphasises family and respect for elders, and instead adopts an individualistic Western way of life. Instead of first informing the elders of his clan about his plans to marry and seeking their guidance and involvement, he makes an individual decision to marry Eulalie, an African-American woman he meets in the United States. His elderly uncles, Petu and Akroma, his ageing mother Esi Kom, his aunties and Naana, his grandmother, are all shocked that he marries without consulting the elders (Aidoo, 1965: 10-12). To fail to consult the elders of the clan is tantamount to disrespecting them and violating longstanding traditions. Hence, Naana is worried about how she would explain what transpired once she dies and joins the ancestors.

In urban settings where Westernisation is a big factor, therefore, elderly characters appear misplaced and are not accorded space to play the role of reservoirs of wisdom. They do not even receive the amount of respect they generally receive in rural or traditional settings as portrayed in African works of fiction or drama. This is the position in which Boi finds himself in Mwangi's *Kill Me Quick*. When, for instance, he first encounters the two boys Meja and Maina when recruiting them, the boys show open disrespect for him, mockingly referring to him as an 'old crow' (1973: 13), a 'mongrel' (14). When he introduces himself as 'Boi,' they make fun of his name: 'Boy! Have you lost your way to the asylum old man? You must have made a wrong turning. We cannot direct you though. We have not been there, yet' (13). Similarly, in Brian Chikwava's short story *Dancing to the Jazz Goblin and his Rhythm* published in *The Granta Book of the African Short Story* (Habila, 2012) the protagonist, Jabu, who had been dependent on his grandfather's advice in handling social issues, declares, '...my faith in my grandfather had deserted me' (47).

Meka's experience reflects the ambiguous position of elderly African characters in African literature – particularly, in view of the changing times and the threat of modernisation. While the Jungian wise old man or woman is the dominant image of the old in African literature, there are a variety of corrupted or unpleasant versions of the Jungian sage. Like the old man in the Balkan tale referred to by Jung, there are some 'handicapped' old men and women; their personalities are defective.

The irony and ambiguity of Meka's being awarded a medal are projected most poignantly as he stands in the circle painted with whitewash waiting for the High Commissioner to arrive at the ceremony (Oyono, 1967). The circle represents not only isolation from his people and the white people he naively thinks he is now part of, but also the contradiction of being both respected and disrespected during the same occasion. While most of the Africans envy and respect him for being privileged to receive a medal from the High Commissioner, the Europeans have no regard for him despite being a recipient of the medal.

Like Meka, the elderly African character of African literature stands in a circle of contradiction; the circle of those both respected and disrespected because of their age. It is a circle of the elderly who are projected as indispensable to modern society in some texts of African literature while being presented as irrelevant to modern society in others; it is a circle of people who are treated both as wise by some and ignorant and backwards by others.

Conclusion

Having set out to investigate the treatment of the old in African literature, this study has arrived at a number of findings, although there should be no hesitation to mention that the findings are only with regard to the texts analysed and may not, therefore, be said to apply to every African literary text dealing with elderly people. Firstly, the study has established that there are some similarities and differences in the portrayal of old people in African and Western literature, although the treatment of the elderly in the folklore of both traditions tends to be similar. In general, both African and Western folklore project older characters as an epitome of wisdom, reflecting Carl Jung's archetype of the wise old person. In both cases, however, there are some departures from the 'norm' with characters such as witches and wizards.

Secondly, the study has revealed that in African literature the association of elderly people with experiential wisdom does not betray any gender bias. Both male and female elderly characters are treated as wise and respectable, and deserving of respect; they are perceived and projected as problem-solvers, builders of social cohesion, reservoirs of cultural norms, father and mother figures (or patriarchs and

matriarchs) and the first as well as last stop for those seeking guidance on matters of life. Examples include old Nana and Loliwe Kuzwe in *The Dilemma of a Ghost* and *Ticklish Sensation* respectively.

It would appear from the findings, however, that elderly males have more authority – and by extension receive more respect – than elderly females. This is largely due to the fact that the narratives unfold in patriarchal African social contexts where power, wealth and authority are generally associated with men. Thus, for example, the ndichie in Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* is a male establishment, as is the group of elders in Ngugi's *Black Hermit*. In the absence of elderly males in the community, however, elderly females take over the responsibility of guiding the younger people.

Thirdly, elderly characters are so revered that they are perceived and portrayed as having the power to curse the younger people if provoked or disrespected. Thus, for example, in Luangala's *The Chosen Bud*, Old Sicholo curses his grandson Kalimbambo for beating and insulting him. The implication is that the old man's curse is responsible for Kalimbambo's tragic end. Similarly, the Superintendent in Soyinka's *Kongi's Harvest* is afraid that any act of prostration by the deposed old King, Oba Danlola will amount to a curse on him. Hence, he pleads with the old man not to curse him.

Fourthly, the study has revealed that there are, however, departures from the positive portrayal of the elderly. The first type of departure does not, however, appear to be condemned by the narrators. This is when an elderly character is portrayed as a trickster hero – and trickster heroes such as the hare, spider and tortoise are much-loved characters of African folklore. Bale Baroka, the old chief in Soyinka's *The Lion and the Jewel*, falls into this category. A good manipulator of language, he manages to trick the village beauty, Sidi, into marrying him at the expense of the educated but self-gratifying Lakunle.

Fifthly, the study has shown that there are, however, some elderly characters who are portrayed in negative terms because of deficiencies in their behaviour. Examples include Boi and Mazambezi in Mwangi's *Kill Me Quick* and Chimombo's *The Rubbish Dump* respectively. Such characters are, nonetheless, the exception rather than the norm. There is also a tendency, in some instances, to stereotype the old as not attractive or desirable. Thus, for example, Loliwe Kuzwe and Boi, in *Ticklish Sensation* and *Kill Me Quick* respectively, are described in terms that cast them as caricatures. This point needs to be made sparingly, however, because the two works are written in a humorous tone and the mood occasionally tends to be light-hearted.

In addition, it is worth noting that Boi is placed in an urban environment which, because of the effects of modernisation – which in essence is Westernisation – tends to downgrade the role of the elderly in social development.

Sixthly, generally, elderly characters receive more respect in the rural setting than in the urban one. Hence, Boi is not the only one who suffers disrespect from younger people; Mazambezi also suffers humiliation. The ill-treatment of the elderly finds its most poignant expression in the humiliation suffered by Meka at the hands of Europeans and their African collaborators in Oyono's *The Old Man and the Medal*. Meka is ill-treated by the Europeans who purport to have given him a medal of honour and gratitude. Western culture is portrayed as decadent and corrupt in part because of its disrespect for the elderly Meka. It is, additionally, presented as a negative influence on the Africans who embrace it, in particular, the law enforcement officers who arrest and humiliate Meka. The circle in which Meka is placed at the medal-giving ceremony epitomises the peculiar and ironic condition of the elderly characters in African literature still respected by those who value traditional African values, but disregarded and degraded by those who have embraced Western values.

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EXTENSION EDUCATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA: Issues, Problems and Possible Solutions

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Abstract

The desire to respond to the manpower shortage that hit the country at independence culminated into the provision of University Extension Education in Zambia. In order to produce the much-needed manpower to feed the labour market, the University of Zambia employed Resident Lecturers in all the provincial centres. Their role was that of implementing University Education to the community. However, some issues surrounding the policy and execution of University Extension Education have resulted into problems and challenges in its provision and achievements. Some of these issues concern the management style, financing, infrastructure, admission requirements and user fees. The major problems that have resulted from such issues include access and equity, imbalances across fields of study, accessibility and user-friendliness of administrative systems, lack of human resource, lack of teaching and learning materials, poor communication and low participation levels. Some of the recommendations that have been made in this article as a solution to these problems include lowering the user fees, paying tutors attractive allowances, designing courses based on the needs of a particular community and building permanent structures for extension education and of university standard.

Introduction

On the eve of Independence in 1964, Zambia suffered a shortage of skilled human resource. Carmody (2004) explains that the country only had 100 university graduates and 961 Cambridge school leavers against a population of 4 million people. The Lockwood Report of 1963 coupled with community assistance brought the University of Zambia into existence in March, 1966 (The Government Republic of Zambia,

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1966). The Department of Extra-Mural Studies was established in order to link the community with the University of Zambia by offering non-formal and non-credit programmes (Alexander, 1975). The University of Zambia employed and sent one Resident Lecturer to each province to implement university extension education on behalf of the University. The Extra-Mural Department is currently known as the Department of Adult Education and Extension Studies. It is apparent that some issues dictated in the University Extension Education policy have created problems in the provision of University Education in Zambia.

This paper attempts to discuss these issues and problems, and provides possible solutions so that the purpose of providing university extension education in Zambia can be achieved with minimum challenges.

Issues in University Extension Education in Zambia

1. Management Style

Even though the University of Zambia has entrusted Resident Lecturers with the responsibility of implementing extension education at its provincial centres, its activities still remain controlled by the Department of Adult Education and Extension Studies at the University's main campus in Lusaka. The much centralised system in which the University of Zambia extension education programme operates poses a challenge against academic freedom. Resident Lectures are not free to make any plans meant to smoothly facilitate university extension education in their provinces without consultation and authority from the University of Zambia. Such a state of affairs limits the Resident Lecturers' creative capacities. It is in this sense that Chakanika (1989) contends that the role of the Resident Lecturer is a challenge. A Resident Lecturer is a university employee and as such, his or her actions are monitored by the University. According to Chakanika (1989), the role of an extension worker is directed by university policy, rather than the felt needs and the local conditions of the people. Consequently, extension programmes do not often start with the people and their nature. Since extension programmes are dictated by university policy, the probability of adhering to democratic procedure during its formulation process is cast into serious doubt. In addition, each province is under the auspices of one Resident Lecturer, thus, making the Lecturer's task a difficult one.

2. Financing

Despite efforts to assist in developing the much needed human resource for this country, university adult and extension education in Zambia has received limited or little financial attention and recognition from the Ministry of Education. Public

universities in Zambia are expected to generate their own funds as the national budgetary allocation to post-secondary education intervention is always small and targets formal programmes. Consequently, the University of Zambia has used university extension education more as its fundraising venture than as its conduit to linking with the masses that have no access to university education. To shed more light on this, the University's extension centres remit all funds that they generate to the Central Administration, and in turn, only 25 per cent of the money is given back to each extension centre. However, this money is not enough for Resident Lecturers to run the provincial centres efficiently. It is, thus, perceived that university extension education is currently financing the formal programmes of the University of Zambia.

3. Infrastructure

In Zambia, university extension education is mostly conducted in rented structures and buildings and mostly those that host formal education programmes during the day time. Some of these buildings are unattractive and not conducive for adult learners who are the major clientele in extension education programmes. For a long time now, the University of Zambia has failed to acquire land in each province on which to construct structures for conducting university lessons. This relates to Luchembe's (2006) views that in Zambia, university extension education is conducted in rented buildings. It is worth noting, that some of these buildings are degrading and as such they hinder people of higher economic background from participating in university extension education. Thus, the work of the Resident Lecturer has become complex in that, persuading the community to participate in university extension education has remained a challenge.

4. Admission Requirements

Another issue has to do with admission requirements. The introduction of credit-worthy programmes entails that the entry and admission requirements be strict and up to the University's standard. It is clearly indicated (Mtonga, 1999) that for one to meet the minimum admission criteria, he or she should possess either three 'O' level credits to pursue a certificate course or five 'O' level credits in order to pursue diploma courses, respectively. This does not only exclude many ambitious and determined people who are left out on account of lacking the necessary entry qualifications, the practice has also turned extension education into a school system. This is because only those with prescribed qualifications can apply and be admitted and that these programmes are now leaving out many who wish to gain from university extension education by way of acquiring knowledge and skills for improved sustenance and survival in their daily

lives. It can be argued here that the introduction of creditworthy courses has, to a large extent, killed the real education by promoting the ‘Diploma Disease’, hence defeating its original mission (Mtonga, 1999).

5. User Fees

It is evident that the courses carrying credit value have now dominated in the University of Zambia extension education programme. For example, a study by Nduna (2010) revealed that all the courses provided in the North-Western Province of Zambia were Senate approved, leading to either a certificate or a diploma and that no student was enrolled in any non-credit course. Unlike non-credit courses, however, credit courses are only accessed upon payment of user fees according to the standards of the University of Zambia. Students in these courses, who are not the majority countrywide, are not even allowed to access their results if they have outstanding balances. This trend favours well-off, tuition-paying students but prevents low-income students from entering the programmes or from completing their courses. As Diamond (2006) puts it, while all education will bear fruit, this trend creates a bifurcated system in which the best education goes to those who can pay for it. This situation has drifted the initial mission of university extension from that of providing university extension education to all those who missed the opportunity to attend higher education, to only providing education to the empowered minority.

Problems in University Extension Education

The issues discussed above, on university extension education at the University of Zambia have given birth to a number of problems in the implementation of university extension education in the country. These problems are: access and equity, imbalances across fields of study, accessibility and user friendliness of the administration system, irrelevant curriculum, lack of human resources, lack of teaching and learning resources, communication challenges and low-participation.

1. Access and Equity

Even though the University of Zambia has managed to open extension education centres in all the provincial capitals, there is still a problem of access and equity in this education system. Not much effort has been put in place to make inroads in all the districts. The few people who enrol in the university extension courses are predominantly from urban areas, district headquarters and provincial capitals. This is primarily because most of the University of Zambia extension education centres are concentrated in urban areas, rather than the remotest rural areas. This makes it difficult

for students from these remote areas to access higher education due to distance and the challenges inherent in separating from loved ones in an attempt to move to a university location. The situation has negatively affected the participation of people who do not live in the provincial capitals, district headquarters and urban areas in university extension.

