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Readers will find the current issue particular intriguing, informative and scholarly as the contributions touched on various thought provoking issues in the respective disciplines represented.

The current issue can be accessed in both print and online versions.

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# Identity, Independence and Current State of Leadership in Africa: An Intertextual Reading of Babatunde's Bombay's Republic

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## Abstract

It is known that African soldiers who were conscripted by the imperialist rulers such as Britain and France contributed to the ending of World War II which was fought by the Axis countries across Europe, Africa and the East. However, very little literature exists on the contribution of these African soldiers and the experiences they gathered. Also, there is not much literature on the causes that eventually led to the reformation of their mindset regarding their identity and position vis-à-vis the colonialists. Babatunde provides in his story, *Bombay's Republic*, a serious yet exciting and humorous insight into these untold stories of African soldiers. This paper uses the qualitative method of research and applies Julia Kristeva's intertextuality to the language and narrative techniques of the story. Through a literary analysis of the story, it is discovered that the social and political background of the text provides a depth of dialogic interplay. This dialogic interplay of texts informs the interpretations of the narrative in order to reveal possible meanings. And all these possible meanings speak to three pertinent issues: African identity, independence and the current state of leadership on the continent.

**Key words:** Africa, Eurocentrism, Identity, Intertextuality, World War II

## 1. Introduction

Various historical documents exist on how African countries contributed troops to participate in World War II. Countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal and Algeria were coerced by Britain and France, to contribute soldiers who fought and ended World War II. However, what has escaped these historical documentations is the social, cultural and psychological conditioning

that these African soldiers underwent while fighting in the war. Very little literature also exists on the lessons they gathered which may have led to the transformation of their mind-set on their identity and position vis-a-vis the colonialists. Babatunde, in *Bombay's Republic*, provides a serious satire and a humorous insight into the untold psychological conditioning of African soldiers who fought in World War II.

This paper uses the qualitative methodology in which Kristeva's intertextuality is applied to the reading and analysis of both the primary text and secondary texts that echo the concerns raised by Babatunde in his narrative. By intertextuality, Kristeva refers to the intertextual connections between a text and another through "citations, quotations, allusions, borrowings, adaptations, appropriations, parody, pastiche, imitation, and the like" (D'Angelo, 2010, p. 33). The fusion could also be between a single text and other texts preceding it across time. The themes, language and narrative technique of the story constitute the focal point in this analysis. The relationship between the African socio-political reality and the themes raised in the story are also explained.

The paper addresses the preceding issues by providing an introduction, a literature review, a synopsis of the story, the analysis of the narrative and a conclusion. It is the position of this paper that the social and political backgrounds of the text provide a depth of dialogic interplay which informs both the diachronic (across time) and synchronic (within a specific time) interpretations of the text to reveal possibilities of meanings. All these possible meanings are related to the pertinent issues of African identity, independence and the current state of leadership on the continent.

## 2. Literature Review

In the face of a rapidly developing research on literature and discourse analysis emerging from various disciplines, it is not difficult expatiating the relatedness between the two terms. Schiffirin, Tannen and Hamilton (2015, p. 1) observe that many linguists define discourse broadly as "anything beyond the sentence". Fasold (1990) also expands the study of discourse to include the study of language in totality. Observing many classes, patterns, "specific instances or spates of language" use such as "discourses of power", "discourses of racism" inherent in the definitions given to the term "discourse" by many critical theorists, Schiffirin et al. (2015, p. 1) reveal in a broader light that discourse is a composite of "linguistic and non-linguistic social practices and ideological assumptions that together construct or reinforce" to a wider extent, possibilities of meanings that go beyond the limitations of a written text to include social, political, cultural, economic and possibly psychological contextual interpretations that may infiltrate the boundaries of a text. In other words, the meaning of a text does not emanate from the printed words alone.

The context of the text, the allusions the text makes to other texts, situations and personalities all contribute to its meaning. Thus, every text is a continuation of a dialogue started by other authors at a particular time or across different times. The analysis, through which meaning is made from such dialogues present in every text or discourse, is what is then referred to as discourse analysis.

Literature, on the other hand, is a “criticism of life” (Arnold, 1932, p. XVII). Agyekum (2007, p. 2) also agrees with Arnold by defining literature as “a representation of life experience and reality of the world through linguistic creativity and imagination”. These life experiences and reality are expressed through language and since discourse analysis and intertextuality are both about language interpretation, it is natural to see the common denominator between these three terms as inherent in language itself. In the case of intertextuality, the similarity between it and literature is closer in that “literary texts attain their aesthetic qualities through their linkage to the past” and “language is an accumulative structure” (Assadi & Naamneh, 2018, p. 50). Just as intertextuality is interested in the connections and interconnections among texts, so is literature and it is appropriate to use such a theory to critique a literary text.

Kristeva’s theory of intertextuality has been largely inspired by ideas from Mikhail Bakhtin. Bakhtin (1981) may have been the first author to have concretely expatiated his views on the dialogic relationships among texts in “Discourse in the Novel”. In identifying the simulations of dialogism that interplay among texts, Bakhtin proposes the terms monologism (a single and unified interpretation of a text), dialogism (the connections between a text and other texts and wording within a narrative), heteroglossia (the predominance of context over text), polyphony (multiplicity of voices brought together within the text) and intertextuality (the relation between utterances) (see Bakhtin 1981; 1984). In explaining the above terms, Bakhtin accounted for the differences between monologism and dialogism. To him, “a monologically understood world is an objectified world, a world corresponding to a single and unified authorial consciousness” (1984, p. 68). Thus, “a monologic discourse is a one in which only one point of view is represented, however diverse the means of representation” (Hays, 2005, p. 7). On the contrary, dialogism, heteroglossia, polyphony and intertextuality represent, to a large extent, the accommodation of multiple voices and opinions which eventually lead to competition of voices with particular focus on “the part language plays in putting the speakers in a diversity of social situations and word views which are present in any culture” (Nesari, 2015, p. 644).

Taking Bakhtin’s ideas on dialogism as a prototype, Kristeva developed her own interpretations of Bakhtin’s work. As Alfaro (1996) puts it, “for Kristeva, Bakhtin represented the possibility of opening linguistics to society”

(p. 275). In Kristeva's own words, she states that "Bakhtin situates the text within history and society, which are seen as texts read by the writer, and into which he inserts himself by rewriting them" (Bakhtin, 1980, p. 65). Kristeva's position on situating the text within society and history reveals the synchronic and diachronic approaches of interpretations as understood by readers.

To Kristeva, when intertextuality occurs along the horizontal axis, it means that it connects an author and a reader of a text. On the vertical axis, there is a connection between a text and other texts (Raj, 2015). What it means here is that every text is an independent and unified entity capable of making meaning and at the same time relying on a series of connections with other texts to make a meaning. The interpretation of these relationships along the vertical and horizontal axes need not be mutually exclusive. Both can be applied to the reading of a text.

In consideration of the fact that in recent times, the objects of literary criticisms have diversified extensively to include not only literary texts but also other wide-ranging texts such as "film, television, advertisement, music, visual images, the texts of popular culture, media texts and so forth", it has become necessary that a combination of theoretical approaches is adopted in a bid to secure the possibilities of meanings inherent in textual analysis (D'Angelo, 2010, p. 32). This is because pragmatically, "there is no single method that can be used to analyse all rhetorical discourses" (D'Angelo, 2010, p. 32) Theories from linguistics and stylistics can be used to analyse literary texts and vice versa. The same can be said of sociology and literature.

The gradual inclusion of innumerable approaches in the analysis of varying discourses has created a platform for a more interdisciplinary approach to the study of literary texts, and taking centre stage is intertextuality. Kristeva's definitions of intertextuality as "the transposition of one (or many) sign system(s) into another" (Kisteva, 1984, p. 60) and as "...a constructed... mosaic of quotations and the absorption and transformation of any text into another" (Kisteva, 1986, p. 37) exemplifies, to a large extent, how texts are connected to other texts.

Situating this research within Kristeva's intertextuality, it is opined that Babatunde's *Bombay's Republic* incorporates elements of intertextuality to reveal some pertinent social, cultural and political issues (both past and contemporary) concerning the African continent. These issues include the metamorphosing ideology of African identity, the 'supposed' independence of African States and the state of leadership on the African continent.

Though much publication cannot be found on the primary text, *Bombay's Republic*, there are some few blogs and newspaper articles that can be gleaned from the internet. The first article on the text is written by Tade Ipadeola under the title "Rotimi Babatunde's Bombay's Republic: Of Similitude and

Verisimilitude” (2012). In the article, the writer debunks claims by Ahmed Maiwada, a legal adviser to the Association of Nigerian Authors that Rotimi’s storyline is too similar to Biyi Bandele’s *Burma Boy*. In Maiwada’s view, the similarity between the two stories should have disqualified Babatunde’s story from being shortlisted and included in the collection of short stories published by the Caine Prize in 2012. Ipadeola, however, is of the view that though the two stories look similar on the surface, there are still a lot of differences between them in terms of where they start and end, the type of protagonists used, the pace of drama in both texts and so on. Ipadeola, therefore, concludes that Babatunde’s story deserves praise and not the kind of criticism Maiwada heaps on it.

In “Some Thoughts on Rotimi Babatunde’s *Bombay’s Republic*” posted by Stephen D. Partington, the author praises the narrative’s dramatic language and storyline that make it interesting to read. He, however, has some reservations about the story for its “gratuitous” references to H. Rider Haggard as “the bad boy of colonialist fiction” and the same gratuitous references to Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart* (2012). In another blog posted on *ImageNations* by N. Fredua-Agyeman, the blogger examines the story in the light of war and its aftermath. According to the blogger, Bombay’s participation in the war exposed him to three realities: the quest for independence, the fact that the whites are mortals like any human being and to Africa’s participation in World War II. The writer admires the style of the story which, can be described as “mirthful”, “grisly” and “eschatological”. Bombay’s attitude after the war rather poses questions to readers. Are his actions after the war a reflection of the warlords in Africa who take over the reign of government and want to rule till death or the entire story is a metaphor that reflects the species of power-hungry leaders that abound in the continent?

In the preceding reviews, what is clear is the dialogue that *Bombay’s Republic* echoes from other texts and stories. The theory of intertextuality has, however, not been used to in any of the blogs to explain the possibility of the story bearing a resemblance to other stories and yet remaining a new and complete story on its own. Besides, the three issues of identity, independence and the state of leadership in Africa have not been examined together in any publication using the primary text and intertextuality as theory to explain the relatedness of these three issues.

### 3. Synopsis of the Narrative

*Bombay’s Republic* is a mirror representation of the physical and psychological devastating effects of war on humanity. In the story, Bombay enlists in the British Frontier to fight the invading Armies of Hitler and the Axis powers in the hope of securing his beloved country’s independence. Bombay

ventures into the war front as a helpless novice who knows nothing of the colonialists' demeaning mentality concerning his position and identity as an African. He, however, emerges from the Burma War front a completely new person. He is now a changed person who neither accepts his inferior position nor tolerates the domination or superiority of the colonial overlords.

There is a cynical criticism of the psychological awakening experienced by most African countries such as Sudan, Ghana, Nigeria, Benin, and Algeria in the middle of the twentieth century. It is also obvious that there is an indictment on the so-called independence and self-governance of most African countries. The past is synonymous with a complete lack of knowledge and awareness on the devastating consequences of colonialism on Africa and the present seems to question the certainty of the 'so-called' independence won by Africa. Thus, many African countries after independence are still plagued with the debilitating effects of neo-colonialism. They are not able to formulate and implement important policies that will inure to the benefit of their people since such countries are still controlled by western donor countries and multinational corporations. Consequently, many African countries are not truly independent in the face of neocolonialism and all the conflicts and economic crises that have engulfed the continent as a result of the failure of its leadership "to rise to the responsibility, to the challenge of personal example" (Achebe, 1983, p. 1).

#### 4. Data Analysis

##### 4.1 African Identity from Eurocentric Lenses

Bombay's contrasting exposure to innocence and experience before and after his engagement in the war as depicted in the story has its antecedence in Africa's past. His experience comes to represent the progressive changing phases of African mentality regarding the issue of identity. The European occupation of Africa brought in its wake the propagation of Eurocentrism. These Eurocentric ideas are geared towards fostering all forms of bondage, particularly psychological, for Africans in general. Eurocentrism aims at imposing on Africans the denial of their own identity and in its stead, promulgating European heritage and cultural realities in the African. In their bid to entrench the perpetuity of Eurocentric ideals, nineteenth and twentieth-century European scholars like Hugh Trevor-Roper (1965) and David Hume (1969) wrote extensively in a rather derogatory manner about everything African while lauding everything European. Believing that Africans have no history or heritage is worthy of study or mention. Trevor-Roper (1965, p. 9) stated the following:

It is fashionable to speak today as if European History were devalued: as if historians in the past, have paid too much attention to it, and as if

nowadays; we should pay less. Undergraduates seduced as always by the changing breath of journalistic fashion, demand that they should be taught the history of black Africa. Perhaps, in future, there will be some African history to teach. But at present, there is none or very little: there is only the history of Europeans in Africa. The rest is largely darkness, like the history of pre-European pre-Columbian America. And darkness is not a subject of history.

The comment by Trevor-Roper seeks to establish that Africans, in general, had neither culture nor history before their contact with the Europeans. Everything was a tabula rasa before the arrival of the Europeans and it is no wonder that writers like Conrad (2007) and others fictionally referred to Africa as *The Heart of Darkness*. However, both historical and cultural evidence in Alexandria in Egypt, in Egyptian hieroglyph and in other parts of Africa point to the fact that Africa had a culture and knew civilisation before the arrival of the Europeans. Trevor-Roper and others like him are quite aware of the inaccuracy of Trevor-Roper's comments but they are championing a Eurocentric ideology. They are doing their best to convince some clueless Africans and the rest of the world about the veracity of their stance.

Similarly, Hume's opinion of Africans is rather damning and debasing since he cites nature as his justification for the projection of his Eurocentric ideals. On this, he observed:

I am apt to suspect the Negroes to be naturally inferior to the whites. There scarcely ever was a civilized nation of that complexion, nor any individual eminent either in action or speculation. No ingenious manufacturers among them, no arts, no sciences. On the other hand, the most rude and barbarous of the whites such as the ancient Germans, the present TARTARS, have still something eminent about them, in their valour, forms of government. (Hume, 1969, p. 208).

Hume's observation is clearly difficult to be admitted in its current state. For up to date, there is no scientific evidence which establishes that Blacks are biologically inept and incapable of reasoning or that they are naturally born to be subservient to Europeans. Senghor of Senegal was a member of the Academie Française; and his area of specialisation was in French Grammar (Dathorne, 2001). French was not his mother tongue yet he mastered it better than some of the French themselves in order to deserve that honour in the Academie Française. The Mandelas, the Nkrumahs and the Ghandis have been described as "Great Men", 'Heroes of history" or "Evil Men" in different contexts (Van Wyk, 2007, p. 4). That they have not been labelled evil or

incompetent in all contexts indicates that there is some good or competence in them. Such sweeping statements as the one coming from Hume have one objective in mind; to deny Africa's achievement at the world stage and proffer an illogical explanation for white supremacy over Blacks.

Interestingly, the kind of Eurocentrism promulgated by Europeans has largely been psychologically inclined and subtle, yet its influence on many Africans is rather immense and efficacious. This is because both the unconscious and conscious mind-set of many indigenous Africans have been tuned to wholly accept European superiority without question. Bombay's innocence before his participation in the war exemplifies this:

Before Bombay's departure, when everything in the world was locked in its individual box, he could not have believed such metamorphosis was possible. A man was still a man and a leopard a leopard while old jailhouse was a forsaken place not fit for human habitation. A white man was the District Officer who went by in an impressive white jacket and a black man was the Native Police constable who saluted as the white man passed. (Babatunde, 2012, p. 10)

Bombay's mentality on the pre-eminence of the white man and the subservience of the African indicates his naivety and innocence. It is also a further indication of Africa's distant colonial past when the role of leadership was deemed the natural inheritance of the colonialist. Thus, through ideas such as those reflected in Hume's comments, Trevor-Roper and the early missionary activities in Africa, Africans were convinced about the 'uncivilised' nature of their culture, the need for them to turn the other cheek when one is slapped and the 'fact' that it is natural for the Blacks to be led by whites. After all, even in the church in *Houseboy* by Oyono (1990), Blacks are segregated from whites and the latter are made to take the front row seats while the former are seated at the back.

Bombay's susceptibility to the Eurocentric influence on him may be deemed highly unconscious since he himself, to a large extent, appears unaware of it. The same, however, cannot be said of other characters in other texts (which inform the current text). These other characters' holistic acceptance and practice of Eurocentric ideals reveal their conscious assimilation of European heritage and their diabolic rejection of their African identity leading to their unhomeliness; "to feel not at home even in your own home because you are not at home in yourself: your cultural identity crisis has made you a psychological refugee" (Tyson, 2006, p. 421). Such texts also reveal the extent to which the complete assimilation of Eurocentric values impact negatively on African identity.

A careful study of the film *Heritage Africa* (1988) by Kwaw Ansah and its lead character, Kwesi Atta Bosomefi, reveal that the film's content sheds light on the nature and constituents of Eurocentrism. Bosomefi's portrait also sheds light on the character traits of Bombay. Thus the two characters' Eurocentric perception of the supremacy of their European overlords is the same. The European's assertion of their sense of superiority is exposed in the first scene of the film when viewers encounter a European priest who says the closing prayer of a mass in the presence of numerous African Christian converts; "Great and manifold are the blessings which Almighty God the father of all mercies has bestowed upon the people of England when first he sent his Majesty's Royal persons to rule and reign over his subjects" (Ansah, 1988). Again, their denigration of the African culture and all it stands for is portrayed in their indoctrination of African school children. The children are ordered on a daily basis to renounce the culture which defines their identity; "A Christian child must not watch any festival or anything of the earthly god. That is for pagans, and pagans are not children of God, they belong to Satan, and they will go to hell when they die" (Ansah, 1988). Like the school children, Bosomefi similarly, after years of indoctrination, becomes ashamed of his cultural heritage as an African.

Bosomefi, consequently changes his name to sound more European - Quincy Arthur Bosomfield. His dedication to the European occupation as well as his European education and his progress within the colonial administration result in his detachment from his African roots. His metamorphosis from his African self to a Eurocentric personality causes a total change in his identity such that he does not fit into the Ghanaian cultural space he finds himself in. This leads to an estrangement between himself and all who matter: his nuclear family, his extended family, and the Africans he serves as a colonial officer. The fact that Bosomfield lynches his son for attending an African festivity and neglects to take him to the hospital leading to the boy's death indicates that to please the European overlords, Eurocentric Africans would sacrifice anything including family. In much the same way, Bombay is presented as an obedient servant and a faithful believer of white supremacy over Blacks in the story up to the point where he fights side by side with some of the whites in the war. However, it is only after the war that our protagonist becomes a transformed person due to the conditions he undergoes at the war front.