It is worth noting here that university extension education was meant only for the poorest of the poor. However, the current trend seems not to differ from the colonial school system where education was meant for elite and was concentrated along the line of rail (Mtonga, 1999). Lusaka, for example, is one of the urban provinces in Zambia but has eleven extension educational centres as compared to Mongu which only has two centres (Mongu and Kaoma Centres). This tendency provides more access to higher education to Lusaka residents who are already privileged with several post-secondary institutions than to rural dwellers such as those in Mongu. It can, therefore, be argued that the University of Zambia Management has taken the cue from the colonial era where university education was meant for a selected few and was concentrated along the line of rail. University extension education, which came in as an alternative to the school system, has not been able to overcome the colonial legacy that restricts university education to a few and can still be seen conspicuously alienated from the masses.

2. Imbalances Across Fields of Study

The introduction of user fees and the infusion of credit courses in the University of Zambia Extension Education programme has caused imbalances across fields of study. Admission requirements in extension programmes differ based on the general discipline each course belongs to. They are classified either under the social sciences or the natural sciences. Those that belong to the social sciences tend to have slightly lower user fees and admission requirements than those that are classified under natural sciences. As such, social sciences courses tend to have more enrolment than natural sciences courses, hence causing an imbalance across fields of study.

3. Accessibility and User-Friendliness of Administrative Systems

The University of Zambia recognised the need to extend course offerings off campus in order to improve access for remote communities. However, extension education centres are mostly located in larger regional centres but serve vast and sparsely populated geographic catchment areas. Thus, geographical distances and transportation problems make it difficult for many rural individuals with family and work responsibilities to pursue their preferred courses through extension education.

4. Irrelevant Curriculum

Chakanika (1989) postulates that extension programmes should be based on the felt needs of the people. However, the infusion of credit courses and standardised curricula in University of Zambia extension programmes works against this ideal. These standardised curricula, which are now popular in extension education, are not flexible, not culturally sensitive and cannot address the felt needs of the learners. Given the diversity of cultural norms and education needs of the clientele in university extension, it is practically impossible to design standardised education curricula that would reflect the cultural norms of all localities it is offered in and address the unique needs of each locality. Unfortunately, this is what the University of Zambia has done. However, designing a standard curriculum and imposing it on learners throughout the country creates doubts on how these courses address the felt needs of their unique communities. This confirms what Chakanika (1989) meant when he said that there was a contradiction between the principles and the execution of university extension education in Zambia. Even if a Resident Lecturer identifies a need in a particular province, he or she cannot provide such a course until approval is sought from the University of Zambia main campus.

5. Lack of Human Resource

The emergence of new institutions offering university extension education has led to massive competition for tutors. Some tutors leave university extension education in search of greener pastures. The Conditions of Service for tutors at the University of Zambia leave much to be desired. The allowances are usually paid late and as a result, they get demoralised and search for better opportunities. Furthermore, the tutors teach under difficult circumstances. For example, in some centres such as Mulambwa in Western Province, some classrooms do not have electricity (Mukumbi, 2015). Consequently, the tutors are usually forced to end lessons the moment it becomes dark. Mukumbi (2015) discovered that in Western Province, certain tutors had no students enrolled in their specialised discipline and some taught less than five students, a situation that made them fail to continue teaching in university extension education. This is also in line with Luchembe's (2006) position that the reality in many provincial centres is that the tutors are understaffed and that sometimes, staffing improves but the situation is temporal because of the current policy of recruiting other categories on six months contracts.

6. Lack of Teaching and Learning Materials

The other problem that besieges university extension education concerns lack of teaching and learning materials. The University of Zambia has not provided libraries in its extension centres. The fact that university extension education is conducted in rented buildings has made it impossible to put up libraries in provincial centres and students find it difficult to write their assignments. The situation has adversely affected the tutors because they entirely depend on the internet in order to prepare their lessons. As a result of this, many potential participants stop participating in university extension education.

7. Communication Challenges

Communication is yet another problem that besieges university extension education in Zambia. With regard to the little resources available at university extension centres, Resident Lectures are not able to smoothly advertise university extension programmes to the community. Aside from that, Resident Lectures are supposed to reach out to so many districts in their province in order to market university extension education. It is worth noting, however, that some of the places in the remotest rural areas are impassable due to rivers, swamps, sand and other geographical and physical barriers. The Resident Lecturers' vehicles need fuel in order to accomplish such tasks throughout the month. This is made impossible due to insufficient funds. As a result, many people have little or no access to university extension education in Zambia. In reference to the above, Chakanika (1989) notes that, the success of any university extension education entirely depends on the active participation of the community.

8. Low-Participation

All the foregoing problems lead to the problem of low-participation in the university extension programme. As Mandumbwa (2011: 13) observed, participation in university extension education in some provinces in Zambia is seemingly low. In January 2014, there were only 45 participants in university extension education in Mongu District (Mukumbi, 2015). One issue that contributes to this problem is poor learning infrastructure. As earlier noted, the University of Zambia, Central Administration takes a larger portion of the funds raised through university extension education (i.e. 75%).

Most extension centres are of low standards due to inadequate funding to rent standard buildings. For example, the University of Zambia is renting one of the oldest schools in Mongu (Mulambwa Basic School) because that is the only place that falls within the budget of the University of Zambia. It is worth noting, however, that the number of institutions offering university extension education in Zambia has increased

and as such, there is competition for students. Some of the institutions are offering their diploma and certificate programmes in neat and standard venues making it difficult for the University of Zambia to compete for students using its name only.

Furthermore, many potential students of university extension education come from poverty stricken families. As such, they are not able to meet tuition costs in university extension education. Other potential participants are not able to meet the entry qualifications stipulated by the policy and decide to enrol elsewhere where entry conditions seem favourable.

Possible Solutions

In view of the aforementioned issues and problems in university extension education in Zambia, there is need for the University of Zambia to consider doing the following:

- (a) Construct standard buildings specifically for university extension education.
- (b) Increase funds allocated to university extension education centres.
- (c) Lower the tuition fees and reduce the entry requirements to passes.
- (d) Pay tutors attractive allowances.
- (e) Provide libraries in all university extension centres.
- (f) Decentralise university extension education, in order to establish a centre in each district and organise lecturers to be visiting students in their respective districts during vacations.
- (g) Provide courses based on the needs of the learners in various provinces unlike providing courses that the University of Zambia sees fit.

Conclusion

In summary, university extension education in Zambia has changed people's lives by offering the qualifications that have earned them employment. However, issues such as management, poor infrastructure, stringent enrolment conditions, irrelevant curriculum and inadequate financing of university extension education have given birth to problems in implementing university extension education. Such problems include low levels of participation in some university extension centres, lack of human resource, lack of teaching and learning materials and poor communication. It is, therefore, recommended that for university extension education to meet its initial mission, the University of Zambia should consider increasing the funds it allocates to extension education centres, construct worthwhile infrastructure meant to be used as university extension education venues, lower the tuition fees and reduce the entry requirements of five passes, and start paying tutors attractive allowances. The University of Zambia should also provide libraries in all university extension centres and decentralise

university extension education thereby establishing a centre in each district. The idea of Lecturers visiting students in their respective districts during vacations should also be organised.

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PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF ANTIRETROVIRAL THERAPY (ART) IN RELATION TO ENTRY AND RETENTION IN THE HIV CONTINUUM OF CARE: Findings from a Rural Setting of Chivuna, Zambia

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Abstract

As is the case with most of the countries in the sub-Sahara region with a high prevalence of HIV and AIDS, antiretroviral therapy has increasingly become available in Zambia. The way antiretroviral therapy (ART) is perceived by the users and potential users is important for its effectiveness. This paper is aimed at exploring how ART is perceived and how such perceptions influence people's entry and retention in the HIV continuum of care.

Data for this paper was derived from a large study in a remote rural setting of Chivuna in Southern Province of Zambia. A mixed methods approach was used and 653 participants were interviewed using a structured questionnaire to generate quantitative data while 24 focus groups, 67 in-depth interviews and 19 informant interviews informed the qualitative aspect of the study. Data analysis was done using SPSS version 20 and Atlas.ti version 7 data analysis packages.

Although people's perceptions about ART were generally evolving from negative to positive, this study indicates that negative perceptions still exist among the rural population. These negative perceptions act as barriers to people's utilisation of HIV and AIDS-related services.

The study has shown a level of association between perceptions about ART and people's entry and retention in the HIV continuum of care. In this regard, it is important for stakeholders to redress negative perceptions and harness the positive ones so as to enhance early entry and retention in the continuum of care for people living with HIV. This has the potential of contributing to reduced morbidity, reduced mortality and reduced transmission of new HIV infection cases.

Keywords: HIV and AIDS, HIV continuum of care, perceptions of ART, Zambia

Introduction

More than three decades into the HIV and AIDS epidemic, the epidemic still remains one of the major challenges affecting the world with sub-Saharan Africa bearing the heaviest burden (Sasaki, 2012; Bene and Darkohb, 2014).

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Although significant inroads have been made in the area of the prevention of new infections, which shows a reduction of about 50 per cent between 2001 and 2012, the world over (UNAIDS, 2013), treatment and care seem to pose the greatest challenge to worldwide efforts to reduce the epidemic. Evidence shows that regardless of the mainstream knowledge, policies and interventions, along with the impressive financial resources allocated to AIDS in low and middle-income countries, the HIV treatment coverage only represented about 34 per cent of the 26.8 million eligible group of People Living with HIV (PLHIV) in 2013 (Layer *et al.*, 2014; UNAIDS, 2013).

In order for HIV treatment to be successful, people living with HIV need to progress through a number of stages. These stages have been collectively coined as the HIV continuum of care or a cascade of care (CoC) (Blutinger *et al.*, 2014; Layer *et al.*, 2014). It includes voluntary HIV testing and counselling, linkage to care, ART, initiation and life-long adherence and retention in care (Christopoulos *et al.*, 2013; Fox and Rosen, 2010). The CoC strategy is comprehensive because it is focused on services offered by health systems, homes and the community at large. For PLHIV to access and continue with ART, for instance, they will not only need availability of HIV testing services and ARVs but also encouragement and care from their family members as well as supportive community structures.

However, although the CoC is an important tool in bolstering HIV care and treatment, Drop Outs (DOs) along the stages have considerably been documented in the literature, especially during pre-ART initiation and retention periods (Fox and Rosen, 2010; Muggins *et al.*, 2012). The reasons for DOs in less resourced spaces are varied but they include lack of food supplements (Ntalasha *et al.*, 2015), poverty and livelihood insecurity (Murray *et al.*, 2009), stigma (Roura *et al.*, 2008) non-disclosure of HIV zero-status to spouse (Sasaki *et al.*, 2012), lack of family support (Murray *et al.*, 2009), long distance to ART centres (Blutinger *et al.*, 2014) and negative effects of ART (Mills *et al.*, 2006) among others.

This study seeks to extend the list of the factors contributing to DOs by exploring the role played by perceptions. Although there is a burgeoning literature in sub-Saharan Africa showing that perceptions have an important role in determining people's behaviour, including treatment-seeking behaviour (Kabatereine *et al.*, 2014), the literature reviewed, that there are limited studies in Zambia on how ARVs are perceived by people and the influence such perceptions have on people's entry and retention in the HIV continuum of care.

Elsewhere, studies have shown that positive perceptions about ART have the potential of encouraging people to be engaged in HIV and AIDS-related services (Mitchel *et al.*, 2009; Phakathi *et al.*, 2011) while negative ones act as a barrier to ART (Irwin *et al.*, 2003; Kerr *et al.*, 2004; Grant *et al.*, 2008; Layer *et al.*, 2014). In terms of positive

perceptions, ART has been constructed as life-saving in the literature. Simpson and others, for instance, report that their participants were representing antiretrovirals (ARVs) as having a Lazarus effect (after a biblical figure who rose from the dead). These perceptions motivate people to seek, access and use HIV and AIDS-related services (Simpson *et al.*, 2009). Such perceptions have arisen from seeing people who were once very ill improving and being able to work again after being on ART (Grant *et al.*, 2009).

Negative perceptions and beliefs about ART, on the other hand, have helped spread discontent and discouragement with respect to HIV treatment. The findings from earlier Zambian studies indicate that negative perceptions about ART have extended beyond the spheres of HIV and AIDS, to include sexuality and parenthood (Grant *et al.*, 2008; Rosen *et al.*, 2011). Antiretrovirals have been perceived as killer drugs in certain discourses (Mitchel *et al.*, 2009) and this has somewhat challenged people's understanding and inhibited some from seeking ART.

With ARVs having been made available in Zambia for free since 2005, it is important that people's perceptions about ARVs are explored so as to identify any negative ones which can be addressed in order to improve people's desire to test early and be retained in the continuum of care for viral suppression. The way people perceive existing ART services is crucial in achieving the goals of ART – less morbidity, less mortality and reduced transmission of new HIV.

Theoretical Framework

To explore factors that influence people's entry and stay in the HIV and AIDS continuum of care and treatment, the study from which this article is extracted was guided by the social-ecological model (SEM).

The SEM is an approach to health promotion that offers a broader perspective because it recognises that most public health challenges are too complex to be adequately understood from the single level analysis (Robinson, 2008).

This models human behaviour as a function of personal and environmental factors, which include socioeconomic, political and health factors (Choi *et al.*, 1998; Roura *et al.*, 2009). Health-seeking behaviour is, therefore, not construed as something that exclusively resides in the individual but as a reflection of wider interactive situational processes (Latkin *et al.*, 2005; Roura *et al.*, 2009). The individual health-seeking behaviour is located in the social, institutional and physical environment and consequently, behaviour is shaped by the social environment (Roura *et al.*, 2009). Thus, individual behaviour is determined to a large extent by the social environment, such as community norms and values, regulations, and policies. The most healthy

behaviour would be a combination of efforts at individual, interpersonal, organisational, community and public policy levels (McIeroy *et al.*, 1998).

The SEM situates the individual in a dynamic social ecology in which individuals adapt their behaviour to their social environment and make decisions based on information, influences and interactions available through local social networks, relationships and institutions (Roura *et al.*, 2009). This means that in analysing health-seeking behaviour, this framework looks beyond the individual by taking into consideration the social environment in which the individual exists and the influence that the social world has on the individual. This leads to the assumption that the world we live in influences our behaviour including health-seeking behaviour. Additionally, health system related and based factors are also taken into consideration (McLaren and Hawe, 2005).

This approach, therefore, avoids an exclusive focus on either the individual or the environmental factors as separate analytical factors but takes into consideration the dynamic interaction of both personal and external non-personal factors in explaining health-seeking behaviour (Choi *et al.*, 1998).

The SEM model classifies the factors influencing people's health-seeking behaviour into four main categories, namely; structural, programmatic, social and individual (Roura *et al.*, 2009). Structural factors are those over which the individual has completely no control (Parker *et al.*, 2004). They include poverty, livelihoods, health policies, laws and the financing of health care systems all of which are linked to the national economy (Sumartojo *et al.*, 2004). Programmatic factors are those that are related to the health system and basically, relate to the way health systems are organised and delivered including availability and accountability of services, attitudes of health providers, waiting times and distance to the health facilities (Munro *et al.*, 2007; Roura *et al.*, 2009).

Social factors include interpersonal relations, such as those between married partners, family members and peers that, in turn, affect individual actions (Roura *et al.*, 2009). Community level factors include the relationship with and the influence of social systems, institutions like the church, social exclusion, discrimination, stigma, traditional health care systems, local illness ideologies and concepts which are all embedded in people's sociocultural systems (Musheke *et al.*, 2013). The relationship between the formal health sector and its professionals, on one hand, and the local people, on the other, is also seen as part of the social level factors and viewed as capable of influencing treatment-seeking behaviour because it is regarded as being structured by the social order (Duffy *et al.*, 2010). Individual factors are the personal determinants of health-seeking behaviour over which an individual has control. These include personal characteristics like perceived severity of the disease, wellness,

interpretation of illness and attitudes towards treatment, knowledge, as well as somatic responses to medication (Duffy *et al.*, 2010).

Thus, according to this model, a more comprehensive approach to health promotion requires changing the practices of social systems that have wide spread effects on human health rather than solely changing the habits of the individual. This model shows that all these factors are interlinked and interwoven to enforce each other in influencing the individual's treatment-seeking behaviour. While at times the interplay of two factors may be involved in improving patient's adherence, such as reduced waiting times (health sector factor), and personal motivation (individual factor) sometimes a combination of several factors may be involved. For instance, pervasive stigma (social factor) or waiting times at the ART clinic (health related) may all reinforce each other leading to a lack of motivation (individual factor) and consequently, resulting in attrition from ART care (Musheke *et al.*, 2013).

Due to its comprehensive and multifaceted approach, the SEM avoids the theoretical divide between individual and structural models by treating both paradigms as complimentary and lying on the same continuum (Roura *et al.*, 2009). Used with modifications, this model was found to be useful for this study because of its multifaceted approach. It was, therefore, possible for the study to investigate not only individual factors but also other factors at all levels which make one's social environment. In the context of this article, it was possible to investigate individual and community level factors such as public perceptions of ARVs.

Data and Methods

Study Area

The study was carried out in Chivuna, a rural community located approximately 60 km South-East of Mazabuka town, 35 km from the Great North Road and about 70 km South of Lusaka, the capital city of Zambia. The main ethnic group is Tonga speaking (or *Ba-Tonga* in plural), a matrilineal and patrilocal group of people. Chivuna has a population of approximately 19,000 people scattered in an area covering about 34 square kilometres. The main source of livelihood is subsistence farming, which is seasonal and dependant on the rainfall pattern. Like most rural areas in Zambia, poverty levels are quite high, averaging more than seven people in ten being poor and having limited access to basic necessities, including food and health. While nearly all the health facilities in the area offer VCT, ART services only exist at Chivuna and Mbayamusuma health facilities, the two facilities; with a distance of more than 40 km apart. The Chivuna health facility started providing VCT and ART in 2006 and 2008, respectively.

Data Collection and Analysis

The data presented here was part of a bigger mixed methods study conducted over a period of one and half years. This component of the study explored people's perceptions of ART. To recruit study participants, purposive sampling was used for the qualitative data. The idea was to recruit people with the monopoly of knowledge on the subject matter such as PLHIV and gate-keepers at health institutions. Multistage random sampling was conducted for quantitative data in order to take care of the heterogeneity in the population distribution of the community. The total sample for the study was 653 for quantitative data. Quantitative data was collected and 24 focus group discussions, 67 indepth individual interviews, 19 key informants interviews from both the community and health facility were used for the qualitative data.

For the purpose of quality control, all the interviews that generated qualitative data were carried out by the principal researcher while the standard questionnaire was administered with the help of 12 trained research assistants. All interviews for qualitative data were transcribed and put in a word processing application and checked for clarity by the principal investigator. The analysis was done using Atlas-ti version 7. Grounded theory was adopted as a data analysis and coding approach. First, open coding was used, after which all the codes were sorted out into groups in form of axial coding and finally, selective coding which allowed for the creation of core categories relevant for analysis was performed. From these categories, themes were generated (Bryman, 2012).

Ethical approval for the study was obtained from the Research Ethics Committee in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Zambia and was also cleared by the Ministry of Health. For all the individuals that took part in the study, informed consent was administered and they were all assured of anonymity and confidentiality.

Results

Although the data reported in this study was derived from a mixed methods study, the results will mainly focus on findings from the qualitative component. This is because the researchers generated richer information on perceptions of ART from the qualitative data compared to the quantitative data. The results are reported in an aggregated form showing the perceptions of ART for either entry or retention in the HIV continuum of care under the subheadings of positive and negative perceptions about ART.

Positive Perceptions about ART

Positive perceptions about the ART were reported to facilitate peoples' decisions to be tested for HIV, commence ART and adhere to treatment. For many, this was as a result of seeing some of their colleagues who were once bedridden recover. For others, it was a combination of what they had personally experienced and messages received about the efficacy of the ARVs from other community members. Antiretroviral therapy was thus viewed as highly efficacious as can be attested to by the statements from different sources indicated below:

People used to die before the introduction of ARVs. After the introduction of the ARVs, the beds were empty at Monze hospital. That is how we thought of starting ART services at Chivuna clinic. Even here in the villages, burials were a weekly thing but now we go for months without hearing of a funeral in the community. There is no doubt ARVs are working. This has encouraged many people to accept taking medicine once eligible (Female Health Care Provider, Chivuna Health Center).

The benefit of taking ARVs is to reduce the impact of AIDS, but I don't know if the drugs could cure the disease completely. The other benefit is that all problems related to HIV and AIDS would be cured. In addition, we also hear that the drugs can make the virus sleep. We have seen a lot of people on their feet again after taking the ARVs. So the benefits are there, as some people say, they are miracle tablets because they have managed to bring people back from the graves. All this encouraged me to start taking these medicines, (Middle-aged Male, Clinic-based FGD).

The survivors often commented that they were once dead and they credit ART for bringing them back to life. During a focus group discussion with members of a support group, a middle-aged widower amidst laughter and agreement from the other participants poignantly narrated:

I started taking the medicine, I became fine and very strong. I was very sick and my voice was so faint that for one to hear what I was saying, there was need to bring their ear close to my mouth. I would call for '*keele*' (porridge) in a very faint voice (laughter from other participants). But now as you can see, I am okay, at that time even lifting a small container of water was a very big problem. It is only unfortunate we have no photographs of how we were before we started taking drugs; you could have seen how some of us who are here used to look like. I wish we were like white people who keep photographs. If you were to see those photographs, you would not believe it is us seated here speaking to you. We were moving graves. Those who saw us then and see us now really get encouraged to accept the medicines.

Views on the efficacy of ARVs were also expressed by several care givers as shown in the comments below:

My daughter (referring to the researcher), these drugs are really effective. You should have seen how this girl was looking before she started taking drugs. She was completely finished and she had lost so much weight. This child you see here was very sick, she was finished. But shortly after the medicines, she became okay. You can see how she is looking; you do not have to be told. I have come to respect this medicine. It is really effective (Grandmother and Care-Giver to an Orphaned 4-year-old Girl). This boy was very ill but now he is very strong. He is one of those holding ploughs and helping in the field. He plays with other children you can't even notice that he was once bedridden (Uncle to an HIV-positive nine-year-old boy orphaned by AIDS).

It was also interesting to note, especially from the health care providers, that positive perceptions have not always been the case as far as ART is concerned. The health care provider maintained that people's perceptions about the drugs had evolved over time because of what people had witnessed. One health care provider stated that in the past, people used to view them as killer drugs. He recalls:

In the past, people used to think of ARVs as killer drugs because a number of people actually used to die upon starting treatment. This was, maybe, because of the cost that was attached to the medicines, a number of the people used to start taking medicines very late. Adherence was also very difficult because of the same cost. But this is no longer the case, yes people may still face other barriers but at least the cost of medicines is not there anymore (Male Health Care Health Care Provider).

Because of the evolution of people's perception concerning the medicines, it was reported that people wanted to test as soon as possible and avoid becoming sick and associated with a deadly disease. According to the health care providers, this was a new trend that had come with the evolution in the perception of the efficacy of ARVs and their free availability. Expressing this view, a 36-year-old female care provider shared her experiences when she explained that:

Most people now want to be tested early and get medicines. You find when you tell them about their CD4 count being too high and that they would get medicines later, they start complaining saying: 'Sister that will be too late, I want to start taking medicines immediately,' Some do not want to fall sick or start losing weight so they want to test early and start taking medicines as soon as possible to avoid suspicion. People are now in a hurry to test and get the medicines as soon as possible before they become sick.

Apart from encouraging people to test and start taking their medication, positive perceptions equally motivated people to consistently take their medication and hence remain in care and treatment. This was because of the positive conviction that people had in the efficacy of the drugs. When asked what they thought about the medicine, a common response, particularly, among users was, '*RVs* (or *ma RR*, as they were usually referred to by the elderly), are our life.'

Perceived efficacy of the medicines was not only held by the direct beneficiaries but was a commonly held view even among community leaders. Referring to what motivated people to adhere to ARVs, the area Chief had this to say:

Belief in the effectiveness of the medicine actually encourages many to continue taking them because they are able to remember how they were before they started taking them. Some of them were as good as dead, but immediately they started taking the medicines, they recovered completely. Many, actually, do believe that ARVs are their life.

These views were also shared by many other key informants, particularly those from the health facility who also had an opportunity of directly interacting with people on ART as one of them intimated:

I think many people now know that ARVs work because it is something they have seen for themselves. There are people in the community who really were gone but the ARVs have brought them back to life. That acts as a confirmation for others to trust the medicine (Male Health Care Provider).

The actual beneficiaries, most of whom had been on medication for a long time, also shared their experiences as reflected from the statements below:

For me, it was like you were almost in the grave and then somebody just comes to take you out. It is really a second chance to live. That is why even when some people call us names “eh... those who depend on medicines or those whose life was in the bottle,” we have continued taking our medicines (58-year-old-female ART User Clinic Based IDI, on ART for More than 3 Years).

Reiterating these sentiments, another ART user narrated:

From the time I started getting the medicine, I have come to respect the ARVs. I actually compare this medicine with soap which is able to clean a dirty piece of cloth, so I feel this medicine has really cleaned up my whole body from the disease and that is why I will never stop taking it at all. I will stick to my medicine all the way. I will only die from some other natural illness and not from AIDS (47-year-old Widower, Community-Based IDI, ART User).

This conviction was re-enforced further among those who had tried other remedies which never brought any health relief. This was the case with those who had once sought consultation with some healers or had earlier gone for spiritual healing. Some of the sentiments are reflected in the statements below:

From the time I started taking the medicine; I started feeling better by the day; now I can walk again. I believe that this medicine works, when I remember how I was. I was as good as dead. I consulted so many traditional doctors who used to tell me that I had been bewitched but immediately I started taking these drugs I got better. Now I even think of my money I used to give those traditional healers because now I have a good appetite, I could be buying myself food using that same money (Female ART User, Community-Based IDI).

Nearly all study participants were of the view that ARVs could allow positive women give birth to healthy children. As a result, despite the many barriers they experienced in accessing PMTCT, most women embraced it.

Positive perceptions about ART were also demonstrated by the concerns expressed by the users about the sustainability of supplies in terms of both manufacturing and continued free provision by the government. Most of the users could not imagine a life without the medicines. They hoped that the government would continue with the free supply of the medication because they were poor people who could not afford to buy medicines. Referring to the possibility of the government withdrawing free provision, common statements were as follows:

That is when we shall all die; that will be the end of our journey because these medicines are our life. If the government fails to supply us with free medicine, we shall not survive (ART User).