Bosomfield only differs from Bombay in that Bosomfield's transformation and assimilation process is conscious and intentional whereas Bombay's acceptance of Eurocentric ideology is presented as based on naivety on his part. In his naivety, Bombay comes to accept the lordship of the Europeans and further claims that "a white man [is] the District Officer who [goes] by in an impressive white jacket and a black [is] the Native police constable who salute[s]

as the white man passed” (Babatunde, 2012, p. 10). In spite of this, the epiphany both Bombay and Bosomfield experienced later in their lives shed off the scales from their eyes to make them appreciate the deception that underpins the foundations of Eurocentrism. For Bombay, his epiphany becomes evident in his realisation that the Europeans are not better off than he is. They also share in the physiognomies and oddities common to all men regardless of their race or heritage. Better still, many Africans like him seem to have the deftness to handle the extremes of life-threatening shocks comparatively better than their European foils. A typical example is the newly arrived captain from Europe whose evident ‘dismissive bossiness’ and braggart are humorously exposed. The exposure is done to reveal his pathetic faint-heartedness on the event of the gruelling death of a colleague compatriot:

The captain’s condition deteriorated. He stayed in bed all day, shivering and whimpering. Everything terrified him including daylight, and he kept his face shrouded with a blanket. The stench reeking from him became overpowering because the bed which he never left also served him as toilet, and at night he was always sedated because of fears his impromptu yelling could provide bearings to troops attacking in the darkness (Babatunde, 2012, p. 18).

This experience becomes the point of reverse; it becomes the abrupt epiphany and the stage of anagnorisis that changes Bombay’s perception about the colonialist’s superiority. He understands that their vulnerability could be as abject as that of any other person, and that they too are capable of exhibiting the basest of behaviours without any sense of moral superiority when expediency dictates the pace:

Bombay was deeply shocked by the captain’s fate. He remembered the white-jacketed District Officer back home with his manicured nails and the imperious airs of one in absolute control of the cosmos, the white man oozing superiority over the Khaki-clad Native Police constables as if merely exercising his natural birthright. That the captain, a countryman of the colonial administrator, had disintegrated to a condition that pitiful meant the impeccable District Officer could likewise descend to the same animal depths. (Babatunde, 2012, p. 19).

Bombay’s newly acquired knowledge and discovery awakens in him a new sense of pride. The initial surprise he expresses upon his hearing of the entire racist and demeaning chants of the Europeans about the Africans (that the African soldiers are anthropophagi; that they possess tails) no longer becomes a shock to him. Ironically, however, he sarcastically employs the same tools of psychological oppression and uses them to assert his new-found superiority over

the whites. In a conversation Bombay engages with his superior European officer, Bombay learns that the corpses of African soldiers are diced by the Japanese because of their belief that “black soldiers resurrect” (Babatunde, 2012, p. 20). Upon this discovery, Bombay incredulously asks, “...Every one of us?... Just like Lazarus?... and like Jesus Christ, your saviour?” (Babatunde, 2012, p. 20) Bombay’s comparison of himself and other African soldiers to Jesus Christ the ‘saviour of the Whites’ as he claims is simply humorous and sarcastic. It is intended to prove that the worth of the black man well exceeds the expectations and opinions of the whites because like their saviour, black people also assume the deific attribute of immortality accorded Christ. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that Bombay decides not to allow himself to be subjected to death or any inhuman treatment anymore. Bombay kills the Bombardier who goes on a killing and injuring spree in the barracks in search of vengeance for the plight of unrequited love he finds himself in.

In an allusion, Bombay recounts a similar experience his countryman, Okonkwo, encounters when he also kills an arrogant constable of the imperialists. This intertextual reference to Chinua Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart* in which Okonkwo (Achebe, 1983) gladly murders himself to avoid placing himself at the mercies of the European imperialists proves that like Okonkwo, Bombay will stop at nothing in a bid to assert and defend his manhood, dignity and pride. He will not accept Eurocentrism especially when he has discovered the ‘supposed’ myth of European superiority. For him, “things would never be locked in boxes again and that consciousness, the irreversible awareness handed out by charity to Bombay but appropriated by him from the jungle without gratitude and by right was enough recompense from the war” (Babatunde, 2012, p. 23). Thus, Bombay has now unlocked the mystery about Eurocentrism and come to realise that it is not everything European that is superior to everything African. In much the same way, leadership over the Black race by the whites is not ordained by God. It is only a matter of politics and this is why he creates his own republic in which he will no longer be answerable to any white man.

Bombay’s experience is similar to Kwesi Atta Bosomefi in *Heritage Africa* (1988) who learns through the hard way that a person is in no way better off assimilating other people’s culture than remaining true to himself when his insistence on maintaining his Eurocentric ideals causes him to lose his son, his marriage, his family’s most treasured heirloom and his own life. After encountering his moment of truth, he regrettably confesses his disgust at his own actions to his European overlords:

I think a man must know where he comes from to help him find his bearing...Your Excellency, when I was born I was named Kwasi Atta Bosomefi, and my name had meaning: Kwasi means Sunday born. Atta means a twin; Bosomefi means an illustrious ancestor is born

again. When I started school, I was christened. I began to learn English language along with all the values that come along with it. Then I began to feel \_\_\_\_\_ well, that my name perhaps is very primitive, inferior, so I anglicised it. Kwasi became Quincy; Atta became Arthur and Bosomefi became Bosomfield. What is in a name your Execellency? I feel like an alien in an ancestral home \_\_\_\_\_ like a man without heritage. (Ansah, 1988).

#### *4.2 Political Leadership in Africa after Independence*

Bosomfield's life may have ended after his sordid encounter with Eurocentrism but not that of Bombay. Luckily for Bombay, he survives the war and returns home to tell his story but not without a tinge of magical realism. Refusing to satiate the curiosity of his adult compatriots about his experiences from World War II, Bombay turns to his very young audience as he appropriates the accounts of his war experiences interspersed with his exaggerated fantasies. Thus, Bombay employs magical realism as a narrative strategy to negotiate the spaces between his reality and his illusions, making his narratives "stretch the boundaries of so-called normative reality" (McLaren, 2008, p. 151). He does this to paint a picturesque view of his heroic exploits and to assert his self-worth; in other words, his idealised self.

The children were pleased to hear him narrate his barehanded battles with crocodiles lurking beneath the muddy waters of Irrawaddy, the veteran whispering to them that the females had gold nuggets for eyes and the males stared coldly at the world with fist-sized diamonds which, if plucked from their sockets, would be sold for an amount large enough to make the wealthiest man around seem the most miserable pauper. (Babatunde, 2012, p. 26).

This becomes his mark of rebirth and his self-reclamation. The passion that comes with the transformation and the renewal of his mind-set lead Bombay on to transform his psychological independence into a physical one when he finally occupies the jailhouse and declares "his person and his house thenceforth independent from the British Empire" (Babatunde, 2012, p. 26). Bombay's declaration of independence and his political awareness of self-rule is reminiscent of a similar undertaking by Fela Anikulapo Kuti who declared his Kalakuta Republic independent of the Federal State of Nigeria in 1975 after he had been arrested and beaten by the Nigerian Military for smoking Marijuana (Awuni, 2014). A look into the history of India reveals that Fela's 'Kalakuta Republic' is a parody of the historical Black Hole of Calcutta. This was a prison in India which housed a number of European defenders of Calcutta after the capture of the city. It was Nawab Siraj al-Dawlah of Bengal

who spearheaded the capture and the surrender of the East India Company's garrison under the self-proclaimed governor of Bengal John Z. Holwell on June 20, 1756 (Cavendish, 2006, <https://www.history.com/archive/black-hole-calcutta>).

According to Awuni (2014, p. 33), "Fela decided to name his communal enclave Kalakuta Republic as defiance against established state authority". Veal (2000) also asserts that "Fela named his communal compound "Kalakuta Republic", proclaiming it as autonomous zone free from the laws and jurisdiction of Nigeria, opened to people of African descent worldwide, especially to the persecuted Africans" (p.143). Fela himself does not shy away from giving his real intent for setting up his independent enclave:

It was when I was at the police cell at the C.I.D (Central Intelligence Division) Headquarters in Lagos; the cell I was in was named 'The Kalakuta Republic' by the prisoners. I found out when I went to East Africa that 'Kalakuta' is a Swahili word that means "rascal". So if rascality is going to get us what we want, we will use it, because we are dealing with corrupt people, we have to be rascally with them. (Collins, 1985, p. 120).

In that regard, whereas the old Calcutta represents bondage, the parodied version symbolises freedom and defiance even in the midst of suppression. As observed from the above quotation, it is Fela's radicalism and his disgust for the absurd complexities that had become of post-independent Nigeria and Africa, and his desire to see and experience "the supposedly glorious and ideal nature of African pre-colonial past" in post-colonial Nigeria that lead him to establish his Kalakuta Republic (Awuni, 2014, p. 34).

Fela harboured a lot of anger and contempt for the Nigerian central government and for African governments in general because try as he may, he could not fathom why "in spite of the availability of resources both natural and human", the leaders could not develop the continent especially when colonialism had effectively ended (Awuni, 2014, p. 35). As such, Fela not only attacked the central government's administration of Nigeria but all other institutions such as the military. Similarly, in Bombay's case, he attacks both the colonial administration and their African stooges who consciously aid the European occupation. His attack riddled with a tinge of sarcasm and humour on the District Commissioner in his reference to him as a "clown", a "goat" and "white witch" for rearing lots of cats and the disrespectful treatment he gives the African tax collectors by urinating on them indicate Bombay's refusal to revere the colonial administration. Fela Anikulapo Kuti's anger may be expressed towards the post-colonial administration of Nigeria. Bombay, however, directs

his anger towards the colonial administration and the story at this point then serves as a parody of the biography of F. A. Kuti.

Besides the historical antecedence *Bombay's Republic* shares with F. A. Kuti's biography, the story again bears a resemblance to Biyi Bandele's (2007) *Burma Boy* which depicts the life and experiences of Ali Banana in the Burma war. Not only does *Bombay's Republic* parody *Burma Boy*, it further offers itself to a symbolic interpretation as regards the idea of independence and statehood as practised in Africa. The problem is that though most African nations are independent on paper, they are still under the yoke of neo-colonialism due to the greed and leadership style of some African leaders.

It is common knowledge that very few African presidents willingly leave office when their term is due. Many of them invariably prolong their stay in power, and in due course, turn out to be dictatorial. *Bombay's* abundant titles lampoon such African dictators. In the story, *Bombay* heaps upon himself titles such as "Lord of all Flora and Fauna. Scourge of the British Empire. Celestial Guardian of the Sun. Moon and Stars. Sole Discoverer of the Grand Unified Theorem. Patriarch of the United States of Africa. Father of the Internet" (Babatunde, 2012, p. 32).

Naturally, history uncovers many past and present African leaders who also allowed their egos and their sentiments to override their judgements and turned them into the worst versions of themselves. Ohene (2015) gives a list of a series of African presidents who, drunken with power, appropriated several titles for themselves in their bid to prove their superiority and sustain their ambition of perpetuating themselves in power. The former Gambian president was to be called "His Excellency Sheik Professor Alhaji Dr Yahya AJJ Jammeh Bibili Mansa". Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, similarly, was addressed as "Osagyefo (a chief's title said to mean Redeemer) Dr Kwame Nkrumah-Life President of the Republic of Ghana" after independence. Again, "the sergeant-major-turned-president of Zaire, now Democratic Republic of Congo, Joseph Mobutu, took the trend a scale higher to become "Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu Waza Banga" which meant "The warrior who goes from conquest to conquest leaving fire in his wake." Also, the life-long president of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe was addressed " His Excellency, The President, First Secretary of the Party, Head of State and Government, Commander-in-Chief of Zimbabwe Defence Forces' at different functions in his country (Ohene, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-33255094>). Most of the presidents mentioned here are synonymous with corruption and bad leadership. They invariably left their people poorer than when they took over the helm of affairs in their various countries.

Babatunde parodies these names and titles with an intent of ridiculing the greed that underlies their agenda. Such presidents under the guise of alleviating

the challenges of their people from external pressures rather appropriate to themselves unrivalled authority and power. Consequently, the genuineness of the independence such autocratic leaders declare from their persecutors remain a sham because they themselves practise vice while they hypocritically preach peace and perpetuate themselves in power. Though this attitude of obsession with power in most African leaders does not constitute neo-colonialism, it nonetheless questions the true meaning of independence and also facilitates the festering of neo-colonialist tendencies (Sanka, Gustafson-Asamoah & Issaka, 2018).

## **5. Conclusion**

Through a literary analysis of the narrative, it is concluded that Babatubde's story echoes other texts and continues a dialogue that has been started by other African authors and activists. An intertextual interpretation of the story reveals that it speaks to the themes of African identity, African independence and the state of leadership on the continent. These three issues are given expression in the narrative through Bombay's impression about the whites before the war, his experience with the whites during and after the war. Criticism is therefore directed not only at Eurocentric ideology which seeks to deny African identity and achievement at the world stage but also at the many African leaders who do not use the independence of their countries to seek prosperity for all but rather impoverish the continent through greed, corruption and mismanagement.

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# The Identity of the ‘Son of Man’ in Matthew 12:8: An Exegetical Study

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## Abstract

The identity of the ‘son of man’ in Matthew 12:8 is key to the interpretation of the first Sabbath conflict of Matthew’s Gospel (12:1-8). There is an ongoing debate, however, on the identity of the ‘son of man’ in Matthew 12:8. The enigma of identifying the ‘son of man’ in Matthew 12:8 is heightened with the discovery that the expression has assumed different meanings throughout history. Literature reviewed, so far, has shown that scholars neglect the different settings and the possible meanings of the ‘son of man’ in Matthew 12:8. Synoptic Gospels scholarship has identified three settings of Synoptic Gospel studies. These are the settings of (1) Jesus, (2) the kerygma, and (3) the evangelist. Given the different shades of the identity of the ‘son of man’ in history, this article investigates the identity of the ‘son of man’ in these three settings. This paper is an exegetical study of Matthew 12:8. The paper uses text-centred approach to biblical interpretation. In this paper, we argue that, in the setting of Jesus, the ‘son of man’ in the first Sabbath conflict of Matthew (12:1-8) has no Christological implications. However, in the setting of Matthew, the ‘Son of man’ could have Christological significance. New Testament scholars, students of NT studies, students of biblical theology, pastors, church members, and the general public interested in finding the identity of the ‘Son of man’ in Matthew 12:8 would find this article beneficial.

**Keywords:** ‘son of man’, lord of the Sabbath, Matthew 12:1-8, Matthew 12:8.

## 1. Introduction

The expression ‘son of man’ has received several interpretations among scholars through the centuries (see Möller, 2019; Müller, 2014; Caragounis, 2011; Otto, 2009; Borsch, 2007; Kazen, 2007; Van Aarde, 2005; Higgins, 2005; Casey, 2002; Wink, 2002; Owen & Shepherd, 2001; Lindars, 1984; Fitzmyer,

1979; Leivestad, 1972; Cullmann, 1957). The main issue has centred on the identity of the ‘son of man’. In the Old Testament (OT), three main considerations are given: divine being (Shea, 1996; Ferch, 1980; Nichol, 1976-1980), angelic being (Collins, 1974; Rowland, 1982) or a symbol of the Most High’s saints (Lucas, 2002; Di Lella, 1978; Casey, 1976). During the intertestamental period, the ‘son of man’ was identified as the Messiah (B. Sanh. 98a, ca A.D. 250; Collins, 1992; Cullmann, 1957) and as a symbol of an eschatological Israel (Ferch, 1980). The NT periods also saw the interpretation of ‘son of man’ given Personal and Messianic connotations (Wilson, 2011; Hare, 1990; Casey, 1987; Baukham, 1985; Rowley, 1959; Cullmann, 1957), Christological application (Gallagher, 2019; Piotrowski, 2018; Zacharias, 2017; Collins, 2015/2014; Allison, 2010; Kazen, 2007; Kim, 1983; Tödt, 1965; Hippolytus, 1950-1962a; Hippolytus, 1950-1962b; Cullmann, 1957), or as Christ (Horbury, 1985; Calvin, 1948). In the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, both an individual and the collective interpretation were given as referring to either one resembling a human being, or Jesus Christ, or an individual Messiah (Ferch, 1979). In the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the view of heavenly individual or messianic human was held while others posited that the reference is to a humanlike being associated with the saints. Other views highlighted in reference to the ‘son of man’, among others, are an angelic being or a historical human individual. In short, three main interpretations of the identity of the ‘son of man’ can be seen as “angelic figure,” “humanlike figure,” or “the Messiah.” (Ferch, 1979:189) The reference to the ‘son of man’ in Dan 7 shows that the figure is an individual with an eschatological role and having traits of a messiah. Within the setting of Dan 7, the being is seen as having a subordinating role to the Ancient of Days with a distinct identity from “the saints of the Most High” (Dan 7:13-14; see Casey, 2009/1987/1979/1976; Reynolds, 2008; Shepherd, 2006; Slater, 1995; Collins, 1974).

The main objective of this paper is to determine whether or not the story of the first Sabbath conflict in Matthew (12:1-8) has any Christological implication in the context of Matthew, and to determine the possible basis Christological reading of the story could be allowed.

## 2. The Setting of Matthew 12:8.

In Synoptic Gospel studies, the setting of the sayings and the deeds of Jesus is key to understanding any text (Warren, 2002). Scholars have identified three settings for this purpose: (1) actual life setting of Jesus’ ministry (Warren, 2002; Brown, 1997), (2) the situational needs of the church that shaped the words and the deeds of Jesus prior to the documentation of the Gospels (Warren, 2002; Brown, 1997), and (3) the setting during which the writings of the Gospels took

place (Warren, 2002; Brown, 1997). As it has been observed in recent times, the attempt to identify how the needs of the church affected the oral transmission of the words and deeds of Jesus has been educated conjecturing. These unending speculations have constricted scholars to lean towards establishing “the actual events in the lifetime of Jesus” and “the setting at the time of writing of the Gospels” as having historical credence (Warren, 2002:319).

Warren explains that the actual life setting of Jesus’ ministry and the setting at the time of writing are generally represented in the context, with the latter giving a particular slant to the former. He argues that “ignoring the first setting from the life of Christ represents a failure to wrestle with the meaning of the actual historical event in its historical context” and leads to “loss of many exegetical insights” (2002:320). He further argues that “ignoring the second setting from the time of the writer likewise would weaken the exegesis, since that setting often highlights the major emphasis and understanding of the biblical writer” (Warren, 2002:320). Matthew 12:1-8 may be more appreciable in these two settings as found in the final text of the gospel of Matthew.