Additionally, this study discovered that ART had changed the way people living with HIV were regarded in the community. It was reported that in the past, people living with HIV were viewed as ‘the dying’. As a result, some people were reluctant to even lend them money for fear of losing their money through imminent death by the borrower. This situation is, however, no longer the case due to the transformative nature of ART. This change was summarised by one of the PLHIV who was also the Chairperson of one of the support groups when he stated:

ARVs have changed people’s attitude towards us. Before ARVs came, some people would not even dare lend money to somebody who was suspected to be an AIDS patient for fear that they would die before they paid back. Even the way people now treat somebody who is sick is very different because now, everyone knows that you still have a life ahead of you even if you are HIV positive. In the past, people would just wait to die. The sick have also had a different approach towards life now because in the past, some people would even want to commit suicide once pronounced positive while others would squander all their property knowing that they were going to die anytime, but now all this has changed.

Likewise, ART had changed the way many HIV people viewed themselves as most of those on ART no longer considered themselves as ‘the dying’ even if HIV was still linked to death. This was a major shift in thinking compared to the time before ART.

Negative Perceptions about ART

Despite the many benefits from ARVs and also the evolution of perceptions from negative to positive ones, negative perceptions have not been diminished. Many key informants from both the community and the health facility affirmed that

misconceptions were still prevalent mainly, in some of the very remote communities where community sensitisation was still limited as elucidated by the statement below:

There are still many people lacking knowledge because of the size of the chiefdom and some communities being very remote. Some of the people in these remote communities know nothing about the medicines. And also, you find that very few people are on medicines in such communities and have not seen anyone taking ARVs so they do not know the effectiveness of these drugs. Those who have seen people recover, some of whom were almost dying, do believe that ARVs are very effective because they have seen it with their own eyes. So, for these people, when they are advised to start taking ARVs, they immediately do so because they do believe in the medicines working. (Area Chief).

Misconceptions contributed to delay in testing, starting to take ARVs upon ART prescription and also treatment interruptions. For instance, in one of the community discussions, some women indicated ARVs interfere with family planning pills and that if ARVs were taken while a woman was using family planning pills, family planning pills would not work and she would end up being pregnant. Whenever this question was asked, some women were emphatic as they explained that, '*ma mapilusi a family planning inga alazundwa ku ma ARVs*' (family planning pills become non-effective because of ARVs).

The concerns of ARVs causing impotence and infertility especially for men also came up in a number of group discussions. The understanding was that the use of ARVs results in them having low sperm counts which subsequently makes them unable to make women pregnant. Key informants were emphatic that on the basis of such misconceptions, a number of people still delayed in testing and consequently, delayed people in accessing the other services that came after one was found with HIV. Key informants elucidated on this point as follows:

There is a belief which does not seem to go away in the communities...that ARVs men fail to perform in the bedroom. We don't know where this is coming from but it has an effect on people's decisions to enrol in ART (Health Care Provider).

Similar sentiments came up from other sources. For instance, during one of the male community-based FGDs with a community very close to the health centre, a middle-aged man expounded:

Some people say ehh RR (referring to ARVs) can kill you, ehh they can make you mad, you can die if you forget to take your medicines even for one day. Those who listen to such stories are discouraged from taking the medicines even when they are advised to do so after being tested (Male-participant, Male Community-Based FGD).

It was also clear from the findings that although stigma associated with people living with HIV has over the years reduced significantly, it is still problematic in rural communities. People living with HIV are still conceived as people who engaged in perverted sexual activities and AIDS is construed as a disease for sexual perverts. This finding appeared consistent from all sources including youths. For instance, during one of the community-based focus group discussions with youths aged between 15 to 24, when they were asked about what they thought of HIV positive people in their community, nearly all of them stated that it was ‘*buhuule*’ (prostitution) and that, ‘even for the baby who is positive, we say, their parents were prostitutes.’

A number of those who had tested, and in particular women, indicated that they took a long time hesitating before going for testing for fear of being discriminated against; ‘I was fearing embarrassment in case the disease was found because this disease causes embarrassment’. This was confirmed further by the reported reluctance among some community members to openly talk about HIV and AIDS. It is almost regarded as a taboo with the sanctions of isolation and being a topic for private gossip.

Other negative issues associated with ARVs which equally affected entry and retention in the continuum of care included life-long adherence, too many pills to be taken in a day, the size of the tablets and the fact that the medicines were in tablet form instead of liquid form. These were also found to contribute to negative perceptions about ART and thus, affect people’s decisions to enter and remain in the HIV continuum of care.

Discussion

The findings from this study revealed that both positive and negative perceptions about ARVs exist and that they are influential in people’s decision to enter and successfully progress along the continuum of care. In this study, similar to some previous studies as well (Grant *et al.*, 2008), there was an evolution of perceptions about ARVs from negative to positive ones. The evolution resulted from personal experiences and observations from other people regarding the efficacy of ART. Because of these experiences, most of the people in the community strongly believed in the efficacy of ARVs as life-saving drugs.

Most people were able to testify how the number of beds had become empty at the local health facilities and how funerals had reduced in the community. Those on ART, some of whom were bedridden themselves before starting ART, made comments like, ‘We were moving graves’. This is an indication that ARVs were generally perceived as life-saving and life-prolonging drugs which had given many positive people who should have been dead a second chance to live again and also to be able to continue working for their families, particularly, those with small children.

Other authors (Simpson *et al.*, 2010) also observe the perceived efficacy of the ARVs and note that they had an effect similar to the Lazarus effect as cited in the Bible. In the present study, the efficacy of the medicines was also reflected by the local concepts for ARVs such as *musamu*, (the medicine), *mukabuumi*, (life-giver) and *mbusha bafu*, (bringing back the dead to life). Similarly, Phakathi *et al.*, (2011) also observed that because some people had witnessed someone on ART recover, ART was perceived as bringing hope and prolonging life and that this acted as a driver not only for testing but adherence as well. This was a drastic change because as confirmed by findings from this study, an observation that was also made by earlier studies (Mitchel *et al.*, 2006), ARVs were in the past perceived as killer and poisonous drugs.

Study findings also show that ARVs had changed the way PLHIV viewed themselves and how they were viewed by other community members. For instance, because of ARVs, many of those on ART no longer viewed themselves and were no longer viewed by others as dying instantly. All these positive beliefs about the ART encouraged not only those tested to start taking medication and those on ART to continue taking the drugs but also those who had not tested to do so, so that they could access the life-saving and life-prolonging drugs.

Results from the study have revealed, however, that much as perceptions were evolving from negative to positive ones, negative ones had not completely been diminished in this community. For instance, though most of the respondents believed that ARVs could help a pregnant woman deliver a healthy baby, some believed that it could lead to impotence and that ARVs could kill as well as make one more sick. Similarly, Fox *et al.*, (2010) also noted of negative perceptions about the benefits of treatment negatively influencing adherence to ART.

Like earlier studies (Grant *et al.*, 2009), discussions with community members showed that some people still viewed ARVs as negatively affecting parenthood. For instance, some people still believed that ARVs could make men impotent while others felt that ARVs would make family planning pills ineffective. Consistent with other studies in the region (Roural *et al.*, 2008), the study findings also show that a new type of stigma was emerging because of ARVs. It was reported that people on ART had become more difficult to identify as they even appeared healthier than those without HIV. In this context, ARVs were viewed as bringing more HIV risks in the community.

It was also clear from the findings that AIDS in rural communities was still a subject of stigma as it was linked to perverted sexual activities. Antiretroviral therapy was, therefore, directly linked to a disease for sexual perverts or prostitutes. This is an indication that despite being more than 30 decades into the HIV and AIDS epidemic, the disease was, as observed by much earlier studies (Caldwell, 1999), still linked to promiscuity. Such views all dissuaded some people from accessing and benefiting from the available HIV and AIDS-related services.

Other negative issues with ARVs that equally affected entry and retention in the continuum of care and also found to be consistent with other studies, included the need for ARVs to be taken for life (Murray *et al.*, 2009). This was an issue because people were culturally used to medicines that heal and not to be taken for one's life time and so comments like '*This medicine works but we are tired of taking tablets on a daily basis,*' were very common among those ART. In this study, people were also concerned as in previous studies, about intolerable effects (Chesney, 2000; Bangsberge *et al.*, 2001), too many pills to be taken in a day (Maman, 2001), the size of the tablets (Schumacher and Bond, 2008) and the fact that the medicines were in tablet form instead of liquid form (Layer *et al.*, 2014). All these, whether anticipated or actual, acted as predictors for the late entry, linkage to care, ART initiation and non-adherence to ART.

Using the SEM, this study had a broader approach and understanding of individual health-seeking behaviour as not only being a result of personal factors but of multiple multilevel factors such as public perceptions of ARVs from the community level.

Conclusion

The results from this study show that negative perceptions about ARVs were evolving to positive ones and that this evolution acted as a predictor for the uptake of available HIV and AIDS-related services. As opposed to being viewed as killer drugs, as was the case in the past when the medicines had just been introduced, ARVs were now seen by many people as life-saving drugs and as a source of life. This calls for the need for information, education and communication, through which health care providers and other stakeholders can provide adequate and updated information about ARVs and communicate the positive perceptions about ARVs so that many can know that these medicines were a source of life and not a killer drugs. This can contribute to increased uptake of the life-saving and life-prolonging drugs and other related services.

The study has also shown that negative perceptions about ARVs had not been completely wiped out. So, while the positive perceptions act as a predictor for people's entry and continued participation in the continuum of care, the negative ones were a barrier. Therefore, there is a need for sensitisation so as to deal with the negative perceptions and in order to enhance HIV positive people's early entry into and stay in the continuum of care. This can contribute to the achievement of the goals of ART of reduced morbidity, reduced mortality and less transmissions of new HIV and AIDS cases. Additionally, there is need to address not only personal factors but also external non-personal environmental factors such as the community where perceptions originate from if health-seeking behaviour for HIV and AIDS-related behaviour is to be improved.

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FAMILIAR LANGUAGE VERSUS MOTHER TONGUE :

An Analysis of the Implications of the Current Language of Instruction Policy in Zambia

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Abstract

This article examines the implications of the shifts in the language of instruction (LoI) in Zambian schools. Fifty years after independence, Zambia is still faced with language policy problems. In 2013, the Ministry of Education, Science and Vocational Training offloaded a new curriculum in which the LoI in Grades 1 to 4 is a familiar language. Many studies support teaching and learning through a mother tongue but the implications of a familiar LoI have not yet been analysed. This article blends history, published research findings and a survey of the views of teachers of Grades 1 to 4 teaching in a familiar language. The challenges facing the implementation of such a policy are in no way different from those faced when this policy was first attempted prior to 1977. The article recommends a more inclusive approach to the implementation of the LoI policy in order to achieve the Sustainable Development Goal Number 4 on education by 2030.

Introduction

International Practices on Language of Instruction Policy

Language is a medium of communication and serves various purposes to national and personal value. It preserves national and individual identity and is a conduit for cultural values, beliefs, norms and practices. Njovu, Hamooya and Bwalya (2013) citing Ramaas (2009), noted that literacy, culture and language are elements that define individuals and their sense of belonging to a group or a nation. No one at birth chooses to be born of parents of a certain language and because of this lack of choice, children learn fluently first the languages of their mothers (mother tongue) and later the other languages as second languages which are learnt as a result of being a member of a larger community. The lack of choice to be born of parents of a certain language

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gives children the right to be taught and to learn in the language they understand better, that is the mother tongue or first language. Brock-Utone, Desai, Qorro and Pitman (2010 Eds) have cited Cummins (2000), (iteachilearn, <http://website-box.net/site/iteachilearn.org>); Baker (2000); and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), among others saying there are many advantages of teaching learners in their mother tongue. Citing Skutnabb-Kangas (2006), Phillipson (1992, 2009) and Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson, Mohanty and Panda, Brock-Utone, Desai, Qorro and Pitman (2010), strongly advocate that education in one's mother tongue is a linguistic human right. Odugu (2011: 25) says 'advocacy for mother-language education and multilingual education serves to revive endangered languages, foster ethnolinguistic cultural identity, enhance academic achievement and secure political stability'. One very important advantage of mother tongue education is the amplified grassroots participation in policy formulation (Odugu, 2011) though this advantage goes beyond policy to policy implementation. Local people, who are stakeholders in a curriculum their children are educated through, have a strong say on a curriculum which is delivered in a language they understand.

The subject of LoI is a controversial one in many countries with different histories. Many countries that were colonised adopted the colonial masters' languages as the LoI in schools and as official languages or national languages on radio and in offices. Examples of such countries are many, especially in Africa. These include South Africa, Kenya, Tanzania, Nigeria, Ghana, Malawi, Zambia. However, these countries, for instance, have different numbers of local languages.

Apart from colonisation, other factors that support the use of foreign languages are the globalisation ideologies that promote the idea of the world as a global village. In this global village ideology, all nations become members of the global village educating people who should work and do business anywhere in the world with language as a tool for creating understanding among the different people of different origins. The globalisation assertion to support foreign languages especially English, is supported by Hornbergera and Vaish (2009: 9) who stated that 'globalisation has opened up many sectors of employment where knowledge of English is necessary and consequently, there is a tremendous demand for English from the primary school itself.' But the choice of a language of instruction in any nation can bring problems if the citizens are not given the mandate to choose which language they would use as LoI. In Zambia, for instance, the LoI policy of teaching learners from Grades 1 to 4 in local familiar language has brought conflicts between the Lunda and Luvale people of North-Western Province of Zambia (Muzata, 2015). Countries that have respected people's choice of the language to use for instruction have remained united for many years. Hornbergera and Vaish (2009) report that in Singapore and India, the

government bowed to pressure from its citizens to introduce English as a medium of instruction in schools because citizens see more benefits in using English as a medium of instruction for their children. In the Singaporean case, English was meant to empower people over developing mother tongues. But this did not mean mother tongues were abolished. In India, Tooley and Dixon (2003) quoted by Hornbergera and Vaish (2009) observed attrition rates in government schools because English was only offered at secondary school level.