Warren observes and advises, “while the two settings of the life of Jesus and the time of writing of the Gospel cannot always be distinguished and need not always be distinguished, many times interpreters fail to recognize the importance of the distinctive of these two settings” (2002:319). He explains further, for example, in the parable of the sower and the seed found in Mark 4:1-9 and explained in Mark 4:1-20, the setting in the life of Jesus negates identifying the types seeds/responses with different types of Christians. The disciples and other hearers of the parable knew nothing yet of the cross and resurrection, let alone the later development of a church that would include Gentiles. Probably all of Jesus’ *hearers* were already self-identified members of the people of God, Jews by birth, and so they would not have related the parable to salvation in a Christian sense. On the other hand, they would have heard that their proper response to God’s message as proclaimed by Jesus was crucial, so they should take care, lest their response proved inadequate (Warren, 2002).

Understanding Matthew 12:8 first in the actual life setting of the ministry of Jesus seems warranted. As demonstrated below, in view of the synoptic parallels of the Sabbath conflict coupled with the purpose of writing the gospel of Matthew, the setting in which the author wrote commends itself for an exegetical consideration. This consideration may help better identify the ‘son of man’ at two levels, namely, (1) the audience of Jesus and (2) the audience of Matthew.

### 3. Structure of Matthew 11-12

Matthew 11-12 is sandwiched between the discourses on discipleship (ch. 10) and the parables of the kingdom (ch. 13). Davies and Alison (2003) have proposed a three-triad structure of Matthew 11-12. This is shown on Table 1 below:

Table 1: Three-triad structure of Matthew 11-12

	1	2	3
Unbelief/rejection	1 11:2-19	12:1-8	12:22-37
Unbelief/rejection	2 11:20-24	12:9-14	12:38-45
Invitation/acceptance	3 11:25-30	12:15-21	12:46-50

The above structure (Table 1) highlights the themes in the pericopae. These are the unbelief/rejection and invitation and acceptance nature presented in the passage. They are intertwined in a way to indicate the very nature of the discourse. The first unbelief/rejection is shown in 11:2-19; 11:20-24; and 11:25-30. The second unbelief/rejection is presented in 12:1-8; 12:9-14; and 12:15-21. However, the invitation/ acceptance of the message is highlighted in 12:22-37; 12:38-45; and 12:46-50. The themes are also expressed in a horizontal manner where both the unbelief/rejection and invitation/acceptance permeate the chaps. 11 and 12 as pointed out in the structure above. From the above structure, the 'son of man' (Mt 12:8) falls within the unbelief/rejection themes. This may help us in appreciating the setting of Jesus, especially the Pharisees as among the immediate audience of Jesus.

### 4. Structure of Matthew 12:1-8

Matthew 12:1-8 is structured thematically. It consists of an accusation and four levels or format of responses. It follows the usual form for many ancient reports of arguments. It includes: (a) a summary of the situation (vv. 1-2); and (b) presentation of arguments by (b1) example (vv. 3-4); (b2) example and comparison (vv. 5-6); (b3) citation (v. 7); and (b4) ultimate basis (v. 8) (see Keener, 1999, p. 78). This formula οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε also appears in different places to present an argument or defence based on a reference from the OT (see Mt 19:4; 21:16, 42; 22:31). The formula assumes that those who are acquainted with the OT text ought to have known what Jesus is about to say. The first example occurs in a historical narrative whilst the second example is drawn from Pentateuch. But it seems appropriate to state that the first example, though stems from a historical narrative, is situated in temple regulations which find their context in the Pentateuch. Thus, Jesus draws vv. 3-7 from an incident in historical narrative (vv 3-4; 1 Sam 21:1-6), the Pentateuch (vv. 5-6; Num 28:9-

10), and the prophets (v. 7; cf. 9:1; Hos 6:6). The Pharisees and Jesus appear to be in great contention in Matthew 12 (cf. vv. 14, 24, 38) (France, 2007/1989; Luz & Koester, 2001).

### **5. Analysis of the First Sabbath Conflict in Matthew's Gospel (Matthew 12:1-8)**

This section presents the analysis of the first Sabbath conflicts in Matthew's Gospel. Matthew 12:1-8 records the first of the two Sabbath conflict stories in Matthew's Gospel. It relates the plucking of grain in the field on the Sabbath by Jesus' disciples (12:1). The Pharisees criticized Jesus for allowing his disciples to do what was not lawful to do on the Sabbath (12:2). Jesus responded in his defence and in that of his disciples. He did so by reminding them of the incident that took place at Nob when David was fleeing from King Saul in 1 Sam 21:1-6. In his first response, Jesus compared his disciples with David and his companions (12:3-4). In the second response, Jesus gave an example in the law which instructed the priests to work in the temple on Sabbath. Jesus described the priests as profaning the Sabbath yet were blameless, (12:5). He then said that "something" greater than the temple was there (12:6). Jesus also referred the Pharisees to Hos 6:6 which mentioned that God desired mercy than justice (12:7). He concluded that "the son of man is the lord of the Sabbath" (12:8).

#### *5.1 The Son of Man is also Lord of the Sabbath (12:8)*

Jesus declared himself "the Lord/master of the Sabbath" (Mt 12:8) (Witkowski, 2017; Viljoen, 2016; Wilson, 2015). Accordingly, Jesus' declaration that the 'son of man' is the Lord/master of the Sabbath in Matthew 12:8 climaxes the first Sabbath pericope of Matthew (12:1-8). The phrase 'son of man' is a debated issue in its usage in the gospels (Burkett, 2000, pp. 3-5). Geza Vermes has carefully noted that the phrase, originating in Aramaic, has a generic reference as 'human being' and in some cases its functions as an indefinite pronoun (2003:82). In the synoptic gospels, three general usages emerged in connection with: (1) Parousia, (2) Suffering, and (3) earthly life (McGrath, 2010; Higgins, 2002; Caragounis, 1986).

Analyses of some Greek words and expressions in 12:8 seemed to highlight the meaning of the 'son of man'. The Greek conjunction γάρ seemed both to link the saying in Matthew 12:8 to 12:7 and the rest of the pericope (12:1-7). Thus, the conjunction γάρ appeared to provide the grounds for the assertion that the disciples are innocent (12:7). The conjunction also seemed to relate the assertion in 12:8 to the rest of the pericope (12:1-7). Moreover, the conjunction γάρ is a coordinating conjunction linking this sentence (v. 8) to the previous ideas in vv. 3-7. Semantically, the conjunction functions in its "logical category indicating a movement of thought in the passage in terms of

conclusion” (Wallace, 1996:669, 670). Thus, it served to conclude the defence of Jesus from vv. 3 to 7. The Greek γάρ also seemed to be inferential conjunction, providing “a deduction, conclusion, or summary” to vv.3-7. In the view of Wallace, “[t]his clause leads to a deduction, conclusion, or summary to the preceding discussion” (1996:673). The conjunction seemed to imply that Jesus declared himself the right authority over the explanation of the Sabbath law. Thus, he has the correct understanding of the Sabbath.

The subject/predicate nominative construction also presents an important syntactical element for the interpretation of the pericope. In the construction *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, the ‘son of man’ is the subject of the construction because it has the definite article *ὁ* “the”. The clause *κύριος ἐστὶν τοῦ σαββάτου*, “is Lord of the Sabbath,” is the predicate of the sentence. The noun phrase *κύριος τοῦ σαββάτου* is the predicate nominative of the construction. In the construction, both the subject and the predicate nominative refer to the same entity (Wallace, 1996). The nominal phrase *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* is Jesus’ Messianic title (Wallace, 1996).

The nominal phrase, ‘son of man’, occurs 48 times only in the Gospels in the entire NT. In all but two (John 12:34; in these two references, the people questioned about the ‘son of man’, whom Jesus said must be lifted up. In their understanding, the Christ, whom they seemed to associate the ‘son of man’, remains forever. That is, he does not die to be lifted up) occurrences, Jesus calls himself the ‘son of man’. (The ‘son of man’ title alludes to Dan 7:13-14, where he comes in the clouds of heaven to the Ancient of Days to receive an everlasting dominion and glory and a kingdom for all people to serve him). It occurs 20 times in Matthew (9:6; 10:23; 11:19; 12:8, 40; 13:37, 41; 16:27; 17:9, 12, 22; 19:28; 20:18, 28; 24:44; 25:31; 26:2, 24 [2x], 45), 10 times in Mark (2:10, 28; 8:38; 9:9, 31; 10:33, 45; 14:21[2x], 41), 12 times in Luke (5:24; 6:5; 7:34; 9:26; 11:30; 12:8, 40; 17:24, 30; 18:8; 19:10; 22:69), and 6 times in John (3:13; 6:27; 12:23, 34[2x]; 13:31).

In its first occurrence in the Gospel of Matthew (8:20), the ‘son of man’ has no place to lay his head. In 9:6, the ‘son of man’ has authority to forgive sin (The Greek, *ἐξουσία*, has to do with the right to control or govern over. It is the authority to rule, and the right to control; see Louw & Nida, 1996, s.v. “ἐξουσία.”). Jesus reinforced this authority by the miracle of healing a paralytic. In 10:23, the ‘son of man’ would come again. In 11:19, the ‘son of man’ was mocked by his opponents as a gluttonous, “a drunkard, a friend of tax collectors and sinners.” This accusation was because he ate and drank with sinners. In 12:8, the ‘son of man’ is the Lord of the Sabbath.” In 12:40, the ‘son of man’ would be in the heart of the earth for 3 days and 3 nights. He would be there just as Jonah was in the belly of the fish for three days and three nights. In 13:37,

the 'son of man' sowed the good seed. In the parable of the Wheat and Tares (13:24-30; 36-43), the 'son of man' will send his angels to gather out of his kingdom all the things that offend and those who practice lawlessness" (13:41, NKJV).

In 16:27, the 'son of man' will come in glory to repay everyone according to his deeds. In Matthew 17:9, Jesus commanded Peter, James, and John not to tell anyone what they had seen until the 'son of man' was risen from the dead. In 17:12, the 'son of man' was going to suffer at the hands of the scribes. In 17:22, the 'son of man' was to be delivered into the hands of men. In 19:28, the 'son of man' would sit on his glorious throne, and his disciples on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. In 20:18, the 'son of man' was to be delivered to the chief priests and the scribes. They would condemn him to death. In 20:28, the 'son of man' came to serve and to give his life a ransom for many. In 24:44, the 'son of man' would come at an hour his disciples did not expect. In 25:31, the 'son of man' would judge the world. In 26:2, the 'son of man' was to be handed over to be crucified during the impending Passover feast. In 26:24, the 'son of man' was to be killed as is predicted, but woe to the one who was to betray him. In 26:45, the 'son of man' was to be betrayed into the hands of sinners.

In Mark 2:28, the 'son of man' is Lord even of the Sabbath." In 9:31, the 'son of man' was to be delivered into the hands of men, and they would kill him" and "after three days he will rise." In Luke 6:5, the 'son of man' is Lord of the Sabbath. In Luke 19:10, the 'son of man' had come to seek and to save that which was lost. In John 3:13, the 'son of man' bore witness to the Father because he had been with the Father in heaven. In 6:27, the 'son of man' would give to the people food which endures to eternal life.

In the synoptic gospels, Jesus was very careful not to give any premature messianic identity to the religious leaders of the Jews. Particularly, it has been observed that any perceived blasphemous statement received criticism from the Pharisees, scribes or the Sadducees. In Matthew, when the phrase is used without any divine attributes (Mt 26:64-65) or suffering (16:21; 17:12; cf., Dan 9:24-27; Mark 8:31; 9:12; Luke 9:22), it may refer to Jesus' identification with humanity. The reference to Jesus' humanity may account for the Pharisees not taking offence at the saying in Matthew 12:8. It is fair to say that the 'son of man' in the gospel of John presents a different picture from that of the Synoptic Gospels in general. In John, he gives life through his death and also sees himself as an eschatological judge (John 5:27; 6:27, 53.)

Again, it may be noted that nobody addressed Jesus the 'son of man' in Matthew. His Christological consciousness is conspicuously declared with the title 'the Son of God' (cf. Mt 4:5). For instance, Matthew 16:13b reads, he asked his disciples, saying, "Who do men say that I, the Son of Man, am?" Peter

answered "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God" v. 16b). The phrase 'son of man' seems to refer to the person of Jesus as known by the disciples. But with regard his true identity, he is the anointed one, the Son of the living God (17:5) (McGrath, 2010, 270). This observation finds support in Judaism in that the phrase denotes human with frailty (*Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Son of Man is the Lord of the Sabbath"). In short, Jesus is human who is the Lord/ (Master) of the Sabbath. In the lifetime setting of Jesus, the Pharisees (and the disciples) may have understood the phrase as a reference to Jesus being human with no messianic implication.

Moreover, the Greek κύριος denotes someone having legal power "lord" or "master." In a nonreligious sense, κύριος designates one controlling his own property such as an "owner," "lord," or "master" (see Mark 12:9). It also indicates one having authority over other persons such as a "lord" or "master" (see Luke 12:43). It can also be used as a form of address to show respect "sir" or "lord" (see John 4:11). In religious usage, κύριος denotes a personal title for God (see Mt 1:20) and Jesus Christ (see John 20:18). The Hebrew *Adonai* translated κύριος in the LXX, means the Lord. The Hebrew *Adonai* was used in the public reading of Scripture as a replacement for the Tetragrammaton YHWH (see Friberg, Friberg, & Miller, 2000).

Meanwhile, the Greek κύριος occurs 80 times in the Gospel of Matthew out of its 747 occurrences in the NT. It also occurs 18 times in Mark, 104 times in Luke, and 52 times in John. It occurs 254 times in the Gospels (202 times in the Synoptic Gospels), 211 times in Luke-Acts, 290 in the Pauline Epistles, 43 times in the General Epistles, and 75 times in the Johannine writings. Paul used it the most (290 times), followed by Luke (211 times in Luke-Acts), Matthew (80 times), and John (75 times in the Gospel of John and the book of Revelation).

In the Gospel of Matthew, κύριος was used 30 times in reference to Jesus (7:21, 22; 8:2, 6; 8:8, 21, 25; 9:29; 12:8; 14:28, 30; 15:22, 25, 27; 16:22; 17:4, 15; 18:21; 20:30, 31, 33; 22:43, 44, 45; 24:42; 25:37, 44; 26:22), 29 times in reference to other human beings (10:24, 25; 13:27; 15:27; 18:25, 27, 31, 32, 33; 20:8; 21:30, 40; 24:45, 46, 48, 50; 25:11, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26; 27:63), and 21 times in reference to God the Father (1:20, 22, 24; 2:13, 15, 19; 3:3; 4:7, 10; 5:33; 6:24; 9:38; 11:25; 21:3, 9, 42; 22:37, 44; 23:39; 27:10; 28:2). In Matthew, κύριος seemed to denote authority, ownership, and Creatorship. With reference to human beings, κύριος denoted ownership (for example, of a slave, Mt 10:24, 25; 13:27; 18:25, 27, 31, 32, 34; 24:45, 46, 48, 50; 25:18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26; of a vineyard, 20:8; 21:40) and authority (for example, over a child, 21:30; over an occasion like a wedding, 25:11; and political authority, 27:63). With reference to God, κύριος indicated ownership (9:38),

authority (1:20, 22, 24; 2:13, 15, 19; 3:3; 4:10; 5:33; 6:24; 21:3, 9, 42; 22:37; 23:39; 27:10; 28:2) and creatorship (11:25). With reference to Jesus, *κύριος* suggests authority (for example, over the righteous and the wicked in judgment 7:21, 22; 25:37, 44; over his disciples, 8:21, 25; 14:28, 30; 17:4; 18:21; 24:42; 26:22; over David, 22:43, 44, 45; those who sought his help recognized his authority over them, sometimes prostrating in worship, 8:6, 8; 9:28; 15:22, 25; 17:15; 20:30, 31, 33).

In Matthew 12:8, Jesus' rabbinic authority in expounding the Sabbath Law may be in view. The immediate context of the text (Mt 12:1-7) appeared to support this interpretation. As already demonstrated, the challenge of the hermeneutic scheme of Jesus initiated his expounding of the Sabbath regulation. He seemed to have contributed to the interpretation of the Sabbath regulations. And mercy seemed to be the underlining force of the expansion of the Sabbath regulation of Jesus.

In summary, Matthew 12:8 declares Jesus "the master interpreter of Sabbath regulation." Jesus had the right clarification of the Sabbath law. His defence of the disciples (Mt 12:3-7) was authoritative and discounted the accusation of the Pharisees in 12:2. Jesus' response to the query of the Pharisees in the actual event of his ministry may have established his authority as a rabbi. This response may have questioned the hermeneutics of Sabbath regulations and thereby established his.

Being master of the Sabbath should be understood in the context of his authority in interpreting the law regarding the observance of the Sabbath. This observation may be justified in that the Pharisees might have questioned his authority in allowing his disciple to break the Sabbath. Therefore, the popular dictum the 'son of man' is the Lord of the Sabbath' had no messianic implication for the immediate audience of the story. Since Jesus used the story of David very well as his defence, he projected himself as a better interpreter of the Law regarding Sabbath observance.

## 6. Implications

The following implications were drawn from the analysis of the phrase the 'son of man' in Matthew 12:8: (a) Jesus had authority to clarify the law in specific cases for his disciples, and (b) Jesus as the master/lord of the Sabbath (12:8) should be understood in the context of his authority to interpret the law regarding the observance of the Sabbath.

## 7. Summary

So far, it has been revealed that the settings for Synoptic studies to the text present two levels of audiences: Jesus' audience and Matthew's audience.

David's story was only an analogy for the Pharisees. It had had no Messianic import for the Pharisees. But for Matthew's audience, David's story was typological. For them, the story could be understood from the point of view of the entire gospel while the Pharisees would have understood as a mere analogy. They did not see any Messianic import. They could have accused him of blasphemy. Any Messianic interpretation may be a second reading not of primary.

The analysis of the phrase the 'son of man' in Matthew 12:8 has provided some insight into the interpretation of Matthew's first Sabbath conflict periscope (12:1-8). It was discovered that Jesus is the master interpreter of the Sabbath regulation. He has the right clarification of the Sabbath law. His defence of the disciples was authoritative, discounting the accusation of the Pharisees in 12:2. The expression "the Son of man is also the lord of the Sabbath" in Matthew 12:8 established Jesus as the authority of the Sabbath law. As the lord of the Sabbath: (a) Jesus discounted and clarified the Pharisaic interpretation (12:2). (a.1) The Pharisaic interpretation is discounted because it conflicted with Scripture (Mt 12:3-4, cf. 1 Sam 21:1-6; and Matthew 12:5, cf. Num 28:9-10). (a.2) It was also discounted because it was without mercy, 12:7. (b) It confirmed Jesus as an authoritative interpreter of the Sabbath law. Thus, this study has discovered that Matthew presented Jesus as the authority of the Sabbath law in Matthew 12:8. He is shown as One who gave accurate clarification to the law regarding the observance of the Sabbath.