Nations that have embraced foreign languages have adopted different structures. In South Africa, although eleven languages have been recognised as official languages, English remains dominant and is used as a medium of instruction starting from primary school. Lack of teaching materials in local languages has been forwarded as one of the impediments to the use of local languages as a medium of instruction (Brock-Utne *et al.*, 2010). In Tanzania, English is taught as a subject at primary school and assumes the status of LoI at Junior Secondary School level in Form One. The LoI at primary level is Kiswahili (Brock-Utne *et al.*, 2010). The Tanzanian situation adopts Kiswahili as a Lingua Franca although there are other local languages in the country. Although benefits have been observed in learning fluency in Kiswahili by Tanzanian learners, the learners have difficulties with English at Form One and even when they enter university. Code switching is reported to be the strategy adopted for secondary school teachers to be able to communicate well with their learners (Brock-Utne *et al.*, 2010).

The Language Policy in Zambia: A Literature Review

The issue of LoI in Zambia may, perhaps, not be blamed on the colonial administration. When the colonial administration took over the affairs of running Northern Rhodesia as Zambia was called, the LoI was the mother tongue. Linehan (2005: 2), observed that ‘the issue of language and education in Zambia was fairly straight forward throughout the colonial and much of the Federal period. From 1927, only three years after the Colonial Office took over the responsibility for Northern Rhodesia up to 1963, just before the break-up of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the policy was consistent; mother tongue was used for the first two years of primary education, followed by a dominant vernacular up to Standard 5 and English thereafter. But Mwanakatwe (2013) says before independence, the colonial government selected four vernacular languages to be used as official languages for administrative purposes. These were Ibibemba, Cinyanja, Citonga and Silozi. However, these were not the only languages in Northern Rhodesia. Zambia had no Lingua Franca and even to date, Lingua Franca does not exist in Zambia.

As at 1977, the Ministry of Education (MoE) was aware of the benefits of teaching in the mother tongue but acknowledged that the practice was impracticable for highly multilingual societies such as Zambia. Mwanakatwe (2013) noted several challenges of teaching in vernacular languages which included lack of proper teaching materials in vernacular languages, limited reading materials in vernacular languages, and the lack of authorship among Zambians. Other noted challenges were the non-availability of teachers to teach in the many local languages and the cost implications of developing teaching and learning materials. The Ministry of Education (1977) says, before 1965, English was the medium of instruction from upper grades, that is Grade 5 upwards, but was declared the medium of instruction from Grade 1. Since Zambian children had problems understanding English, teachers had to use one of the local languages to drive their point home. This was a strategy when English was the medium of instruction. The 1977 policy reforms ably recognised the difficulties of using local languages as medium of instruction citing challenges imposed by high mobility of people from one place to another thereby frustrating the child's ability to learn when they are introduced to a new language in a new locality.

However, surprisingly enough, the 2013 revised curriculum had to thrust aside all these ideas and challenges observed and came up with a curriculum which should be delivered in what is now called a familiar language from Grades 1 to 4 (Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Education, 2013). It looks like a new meaning had been found to replace the mother tongue concept with a 'familiar' language concept. But what is a familiar language? Isn't this the dominant language that followed two years of mother tongue instruction in the colonial era before English was introduced at Grade 5? According to the Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Education (MESVTEE, 2013), a familiar language is a Zonal language or a language commonly used by the majority of the people including children as the language of play. Apparently, the revised curriculum introduces the familiar language as a LoI from Grades 1 to 4. But is the familiar language the same as the mother tongue? Well, the familiar language may not be the mother tongue but the mother tongue is still and also is actually the most familiar language in which research shows children performing very well when instructed through it. Research shows good performance in a mother tongue as a familiar language, not any other local language the child may have learnt.

Findings and Discussions

Findings

To help provide empirical analysis to this subject, the researcher conducted a survey of 129 teachers teaching Grades 1 to 4 in the local languages of instruction in selected schools of Livingstone, Kabwe, Chibombo and Solwezi. Schools in Livingstone use Citonga as the LoI but Silozi is widely used there too. Teachers in this study attested to this observation as well. Cinyanja has also permeated the area. Selected schools in Chibombo district of Central province at border areas with Lusaka district were also involved in the study. The local LoI is Cinyanja but Cilenje is said to be widely used in the area. The situation is alike in some schools in Kabwe where Icibemba is used instead of Cilenje. Solwezi is the new copper mining town in Zambia attracting a lot of people looking for employment. Kiikaonde is used as a familiar LoI in Solwezi but teachers recorded learners from Portuguese, Indian and Ghanaian origins besides the many other Zambian local languages. The study was conducted to establish teachers' experiences of teaching through the familiar language as a LoI as expected by the new curriculum. Respondents gave responses to the following four key questions:

- (i) What is your mother tongue category? (i.e. from the seven official local languages).
- (ii) Using your registers, write how many learners in your class belong to the seven main local language categories.
- (iii) Are you fluent in the local LoI used to teach Grades 1 to 4 in this school?
- (iv) Are you fluent in reading and writing in the local LoI used in this school?

The table below shows a distribution of the respondents that participated in the study.

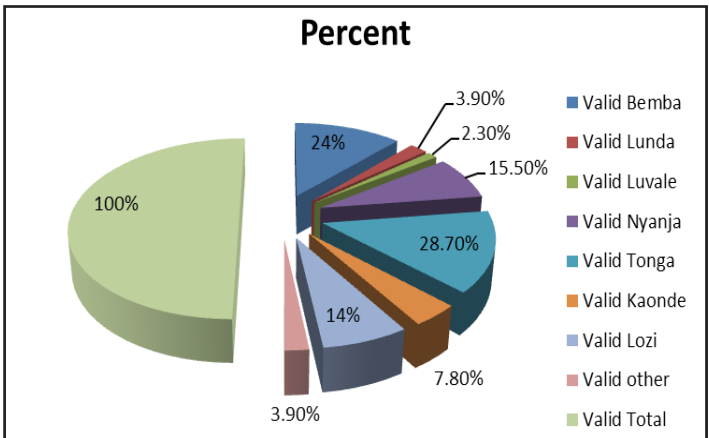
Table 1: Distribution of Respondents (N=129)

		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Valid	Kabwe	14	10.9	10.9	10.9
	Chibombo	26	20.2	20.2	31
	Livingstone town	49	38	38	69
	Solwezi	40	31	31	100
	Total	129	100	100	

From Table 1 above, three provinces were captured; Kabwe and Chibombo Districts in the Central Province, Livingstone in Southern Province and Solwezi in North-Western Province.

In the survey presented above, it was established that Zambian teachers of different local languages were teaching Grades 1 to 4. The teachers also taught different learners from different local language backgrounds (see Figure 1 and Table 2 below).

Figure 1: Teachers of Different Local Language Origins in Selected Schools of Livingstone, Chibombo, Kabwe and Solwezi (N= 129)



Source: Author

The results showed that there were teachers of different mother tongue origins teaching everywhere in the country. Teachers, regardless of their tribe, teach anywhere in the country as the posting policy states. The GRZ TS Form 2 states that, ‘under regulation 37, I will be posted where I am needed and not necessarily to the province of my choice’. From the results, it does not matter who teaches lower grades. A teacher of any tribe can teach learners through the familiar language known to be commonly used in the area. From the seven main languages spoken on national radio, teachers indicated that they had learners from different tribes in their Grades 1 to 4 classes as shown in Table 2 below. The table below shows the results of the different learners from different tribes taught by teachers through the LoI in the four selected places for the study.

Table 2: Learners of Different Local Language Origins in Selected Schools in Livingstone, Chibombo, Kabwe and Solwezi as Recorded by 129 Teachers

	Livingstone	Solwezi	Kabwe/	Chibombo	Per cent
Bemba	335	393	515	1243	24
Chinyanja	434	125	436	995	19
Kaonde	45	532	55	632	12
Luvale	103	176	24	303	6
Lozi	505	61	93	659	13
Lunda	56	219	27	302	6
Tonga	685	80	290	1055	20
	2163	1586	1440	5189	100

Note: Dialects were not captured in this information!

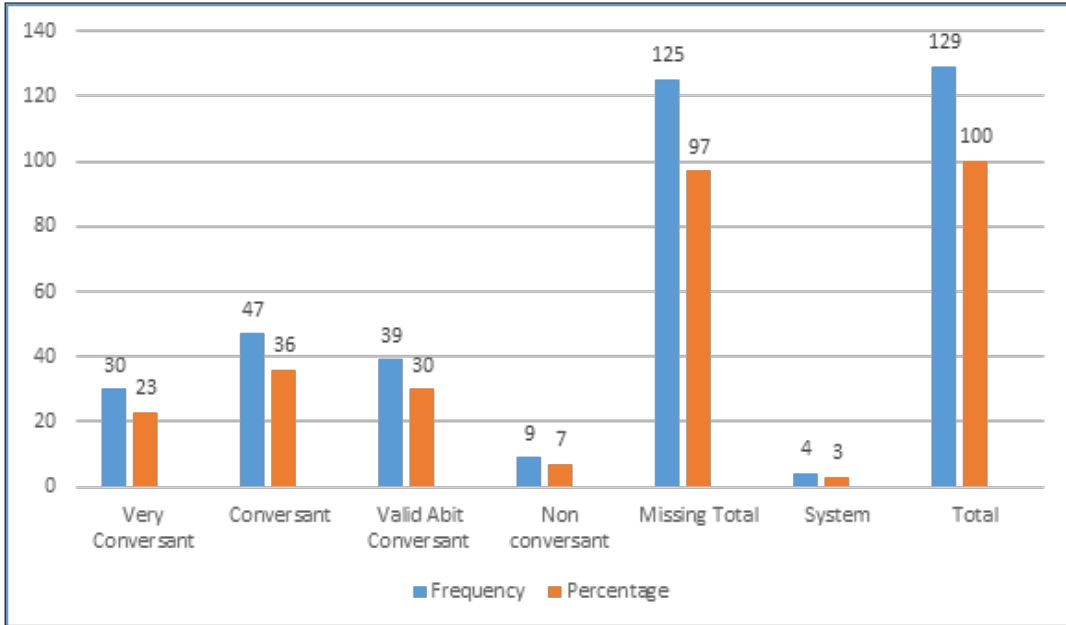
As shown in the results above, all teachers taught a heterogeneous group of learners; that is no one class had purely learners speaking one Zambian language. There are learners from different languages in classes that teachers taught regardless of the location. The results do not, however, show whether the learners of different languages speak those languages better than the local language used in the area or vice-versa. However, a very important consideration still remains, that for as long as people move from one place to another for various reasons, they are likely to face difficulties learning in the local language they find in the area they move to. As literature shows, Zambia is a highly multilingual society composed of not only the Zambian local languages but also foreign languages. In Solwezi, for instance, this study established that there was one Ghanaian, two Indians and one Portuguese speaking learners in some classes. In Livingstone, a number of learners of Ndebele and Zulu speaking languages were also recorded. Even among the seven languages commonly adopted as languages familiar to the learners on the basis that they are the main languages spoken on radio, many learners belong to different languages known as dialects. The dialects are not all close in orthography, intonation and other language characteristics as the main language, thus increasing the likelihood of affecting learning by learners who are not natural speakers of such a language called the familiar language. The adoption of the local language purported to be a familiar LoI creates a non-inclusive learning environment where some learners are likely to feel they are not part of the learning society in a particular classroom.

With such a distribution of teachers and learners of different local language origins in all schools in the country, one would wonder what language is likely to emerge one hundred years from now. People have not stopped transferring from one school to

another, from one province to another and Zambia's motto still remains 'One Zambia, One Nation.' To learn and use all seventy-three languages and dialects fluently, to teach and learn through the seventy-three local languages and dialects by each teacher and learner respectively, is an unachievable dream. To affect the quality of teaching and learning through a policy that is not inclusive creates long lasting negative effects on the education system. This needs not forgetting. Mwanakatwe, (2013: 203) warned that 'the selection of any one vernacular as a medium of instruction presupposes that teachers would be available in sufficient numbers throughout the country to teach effectively in the chosen vernacular so that the much-needed uniformity is obtained. Such a supposition is definitely unrealistic.'

Zambia continues to train teachers from different ethnic backgrounds and posts them to serve anywhere in the country in the name of 'One Zambia, One Nation' and teachers are still being trained in English. To think that these will be able to teach in a familiar language which they themselves have not been exposed to, may be illusionary. Mbewe (2015) showed two extreme contrasts of results from a study conducted to establish teachers, pupils and parents perceptions towards the use of Cinyanja as a LoI in Lusaka schools. Mbewe (2015) found that while teachers supported the use of Cinyanja, learners and parents' were for English. Further, Mbewe (2015) further discovered that a few parents still felt that their children should be taught in Ibibemba and Silozi instead of Cinyanja which is declared as a familiar language. From the 2016 survey conducted by the author of this article, it was established that although some teachers claimed that they were conversant and fluent in the local languages used in Livingstone, Kabwe, Chibombo and Solwezi, there was still a large percentage of teachers teaching Grades 1 to 4 that were neither conversant nor fluent in the local LoI, (See Figure 2 and 3 below).