## 8. Conclusion

The following conclusions were drawn on this study. The phrase 'son of man' is a debated issue in its usage in the gospels: First, the audience of Jesus (Jesus' setting) might have understood the story of David as portraying Jesus as a rabbi who used his knowledge of hermeneutics to explain the Sabbath law further. They might have understood the first Sabbath conflict as Jesus using *gezerah shewah* to explain that in both the situation of David and the disciples, a cultic regulation was violated. That since Scripture does not blame David, the Pharisees should not blame his disciples. They might have also understood that divine command can set aside the Sabbath law as in the situation of the priests' sacrifice on Sabbath (Mt 12:5; cf., Lev 28:9-10). That if the Temple work can make the priests sacrifice on Sabbath blameless, similarly, his disciples are blameless since they work with him. Who is greater than the Temple (v. 6).

Second, to Jesus' audience, the first Sabbath conflict might have no Christological implications. The reason is that, if the Pharisees understood the story christologically, they might have accused Jesus as blaspheming (cf., 9:3). The Pharisees understood Jesus as a teacher (Mt 8:19; 9:11; 12:38; 22:16, 36).

However, in the context of Matthew, the first Sabbath conflict has Christological implication. Jesus is the antitype of the priest who was the interpreter of the law. Inferred from the story of David is the interpretation of the cultic law and the authority of the priest, Ahimelech to give David and his colleagues the showbread. As Ahimelech, the Priest used his authority to allow David and his companions eat the showbread, so Jesus used his authority to permit his disciples to pluck heads of grain and eat on the Sabbath. Implied in both stories is that both Ahimelech and Jesus are interpreters of cultic laws.

While the interpretation advocated in this research might not be entirely new, the study has provided additional information and detailed analyses of Matthew 12:1-8 in support of the minority conservative understanding of the text. The following additional information has been added to the conservative views: (1) The distinction between the setting of Jesus and the evangelist and how the respective audience might have understood the Sabbath conflict hermeneutically. And (2) The 'son of man' is lord of the Sabbath- it is not messianic; it becomes messianic only when there are attendant messianic attributes like suffering or divine attributes (Mt 9:2; 16:13-16; 17:12, 22-23; 26:64. In Matthew 12:8, the 'son of man' has no attendant messianic attribute. So, Jesus identified himself as human; that he, as human, has the power to regulate the Sabbath because the context of David's story-gives him the authority- to regulate the Sabbath. First, as a rabbi he has authority to regulate the Sabbath. Second, his authority is rooted in scripture, his interpretive insight. Thus, Jesus did not appeal to heaven or his special birth. Like any rabbi, he appealed to scripture. He has authority to regulate the Sabbath, and that he is also a master in regulating laws on the Sabbath. He used scripture to explain the Sabbath law. Thus, he is also a teacher who can regulate Sabbath laws. The Pharisees might have seen Jesus as a teacher who had the authority to regulate Sabbath laws.

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# It's Fashionable: Children's Perceptions of the Influence of Language Use on Social Media Networks on their Academic Language and Future Identity in Southern Ghana

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## Abstract

Social media networks have become the most recent media to have gained prominence in the wake of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, and they are now the de facto of global communication in information delivery in the use of the internet and mobile devices. One of the most important characteristics of this novelty is the fascinating transformation in the language component of communication; particularly, the novel communicative symbols including vowel-free words, for example 'txtng' (Crystal, 2008). The social media communication in its extensive and varied reach is destabilizing the strength in children's use of Standard English in academic discourse. This study sought to explore children's perceptions of the influence of social media language on their academic language. Three schools were conveniently selected from three districts. Children between ages 12 and 17 years were purposively selected and 60 of them randomly sampled for the study. Interviews and questionnaire were the main instruments for data collection. The findings showed that although the participants were from different backgrounds, they identified the same lexical orthographic creations as a means by which they communicate on social media. Also, children view social media language (SML) as a language used purposely on social media and thus sound fashionable. Interestingly, the participants revealed that the risk discourse rate vis a vis academic language is negligible. It was also found that in spite of its supposedly negative influence on their future academic language, participants' experiences with social media will enhance their cognitive development, build their self-confidence and shape their social identity. Conclusions drawn from this study indicate that children may either not be aware of the long term effects of the use of language deviations on their Standard English or they are intentionally refusing to acknowledge the dangers these unconventionalities may pose on their academic language. It is therefore recommended that children should be well educated on the advantages and disadvantages in the use of social media to meet the changing world.

**Keywords:** Perception, influence, social media, social identity, academic language, Ghana

## 1. Introduction

The development in technology worldwide with its emerging digital tools has changed the face of global communication. These new emerging technologies have integrated social networking platforms of communication which has made electronic communication the fastest of all forms of communication in this era. Some of these growing high-tech social media platforms include WhatsApp, Facebook, Twitter, Yahoo Messenger, Instagram, Snap chat, and Google Plus.

The significant shift in the use of social media networks in information delivery and global communication has become somewhat central in human life for learning, informing, socializing, entertaining, educating and interconnectivity. It has become a means for people to publicize themselves and has increased interconnectivity of both known and unknown faces. The heightened interest and passion of communicating on social media platforms by educators, organizations, individuals and business bodies cannot be over emphasized. This is due to the fact that everyone wants to be identified with the technological world. Children are no exception to this call; they expect to associate with these emerging technologies for interactive communications. According to Comstock and Scharrer (2001:13), “every new electronic communication faces questions about its effect on children and adolescents”. Again, the literature indicates that there has been an upsurge in media consumption by children and adolescents (Badri, et al. 2017; Abdullah Alabdulkareem, 2015; Hasnain, et al., 2015). For instance, Elkind (2003) mentions that growth in technological culture has effect on children’s language learning and its inevitability cannot be overstated. Also, a survey by National Coalition to prevent child sexual abuse and exploitation (2013) indicates that teenagers spend an average of 8.08 hours per day on varied social media excluding the time they spend in school, talking and texting on mobile phones. Thus, children spend a lot of time in the use of various social media. Rowan (2013:1) also reports that “a 2010 Kaiser Foundation study showed that elementary aged children use an average of 7.5 hours per day of entertainment technology”. These show that children’s sense of time in relation to social media use has gone through great transformation; this means that they engage themselves more with these technologies and it is likely they have not taken cognizance of its consequences (be it positive or negative). These concerns call for investigation into children’s use of technology, more especially on the increasing development of social media cutting edge in this era; hence this study.

The study aimed at examining children's perceptions of the influence of social media language on their academic language and their future use of language. It discusses the impact social media language has on their future identity. In the light of these insights, the paper addresses the following research questions; (a) what are children's perceptions in the use of social media language? (b) what influence does social media language have on children's academic language? and (c) what impact does the use of social media language have on children's future identity?

## 2. Literature Review

According to Hatch (2011:2), technology has become an indispensable aspect of our daily lives "affecting our communications, mail, relationships, the management of our bills and finances". Her argument is based on the fact that as members, globally, we have come to accept these emerging technologies, children as well as adults have become ardent users. No doubt about this because telecommunication companies have developed laptops, cell phones, tablets, and video games software for children. These electronic tools have now become the source of entertainment for children. And so, children of today as young as five years can access smart phones to download and play games and generally have no difficulty in mastering their usage.

Hatch (2011:2) again mentions that "today's American children have a higher exposure to technology than any previous generation". There is no exception to this in Africa of which Ghana is part. According to the Global Internet Report 2017, out of the world's population of approximately 7.5 billion, the continent of Africa's figure, about 1.2 billion (1,246,504,865) of the world's population have access to internet. Of this figure, twenty-eight percent of them have access to social media while 146, 637,000 are on Facebook only as at 2016. Although, Africa's number is relatively small compared to the developed world, it still represents quite a substantial percentage of internet users in the world. The case of Ghana is no different. For instance, in the year 2000, internet users in Ghana were about 30,000; however, in 2017 the number of internet users grew in leaps and bounds in the country to approximately 8 million. This shows a significant growth in internet usage as stressed by Hatch (2011).

UNICEF, in a 2017 report, also mentions that "a growing body of evidence indicates that children are accessing the internet at increasingly younger ages. In some countries, children under 15 are as likely to use the internet as adults over 25" (UNICEF 2017a:1). For instance UNICEF's annual report 2017 for Ghana confirms increase in usage of social media as it was stated; "a snapshot of 2017 successes shows: 2.8 million people reached through social media platforms in

Ghana”( UNICEF, 2017b:8). If general usage of the internet in Ghana has risen, then the percentage of children having access to electronic devices in 2018 will be relatively higher. Ahn (2011:1) confirms that “teenagers are among the most prolific users of Social Network Sites (SNS)”. This higher exposure to technology has created uncertainties in the minds of parents, educators, doctors, families, and other experts. This has created fears for them of what the future holds for these children in the advancement of technology though technology has come to stay; ‘a weapon’ that has taken over the world.

The discourses on the use of digital tools and the associated forms of communication are wide and varied. For instance, a 2012 policy report of the British Association of Social Workers (BASW) stated that inventions of new technologies bring about changes in relationships in terms of members’ practices. This may have implications for privacy, confidentiality and mutual trust. Hatch (2011) also makes it clear that experts and parents have varied views towards children’s exposure to technology. She mentions that while some think that technology has a considerable importance and supported children’s development, others believe that it is a contributory factor to children being susceptible to violence. In contributing to these arguments, Rowan (2013) comments that majority of children’s play are now dependent on technology and it has greatly affected their creative resourcefulness as well as their affective and psychomotor development.

One of the controversial issues that have become debatable is whether or not the internet and other electronic communication have either positive or negative impact on academic learning with regards to literacy and with personal identity of children. Jenkins (2006:2) explains this as “how one is able to express literacy through any mode in the fast paced world of electronics”. In consequence, while some scholars suggest that youth connected to these global online communities and the rapid spread of written text messages are disastrous and frightening for parents and educators (Ahn, 2011), that most school districts block access to social network sites (Lemke & Coughlin, 2009), others have recommended the use of these forms of communication in social media. Roberts and Foehr (2008) also express that the new media, such as Facebook, replaces or enhances other leisure activities, but do not take away time from youth. In support of the use of communication on social media, Crystal (2008) argues that in general a very positive development promise, if anything, to enhance language; and that anyone learning a language must learn the standard version of that language in order to write and speak it well. The standard language is that form that is generally and widely accepted as the accurate spoken and written forms in schools for global communication. An example is the British Standard English, which Ghanaian learners are examined in. He continues to argue that ‘texters’ who text regularly using Standard English have

outstanding command of their language and Standard English (in terms of spelling, grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary) which are fundamental features that should be used appropriately both in formal and informal educational sectors. So, if children are able to follow suit, it will help improve their language skills globally since they all use the same language. A counter argument Wallace (2013) makes is that children of today are deeply rooted in the use of media and technology and one thing which is affecting them in the use of these technologies is low attention span which is affecting their language learning and academic work.

Looking at the popularity of new electronic communications and its likely impact on children, it can be noted that the concerns are arranged from the youth's privacy, safety, psychological well-being, social development and academic performance. Even though, there are some benefits in using Social Network Site (SNS) – a site that provides a platform for people to develop personal and social identities – the issue of language use in social networks and academic writing discourse cannot be overemphasize.

### 3. Methodology

The study adopted the descriptive survey design and a concurrent triangulation mixed method approach (Creswell, 2014). This design was selected because of its capabilities to assist in the understanding and interpretations of personal experiences of the respondents in collecting data. This design helps to reveal or make clear how the existing problem is and draws attention on suggested steps that can help aid in curbing the problem (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). They explained further that, if all the WH-questions are addressed in a study (which this design does), it usually brings clarity to the existing problem being investigated. This study did not adopt any hypothetical framework for the data analysis and interpretation; therefore, it is more of an empirical study which uses descriptive analysis and content analysis for the interpretation of the data.

Questionnaire and semi-structured interviews were the main instruments used for data collection. According to Kusi (2012), semi-structured interview sessions allow participants to answer prearranged questions that examine the inquiry line of the research. This instrument also permits the researcher to ask further questions for clarification of ideas during the interview session. The questionnaire was used to access various variables in the study. Section A measured the demographic background of the respondents: Section B discussed the respondents' perceptions in the use of social media language, and section C discussed participants' perceptions of the influence of social media language on their academic language. Items in the questionnaire involved both

closed and open-ended questions. The questionnaire items were validated by colleagues and expert English lecturers for content and face validity. The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 17 was used to analyse the demographic responses social media platforms respondents have access to and respondents' favourite social media platforms. Responses were organized in frequencies and percentages. The semi-structured interview was used to access respondents' perceptions of the impact of the use of social media on their future language usage and on their future identity as individuals. It also assessed the influence social media language has on their academic language. The interview sessions were conducted to complement responses from the questionnaire.

The purposive sampling technique was used to select the sampling population for the study. Three districts; (one from Accra (urban) and two from Winneba (Peri-urban) where social media access is predominant and two schools including a Junior High School (JHS) and a Senior High School (SHS) from each of the districts were purposefully sampled for the study. All the three levels 1-3 at both the Junior and Senior High school were captured, respectively. At the Junior High School level, the class register was used to systematically sample respondents within the ages of 12 and 17 years who had access to social media platforms. This was done by counting every fourth person whose age falls within the age bracket and has access to social media. If the person's age does not fall within the age bracket and even have access, that person was not selected. Also, if the person's age falls within the age bracket and does not have access to social media too, that person is not selected. The criteria are that only participants whose age falls within 12 and 17 and have access to social media qualifies to be sampled. So counting continued to the last person in the register. A total of 20 pupils in all satisfied the criteria to be sampled for the study at the JHS level. Five (5) pupils for JHS 1, seven (7) pupils for JHS 2 and eight (8) pupils for JHS 3. At the Senior High School (SHS) level, examinations were in progress at the time of the researcher's visit to the schools, so about 56 students who had finished writing their exams during the period of visit were assembled by the help of their teachers. The students were then asked to indicate their ages and their access to social media on pieces of papers. The researcher then conveniently selected students who satisfy the criteria thus, students whose ages fall within 12 and 17 years and have access to social media. Forty (40) students consisting of thirty-four (34) SHS 1, five (5) SHS 2 students and two (2) SHS 3 students were selected for the study. In all, a total of 60 respondents were sampled. The participants filled the questionnaire. Two students from each level totaling 12, who had earlier filled the questionnaire, were purposefully sampled for interview discussions to complement as well as to validate responses from the questionnaire.

The findings of the study were confirmed by sending the feedback to the respondents for confirmation. The ‘audit trail’ approach designed by Charmaz’s (1995), was also used to validate the findings. This approach does not allow the researcher to influence the findings but rather allows the evidence that emerged from the study to stand as it is. That is, the researcher does not take a stance in the findings.

## 4. Data Analysis and Findings

### 4.1 Background Variables

Table 1 shows a descriptive analysis of respondents’ demographic characteristics.

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of the respondents

Variable	Level	Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	18	30
	Female	42	70
Age	12	3	5
	13	2	3.3
	14	11	18.3
	15	18	30
	16	22	36.7
	17	4	6.7
Class/Form	JHS 1	5	8.3
	JHS 2	7	11.7
	JHS 3	8	13.4
	SHS 1	33	55.0
	SHS 2	5	8.3
	SHS 3	2	3.3
Languages Spoken	L1 only	0	0
	L2 only	4	6.7
	L1 and L2	56	93.3
Language of Instruction	L1 only	0	0
	L2 only	50	83.3
	L1 and L2	10	16.7
Social Network access	1	20	35
	2	8	13.3
	3	6	10
	4	9	15
	5 and above	16	26.7

Table 1 shows that majority of the respondents are females ( $n = 42, 70\%$ ) while the rest are males 18 (30%). Majority of the participants were aged between 14 and 16 years ( $n = 51; 85\%$ ). Furthermore, the form/class with the largest number of participants was the SHS 1 class ( $n = 34, 56.7\%$ ). Majority of

the respondents 56 (93.3%) revealed that they spoke one or more of the several local Ghanaian languages (L1) and one or two foreign languages (L2). Again, it can be observed from the data that most of the participants 50 (83.3%) indicated that a foreign language (English or French) was used for instruction in their schools. Apparently, 52% of the respondents have access to at least 3 social networks at a time.

Table 2 lists the social media platforms the participants have access to, as per their own account.

Table 2: Social media platforms which the respondents have access to.

Social Networks	Frequency	Percentage
Facebook	51	85
Whatsapp	47	78.3
Instagram	33	55
Telegram	24	40
Imo	24	40
Snapchat	20	33.3
Tango	12	20
Twitter	11	18.3
Viber	10	16.7
Messenger	7	11.7
Wattpad	3	5
Palm chat	1	1.7
Eskimo	1	1.7
Skout	1	1.7

Fourteen social media networks were listed by the individuals in the study. Each of the first six social media networks had at least 20 participants subscribing to their services. Facebook is the most popular as 51 (85%) of the 60 participants have access to it. Also, 47 (78.3%) have access to Whatsapp, 33 (55%) can access Instagram, 24 (40%) have access to both Telegram and Imo, respectively, and 20 (33.3) have access to Snapchat.

The respondents were subsequently given the opportunity to indicate their favourite social media platforms. The responses are presented in Table 3:

Table 3: Respondents' Favourite Social Media Platforms

<b>Favourite</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Whatsapp	31	28.2
Facebook	24	21.8
Telegram	17	15.5
Instagram	16	14.6
Snapchat	11	10.0
Imo	4	3.6
Twitter	2	1.8
Messenger	2	1.8
Wattpad	2	1.8
Skout	1	0.9
Tango	0	0
Viber	0	0
Palm chat	0	0
Eskimo	0	0

It is observed from Table 3 that 31 (28.2) indicated that Whatsapp was their favourite social media platform, 24 (21.8) indicated Facebook, 17(15.5) asserted Telegram, 16 (14.6) suggested Instagram, 11(10.0) revealed Snapchat, and 4 further indicated Imo. It is again clear from Table 3 that 2 revealed that their favourite social media applications were Twitter, Messenger, and Wattpad, respectively, 1 person indicated that Skout was his/her favourite while Tango, Viber, Palm chat and Eskimo all recorded no participants indicating their interest for them.

#### *4.2 Respondents' use of Social Media Language*

Analysis from the open-ended responses from the questionnaire suggest that the respondents communicate on social media platforms through English, French, Pidgin English, and some indigenous languages such as Twi, Ewe, Ga, among others. Interestingly, majority of respondents, about (65%), asserted that social media language was not different from the language used in school. However, when asked to write some of the language forms they use on some of the social media platform, it was observed that majority of them mostly use omission/vocabulary truncations, abbreviations, wrong capitalization, improper use of punctuations, combination of numbers and letters, vowel deletion - vowel free words, and substitution of letters in place of words in communicating with their pals on such platforms. Examples as indicated by the respondents are enumerated below:

### 4.3 Transformational Language on SMS

#### A. Omission/Vocabulary Truncations

##### 1. Test Language:

*Hw r u doing my gud frend? I hv de bks wit. me. Y ddnt u kall?  
I rilli miz u. Dd y go 2 de beach yestee? I lyk chattin wit u. We wer  
en klass dis morning. Hi boi, how iz 2 morrow's journey. Chale, if  
enitin happen in skuu do well 2 kal me. Kan u pls kam 2 my house?  
I h've a nice m'ssage 4 u 29t.*

##### English Gloss:

How are you doing my good friend? I have the book with me. Why didn't you call? I really miss you. Did you go to the beach yesterday? I like chatting with you. We were in class this morning. Hello boy how is tomorrow's journey? Charlie, if anything happens in school, do well to call me. Can you please come to my house? I have a nice message for you tonight.

##### 2. Test Language:

*Gud aftnun HBD 2 u Daniel Ope u w're in church 2 day Mi fone  
bateri iz distrubg me Wer u able 2 tlk 2 her ydee U 200 stp makin noix  
DD u get wt u wnted Mch as I nid We fank God Bt Y u pre10dn 2  
laf yestadae. Its rada un42nate Fanx I'm fym Hala mi nxt wik De movis  
bi bunch*

##### English Gloss:

Good afternoon. Happy birthday to you Daniel. Hope you were in church today. My phone battery is disturbing me. Were you able to talk to her yesterday? You too stop making noise. Did you get what you wanted? Much as I needed. We thank God. But why did you pretend to laugh yesterday? It's rather unfortunate. Thanks. I am fine. Call me next week. The movies are many.

##### 3. Test Language:

*Frnds r lyk sketch pens Dey kola ur lyf I may nt b ur favourte kola bt  
u wil nid mi sme day 2 complete ur pix Gudmrn*

**English Gloss:**

Friends are like sketch pens. They colour your life. I may not be your favourite colour but you will need me some day to complete your picture. Good morning.

**B. Use of Abbreviations**

*HBD*, (Happy Birthday) *TDB* (Till Day Break), *TTYL* (talk to you later) *OMG* - (Oh my God), *LOL* (Laugh out loud). *IDK* (I don't know), *IDC* (I don't care), *TG* (Thank God), *GM* (Good morning), *GE* (Good evening), *HW* (How are you) etc.

**C. Combination of numbers and letters**

*2day* (today) *gr8t* (Great), *in10tn* (intention), *pre10dn* (pretending), *un42nate* (unfortunate), *29t*(tonight), *Arom* (From).

**D. Vowel deletion - vowel free words**

*Gym*, *hw*, *lv*, *bks*, *ddnt*, *dd*, *lyk*, *tlk*, *stp*, *dd*, *wnted*, *nt*, *ttyl*, *dnt*, *lyf*, *cnt*, *sh*, *txt*, *msg*.

**E. Substitution of letters and numbers in place of words**

*R* (are), *U* (you), *ur*, *yr* (year), *200* (too), *y* (why) *b* (be), *n* (and)

**F. Others - Pidginization**

*I day*, *u 4 make wild*, (I am around so be wild), *LuvY* (Love you), *Naa* (No), *Fior* (Get out), *Cuz* (Because), *Ashock* (It's baffling) *Xup* (What's up).

The most interesting thing is that, though the respondents come from varied backgrounds they use the same orthographical writings as indicated in the data above.

#### *4.4 Participants' Perceptions of Social Media Language on their Academic Language*

To understand the respondents' perceptions of social media language on their academic language, a few open ended items were presented to them for their responses. Analysis from these items reveals that more than half of the samples were aware of the negative impact social media language may have on their academic language, especially when using vocabulary truncations, wrong

punctuations, substitution of letters and numbers in place of words, and pidginization.

For example, a SHS 1 student reported;

*“The negative impact in using SML could be “spelling and grammatical mistake in our academic writing” and this can earn us low marks”.*

Another female SHS 1 student mentioned that;

*“The use of SML has minimized my grades from good to bad. Especially during spelling dictation and composition writing”*

Similarly, a 16 year old student asserted that;

*“The use of social media language only brings down your ability of speaking and writing Standard English language which will affect you negatively in many ways”.*

Contrariwise, some of the respondents indicated that the use of social media language is fashionable and one needs to identify him/herself with it in this contemporary age. They indicated with strong views that SML does not have negative impact on student’s academic language.

An instance was when a female SHS 2 student alluded to the fact that;

*“It doesn’t really have influence since I continue to type ‘English Language’. That is not short hand”.*

Another JHS male student was of the view that;

*“The use of SML has positive influence in the sense that I can freely talk without making mistakes since I have cultivated the habit of speaking English even on social media”.*

The respondents were further quizzed during interviews about the use of social media languages such as those sampled above. Some of the responses from the interview session are indicated below:

A form one SHS student stated that;

*“It saved us time from writing long sentences and kept conversation going smoothly”*

Another SHS one girl commented that;

*“It is fashionable to communicate in social media language for it makes communication easier, enjoyable and fun”*

A form two SHS girl remarked that;

*“We know there are risk factors in using SML but we have no option to continue using it because it is what is now being used and you must also use it”*

Though some of the respondents knew the risk factors associated with the use of such language, this did not reduce their patronage time spent on social media platform. In the study, it was revealed that most of the participants spent more than two hours every day on such platforms. And these contact hours were mostly spent on communicating with peers who were likely to use some of the transformational language.

In the case of finding out whether social media language has the power to build their cognitive abilities, majority answered in the affirmative.

For example a SHS 3 student claimed that;

*“The use of SML has not affected me but rather has helped build new vocabularies in my language reserved”*

A SHS 1 student asserted that:

*“SML has helped me to develop constant and good writing skills”*

Later, a SHS 2 girl (16years) commented;

*“We have formed study groups on some of the social media platforms and we use Standard English in communicating, we share lots of ideas. So, I think this can go a long way to build our cognitive skills”*

One boy in JHS 1 mentioned that;

*“Sharing ideas and socializing with some good language users also help us to build our cognitive skills”*

These responses show that there are some positive aspects to the use of social media though there are other negative factors associated with the use of social media language.

#### *4.5 Participants' perceptions of the impact of the use of social media on students' future language usage*

Respondents were further asked to indicate their perceptions of the impact of social media language on their future standard language usage. Responses from the interviews indicated that most of the respondents were of the view that social media language will have a significant impact on their future language usage. For instance, a SHS 1 male student indicated that;

*“When one is writing an application letter, he/she may be tempted to use social media language unknowingly and end up losing the job they are applying for”.*

Another SHS 2 student noted that;

*“It is because when you chat with short hand you will start speaking and writing like that in English language”.*

Another male student (14years) commented;

*“There is time wastage in sustaining conversation for a very long time, the long stay on the social media sometimes lead to short period for getting time to learn. This can let us fail our subject and we will be jobless in future”*

#### *4.6 Participants' perceptions of the impact of social media usage on students' future identity*

In finding out how social media language can enhance their future lives, these are some of their comments during the interview.

A 15 year old SHS 1 student commented;

*“The use of social media will make us confident because we are bold to share our ideas on the platform, this will help us to do same when we meet face to face in future”*

Another JHS 3 student noted that;

*“We share ideas in groups and so it makes us one or it unite us as a group. So this shows that you have people to associate with”*

One SHS girl mentioned that;

*“Communicating on social media can bring interconnectivity, which is we can connect to one another elsewhere”*

It was found out that in spite of the supposedly negative influence on their future academic language; their experiences with social media will enhance their

cognitive development, build their self-confidence and shape their social connectivity.

## 5. Discussion of Findings

The findings of this study at some point authenticate or diverge (from) what literature attests to in terms of developing children in relation to technology and more especially with the new epoch of social network sites (SNS).

The general educational policy is that children are not supposed to use smart phones and other electronic gadgets in school let alone allow them to go to social media platforms. A policy is a document which is mainly executed within the public or government schools' context. In view of that adults and most parents frown at children who use smart phones. This generally hinders children from using the internet and other electronic materials in schools. Only a few parents allow their children to use phones at home but not in school. These background knowledge children have might have influenced their perceptions in the use of phones and engaging on social media issues. Since the study targeted those who have phones and therefore engage in social media issues, it helped revealed their own perceptions towards using social media platforms.

Some of the observations this study made include the following: adolescents' dominance in the use of SNS is very distinct within the age bracket 12 and 17. The study confirms the assertion made by Ahn (2011) that teenagers are the most prolific users of social network sites. These children take pleasure in being on the SNS not taking into consideration its implications sometimes, on their academic life, social life and future implications. The fear of the unknown is what is 'killing us', however, if the children are made aware of the realities they will begin to appreciate both the negative and the positive consequences of it. It is imperative that children get to know the good and the bad influences generally so that they can also fit into the global locale. This is in view of the fact that technology has come to stay whether society frowns on it or not and children would want to be identified with the global world. Even as effective good educators, we must know the good and the bad knowledge of it so we can disseminate information about these technologies and learn from it. It is through this that children will also benefit from the changing world that global societies identify themselves with.

It is interesting to note here that the study identified about fourteen social network sites and the remarkable aspect of this is that, children have knowledge in all of these and are accessing them at any point in time in their lives. These associations make clear that children are aware of the changing dynamics in technology and it is important for them to hook on to it. They see nothing wrong

in hanging on these sites for entertainment and pleasure, and the possible impact on them. The question here is ‘the change has come to stay’; what should adults, parents and other educators learn from the change? A fear of it and its implications or the future reality is what we need to address.

It is imperative to note here that children’s wide knowledge of these SNS exposes them to the world vicariously; learning and observing what happens elsewhere. For example, though children have different geographical backgrounds, ages, intellectual abilities and educational backgrounds, they exhibited the same scholarship of using the same orthographical writings in their communication on these sites. Another interesting observation is that though children knew the implications of this new orthography on their future academic lives, they saw the style of writing to be fashionable and needed to be identified with the fashionable period. Nonetheless, if children are well educated on these as Crystal (2008) mentions, then, they can develop their Standard English if they are educated to use the correct orthography as they communicate on these platforms.

Rowan (2013) pointed out in his study that children spent 7.5 hours on the entertainment sites on SNS; this study noted, however, that children spent two and half hours every day on these SNS. The inference here is that Ghanaian children have not yet hit the hours children in developed countries and other diaspora have reached; the reasons which may call for further research.

The children also confirmed that hooking unto SNS sometimes wastes lots of their time which sometimes earned them low marks in school. This goes to counter Roberts and Foehr’s claim (2008) that the use of SNS replaces children’s leisure activities but does not take time from them.

Finally, it is very significant to also note in this study that socially, children’s dominance in the use of SNS can inculcate confidence in them as they argue and share ideas with peers on these platforms. Again, it can build in them the spirit of co-existence and good networking relationship as they grow. This is notwithstanding, other undesirable factors these sites might have on them. The future identity of children in the use of social media platforms is of most interest to this study. As far as technology is concerned, we need to face it or embrace it with a ‘big heart’ and with a bold step and gradually push the children to recognise the good things in the use of these platforms and technologies as well as educate them on the bad aspect for their future growth and development as they embrace the change.

## 6. Conclusion

It is evident from the study that children are among the fastest growing population of users of the internet and other electronic social network access

and they are not naïve in the use of the various forms of transformational language that exists on these platforms. Gradually, technology is taking over the world and children need to be properly educated on the pros and cons of technological advancement so as to prepare well to meet the change without fear or failure in their future lives. If good training is given to them on how to gather and analyse information with ease using these technologies and platforms, it will build children's technological know-how and finally impact positively on their academic lives. Educators and child educators need to embrace these changes and enforce its proper usage among children. Since children are banned in the use of these technologies, their motivation for the use of SML is more fashion oriented without any regard to the long term benefit they can experience in the use of these technologies on their academic work.

In conclusion, we cannot control what we cannot control; change is real, we cannot avoid it. We either embrace it or leave it. Children's future everywhere in relation to technology is advancing and children have to be identified with it through good training skills that will enhance or enlighten them in the realities that are associated with this technological advancement.

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# Emotional Intelligence and Leadership Effectiveness: A Theoretical Review

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## **Abstract**

The main aim of the study was to investigate the role of emotional intelligence in determining the ability of leaders to achieve organizational goals, by reviewing and synthesizing relevant literature. As the business environment becomes more competitive and complex and the workforce becomes more educated and enabled, there is the need for leaders to understand their emotions and the emotions of followers. The paper reviews existing literature on leadership, emotional intelligence, whether gender mediates the influence of emotional intelligence on leadership; and the influence of emotional intelligence on leader effectiveness. The research found that, emotional intelligence determines the effectiveness of leadership and gender does not mediate the relationship between emotional intelligence and effective leadership. Therefore, the study recommends sensitization and training of leaders to acquire emotional intelligence skills.

**Keywords:** emotional intelligence, leadership, leadership effectiveness

## **1. Introduction**

In today's business environment, firms need to remain competitive. This has necessitated the drive to maximize human resources to achieve both organizational and individual goals. Organizations whether governmental or nongovernmental, profit-making or charitable, domestic or international, strive to be effective and efficient (Akafo, Boateng & Yamoah, 2015). Within the context of environmental dynamism, how then do leaders motivate and drive employees towards organizational goals? How do leaders relate to their subordinates? Human beings are by nature not homogenous. They have differing perceptions of what constitutes appropriate leadership. The workforce has become heterogeneous making management more challenging than it was some decades ago. This is as a result of the fact that, employees have become more educated and knowledgeable. The workforce has become more literate, connected and mobile than generations before making leadership more important currently (Amyx, Castleberry & Cochran as cited in Wagner, 2013).

Generally, scholars agree that, emotional intelligence is a relatively new area which began some twenty years ago and literature on leadership and emotional intelligence is relatively rare and scanty. The question is, does emotional intelligence makes a leader effective? What characteristics, traits, behaviours make a leader effective? Leadership is very essential to every organization since it gives direction and drives employees to working towards specific targets. A leader is the one who influences others to behave in certain ways they would not have. In order to propel employees to achieve organizational goals, a leader should be able to understand his or her own emotions as well as those of his or her followers. Many researchers have defined leadership to reflect their own perspective on the concept.

Winston and Patterson (2006) propose an integrated approach to defining leadership. She avers,

A leader is one or more people who selects, equips, trains, and influences one or more follower(s) who have diverse gifts, abilities, and skills and focuses the follower(s) to the organization's mission and objectives causing the follower(s) to willingly and enthusiastically expend spiritual, emotional, and physical energy in a concerted coordinated effort to achieve the organizational mission and objectives. The leader achieves this influence by humbly conveying a prophetic vision of the future in clear terms that resonates with the follower(s) beliefs and values in such a way that the follower(s) can understand and interpret the future into present-time action steps. In doing so, the leader presents the prophetic vision in contrast to the present status of the organization and through the use of critical thinking skills, insight, intuition, and the use of both persuasive rhetoric and interpersonal communication including both active listening and positive discourse. The leader achieves this using ethical means and seeks the greater good of the follower(s) in the process of action steps such that the follower(s) is/are better off (including the personal development of the follower as well as emotional and physical) (p. 7).

Thus, a leader does not only influence his subordinates to achieve organizational goals, but communicates the vision and plans in a way that is shared by followers resulting in the development of both the leader and followers. To Ulrich and Smallwood (2007), the long-term success of organizations is dependent on making a distinction between leaders which stresses qualities and characteristics of individuals, and leadership which emphasizes procedures that secure the ongoing good of the organization. Hence, the reference to leaders emphasizes the traits, qualities and

characteristics of the individuals whilst leadership focuses on the achievement of organizational goals.

Leadership is made up of four factors. Firstly, leaders people who are sincere about who they are, what they know, what they can do and followers determine whether or not a leader is successful. In addition, a leader in whom followers have confidence and is trusted is able to influence his followers to achieve organizational goals. Secondly, leadership is made up of the ability to know and understand followers since the latter have differing needs, emotions, characteristics and motivation. Thirdly, leadership is about having a two-way communication, of which much is non-verbal. Therefore, leaders are to model what they want from their followers, communicate effectively and make use of the feedback loop. Finally, leadership is about varying the styles of leadership depending on the situation. From this, it can be concluded that contingencies influence a leader's action more than the personality traits (Sharma & Jain, 2013).

Kouzes and Posner (2010) explain leadership from the perspective of behaviourism. They are of the view that leadership is a set of behaviours that anyone in a leadership capacity can be taught and become skilled at to achieve excellence. Also Burns (2008) sees leadership as leaders inducing followers to act for certain goals that represent the values and the motivations, the wants and needs, the aspirations and expectations of both leaders and followers. For that reason, successful leaders are those who see and act on their own and their followers' values and motivations. Leaders are also change agents whose acts affect other people more than other people's acts affecting them. Thus, leadership occurs when one group member modifies the motivation or competencies of others in the group.

From the above definitions, leadership is about influence, without it, one ceases to make the impact needed. It is also about achieving set targets, role modelling desired behaviours and activities, empowering, delegating, mentoring and using different leadership styles depending on the situation. Furthermore, the successful leadership is very much dependent on follower characteristics and the degree to which the leader elicits cooperation from followers.

## **2. Gender, Emotional Intelligence and Leadership**

Relevant literature on the relationship between gender and emotional intelligence suggest that, females experience positive and negative emotions more intensely than males (Grossman & Wood, 1993). This theory posits that, women's better chemistry makes them more predisposed to considering their own emotions and those of others. Physiologically, parts of the brain that control thought processing is larger in women than in men (Baron-Cohen,

2002; Gur, Gunning-Dixon, Bilker, & Gur, 2002). Again, women are more concerned with maintaining interpersonal relations and work towards building satisfying social networks (Brody & Hall, 2000). According to Baron-Cohen (2002), biologically, the brains of men and women are structured differently. According to this theory, the feminine brain is predominantly structured to feel empathy, while the masculine brain predominantly seeks to understand and construct systems. On the other hand, Khalili (2011) explains that men have higher level of emotional intelligence than women. Hence, the thought processes and behaviours of men and women are different. Others also argue that, gender has no effect on emotional intelligence. For instance, Ahmad, Bangash and Khan (2009) are of the view that, emotional intelligence does not respect gender and that, men and women are emotionally intelligent in different ways. To them, there are more similarities than differences between men and women in terms of their emotional intelligence. Again, Lim (2011) says there is no significant gender difference in actual and self-estimated EI of males and females. In their study of gender differences in emotional intelligence of university teachers, Shehzad and Mahmood (2013) noted that male and female teachers scored equally on EI skills and overall EI. Both of them are equally aware of their emotional state, are equally adept in managing their stress, can adapt to the changing environment equally well and have the similar general mood lending credence to the assertions of Goleman (2006). He was of the view that neither females nor males have better emotional intelligence. Individuals have their own EI profile, each with one's own strengths and weaknesses. He further argues that, some females are as adaptive as are males and some males may be as sensitive and expressive as are females.