Figure 2: Whether Teachers in Selected Schools in Livingstone, Kabwe, Chibombo and Solwezi were Conversant in the Local LoI Used in the Schools

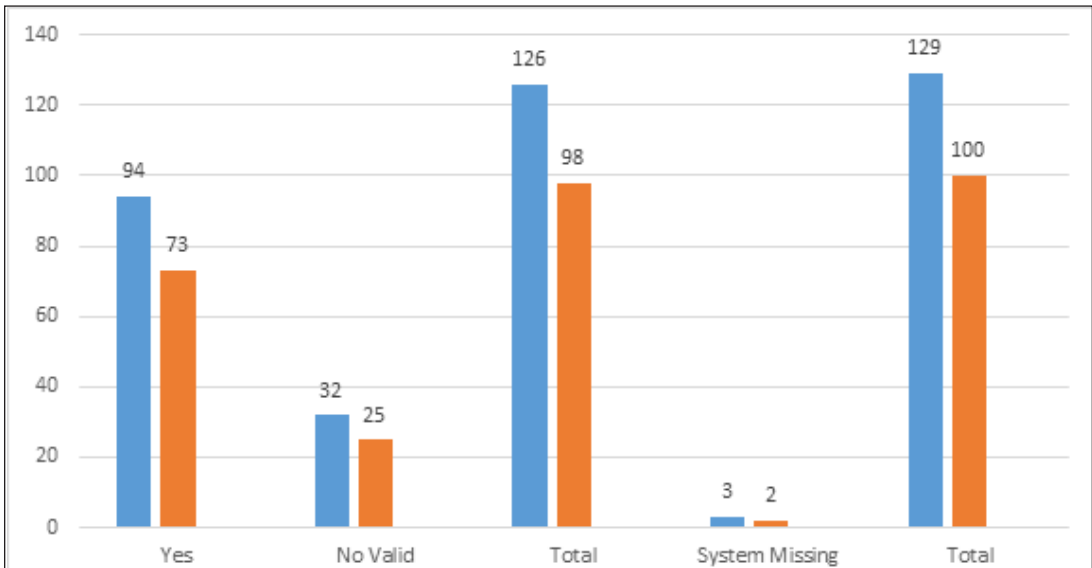


Source: Author

The results in Figure 2 above show that there is a considerable percentage of teachers that were a bit conversant (30%) and not conversant (7%) with the LoI used in the areas where they were teaching. This gives a 37 per cent total of teachers that were not conversant with the use of LoI to teach learners in Grades 1 to 4. In teaching and learning, whether the number of teachers who are conversant in the LoI is higher than the number of those that are not conversant, the impact exerted by those who are not conversant may still be deleterious.

The next figure shows similar results but in terms of language fluency, a quality necessary for teaching and learning. Language fluency necessitates a natural flow of thought when a teacher is explaining concepts to learners.

Figure 3: Whether Teachers in Selected Schools in Livingstone, Kabwe, Chibombo and Solwezi were Fluent at Reading and Writing in the Local LoI used in the Schools



Source: Author

When asked whether they were fluent in the local LoI used in the school, some teachers felt that they were not fluent and conversant at all. Teaching requires fluency, confidence and knowledge of the subject at hand. The results do not really show how positive the policy is as long as there are teachers who are not prepared to implement the policy effectively due to the language barrier. The impact of such lack of fluency and conversance at reading and writing in the local LoI compromises the delivery of content and skills to learners.

Discussions

From the findings of the study, there should be a distinction between the familiar language and the mother tongue. Many studies have supported instruction in the mother tongue while others have highlighted the difficulties of adopting the familiar language approach to LoI policy. Bishop (1985) conducted a study that discovered that learners in Zambian schools performed better in Mathematics when they were taught in their mother tongue than those who were taught in English. It should be noted that the mother tongue and the familiar language are two different concepts if applied. Matafwali (2010) argued that Zambian children who are not familiar with the LoI might have problems in school learning to read particularly, if they have been to pre-school where the LoI is a third language. Njovu, Hamooya and Bwalya

(2013) equally noted that the use of unfamiliar languages in the initial teaching of literacy greatly affects the reading of the children in schools and recommended that government should ensure that the policy is well implemented in all the parts of the country. Which language is unfamiliar to children in their initial literacy that scholars are referring to? These are languages that are not a child's mother tongue, including English. For instance, Njovu, Hamooya and Bwalya (2013) observed that there were places such as Kazungula where most people speak Silozi but Citonga is used, some parts of Kabwe where Lenje is widely spoken but Ibibemba is used for teaching initial literacy, leaving wonders in the researchers as to what would happen to some parts of Muchinga province where Ibibemba is used for instruction yet Nsenga is widely spoken in the area.

Tambulukani (2011) supported the instruction of learners in a familiar language, saying, 'pupils make more progress in word reading fluency in a Zambian language and English when basic reading skills are practiced in the children's most familiar Zambian language.' He also stated that 'the differences among the several local languages are minor.' He was, however, quick to warn that familiar language should be used on experimental basis because, for instance, the Cinyanja spoken in Lusaka is a combination of borrowed words from English and other local languages. However, the policy is under implementation in all schools in Zambia since 2014.

What are the implications of this policy on practice? It is suicidal to quality education to imagine that all the seventy-three languages and dialects have such similarities more especially when such languages meet in the cities. This certainly would mean total confusion to a variety of learners with different backgrounds. Even when the numbers may be less, their right to a fluent learning process is violated by the declaration of the so-called familiar language. It is an agreed proposition that performance whether in literacy or other academic skills is best when the instruction is done in a mother tongue but the familiar language as understood in the Zambian curriculum is not a mother tongue. It can be any other language the child understands and uses for play. But it should not be ignored that the mother tongue is actually the most familiar language to anyone because it gives one the inborn abilities to manipulate their learning situations. Learning cannot be best appreciated in any other familiar language other than the mother tongue. For instance, how long would it take a child from a rural area transferring to a town school where the language is completely new? How much frustration would be inflicted on such an innocent child even when he or she does not realise it? He or she has to start on a very low note of a low performer. If such a child was an intelligent performer where he or she came from, he or she will be the laughing stock of the time. He or she will have no avenue to exploit his or her intelligence until after a long time of frustrations and struggle.

This is against the child's rights to education because the child's new classroom becomes alien. He or she can play quite well while struggling but this has deleterious effects on, especially, classroom learning. Ordinary play cannot be compared to classroom learning. While play may be a method of learning, language is a very important vehicle for the method to achieve its objectives.

The choice of dominant languages to represent all other languages especially as languages of instruction, threatens the existence of minority languages (Muzata, 2015). Such is a danger to individual and national identity. There is no better language than the child's mother tongue for effective construction of knowledge to take place (Muzata, 2013). Wilson (1996) says constructivist learning environments are places where groups of learners learn to use tools of their culture including language and the rules for engaging in dialogue and knowledge generation. Dialogue in a mother tongue makes the construction of ideas easier. Denying a child the right to learn in his or her mother tongue pulls down his or her learning desire, the desire to express himself or herself thoroughly. Thus, we deny the child the childhood ability to build his or her self-esteem and concept. Odugu (2011) notes that multilingualism that supports only select few languages of dominant groups in society marginalises the minority languages or dialects, a norm observed in India and Nigeria. The popularisation of major languages, including the world languages, threatens the extinction of minority languages (Odugu, 2011). If Zambia has observed that she can manage to overcome the resource challenges of teaching all learners in their mother tongues, why not create classes to teach learners regardless of where they stay or live in their mother tongues? Teaching through multiple languages is another alternative although the attainability of such practice may be difficult to imagine especially for poor countries. Experts show that multiple language competencies dispose the individual to more advanced cognitive functioning measured by academic achievements. Mother-language education and multilingual education requires not only policy provisions that are inclusive of all languages but also an equitable distribution of adequate resources for the development of educational materials and teacher preparation in these languages (Odugu, 2011: 14).

Several questions emerge, fifty years after independence. Zambia continues to move to and fro without a proper decision on the LoI. It is usually left to the readers to wonder whether the policy is well informed by research in Zambia or not. The challenges of using vernacular languages in highly multilingual societies such as Zambia are well documented in Mwanakatwe (2013). Mwanakatwe (2013: 206), notes that 'learning through a multiplicity of languages presents the child with daunting difficulties which often retard progress. The plight of a child who is compelled to transfer from one school to another where a different vernacular language is used for instruction can be quite serious. A child's educational career can be ruined completely

in such a situation'. But, has the situation changed today that we can have a familiar local language being used for instruction from Grades 1 to 4? The 2012 Learning Achievement (MESVTEE) Survey Report established that 51 per cent of the learners learned in the language spoken at home while 49 per cent said they did not. The survey report cautioned implementers on the language of instruction policy implementation (MESVTEE, 2012). Certainly, situations have not changed from the time Mwanakatwe noted this as a challenge. If anything, people's movements from rural areas to towns in search of jobs, education and business have increased now than in the 70s when Mwanakatwe raised this issue.

Statistically, according to the Central Statistical Office (CSO, 2012), the 2010 Census captured 17.6 per cent Ibibemba, 4.3 per cent Citonga, 61.9 per cent Cinyanja, 0.2 per cent Kiikaonde and Luvala respectively; 1.3 per cent Silozi, 1.2 per cent Nsenga, 0.4 per cent Tumbuka speaking people and many other percentages below 1 per cent of the other local languages in the city of Lusaka. In 1966, according to Mwanakatwe (2013), there were 49 per cent Cinyanja, 20 per cent Ibibemba, 11 per cent Citonga, 5 per cent Silozi and other language speaking people. Perhaps Mwanakatwe combined the different dialects and the CSO gives all the dialects. From this overview, it is already difficult to declare Cinyanja as a familiar LoI in Lusaka schools alone when 17.6 per cent are Bemba, 1.3 per cent Lozi, 1.2 per cent Nsenga speakers for instance. It is still not satisfying to think that Nsenga, Tumbuka, Cichewa, and Cinyanja are the same. These language varieties do not affect the learners only, the teachers are also affected as they belong to different local language groupings.

Conclusion and Recommendations

There is no argument against teaching in local languages, especially the mother tongue. Such policies have succeeded in countries with fewer local languages than those with multiple languages. One may think this article is unpatriotic to Zambian local languages, but this article actually proposes a more inclusive approach to the local language policy and calls for more investment in teaching, learning and human resource in all the seventy-three local languages and dialects. If unattainable, it is better to embrace an alternative inclusive language, English, as has been the case, in order to level the learning field for all the seventy-three languages and dialects in Zambia. The need to respect individual identity among learners most importantly through learning in their mother tongue is not negotiable in a democracy and indeed in an ideal constructive learning environment. But, clearly, there is a big difference between a mother tongue and a familiar language, and subjecting teaching and learning in a familiar language instead of a mother tongue is against the principles of constructive learning and inclusiveness. Adopting dominant language approaches or familiar language ideologies creates a less

inclusive and intolerant society yet currently, learning should be made as inclusive as possible for all learners regardless of their origins. Language should not be used as a barrier to learning. If the familiar language is to be upheld, measures must be put in place to provide specialised teaching not only to learners but teachers as well in the new local languages they find when in new places.

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A MULTIMODAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF DISCOURSE OF PROTEST: An Example of the Federal Government of Nigeria and the Nigeria Labour Congress Face Off

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Abstract

Varied interests are inevitable issues between the working class and the State, and this often degenerates into labour conflicts between the government and the people. The subsidy removal by President Goodluck Jonathan in 2012, triggered off anger among millions of Nigerians and protesters all over the country expressed grievances against the policy through slogans, music, speeches, cartoons, placard inscriptions, images, internet/electronic outlets like Facebook comments, radio, television, and so on. Kress' (2004), *Fundamentals of Image Analysis* and Hall (2012)'s *Discourse of Protest* were harmonised as a framework for this work. This paper examines language and images and identifies the inter-semiotic and semantic coherence in this complementary multimodal mode.

Keywords: discourse, protest, conflict, multimodal, NLC

Introduction

Government policies and decisions are not, most often, welcomed by the Nigerian people. This is due to mutual distrust and lack of confidence in the government or due to other reasons associated with ideological sentiments rather than logical reasons. A case in point is the cash-for-vote syndrome, which characterises politicking in Nigeria, coupled with massive electoral fraud; it explains why the governors and the governed seem to have a little commitment and frail confidence in each other. National policies are viewed and analysed with bias, scepticism and sectarianism at the expense of long-term socioeconomic benefits.

As a way of showing disapproval to a government decision or policy, the public usually turns to street protests, often accompanied by the destruction of public property or even loss of lives. This is known as social protest. Social protest is a political expression resorted to so as to bring about social or political change. Protests can take the forms of petitions, boycotts and physical public displays like demonstrations and civil disobedience. Protest can be motivated by individual or collective incentives

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and can be organised by unions or activists. However, an individual can also organise a street protest, although it is not common and is mostly ineffective. It is also often counter-productive, as people tend to turn a sole protester into an object of mockery. Protest in Nigeria is used for challenging policies and actions of the institutions with the aim of engineering social change; it is, unfortunately, a rare tool for making a new request.

During a protest, law enforcement agencies are ordered to ‘keep peace’ and ‘restore order’ by force. As the police and military *obey the last order*, some law enforcement agents at times show solidarity with the protesters by being ‘civil’ and less brutal thereby, ‘betraying’ the true position of these security agents. This paper examines street protest as an instrument of showing discontent and as a means of seeking a reversal of a government decision or enforcing individual and collective rights in Nigeria.