### **3. Leadership Effectiveness and Emotional Intelligence**

Reddick (2007) explains that leadership involves emotions and suggested that emotional intelligence plays a significant role in effective leadership. For employees to function effectively and efficiently in organizations, it is expected that they comprehend their own and others' feelings and respect them. To Aloysius (2010), leaders who understand their own emotions as well as the emotions of others influence their situation positively by creating an environment of open communication, enhanced trust and greater empathy. The drive to be competitive amid environmental uncertainties has resulted in the need for emotionally intelligent leaders. As Goleman (2006) explains, Emotional intelligence (E.I.) is the ability to recognize and regulate emotions in ourselves and others. Salovey and Mayer (1990) credited as the inventors of EI are of the view that, EI is a type of intelligence that involves the ability to monitor one's own and others' feelings and emotions, to discriminate among them and

to use this information to guide one's thinking and actions. They later defined it as the ability to perceive emotion, integrate emotion to facilitate thought, understand emotions, and to regulate emotions to promote personal growth (Mayer & Salovey, 2001).

Similarly, Bar-On (1997), the originator of the term 'emotional quotient' defines emotional intelligence as being concerned with understanding oneself and others, relating to people, and adapting to and coping with the immediate surroundings to be more successful in dealing with environmental demands.

Several authors (Goleman, 1995; Palmer et al., 2001; George, 2000; Barling et al., 2000; Sosick & Megerian, 1999; Watkin, 2000; Dulewicz, 2000; Miller, 1999) cited in Rosete and Ciarrochi (2005) assert that emotionally intelligent leaders are seen to be happier and more committed to achieving better organizational success, perform better in the workplace, and use emotions to improve their decision making and instil a sense of eagerness, trust and co-operation in other employees through interpersonal relationships.

Emotional intelligence is viewed as one of the qualities which are predictive of leader effectiveness. It provides a means to manifesting other leadership qualities. Jerabek (2001) explains the following components of emotional intelligence: Behavioural facet which measures actions that will encourage desired results in social situations and intrapersonal issues. Knowledge aspect focuses on knowledge about how to behave in order to achieve desired outcomes in interpersonal and intrapersonal situations. Emotional insight is the extent to which one is aware of one's own emotions and those of others. Goal orientation and motivation measures the ability to set goals and the drive to achieve them. Ability to express emotions measures the ability to show strong mental or instinctive feelings and Social insight and empathy which is the degree of mutual relations with other human beings and the ability to identify with other people. Furthermore, pioneers of the concept such as Salovey, Mayer, Goleman propound that the most valid approach to measuring EI is the abilities model which is made up of identifying emotions, using emotions to facilitate cognitive processes, understanding and managing emotions. Identifying emotions simply refers to the ability to recognize one's and others' emotions and to express emotions whereas using emotions to facilitate thinking is using such emotions to improve mental processes so as to increase positive moods. Understanding emotions relates to appreciating the interrelationships between complex and subtle emotions and managing emotions refers to controlling emotions in a classy and positive way (Riggio & Reichard, 2008).

Leadership is seen as the heart of organizations, without it organizations cannot exist and a leader is a major force in an organization for articulating its dreams, pointing the way to achievement, and helping people work together

effectively and efficiently to achieve vision and mission of organizations. The leader impacts the organization by creating a common language, defining boundaries of operations and clarifying roles, distributing power and status, developing norms regarding intimacy, teamwork, and trust, defining a code of conduct, and communicating the values of the organization. Therefore, a leader who is able to achieve these is seen as an effective leader.

Kouzes and Posner (2002) assert that leaders must be socially proficient at all levels and that “the skills of emotional intelligence are particularly central to leadership” (p. 264). An effective leader should have high emotional intelligence which is the ability to recognize one’s own feelings, the feelings of others, and the ability to motivate oneself and others. Additionally, emotional intelligence is the ability to manage emotions well in oneself and in others, to be able to differentiate among emotions, and to use this information to guide one’s thinking and actions (Reddick, 2007, p. 5). Several studies conducted point to the fact that, emotional intelligence is central to leadership effectiveness. In their study of emotional intelligence and leadership abilities, Herbst, Maree, and Sibanda, (2006) found a positive relationship between individual emotional intelligence and effective leadership in higher educational institutions, using the five practices of exemplary leaders. It was realized that EI as measured by the Mayer-Salovey-Caruso Emotional Intelligence Test (MSCEIT) may in some way be linked to some of the abilities of effective leaders and that aspects of emotional intelligence may be useful predictors of transformational leadership behaviours.

Furthermore, Wolfe (2006) advocates successful EI training because it facilitates an understanding by all stakeholders including the leader, manager, employer or employee. He further explains that how persons at all employment levels feel is important since this influences people’s perceptions, choices, decisions and actions. Moreover, when people are knowledgeable about the feelings of all employees, especially key individuals in the organization, they are effective. He contends that one's ability to combine emotional intelligence and cognitive intelligence facilitates decision-making and improved performance. Additionally, Wagner (2013) explains that emotional intelligence is very likely to add to the leadership qualities and may improve intellectual stimulation, management by exception and contingent reward. Thus, emotional intelligence will make leaders more effective and successful. This finding is confirmed by Trehan and Shrivastav (2012) who found emotional intelligence to be very important for leadership, motivation, communication, decision making, interpersonal relations, and change management (p. 65). Cartwright and Pappas (2008) stress that the ability to perceive emotion is a factor associated with effective leadership. Similarly, Bin Sayeed and Shanker (2009) posit:

Leaders are most likely to lead their followers if they have insights into their needs, values, and hopes. This insight may be facilitated through a higher level of emotional awareness and sensitivity. Leaders can create emotional responses in the followers, communicate and instill commitment toward a common vision and create shared norms. Focusing on individual followers, leaders should be supportive, considerate, empathetic, caring, and giving personalized attention. These requirements may be easier for an individual who is high on emotional intelligence and is able to accurately perceive and understand others' emotions, while managing his/her own emotions (p. 596-597).

#### **4. Benefits of Emotional Intelligence**

There are many advantages to hiring emotionally intelligent individuals and training others in the organization to be more emotionally intelligent. In recruiting and selecting new employees, measuring new employee's emotional intelligence helps in selecting employees who are better able to handle high-pressure interactions and high-stress situations (Prati, Douglas, Ferris, Ammeter & Buckley, 2003). To Elegbe (2015), emotional intelligence is very critical, thus should be factored in engineering curricula to ensure a seamless transition of graduates from academia to the world of work. John Mackey, the CEO of Whole Foods is of the opinion that, the quality that separates the most successful leaders from their colleagues is emotional intelligence. To him, emotionally intelligent leaders and their companies are more successful than those who are less emotionally intelligent. For example, emotionally intelligent executives at PepsiCo generated 10% more productivity and added about \$4 million in economic value. Also at Sheraton, emotional intelligence program increased the company's market share by 24%.

According to Marc Michaelson of Glowan Consulting Group, emotional intelligence is a requirement for effective leadership. He posits,

The best, most successful leaders master their own states of being before they try to lead others," Michaelson says. "They know with great clarity and conviction who they are, what they believe, and how they wish to behave. By mastering their own state of being first, they're able to make better decisions in their business and personal lives, calmly navigate the growing complexities of today's global business environment, and successfully engage and inspire people at every level of their organization (p. 2).

In the same vein, the Global Consulting Group maintains that, executives who fail to develop self-awareness risk falling into an emotionally freezing routine that threatens their true selves. Furthermore, emotional intelligence enables leaders create work environments in which employees are driven to give off their best. The group is of the view that, emotional intelligence is one of the smart skills utilized by great leaders. Therefore, leaders with strong emotional intelligence transfer these skills which become part of the organizational values resulting in greater effectiveness. Similarly, Lazovic (2012) says that emotional intelligence plays a pivotal role in self-development of the manager and his or her leadership qualities. Activities supportive of EI have positive effects on productivity. It also helps in building positive relations and increasing employees' affective commitment. It also strengthens organizational culture, makes organizations more adaptable to change resulting in increased competitive advantage of organizations. EI encourages open communication between managers and subordinates which results in a culture of trust that increases synergy among employees.

## 5. Conclusion and Recommendations

Literature reviewed points to the fact that there is a positive relationship between emotional intelligence and leadership effectiveness. The ability to manage one's emotions, social relationships and to communicate effectively is fundamental for success in today's business environment which is characterized by uncertainties and volatility. Research evidence suggests that emotional and social skills are both related to leader effectiveness. Leaders who have high emotional intelligence can create resonance and move followers with compelling vision. They are persuasive and elicit support for organizational goals. Again, it has been proven that, emotionally intelligent leaders are role models of the company's values, such as integrity, respect, excellence, teamwork, and continuous improvement, as they invest their time and resources in forging and cementing relationships among team members beyond mere work obligations (Goleman, 2000; Nwokah & Ahiauzu, 2010).

The research recommends training of employees at all levels of the organization on social skills so as to increase the productivity and competitive edge firms. Additionally, there is the need for leaders to assess their emotional quotient using self-report measures of emotional intelligence. The dimensions of emotional intelligence should be incorporated into selection and promotion criteria. Future research should explore emotional intelligence and leader effectiveness of commercial banks in Ghana.

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# Analysis of Push and Pull factors of Nurses in the Upper West Region of Ghana

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## Abstract

Rural health facilities in Ghana are in severe shortage of nurses to provide quality and accessible healthcare to the rural folks. This has resulted in a high mortality rate in the rural communities. However, there is little knowledge as to the factors that push and pull nurses in rural health facilities in Ghana. The aim of this study is to examine the factors affecting the pull and push of nurses in rural Ghana. The study is a cross-sectional survey covering four rural districts in the Upper West Region of Ghana. A sample of 251 nurses was drawn through simple random sampling. The data were collected through a structured questionnaire. Data were analyzed using frequencies and percentages, Chi-square and Binary Logistic regression with a significance level of 5%. The study found that financial consideration, socio-economic infrastructure and professional advancement significantly impacted nurses' willingness to remain in rural health posts. The study further revealed that the average financial consideration and professional advancement of male nurses were higher than female nurses. Married nurses had more desire to pursue higher health professional education than single nurses. Improvement in socio-economic infrastructure in rural communities mattered to all nurses no matter their sex, age, marital status, religion and area of training. Government and other stakeholders in health care delivery should improve remuneration and provide avenues for professional advancement for nurses, especially male nurses in rural Ghana. Also, the socio-economic infrastructure in rural Ghana should be improved.

**Key words:** Nurses, Pull factors, Push factors, Retention and Rural health facility

## 1. Introduction

Healthcare is considered as a fundamental human right by World Health Assemblies in 1978 and 1998. This human right cannot be realized without healthcare workers since healthcare workers are an integral part of enhancing health outcomes of the populace. World Health Report (2017) noted that the

achievement of health-related Sustainable Development Goal (SDGs) relies mostly on healthcare workers.

In view of this, the Government of Ghana adopted and implemented many policies such as Village Volunteer (VV) and Community Clinic Attendant (CCA) in 1970s; creation of Community Health Nurses' Training Programme in 1980 and Community Health Programme in 1999. The government further established other medical schools with the prime aim of increasing the number of medical doctors to improve healthcare in Ghana.

These policies and strategies have resulted in some improvement in the number of nurses in all regions of Ghana. For example, the number of nurses in the Upper West Region has increased from 586 in 2008 to 869 in 2013 (Integrated Product and Process Development (IPPD) & District Health Information Management System (DHIMS) II, 2014). As a result, there has been a decline in infant mortality from 215 per 1000 in 1960 to 157 in 1980 and further to 38.52 in 2014 (Index Mundi, 2014; Haruyo et al., 2011). Moreover, the overall life expectancy has increased from 45 years in 1960 to 53 years in 1980 and further to 57 years in 2000 and 63 in 2011 (World Health Organization [WHO], 2011).

However, while all regions have recorded an increase in the number of nurses, the increment is largest in the Ashanti and Greater Accra Regions (urban cities) (Index Mundi, 2014; Haruyo et al., 2011). Moreover, the above policies have done very little to attract and retain more nurses in deprived areas of the country. The national average of the number of nurses hides the deeper disparities on a region by region basis in Ghana (Awoonor-Williams, 2008). The disparity is more worrisome at the community level. Many rural areas in Ghana lack adequate nurses who are instrumental in healthcare delivery. Nurses are often unwilling to take up jobs in rural localities; consequently, there are clinics and Community-based Health Planning and Services (CHPS) compounds without trained and professional nurses to administer quality healthcare services to people in the localities (WHO, 2016).

The scarcity of nurses in rural Ghana and in the Upper West Region in particular, undermines the achievement of the health-related Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) [WHO, 2016]. Thus, understanding of push and pull factors of nurses is imperative to the realization of health-related SDGs in Ghana. From the process and situational theories, this study therefore answers the question: which factors significantly influence retention of nurses in the Upper West Region of Ghana?

The study is significant as there seems to be no efficacy policy that really addresses retention problem of nurses in rural Ghana. This study is important to the Ministry of Health and the Ghana Health Service since this paper aims

to provide them with current evidenced-based recommendations to improve retention of nurses in rural Ghana, particularly in the Upper West Region.

## 2. Literature Review

### 2.1 Theoretical Framework

The situational theory states that job satisfaction is determined by two factors: situational characteristics and situational occurrences (Hauff, Richter & Tressin, 2015). Situational characteristics are things such as pay, supervision, working conditions, promotional opportunities, and company policies that typically are considered by the employee before accepting the job. Situational occurrences are things that occur after taking a job that may be tangible or intangible, positive or negative. Positive occurrences might include extra vacation time, while negative occurrences might entail faulty equipment or strained co-worker relationships. Within this theoretical framework, job satisfaction is a product of both situational factors and situational occurrences (Hauff, Richter & Tressin, 2015).

However, the process theory focuses on expectancies and values (Thiagaraj & Thangaswamy, 2017). According to this theory, the behaviour of employees depends on their needs in life. This theory is mostly credited to Adams (1963) and Vroom (1982). For example, Adams noted that employees see their jobs as a relationship between inputs and outcomes. The inputs include skills, ability, experiences and knowledge applied to work while outcomes include remuneration. Thus, employees are satisfied if they perceive that job outcomes commensurate job input (Mulder, 2018).

Vroom's (1964) noted that employees that put in more effort and perform better receive better remuneration. Thus, remuneration depends on effort or employees' performance. Employees are dissatisfied when there is a mismatch between effort and remuneration. Vroom's theory relies on three variables, namely expectancy, instrumentality and valence. Expectancy is about individual's perception of how well he can carry out the given task while the instrumentality is about individual's believe that he will be compensated fairly. Valence focuses on the value of the compensation. According to Vroom, if employees perceive any of the variables to be low, they become dissatisfied and leave current posts if they can find vacancies elsewhere.

### 2.2 Push and Pull Factors

The retention factors of nurses are summarized as "push" and "pull" factors in migration literature (IOM, 2011). The "pull" factors attract the nurses to rural health posts while the "push" factors repel them from rural health posts. Notable "pull" factors include serene and stimulating environment while the "push" factors include second employment, educational opportunities and

better living conditions in the cities (IOM, 2011). Thus, the decision of nurses to remain in the Upper West Region depends on the interplay of both “pull” and “push” factors.

One of the major factors identified as “push” factor for nurses in rural health posts is financial consideration (Ravari, Bazargan & Vanaki, 2012; Gurkova, Ziakova & Duriskova, 2012; Alemshet et al.). This financial consideration is mostly evident in developing countries such as Ghana, South Africa, Malawi and Afghanistan (Fogarty et al., 2014).

In Ghana, many nurses in the cities have second jobs which give them higher financial gain. Thus, in a situation where a nurse is denied of a second job because of location or place of work, he or she becomes dissatisfied and may wish to leave the current post (Lynn, 2008). The decision to remain at a rural health facility seems to be linked more to relative financial gains than actual dollar amount (Mulder, 2018).

Another important factor affecting retention of nurses in rural Ghana is socio-economic infrastructures (Obuobi & Ahmad, 2011). Rural communities in Ghana have poor road network, making movement of nurses, difficult (Obuobi & Ahmad, 2011). Many rural communities lack adequate educational infrastructures with insufficient staff, rendering most rural areas a no go area for nurses (Badu, Owusu-Manu, Edwards, Lichtenstein et al., 2013).

Working conditions are critical in attracting and retaining nurses in any community. Rural health facilities lack basic equipment, and this hinders nurses from exhibiting their skills and knowledge to the fullest, consequently affecting their morale. In Ghana, for example, health workers reported a lack of basic equipment such as injections and thermometers in the public health institutions (Biyab, 2014), and this affected their morale, causing health workers, particularly nurses to leave their post to go to private health facilities.

### **3. Materials and Methods**

#### *3.1 Research Setting*

The study was carried out in the Upper West Region of Ghana. The Upper West Region is located in the north-west corner of Ghana and is bordered by Upper East region to the east, Northern Region to the south and Burkina Faso to the west and north. The regional capital is Wa. The region was chosen because it is the most rural region in Ghana with 83.7% of the population classified as rural (GSS, 2012), hence representative of rural Ghana. The Upper West Region, which depicts the most rural region with a shortage of nurses, is considered a true representation of rural Ghana and therefore apropos for this study. Geographical location is critical to nurses’ decision to accept a posting and to remain at post (Lehamnn et al., 2008).

### *3.2 Study design*

The study employed a cross-sectional survey covering four rural districts in the Upper West Region of Ghana.

### *3.3 Population*

The target population of this study was the nurses in the Upper West Region of Ghana. These nurses comprised registered nurse assistant preventive (community health nurses), enrolled nurses (clinical nurses) and midwives. This is because, these are key nurses mostly found in rural health facilities.

### *3.4 Sampling and sample size*

The study purposively selected Wa West District, Wa East District, Nadowli District and Sissala West District. The study involved community health nurses, clinical nurses and midwives at post in rural hospitals, clinics and CHPS compounds. The number totalled 869 in the region (IPPD & DHIMS II, 2014). The simple random sampling technique was used to sample the nurses from public health facilities in the districts.

The study used Krejcie and Morgan (1970) table to determine the sample size. In all, 251 nurses were selected from public health facilities in the study areas, where 76, 57, 89 and 29 nurses were drawn from Wa West District, Wa East District, Nadowli District and Sissala West District respectively.

### *3.5 Data collection tool*

The study depended on primary sources for its data. Structured questionnaires were used to collect the field data. The structured questionnaire was made up of two sections. Section I covered demographic variables of sex, age, education, marital status, indigeneity and place of professional training. Section II covered push and pull factors, willingness to remain at post, and retention factors. For retention factors, the study provided a list showing good working conditions, good infrastructure, professional advancement, financial incentive and availability of good staff accommodation from which respondents were asked to select 'important' and 'not important' factor(s).