This paper generally highlights the centrality of communication in the success of any form of protest. Communication enhances exchange of information, mobilisation, integration and coordination of different people to act with common interest thereby carving out a unique identity for the crowd as ‘civil rights agitators’. All these are vital to any successful protest. Selected images, together with the accompanied texts shot and released by CNN during the 2012 FGN/NLC-TUC face-off in the wake of the increase in pump prices will be studied and analysed within the framework of Kress’ (2004) *Fundamentals of Image Analysis* and Hall’s (2012) *Discourse of Protest*. This discourse type essentially reveals how the fusion of linguistic expressions and the accompanying paralinguistic cues in forms of images (still and moving) and symbols can effectively be employed to pass a message.

Discourse, Media and Society

Discourse

The main goal of discourse is the exposition of communication in terms of what, how and why. Due to diversity in the purpose, desired result and audience, packaging of discourses varies. The encoder skillfully injects elements that can aid popularity and potency of his or her message; thus, communication is channelled simultaneously through multiple modes with each mode collectively and harmoniously contributing to the comprehensiveness of the overall message. The beauty and potency in the use of combined modes as opposed to a mono mode in encoding discourse are what multimodal discourse tries to explicate.

The multimodal analysis was immensely stimulated by the works of Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996). Kress and Hodge (1988:7) recognise that ‘meaning is not restricted

only to the linguistic code but resides strongly and pervasively too in other systems of meaning. It embodies a multiplicity of visual, aural, behavioural and other codes aside words'. Modality creates an opening procedure through which meaning is achieved by both text and media. Until recently, research focus had been on discourse analysis of linguistic communication with less attention to other meaning-potential elements that accompany such text.

Although multimodal discourse analysis is simply understood as an extended component of the traditional discourse, the coincidence, complementarity and dependency of various modes used in generating and projecting meanings make a multimodal study of inter-semiotic relationship a rather necessary and comprehensive approach. Multimodality describes the potentials and limitations for meaning which are in different modes. Speech and writing use the material of sound and graphic substances, respectively.

In the multimodal landscape of communication, a plethora of choices and design become central issues that determine the communicator's best mode because social semiotics likens meanings to specific societies and their cultures. Social meanings are chosen or designed based on a specific rhetorical purpose and intent to persuade the people for whom the action is designed.

All modes of communication are co-dependent and each affects the nature of the content to convey and its overall rhetorical impacts on the communicative event itself. However, this assertion does not imply that each mode is not potentially eligible for a degree of self-sufficiency of communication capability. The multimodal approach has the potentials to acquire information and understand concepts through the study of a network of meaning-making systems like textual, oral and visual channels. This paper analyses a discourse of protest by considering the ease with which the combination of words and (still) images can harmoniously work to pass a message.

A multimodal discourse analysis is preoccupied with not only the study of sounds or inscriptions but also with images, gestures/poses and actions. From the perspective of multimodality, the means by which we make meanings are as diverse as the modes of their representation and this affects the way our mental and physical worlds are configured and perceived. The semiotic approach to visual communication stresses the idea that images are a collection of signs that are linked together by the viewer (Langrerhr, 2003). A chosen mode imposes certain commitments on meaning production.

Meanings are usually disseminated and distributed through various media like electronic, print, oral, and others. The output of these media takes the forms of modes like speech writing, cartoon, music as well as images. All media offer specific possibilities to the encoder and receiver; the multimodality of a piece of information creates diverse views and reflects ideological constraints in interpretation. Electronic

media enables the audience to gain immediate access to a broad and great depth of information because of the potentials to engage multiple sensory organs at a time. Social semiotics draws attention to the many kinds of meanings and to the fact that meanings are relative to or dependent on specific societies and their cultures. Semiotics takes the sign – a fusion of a form and a meaning – as its basic unit. A particular form of the sign is selected in such a way that it expresses the meanings that we intend it to; hence signs always express the meanings that the makers of such signs wish to make.

Signs create signification through various relations. The triadic relation captures the relationship that exists between a sign and what it stands for or between a sign and an object. This relationship is trichotomy when it contains an icon, index and symbol (Sebeok, 2001). Icon as a sign resembles its objects in a way. It shares one or more characteristics or properties of its object. Peirce (1931), classifies icons into three and refers to them as hypo-icons. These are an image, a diagram and a metaphor.

In index, the relationship between a sign and its objects is not resemblance-based. Rather, an index shares a direct physical connection with its object. For instance, a clock is an index of time and money is an index of wealth. Unlike icons and indexes, symbols share no resemblance with the object in any way and are governed by rule or convention or agreement between or among the users. Here, the relationship between the sign (form) and object is arbitrary. A symbol is interpreted according to rule or convention. For instance, the Nigerian Green-White-Green coloured flag is a symbol of Nigeria (Abdullahi-Idiagbon, 2009: 119-120).

Multimodality is essentially a theory of communication but developed by social semiotics. It refers to multiple, diversified and expressive modes of passing messages some of which include textual, aural, and visual resources and all of which are in a way complementary in the creation of meaning. The theoretical framework for this analysis is partly derived from Kress (2004) which observes that one of the present tasks of a multimodality approach is to describe the potentials of and limitations for meaning inherent in different modes.

Halliday (1978: 4), observes that some modes of meaning are, however, outside of the realm of language; they are culture-bound. For instance, semiotic resources like images, gestures and sounds are better interpreted culturally. Kress (2003) defines mode as a socially and culturally shaped resource for making meaning. According to Kress, different logics govern different modes. While the written text is governed by the logic of time sequence, the visual image is governed by the logic of space (Kress, 2003).

Therefore, the density, diversity and economic viability of cities make them natural sites for social movements and protests (Kohler and Wissen, 2003). Protest is a social and political act and so to create wide publicity, protesters seize public spaces and

employ social media. It is a social right of the citizens to challenge the state and voice their grievances. Protest movements compose of social and interest groups. For that, it is essential to consider the materiality of mode, its contextuality as well as its mediality. Speech uses the human material of sound while writing uses the graphic material. However, neither is self-sufficient in transmitting comprehensive information. One, because meaning relies heavily on context for effective communication, and two; certain things which can be done with graphic substance may not be possible with sound. But in spite of the multimodality of discourses, Ferree *et al.*, (2002) underscore the versatility of media to all modes.

Media

A vast majority of people depend on media for information. For instance, writing, as a mode could take different media forms like newspapers, circular, cartoons, internet messages, graffiti, images, and so on. The media controls people's opinions. It is, therefore, a duty of the journalists to supply accurate and sufficient information, reflect public opinion; and act as a watchdog of the masses. Media manipulate language as a tool and as an important resource to give meaning and shape public opinions. This underscores the power of language to mediate action and, thus it espouses the symbiotic relationship between discursive practices and language as a social activity.

People's course of actions is informed by varied and diverse motives. In the vanguard of publicising these diverse views and interests is the media. The media largely sponsors and can be sponsored to shape public opinions and reactions. This is true because the media language is pragmatic, performative, persuasive and assertive so much that it influences the readers' conception and perceptions of reality. The so-called reality, on the other hand, is construed or constructed with such skills that leave a vast majority of people with little or no contrary views (Tannen, 1989).

Society

The inevitability of conflicting interests in the social structures has revealed that the media more than any social institutions, determine the way audiences act and impose directions of the social responsibilities of various institutions in a discursive practice. This is because discursive practices create and reproduce unequal power relations in the society. Media, therefore, foreground the fact that language, through deliberate lexical and syntactic choices, reports different realities. This stresses the role of the media in the social structure of a particular society. This role of language is exemplified in its intersection with protest as a social and political act. This is why any discussion of the discourse of protest is necessarily intertextual and interdiscursive (Hall, 2012).

Hall asserts that discursive practices and ideologies are intertwined in the society. A society normally selects from the general cultural repertoire of its social norms and values which could facilitate the optimal realisation of its goals and interests. Each class or group sticks to its ideology because by so doing, its relevance and self-serving selection of fundamental socio-cultural values become noticeable. This, of course, often means that ideologies are involved in social conflicts involving individuals or society at large.

Method

This article shall beam its analytical searchlight on two-layers of images: first, the various still images (pictures, inscriptions and real objects), displayed by the protesters; and second, the protesters themselves as a moving image through which a message is passed. Language and images used by the protesters reveal the inter-semiotic and semantic connection and coherence in this multimodal mode. Tools in Multimodal Discourse were employed to analyse the multiple modes of meaning-conveying mechanisms used to decode the message being passed by the data. A synchronic view of Kress' (2004), *Fundamentals of Image Analysis* and Hall's (2012) *Discourse of Protest* will form the framework for this work.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Data Presentation

Data Qualities and Source

Analysing visual images begins with a consideration of the originality of the data source(s). Questions like this among others come to mind: Are the images or photographs shot by an independent photo journalist, a state-owned media photographer or a civil right activist? One thing is central to all these sources; a photo attempts to portray a real life event and story from the standpoint of individual or ideological perspective.

Image analysis is an effective way for transmitting a message into our subconscious, change our mood, inspire, and create lasting effects. Still, images in form of pictures showing various ways and scenes of protest were selected from CNN picture news. All visible objects and noticeable non-verbal cues of the protesters including their utterances, colours and inscribed texts were taken into consideration in analysing the data. Essential features of the data as expressed in Machin (2007:57) were identified. These are:

- a). Degree of articulations of the background which include varieties of background ranging from blank space, faded, sharp and detailed background.
- b). Degree of articulation of tone and visibility (based on the data being analysed) colours in the images in terms of brightness, darkness, and so on.
- c). Degree of colouration and colour variation representing all the fine nuances of a given colour.

Kress and Van Leeuwen in Machin (2007:69), distinguish between two kinds of ‘accordances in colour’ as two sources for making meaning. They explain that a colour is culture-bound in terms of meaning. For instance, in Nigeria, colour red is perceived as representing danger and cultism, among others while green and white colours are popularly used to represent the country itself. But generally speaking, whenever a different colour is used for one of the words that make an inscription, it is signifying emphasis. This is because colour is said to increase coherence and textuality of the intended message.

This paper presents data with nine pictures shot at different locations, featuring different protest scenes during the 7-day national strike declared by the Nigeria Labour Congress and its Trade Union Congress affiliate and other civil rights organisations each with its own different method of protest. Lagos, being a mega city with the highest population of inhabitants of all faiths and culture, is being used as a microcosm of Nigeria as a country. The pictures have a high degree of resolution and are a fair representation of the participants and actions used in expressing their grievances. The writer considers the textual inscriptions and colours satisfactory and catchy enough for academic attention.

Meanwhile, the analyst is not unaware of the fact that a number of factors guide and inform the choice of diction and style and the selection of pictures to be shot or used for a story in news reporting. As such, no news or a news mode should be considered safe and truly objective. Pictures can be deliberately shot in favour of or against a news report. Analysts of a multimodal discourse should be non-partisan and distant themselves from any situational analysis that can be controversial and extremely partisan.

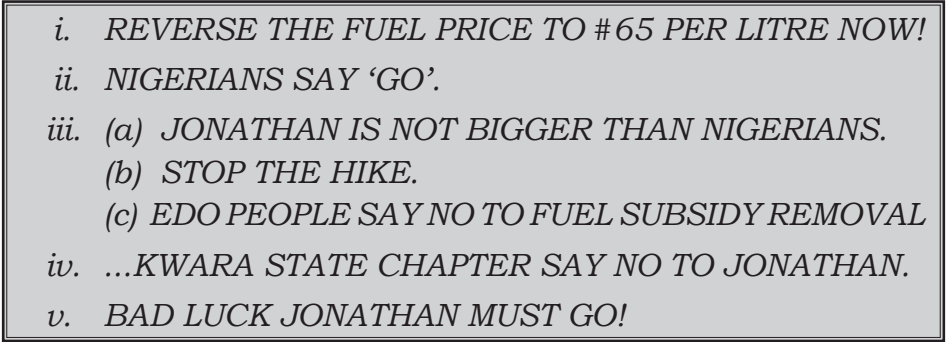
Data Analysis

Headline/Caption

The nature of the data makes this analysis an integrative multimodality; the messages’ visual elements of the graphic substance are multilayered. That is, the pictures and captions are mostly harmoniously integrated to function as a single text. The data features protesters carrying placards, pictures and objects – most importantly, a coffin (See Figure 7).

Incriminating and instigating captions adorn the placards to strengthen the message of the protesters. This abounds in all data. Here, the images speak louder and more messages are conveyed conspicuously than voices of the protesters. As potent as speech is, orderliness and audibility are major challenges protesters have to contend with. Thus, the written mode of discourse with its multiple media like speakers and drums becomes a viable and better alternative. The inscriptions are precise, easily understandable and inciting.

These banners and placards with various incriminating inscriptions almost all of which appear in upper case are shown below and they were carried by the angry demonstrators.

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- i. REVERSE THE FUEL PRICE TO #65 PER LITRE NOW!
 - ii. NIGERIANS SAY 'GO'.
 - iii. (a) JONATHAN IS NOT BIGGER THAN NIGERIANS.
(b) STOP THE HIKE.
(c) EDO PEOPLE SAY NO TO FUEL SUBSIDY REMOVAL
 - iv. ...KWARA STATE CHAPTER SAY NO TO JONATHAN.
 - v. BAD LUCK JONATHAN MUST GO!

The written and graphic layout of the inscriptions and images constitute clues to the minds and agitation of the protesters. Incriminating, inciting and horrific inscriptions in plain English, graphic expressions and still images or a combination of both criminalising the actions of the government in jerking up the pump prices were on display. The multimodality of this protest – consisting of pictures, written elements and voice channels, creates more awareness and wins more sympathisers for this struggle.

The Politics in Language Use

Barthes (1977) argues that denotation is the first level of meaning and connotation is a secondary semiotic source. The denotative meaning of these captions is straightforward and is easily understandable. However, another level of meaning can be possibly introduced to suggest that this protest cannot be said to be free of political opponents' sponsorship.

The use of language is suggestive of this insinuation. Politicians' unique manipulation of the English language is nothing new. It is often a case of hiding behind the passive while taking actions and switching to the active when necessarily convenient. Name-calling and finger-pointing are strategies of the State against opposition. The captions in Figures 1 and 8 *NIGERIANS SAY 'GO'* and *BAD LUCK JONATHAN MUST GO* are likely pointers to this assertion. The protesters were

labelled ‘miscreants’, ‘thugs’ and ‘hooligans’. These tags were used to legalise and legitimise all attempts to crush the activities of the protesters. In view of this, the Nigerian government deployed policemen and troops to ‘restore, peace, law and order’ in the society. The security agents, as the state instrument, became a dreaded tool used against peaceful street protesters.

That conflict of interests, misplaced priorities and policies which degenerate into mutual distrust is a normal occurrence between the government and the people. This often sparks mass’ reactions from time to time. Participants in protests are often described in various ways; for instance, ‘protesters’, ‘activists’, ‘rebels’, ‘militants’, ‘rioters’, ‘looters’, and so on. The choice of labels depends on who uses them and the intention in using them. Name-calling is strategic in order to justify a clamp down on the protesters and to gain both national and international support that justifies any government action.

But apart from an individual or collective sentiments attached to the christening of participants in crises, each name is not without its semantic (entailment) implication. For instance, protesters are said to be more peaceful than rioters because rioters have succumbed to mob rule. On the other hand, rebels are known to be those fighting against a regime they are not comfortable with; while militants are considered extremists who are blinded by their own belief. Therefore, it is a case of calling a dog bad names in order to hang it.

Image: Posture and Gesture of Protesters

In effect, lots of meaning-conveying potentials are observable among the protester images in this data. For instance, the images of stern-looking protesters carrying placards with anti-government inscriptions on their placards and the composition of the protesters in terms of gender and age-balance are both significant. Therefore, the protest enjoyed overwhelming participation from the citizens, male and female, young and old and from across the nation. This composition is usually considered a fair representation of the people, as such, not easily vulnerable.

Poses and gestures, as can be seen in Figure 5 and 6 indicate aggression as well as a determination on the agitations. Some gesture poses are spontaneous while others are deliberate; the spontaneity or otherwise of these paralinguistic cues emanate from the different levels of emotional attachments exhibited by an individual protester. The angry, moody faces and sarcastic smiling faces of the participants attest strongly to their resolve to fight the government.

Through images, ideas and values are communicated. All these images and their accompanying texts intercomplementarily generate a network of coherent structure and meaning which (Royce, 2007) is called inter-semiotic complementarity. All these

visual message elements carry semantic properties whose potential meanings are immeasurable to the coherence and comprehensibility of the message (Royce, 2007). Visual elements are imbued with peculiar compositional features, which, on their own, convey messages. Take another look at the pictures and real objects (e.g. an NLC flag and a coffin in Figures 2 and 9). Similarly, in this context, a textual inscription plays a secondary or complementary role in relation to what it represents. Here, images and symbols are the major driving forces to discourse meaning and message.

The harmonious blending of all categories of meaning bearing elements which co-exist with the image creates intertextuality or interconnectivity among the component semiolinguistic devices to facilitate a meaningful discourse. The interconnectivity between images and inscriptions serves as both cohesive and coherent devices. O'Halloran, Tan, Smith and Podlasov (2011), stress that inter-semiotic relations create integration between the written texts and the pictures rather than treat each as a discreet semiotic unit. This platform recognises and takes care of the variety of readers; the literates and those that can only make meaning out of pictures.

Symbolic Object and Image

Some images function as a secondary text; for instance, the coffin and burning tyres in Figures 2 and 9 complement the accompanying inscribed messages and the images of the protesters. The symbolic values of every item in this mode are noticeable in driving home the anger of the protesters. Death, as symbolised by the coffin, becomes a powerful meaning conveyor because the protesters seem to have been pushed to the wall; the belief of Africans is that it is inhuman to wish someone death even if they are your enemy. When red colour, a signifier of danger, is used to write inscriptions on placards or on any available object the protesters can improvise, it does not only make the inscription conspicuously legible but ultimately connotes danger and horror.

In Figure 1 below, the icon of President Jonathan as a fuel attendant is of semiotic note; this is because this graphic design is debasing and humiliating.



Figure 1

Source: Nigerians Protest End of Fuel Subsidy. iReport Occupy Nigeria Protest

This icon of the President is associated with his action of subsidy removal in fuel. The images and symbolic items displayed by the protesters are all premised on the background cause. The increase in pump price is a thematic preoccupation, a strong catalyst, a propeller of the protest actions. Here, the background information functions as the context and exerts an influence on the analysis and interpretation of the data.

In real life, the burning of tyres on streets hinders traffic flow as illustrated in Figure 2 below.



Figure 2

Source: Nigerians Protest End of Fuel Subsidy. iReport Occupy Nigeria Protest

It also symbolises danger and horror and sends a message to passersby who cannot join the protest to stay at home. Vividly noticeable in Figure 2 is a bus with the flag of the Nigerian Labour Congress; this congress was a major organiser of this public disobedience conveying and joining protesters. This demonstrates the spirit

of comradeship. The bus bears the yellow colour of a commercial bus in Lagos. This symbolises that not only was this particular picture taken in Lagos but also that the transport unions were also part of the protest.

Through a skilful deployment of multiple means and modes of event analysis, multimodality affords the readers an opportunity to have detailed information as witnesses do even though they were not present at the scene of the event. As Zelizer (2007: 424) writes, ‘eye witnessing is one of the most effective methods of accounting for reality’.

Image Schema

Image schemas and force dynamics in these pictures are a representation of the general discontent about the hike in fuel price. Actions in the data, like the burning of tyres, rampaging, rallying, public gatherings, shouting, sketching of the President’s picture as a petrol attendant, the carrying of placards, the displaying of a coffin and so on signal the demise of the President, all of which took place at different times and places (spatiotemporally spanning 7 days and on the major streets of Lagos State as well as other States) are strong indicators of the fury of ordinary people against the removal of the fuel subsidies.

It is important to note that denotative meaning of these images, in particular, and the protesters’ actions in general, go beyond peripheral denotative interpretations. Apart from the various looks on the faces of the protesters which can aptly be described as stern, disappointing, frustrating, pessimistic and queerly cheerful, the protesters also sacrificed their personal comfort to bear all hardships of hunger, weather, environment and harassment from security agencies.

Setting and Size of Protesters



Figure 3



Figure 4

Source: Nigerians Protest End of Fuel Subsidy. Report Occupy Nigeria Protest

Figures 3, 4 and 5 show protesters in different sizes; the first with a small number of protesters and the second indicates that the protest is taking place on a major road. The people, the inscriptions, the traffic code and the setting constitute visual elements with a harmonious inter-semiotic blend towards the overall discourse cohesion of the thematic preoccupation.



Figure 5

Source: Nigerians Protest End of Fuel Subsidy. iReport Occupy Nigeria Protest

Protesters in their hundreds of thousands are on rally ground in Figure 5. The composition is all-inclusive and broad cutting across different sex, age, tribe, religion, and so on. The size of a protest probably points to its popularity and thus, the bigger the size, the intimidating it is, in this context, to the government. The high visibility nature of this crowd hampers effective control of the masses by the government. Speakers at the protest ground seek to establish a firm control of mind and action of the group by highlighting consequences of the hike in fuel price.

Visible in the background in Figure 5 is a twin overhead bridge which suggests that the physical setting is a densely populated traffic area in the outskirts of Lagos. This, no doubt, has an effect on economic activities in Lagos, the commercial hub of the country. The vicinity is known as Gani Fawehinmi Square, named after a late human rights activist icon. This setting serves as an anchorage or a symbol of freedom.

Juxtaposing Images of Unusual Scenes

Figure 6 shows an unusual public interaction in the Nigerian society; an unusual image of the soldiers and civilians exchanging pleasantries – waving at each other at a close range.



Figure 6

Source: Nigerians Protest End of Fuel Subsidy. iReport Occupy Nigeria Protest

The soldiers were actually deployed to enforce peace but they eventually turned friendly to the protesters. In this picture, the soldiers are seen exchanging cheers with the street protesters, connoting a tacit support for the people's actions. This scene is significant given the background setting against which the military men were deployed; that is, to restore, or more appropriately, enforce peace and order of the Commander-in-Chief, the perceived enemy of the protesters. This public display of an unusual cooperation and camaraderie between the prey and their predators through the exchange of cheers and banter instead of chairs and bullets not only betray the general resentments against the regime's policy but also a way military men could show that they identify with the public agitations.

Discourse Cohesive Strategy

Barthes (1977: 41), identifies three major components of a multimodal discourse that need to interact to produce a cohesive and coherent discourse.

1. Anchorage, text, supporting image
2. Illustration, image, supporting text
3. Relay, image and text

Anchorage and illustration are deployed for reference purposes and they serve as the basis for the written text and images in the data. Subsidy removal serves as the basis for the protest. The text and images are illustrative of people's discontent and resentment and this mood is relayed through the moving image (the protesters) and still image (the pictures) as well as the various textual inscriptions on display. Lexically, the use of words like *reverse*, *go* and *stop* as inscriptions mark an order from Nigerians to president Jonathan's administration. The order is legally non-binding but it constitutes

both a moral and political challenge for a responsive and sensitive government. The power to issue such an order is derived from the people themselves who are bound by one common interest. The people, in the first place, are the same electorate who vested the elected officers with the power to rule through the ballot papers.

Object and Image Size

The image of a human-size coffin symbolises horror and a death wish for the President, the people's perceived enemy. The real size of the coffin is important and sends a clear message. The number of the people in attendance also plays a significant role in championing, advocating and probably realising an objective. The mammoth crowd in Figure 5 is significant because it does not only showcase the popularity of the protesters' demand but also shows the credibility of their uprising and agitation. In this gathering, various speakers of diverse ethnoreligious affiliations delivered motivating speeches.

The situation is the same in other parts of the country regarding the stream of people that took part in the rally. The participants are also made up of individuals and associations such as opposition political parties, students' union bodies, civil rights and religious organisations, and others to mention but a few. Similarly, the use of capital letters and their big fonts in the various inscriptions are more of an emphasis effect than of mere orthographic design.

Articulation and Foregrounding

Machin (2007), citing Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), discusses eight modality markers that depict the degrees of articulations of information and its coherence in a multimodal discourse. Looking at the degree of articulation of the people's demand, there is no doubt that it was forceful, clear and business-like. The powerful inscriptions: 'NIGERIANS SAY GO', 'KWARA STATE CHAPTER SAY NO TO JONATHAN' in Figures 7 and 9, which accompany the images therein are of semiotic significance.



Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9

Source: Nigerians Protest End of Fuel Subsidy. Report Occupy Nigeria Protest

The various inscriptions on the hike in petroleum prices does not only strengthen the degree of articulation of the agitation but also foreground the anchorage, the articulation of background as seen in the above figures. The coffin connotes a powerful imagery; it is a symbol which calls to mind ‘death’. It is a mark of ill-wish for their perceived mortal enemy. The degree of articulation of the voice tone is not unaccounted for in still images since the data is not electronic. However, one can still observe the mouths of the protesters wide open appearing to be shouting in fury. The resolution of the pictures is clear, colourful and bright.

Colouration of selected lexical items is another technique used for textual foregrounding in the data as seen in the placard with the inscription; ‘REVERSE THE FUEL PRICE TO #65 PER LITRE NOW!’ (See Figure 3).

Two foregrounding techniques, colouration and the interjection mark, as well as the background setting, were used to show the degree of articulation. A traffic sign with a ‘NO U-TURN’ inscription can be noticed at the back of the protesters. Protesters in Figures 7 and 8 are mostly youths carrying placards containing different texts and colours that illustrate their discontent with the announcement. Some of the inscriptions bear the following:

JONATHAN IS NOT BIGGER THAN NIGERIANS!
EDO PEOPLE SAY NO TO FUEL SUBSIDY REMOVAL!
BAD LUCK JONATHAN MUST GO!

Note the graphic effect of colour red. The anger and frustrations conveyed by the tone of these written messages are visibly manifest on the faces of these protesters – this complementarity between the image and text constitute multimodal discourse coherence.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper has examined the multimodality of the images displayed by the protesters with a view of showing the inter-semiotic and semantic connection and coherence in the written and graphic meaning of the written mode. It also studied the complementarity of the images and text as an effective way of showing public anger by protesters. Protest naturally involves a multitude of people; therefore, speaking or shouting may deter the audibility of the message, hence, this necessitates our investigation into how various images can serve as a means of conveying effective communication during the protest which voiced message cannot.

Since its inception, Discourse Analysis has undergone and still is witnessing developmental growth in scope, focus and genre, thus, the presence of critical discourse/critical studies, sociological discourse, political discourse, multimodal discourse and critical multimodal discourse. This paper adopts multimodal discourse approach which stresses the essence of the collaboration of multiple modes of information packaging and dissemination. Apart from being multimodal, it is also multimedia; thus it leaves little room for message misrepresentation. A protest staged by multitudes on the street, with public address system, placards and several symbols and images is likely to receive local, national and international attention and coverage, and consequently, generate the much-desired pressures on the target.

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