### *3.6 Data collection procedure*

Research assistants (3) from the Department of Economics at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) were trained to assist in the data collection. The researcher monitored data collection during the field survey. The study pre-tested the survey instrument on 15 community health nurses, 9 clinical nurses and 6 midwives in two public healthcare facilities in Atwima Nwabiagya District in the Ashanti Region of Ghana. This was done

to correct all errors and non-clarities in some questions and to ensure the instrument was reliable. The study employed Cronbach's Alpha to test the reliability of the instrument. The Cronbach's Alpha was 0.816 indicating that the instrument was reliable. Data collection was done between 2<sup>nd</sup> December, 2018 and 20<sup>th</sup> December, 2018.

### *3.7 Compliance with ethical standards*

The researcher sought the consent of health professionals in the study areas. They were informed about the rationale of the study and the extent of their engagement in the study. Participation in the research was voluntary and respondents were assured of strict confidentiality of the responses they provided. However, the researcher did not seek formal approval from the Committee of Human Research Publication and Ethics since the study did not have any direct legal implications or involved personal health related issues of the participants.

### *3.8 Data analysis*

This study approached the analysis in two ways, namely descriptive and regression analyses. Under the descriptive analysis, characteristics of the respondents, willingness to remain at post and pull and push factors were described, using frequency tables. Chi-square was used to show the association between willingness to remain at post and socio-demographic characteristics of respondents.

Binary Logistic regression was used to estimate the factors influencing the willingness to remain at post in the Upper West Region. The dependent variable (willingness to remain at post) has dichotomous outcome; hence binary logistic regression was most appropriate. The full regression model was specified on the basis of the theoretical model (Lehmann et al., 2005; Dussault & Franceschini, 2006).

The model measures the probability that nurses are willing to remain in health facilities in the Upper West Region. According to Gujarati (2003), in models where the dependent variable is qualitative, the objective is to find the probability of something happening. Thus, in this study the probability that a particular nurse is willing to remain in a public health facility in the Upper West Region is specified as:

$$WTR = \beta_0 + \beta_1FC + \beta_2ACC + \beta_3WC + \beta_4PA + \beta_5INF + \mu_0 \dots \dots \dots Eqn 1$$

Where,

WTR = Willingness to remain at post in the health posts in the Upper West Region (dummy variable, variable indicating “No” or “Yes” and coded 0 and 1 respectively);

FC= financial consideration (all income received monthly: salary and allowances/ incentives);

ACC= Staff accommodation;

INF = Socio-economic infrastructure (good road network, good communication network, availability of electricity etc.);

WC= Good working conditions (availability of equipment, drugs, beds and other materials with which health care workers efficiently work);

PA= Professional advancement (further professional education, seminars and conferences etc.)

B<sub>s</sub>=Parameters to be estimated;

FC, ACC, INF, WC and PA were classified as “important” and “not important” from the perceptive of the respondents. All “not important” factors were coded as 0 and “important” factors were coded as 1.

μ<sub>0..5</sub> = stochastic term (include all omitted variables that can influence the dependent variables).

The study further determined the characteristics of a nurse who would opt for a particular retention factor from equation 1. The binary logistic model for the estimation of characteristics of nurses who would opt for a particular retention factor is specified in equation 2.

$$X\beta \text{ for } RF_{sig} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 Sex + \alpha_2 Age + \alpha_3 MaritalStatus + \alpha_4 EducationalLevel + \alpha_5 Religion + \alpha_6 Areaoftraining + \mu_1 \dots \dots \dots Equation 2$$

Where, RF<sub>sig</sub>, Sex, Age, Marital Status, Educational Level, Religion and Area of training represent significant retention factor, sex, age, marital status, educational level, region and area of training of respondents respectively. The variables are described as shown in Table 1.

The study used SPSS, version 21.0. The interpretation of the estimated parameters (coefficients) was done by exponentiating the coefficients and interpreting them as odd ratios. The critical significant level of the statistical test was set at 5%.

Table 1: Operationalization and Coding of Study Variables

Variables	Operational Definition	Category	Code
Sex (Dichotomous)	Being male or female	Male	1
		Female	2
Age (ranked)	Number of years of respondents at the time of study	20-29	1
		30-39	2
		40-49	3
		50-59	4
		≥60	5
Marital Status (nominal)	Being single or married. Widowed/ widower/ divorced were deemed single whilst cohabitation was deemed married.	Single	1
		Married	2
		Divorced	3
		Widowed	4
Level of Education (nominal)	Completed grade of schooling	Diploma	1
		Certificate	2
		Tertiary Education	3
Religion (nominal)	Religious affiliation of the respondents. Religion other than Christianity and Islam was classified as others	Christianity	1
		Islam	2
		Others	3
Areas of Professional Training (nominal)	Where the health professionals had most of his education	Rural	1
		Urban	2

## 4. Results

### 4.1 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Table 2 shows that there were more female nurses than their male counterparts by 53.8% in the study areas. Sex significantly influenced nurses' willingness to remain at a rural health facility, and male nurses were significantly more willing to remain at rural health facilities. The majority (64.5%) of the nurses were single, and they were significantly less willing to be at a rural health facility. It is further revealed in Table 2 that nurses' willingness to remain at rural health facilities significantly increases with the level of education. The educational levels of the nurses were Certificate (79.7%), Diploma (15.5%) and Degree (4.8%). The religion ( $p$ -value=0.241) and areas of professional training ( $p$ -value=0.752) of nurses did not significantly influence their willingness to remain at rural health facilities.

Table 2: Chi-Square of Demographic Characteristics and Willingness to Remain at Rural Health Posts

Variable	Category	I am willing to remain in rural health post			
		No	Yes	Total	P- value
Sex	Male	8 (13.8)	50 (86.2)	58 (100.0)	0.001
	Female	70 (36.3)	123 (63.7)	193 (100.0)	
	Total	78 (31.1)	173 (68.9)	251 (100.0)	
Age	20-29	32(31.7)	69(68.3)	101(100.0)	0.000
	30-39	23(28.8)	57(71.2)	80(100.0)	
	40-49	19(38.8)	30(61.2)	49(100.0)	
	50-59	4(19)	17(81.0)	21(100.0)	
	Total	78 (31.1)	173 (68.9)	251 (100.0)	
Marital status	Single	63 (38.9)	99 (61.1)	162 (100.0)	0.001
	Married	15 (20.3)	59 (79.7)	74 (100.0)	
	Divorced	0 (0.0)	3 (100.0)	3 (100.0)	
	Widowed	0 (0.0)	12 (100.0)	12 (100.0)	
	Total	78 (31.1)	173 (68.9)	251 (100.0)	
Educational Attainment	Diploma	8 (20.5)	31 (79.5)	39 (100.0)	0.004
	Certificate	70 (35.0)	130 (65.0)	200 (100.0)	
	First deg.	0 (0.0)	12 (100.0)	12 (100.0)	
	Total	78 (31.1)	173 (68.9)	251 (100.0)	
Religion	Christian	66 (29.5)	158 (70.5)	224 (100.0)	0.241
	Muslim	11 (45.8)	13 (54.2)	24 (100.0)	
	Others	1 (33.3)	2 (66.7)	3 (100.0)	
	Total	78 (31.1)	173 (68.9)	251 (100.0)	
Area of prof. training	Rural	20 (25.6)	41 (23.7)	61 (24.3)	0.752
	Urban	58 (74.40)	132 (76.3)	190 (75.7)	
	Total	78 (100.0)	173 (100.0)	251 (100.0)	

#### *4.2 Push and Pull Factors and Satisfaction Level of Nurses in the Study Areas*

The pull and push factors confronting nurses in the study areas are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3: Pull and Push Factors of Health Professionals in Rural Ghana

Variables	Pull	Push
Socio-economic	n/a	Lack of good schools for children of health professionals Poor communication networks Poor road network Lack of electricity Lack of potable water Difficulty in finding suitable life partner for marriage
Finance	n/a	Poor remuneration Lack of other source of income Delay in payment of allowances
Working conditions	Compulsory service, less work load and no strict supervision	Frequent shortage of consumable and non-consumable clinical items, congested offices etc.
Professional advancement	n/a	Delay in post-graduation / no professional growth
Accommodation	Availability of family accommodation and easy access to affordable but spacious accommodation	n/a

### 4.3 Logistic Regression Result

From logistic regression in Table 4, a proper interpretation of the coefficients is done by exponentiating the coefficient and interpreting them as odd ratios. All the explanatory variables are positively related to willingness to remain at a rural health facility in Ghana, but staff accommodation and working conditions were not statistically significant.

The results showed that health professionals at rural health facilities are 36 times ( $e^{3.595} = 36.433$ ) more willing to remain at post when there is an increase in their finances (increase in salary and allowance of rural health professionals, loans for big purchases like cars and houses) than when they are faced with financial hardship. Moreover, health professionals at rural health facilities are 15 times ( $e^{2.699} = 14.864$ ) more willing to remain at a rural health post when good socio-economic infrastructures are available than when these infrastructures are lacking in rural communities. The result further showed that health professionals are 6 times ( $e^{1.748} = 5.742$ ) more willing to remain at rural health facilities when professional advancement is available and easily accessible than when they are not.

Staff accommodation and working conditions were not statistically significant in determining the willingness of health workers to remain in rural Ghana. From the study, the majority of the health care workers (71.8%) were from a district where they already have family accommodation. As a result, staff accommodation was generally not a priority and did not influence their stay in

the district. Working conditions were not statistically significant because it is a hygiene factor, the absence of which can create job dissatisfaction, but its presence does not motivate or create satisfaction (Herzberg, 1959).

Table 4: Logistic Regression Result

Variables	Coefficient	Standard error	Wald	df	p-value	Exponential coefficient
Financial considerations	3.595	0.931	14.920	1	0.000	36.433
Accommodation	1.789	1.057	2.865	1	0.091	5.982
Working condition	1.284	0.895	2.058	1	0.151	3.612
Professional advancement	1.748	0.780	5.019	1	0.025	5.742
Socio-economic infrastructure	2.699	0.713	14.323	1	0.000	14.864
Constant	-2.431	0.408	35.560	1	0.000	0.088

Cox & Snell R Square =0.594  
 Nagelkerke R Square =0.836  
 Omnibus Chi-square test = 97.853  
 p-value = 0.000

The study further estimated the characteristics of nurses via the significant push and pull factors identified in Table 4 using the models specified below:

$$X\beta \text{ for FC} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 \text{ Sex} + \alpha_2 \text{ Age} + \alpha_3 \text{ MaritalSatus} + \alpha_4 \text{ EducationalLevel} + \alpha_5 \text{ Religion} + \alpha_6 \text{ Areaoftraning} + \mu_1 \dots \dots \dots \text{Model 1}$$

$$X\beta \text{ for PA} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 \text{ Sex} + \alpha_2 \text{ Age} + \alpha_3 \text{ MaritalSatus} + \alpha_4 \text{ EducationalLevel} + \alpha_5 \text{ Religion} + \alpha_6 \text{ Areaoftraning} + \mu_1 \dots \dots \dots \text{Model 2}$$

$$X\beta \text{ for SEI} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 \text{ Sex} + \alpha_2 \text{ Age} + \alpha_3 \text{ MaritalSatus} + \alpha_4 \text{ EducationalLevel} + \alpha_5 \text{ Religion} + \alpha_6 \text{ Areaoftraning} + \mu_1 \dots \dots \dots \text{Model}$$

FC, PA and SEI are financial consideration, professional advancement and socio-economic infrastructure respectively. The binary logistic estimation of model 1, 2 and 3 are summarized in Table 5. The average financial consideration of male nurses is higher ( $e^{1.336} = 3.803797843$ ) than female nurses by 3.804 and this was statistically significant. The male nurses are more sensitive to financial incentive because of their obligations as the heads of families. Payment of school fees, provision of food and shelter and other responsibilities require a considerable amount of money, thus they are more sensitive to increases in finance than their female counterparts. Age, marital status, educational level, religion and area of training were, however, not statistically significant, suggesting that financial incentives matter to all nurses regardless of their age, marital status, educational level, religion and area of training.

Table 5 shows that male nurses are more willing to remain at post in the Upper West Region if they are exposed to professional advancement than female nurses are by 3.728 ( $e^{1.316} = 3.728477599$ ) and this is statistically significant. Males, by virtue of their positions as head of families have to earn enough income in order to provide basic needs of their families and the level of income earned partly depends on educational level or level of professional training attained, so they are more willing to pursue higher health professions.

The results in table 5 showed that nurses who are married have more desire to pursue higher health professions than those who are single by 0.225 ( $e^{-1.493} = 0.22469755$ ), and this is statistically significant. However, the desires for divorced and widowed nurses toward professional advancement were statistically significantly different from the desire of single nurses towards professional advancement.

From Table 5, age, educational level, religion and area of professional training were not statistically significant, suggesting that professional advancement matters to all nurses, irrespective of their age, educational level, religion and area of training. Table 5 shows that improvement in socio-economic infrastructure in rural communities matters to all nurses irrespective of their sex, age, marital status, religion and area of training.

Table 5: Binary Logistic Regression for Socio-economic Characteristics of Nurses and Push and Pull Factors

Variables	Financial Consideration		Professional Advancement		Socio-economic Infrastructure	
	Coeff.	p-value	Coeff.	p-value	Coeff.	p-value
SEX: : Male	1.336	0.015	1.316	0.021	0.851	0.120
AGE	0.088	0.005	0.012	0.771	0.060	0.214
MARITAL STATUS : Married	-0.373	0.548	1.493	0.022	1.598	0.337
: Divorced	-3.792	0.452	-1.063	0.289	2.245	0.701
: Widowed	-2.380	0.176	-2.091	0.240	2.991	0.429
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL : Diploma	-0.031	0.321	20.477	1.000	3.005	0.558
: Degree	0.027	0.477	42.773	0.999	4.117	0.612
RELIGION : Muslim	2.211	0.663	0.266	0.773	1.559	0.882
AREA OF TRAINING : Urban	-0.489	0.582	2.112	0.351	2.811	0.483
CONSTANT	-2.331	0.068	-0.141	0.831	-2.007	0.904
Cox & Snell R Square	0.672		0.558		0.463	
Nagelkerke R Square	0.715		0.642		0.511	
Omnibus Chi-square test	79.359		52.948		41.558	
p-value	0.000		0.000		0.000	

## 5. Discussion

The purpose of this study was to assess the push and pull factors of nurses in the Upper West Region of Ghana and factors that determine the willingness of nurses to remain at health facilities in the region. Empirical literature suggests that pull factors include improved employment opportunities and/or career prospects, higher income, better living conditions or a more stimulating environment; while push factors include loss of employment opportunity, low wages, poor living conditions, and lack of or poor schools for children (IOM, 2011; Lehmann et al., 2008). This current study, however, identified compulsory service, less work load and no strict supervision, availability of family accommodation, and easy access to affordable but spacious accommodation as pull factors of nurses in rural Ghana. The push factors identified in the study outnumbered the pull factors, explaining the difficulty of nurses accepting a post to rural Ghana. This explains why the nurse-patient ratio in rural Ghana is far below the standard set by the World Health Organization (WHO) (Awoonor-Williams, 2008).

The logistic regression in Table 4 shows that financial consideration had the highest significant impact on willingness of nurses to remain at rural health posts. This was followed by socio-economic infrastructure and professional advancement. The finding on financial consideration contradicts the findings of

the World Health Organization (2016). WHO, in a study of reasons for staff mobility in six African countries (Cameroon, Ghana, Senegal, South Africa, Uganda and Zimbabwe), found that only 24% of respondents quoted better remuneration as a reason for leaving their post. The financial consideration finding in this study supports the findings of other researchers (Fogarty et al., 2014; Ravari, Bazaragan, Vanaki, Z et al., 2012; Gurkova, Ziakova & Duriskova, 2012) who found a significant impact of remuneration or financial incentive on willingness to remain in rural health facilities.

Socio-economic infrastructure has a significant impact on nurses' willingness to remain at health facilities in the Upper West region. This affirms the finding of Obuobi and Ahmad (2011) that rural areas in Ghana lack sufficient socio-economic infrastructures such as road networks, and most roads become deplorable during the rainy season; inadequate educational infrastructure with insufficient staff, rendering most rural areas inaccessible to health care professionals.

From Table 5, male nurses desire more financial remuneration than female nurses to remain at post in the Upper West Region. Gender roles and traditions shape women's and men's roles in society from a very early age. Traditions and gender roles may influence the need for male nurses to have more money than female nurses (Busch & Holst, 2011). Males are heads of families and have the responsibility of providing for their families. The society also expects males to perform certain roles towards development of the society and this, coupled with family responsibilities, put pressure on males to earn more money from the work they do. Busch and Holst (2011) noted that it is normal if a woman does not have money but not normal if a man does not have money.

## 6. Conclusion and Recommendations

In conclusion, this study confirmed that issues related to job satisfaction, work-related factors and environmental factors impact nurses' willingness to remain at rural health facilities in the Upper West region of Ghana. The study moreover provided quantitative evidence on the importance of financial factors, staff accommodation, working conditions, professional advancement and socio-economic infrastructure to nurses' willingness to remain at health posts in the Upper West Region of Ghana. Financial factors, socio-economic and professional advancement factors were significant in influencing nurses' willingness to remain at rural health facilities in Ghana, while staff accommodation and working conditions were not significant.

This study recommends that the government of Ghana should design appropriate financial incentives to attract and increase the willingness of nurses to stay in rural and remote areas of Ghana. Moreover, for financial incentives

to be effective to attract and retain more nurses it should target male health nurses rather than female nurses since male nurses are more sensitive to financial incentives than female nurses.

Male and married nurses should be given more opportunities to pursue higher professions as a way of motivating them to remain in rural areas of Ghana.

The main limitation of this study is that it did not consider the effect of nurses' retention on healthcare delivery in the rural communities of Ghana. The study recommends that future studies consider the impact of nurses' retention on healthcare delivery in rural communities in Ghana and actions of dissatisfied nurses in rural health facilities in Ghana. This study however is relevant to nursing profession, health care delivery system and policy makers in health care, and the Ministry of Health in Ghana.

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## Adjectival Level-Sentimental Analysis of Joseph Conrad's Heart of Darkness: Implications

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### Abstract

There have been several views regarding the intension of Joseph Conrad in the write up of the novella, *Heart of Darkness*. While some view the novella as full of adjectival ejaculations others perceive it as full of an adjective-ridden writing style and also full of adjectival insistence. The purpose of this study was to use adjectival-level-sentimental analysis in order to determine the level of intensity of Conrad's emotional state in the write up of the novella and the underlying implications of such emotional state. The study used conceptual content analysis and with the help of the Computer Software, AntConc 3.5.8, such emotional adjectives were extracted and classified under the taxonomy of Plutchik's Wheel of Emotions. The study revealed that Conrad used most of the high level of intensive emotional adjectives, an indication that he was so infuriated to the highest level that there was no longer any control of his emotions. The study showed that Conrad used such intensive emotional approach to condemn the ideological intent and attitudinal behaviour of the white while at the same time to condemn the physical and attitudinal behaviour of the black. The study finally revealed admiration for the superordinate intelligence of the white represented by Mr. Kurtz, the central figure in the novel. Thus, the dichotomous depiction of both the white and the black by juxtaposing them with context-selective adjectives is a clear indication of Joseph Conrad's inherent racial discrimination.

**Key words:** adjectives, sentimental, *Heart of Darkness*, racism, literary work, content analysis.

## 1. Introduction

Joseph Conrad has written a number of novels but the most widely read of all the novels is his novella, *Heart of Darkness*, because it is considered as one of the great works of English literature (Svensson, 2010). Since its print out in 1899 and its publication in 1902, *Heart of Darkness* has undergone several critiques. Some writers considered it as a masterpiece (Armstrong, 2006), while others regarded it as a deterioration of white man's morale (Murfin, 1996), as a thoroughgoing racist material (Achebe, 1977), and as a work detailing Europeans' acts of imperial mastery in Africa (Said, 1993).

The interpretation, discussion and critiquing of the novella took a drastic turn when Achebe (1977) delivered his lecture on "The image of Africa: Racism in Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*," even though some discussions had begun earlier on. Many writers have really engaged Conrad's novella, for instance, critical responses to Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (Svensson, 2010), the ultimate meaning of *Heart of Darkness* (Ridley, 1963), *Heart of Darkness* or Light at the end of the tunnel (Stubbs, 2003), the case against Conrad (Phillips, 2003), Achebe's weakest link: an analysis (Records, 2012), a study of ideational metafunction in Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness: A critical discourse analysis* (Alaei & Ahangari, 2016).

Alaei and Ahangari (2016) explored how ideology or opinion is expressed in Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* and what kind of lexico-grammatical strategies are used to convey the author's ideological meaning. Records (2012) demonstrated the nature of Conrad's style in order to defuse Achebe's (1977) assertion that Joseph Conrad is a thoroughgoing racist. In the Third Sinclair Open Lecture, Stubbs (2003) made reference to John Sinclair's book, *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation* (1991), by choosing a title, *Conrad, Concordance, Collocation*, demonstrated that Conrad's use of language could be grasped using computer-assisted corpus analysis in order to reveal the central place of phraseology in language use.

Even though many attempts have been made to clarify issues shrouded in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* as illustrated in Achebe (1977), Alaei and Ahangari (2016), Records (2012) and many other writers, the word-level-sentimental emotion of Joseph Conrad in writing *Heart of Darkness* is missing. This current study uses the adjectival-level-sentimental emotional state of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. Records (2012) describes Conrad as someone who uses adjective-ridden writing style and adjectival ejaculations. Philips and Achebe (2007), referring to 'the eagle-eyed English critic, F. R. Leavis, posited that the cumulative effect of Conrad's 'adjectival insistence upon inexpressible and incomprehensible mystery' is that poor Africa is inexplicable. What then was the rationale for the adjective-ridden novella of Conrad and what was his sentimental level?

## 2. Synopsis of Heart of Darkness

*Heart of Darkness* is an exploratory novelette. It is a story told by two narrators, the unnamed narrator and Marlow. It is Marlow who narrates the main story informing the audience about Kurtz, an ivory trader. Kurtz who represents the white man has his activities questionable in terms of his morale as he is left loose of stringent rules back home. This moral decadence is seen in the three stations Marlow visited.

At the Outer Station, Conrad, through Marlow, condemns the White man for humiliation and exploitation. The machines which were to be used to work in order to see to the welfare of the African were left to wallow. The black man is used to construct a railway that the machinery was supposed to do. During this railway construction, Marlow sees the White man as “the devil of violence, and the devil of greed, and the devil of hot desire.” (*Heart of Darkness*, 2005, p.31). Marlow can now understand why an “artificial hole” has to be dug by one of the Africans without any purpose. The activities that the Black men undergo at the Outer Station are sharply contrasted with what is going on in the camp of the White man. Taking the Accountant as a practical example, there is a vast contrast between the White and the Black. Marlow unexpectedly sees the Accountant as elegantly and immaculately dressed which is in contrast to the crying and dying of the Black around.

At the Central Station, Joseph Conrad creates a scenario in order to lay bare the exploitative nature of the White man. The Black man is used as a machine to convey loads for a ‘two hundred-mile tramp.’ The description of the Central Station attests to the devilish activities of the White man. According to Marlow, all that surrounds the Central Station “was enough to let you see the flabby devil was running that show” for: “It was on a backwater surrounded by scrub and forest, with a pretty border of smelly mud on one side, and on the three others enclosed by a crazy fence of rushes.” (p. 37).

The Inner Station is dramatic. Joseph Conrad creates a platform in order to lay bare the horror that has been going on in this station. The ivory has been taken away from the Black men as if they are only care takers, meanwhile they are the owners of the ivory. Joseph Conrad, through Marlow, describes the root to this Inner Station and the condition there off: “An empty stream, a great silence, an impenetrable forest. The air was warm, thick, heavy, and sluggish. There was no joy in the brilliance of sunshine.” (p. 54). This station was full of violence and unnecessary tension. Acquisition of properties was the main concern of the Whites rather than the welfare of the Blacks. Even at the point of death Kurtz was very particular about his properties. Marlow witnesses this as he remarks: “You should have heard him say: ‘My ivory.’ Oh yes. I heard him. ‘My Intended, my ivory, my station, my river. My-everything belonged to

him” (p. 73). The continuous pursuit of properties has changed Kurtz’s course of action. A character who has come to see to the welfare of fellow men has now taken a seat among the devils.

Marlow finds Kurtz at the Inner Station after going through the Central and the Outer Stations. Kurtz is seriously sick and at the point of his death he cries out twice “The horror! The horror!” He finally dies on the trip back on the Congo River. Back to Europe, Marlow tells Kurtz’s fiancé about his visit but later lies to her about Kurtz’s last words. The unnamed narrator ultimately ends the story on the Thames River.

### 2.1 Themes of *Heart of Darkness*

The central theme of the novelette is woven around the concept of colonization. Joseph Conrad denounces colonization because it is viewed as “robbery with violence, aggravated murder on a great scale, and men going at it blind – as is very proper for those who tackle a darkness” (*Heart of Darkness*, 1981, p. 9). Again, “To tear treasure out of the bowels of the land was their desire, with no more moral purpose at the back of it than there is in burglars breaking into a safe. Who paid the expenses of the noble enterprise I don’t know; but the uncle of our manager was leader of that lot” (*Heart of Darkness*, 1981, p. 50). This condemnation of colonization by Conrad serves as the central theme that runs through the novel. The condemnation as a result of the activities of the White man can best be seen and the activities described in the three stations, Central, Outer and Inner Stations.

### 2.2 Sentimental Analysis

Sentiments or emotions are the feelings, attitudes and behaviours of a person. The processes of detecting emotions in a text have been evolving. It started with the identification of a text as positive, negative or neutral. Sentimental analysis is a process of determining the feelings, attitudes and behaviours of a writer towards his or her theme (Mohammed, 2015). The Russell’s (1980) Circumplex model of two primary dimensions of valance (positive and negative dimensions) and arousal (degree of reactivity to stimulus) was developed to help identify a writer’s emotions. In addition, other means such as blog posts, tweets, instant messages, customer reviews and Facebook posts, have been used to detect emotions. Machines too have been developed to detect emotions of both written and speech (Picard, 2000; Alm, 2008).

One of the tools used to detect emotions in a text, and which this current study employs, is the Plutchik’s (1962, 2001) (updated in Donaldson, 2017) taxonomy of emotions. This taxonomy of emotions is termed as Plutchik’s Wheel of Emotions. The cone-like wheel contains four elements: less intensive emotions, primary emotions, a mix of two primary emotions to derive

secondary emotions and finally intensive emotions. Less intensive emotions include serenity, acceptance, apprehension, distraction, pensiveness, boredom, annoyance and interest. Primary emotions also include joy, trust, fear, surprise, sadness, disgust, anger and anticipation. The intensive emotions refer to ecstasy, admiration, terror, amazement, grief, loathing, rage and vigilance. The last is the mix of primary emotions which include love, submission, awe, disapproval, remorse, contempt, aggressiveness and optimism.

One interesting thing about the taxonomy of emotions is that the emotions move from less intensive to intensive, thus, moving from outside to the centre of the wheel. The implication is that when emotions at the less intensive level are not checked they move to intensive emotions (at the centre). For instance, when serenity is not checked it moves to ecstasy and so are acceptance versus admiration; apprehension versus terror; distraction versus amazement; pensiveness versus grief; boredom versus loathing; annoyance versus rage and interest versus vigilance. Each circle sector of the Wheel of Emotions has an opposite emotion. For instance, the opposite of joy is sadness and that of trust is disgust.

When selected words are classified in line with Plutchik's Wheel of Emotions, it helps to detect the intensity of the emotional level. The Plutchik's Wheels of Emotions has been used to detect emotions (Mohammed, 2015). This also applies to a written text.

### *2.3 The Role of Adjectives*

Adjectives describe or explain nouns. Harris (2012) explains that an adjective modifies a noun or pronoun by providing descriptive or specific detail. Unlike adverbs, adjectives do not modify verbs, other adjectives, or adverbs. This makes adjectives only used for noun modification. Frännhag (2013, p. 13) posits that adjectives have two sides, the formal and the semantic sides, so they have two main interpretative functions one for each side in the creation of overall communicated meaning. Frännhag notes that the formal interpretive function delimits and shapes the meaning of the adjective as a whole. This means that every adjective that one decides to use comes with its interpretation and there is not much you can do to change that meaning. Frännhag (2013) further explains that semantic interpretive function is to affect the meaning of other items, which may be found at any level of conceptual organisation. For example, proposing that the meaning of 'not short', is determined for the form 'long'; presupposes that the word 'refined' implicitly tells us about the word 'savage,' or 'good' suggests the existence of 'bad.'

As adjectives play semantic roles to introduce properties, they also play syntactic roles. Syntactically, they are able to function as modifiers, so they go with nouns (Frännhag, 2013). Sometimes when the nouns are explicit, they do

not need adjectives. What this means is that, adjectives can be ignored in the production of a meaningful statement so it is for a reason that a writer decides to use adjectives in his or work. Again, a noun can take as many adjectives as one chooses to use depending on how he wants the noun to appear.

Another important role of adjectives is their ability to introduce properties and to denote properties. Nouns have their hidden inherent properties. Adjectives reveal and denote them. For instance, 'Kofi is a boy.' The noun 'boy' is neutral until we reveal the properties of that noun. The 'boy' can be good or bad; handsome or ugly. It is the properties of the noun that constrain the interpretation of the adjective. In other words, adjectives assign a perspective from which the noun is to be viewed and the combining elements have to harmonize for a successful match (Paradis, 1997). Even though adjectives and nouns have their inherent lexical content, the way adjectives attach to nouns determine their well-formedness (Harris, 2012).

### 3. Methods

#### 3.1 Research Design

The study employed conceptual content analysis and with the help of AntConc 3.5.8 to establish the adjectives, their frequencies and their respective percentages. The study used affect extraction to determine the emotional or psychological state of the writer by exploring the sort of adjectives used. The affect extraction was used within Plutchik's (2017) taxonomy of emotions.

The subject of study is the content analysis of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. It aimed at establishing adjective-level sentimental approach of Conrad to his underlying theme. This would help to determine the implications of the use of the prolific adjectives in the novella. The target population of the study comprised all the works of Joseph Conrad. It was narrowed down to *Heart of Darkness* as this novelette proved to be the most controversial, the most read of his novels and as one of the great works of English literature (Achebe, 1977). The within *Heart of Darkness* comprised approximately all the words of the novelette. Through the use of AntConc 3.5.8, word tokens of 41,687 were counted with 5,445 types of words. One of the types of words was adjectives. The choice of adjectives was based on the classification within the Plutchik's Wheel of Emotions. Thus, those adjectives that could fall within that taxonomy of emotions were chosen. Through the use of the AntConc 3.5.8, all the words from the text were displayed and all the adjectives were screened using Plutchik's Wheel of Emotion. The adjectives were analysed based on the contexts in which they occurred in the text. On the basis of this, 821 adjectives were selected and used as the sample size. Purposive sampling was used to select *Heart of Darkness* over other books of the writer. According to Crossman (2017) purposive sample is a non-probability sample that is selected based on

characteristics of a population and the objective of the study. Purposive sampling is also known as judgmental, selective, or subjective sampling.

Joseph Conrad has a number of books to his credit. All these books are in-depth and interesting but none of them has received as many concerns, arguments, criticisms and diverse interpretations as *Heart of Darkness* (Achebe, 1977). Some critics believe that Conrad is a realist who reports just as he sees; others view him as a blatant racist who has an obsession with skin colour and sees everything wrong with the black race.

The methodology has its own limitation. For instance, other words, apart from adjectives, could be used. Again, there are many strategies for textual analysis of emotions that could be used instead of the wheel of emotions. The limitations, however, may not have any influences on the findings of the current study.

### 3.2 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis is the lexical word level and it relates specifically to adjectives. The scope includes lexical adjectives (within noun phrases), nominal and verbal adjectives and those adjectives (lexical, nominal or verbal) at the complement position. These are the adjectives that describe human feelings, attitudes, behaviours and emotions. They describe human's reaction to situations and other human fellows.

The classification of the adjectives under Plutchik's Wheel of Emotions takes into consideration the derivational adjectives from his classified nouns. For instance, the eight primary emotional words – joy, trust, fear, surprise, sadness, disgust, anger and anticipation – are all nouns. The deduced adjectives from this list are joyous, trusted, fearful, surprised, sad, disgusted, angry and anticipated. Again, the scope of the unit of analysis includes the words that are close in meaning to the words in Plutchik's Wheel of Emotions. For instance, the word *brooding* cannot be found within the Wheel of Emotions but it can be classified under 'sadness.'

In addition, even though the overall concept of adjective will be looked at, emphasis will be laid on those that relate to personal emotions. For instance, 'a cruising yawl' relates to the slow movement of the yawl but 'the Director, satisfied the anchor had good hold, ...,' the word 'satisfied' relates to the emotion of the director, hence 'the word 'satisfied' will be classified under the Wheel of Emotions rather than the word 'cruising.' Finally, only content words of adjectives are used in this study. For example, articles (*the* man) used as adjectives are not inclusive.

### 3.3 Data Collection and Analysis

The study used content analysis and specifically conceptual analysis in the data collection. Both AntConc 3.5.8 and content analysis were used to identify the various adjectives used. The data collection involved the reading of the book titled *Heart of Darkness* by Joseph Conrad and using AntConc 3.5.8 to identify the adjectives in context. We did this by first reading the text and second using AntConc 3.5.8 to identify the adjectives and again using the identified adjectives in the context in which they occur in the text. This means we have to identify the phrase or the clause that contains the adjective to help determine whether it is part of the adjectives that fall within the unit of analysis. The data was analysed using Plutchik's (2017 updated) Wheel of Emotions as a model. The identified adjectives were classified under the primary, intensity, and a mix of the primary emotions. This helped determine the emotional level of Joseph Conrad in *Heart of Darkness* and the implications of this level of emotion.

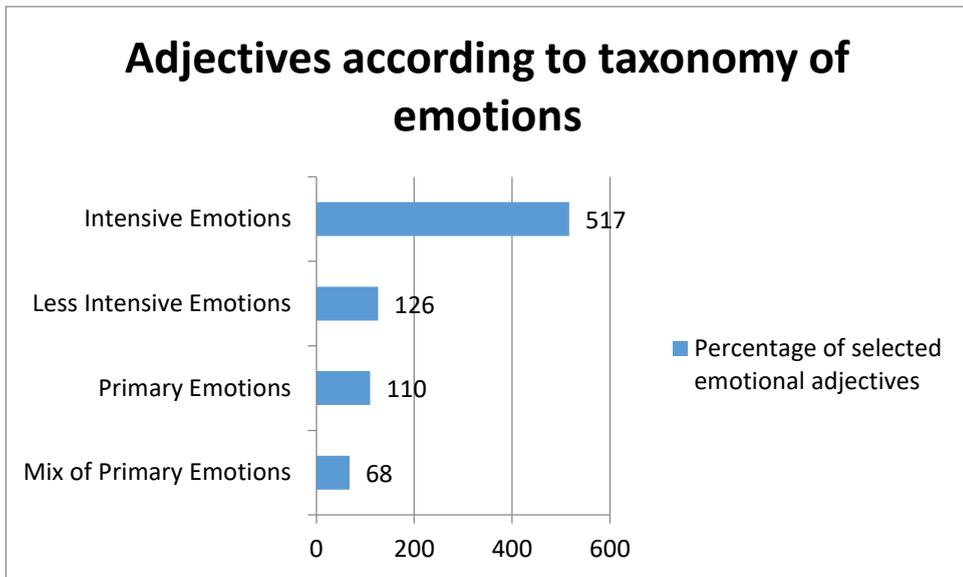
## 4. Results

### 4.1 Intensity of Adjective Usage

The study looked at the selected adjectives and classified them according to the four levels of Plutchik's Wheel of Emotions – less intensive emotions, mix of primary emotions, primary emotions and intensive emotions. The emotions move from the periphery of the wheel to the centre in order to determine the intensity. The implication is that when an emotion is at the periphery and it is not checked it escalates and moves down to the centre indicating the seriousness, either positive or negative. The classification of the adjectives was based on frequency of adjectives for more than three times. Figure 1 shows the level of adjective usage using the taxonomy of emotions.

It was revealed from Figure 1 that out of the 821 adjectives, Joseph Conrad used most of the intensive emotional adjectives, 517 (62.97%). This was followed by less intensive emotional adjectives, 126 (15.35%) and Primary emotional adjectives, 110 (13.40%) and finally mix of primary emotions, 68 (8.28%). The implication of the use of most of the intensive adjectives is that Joseph Conrad's use of the adjectives at the periphery was not checked so he appeared infuriated to the highest level that there was no control of his emotions.

One important revelation was that less intensive emotions were supposed to fall below primary emotions; however, the former had a higher frequency or percentage than the latter. It is assumed that emotions should move gradually from the periphery down to the centre. Under the less emotional adjectives, only the adjective 'curious' under 'interest' appeared nine (9) times and it is the 456<sup>th</sup> rank among the words. This means that Conrad already had that curiosity, that interest to embark on that exploration into the 'heart of darkness.'



*Fig. 1: Classification of adjectives within the taxonomy of emotions*

#### *4.2 Emotional implications of Conrad's use of Adjectives*

Most of the recurrences of adjectives above three times fell under only two levels of the taxonomy of emotions: Primary emotions (Figure 3) (sadness – brooding (9 times) and sombre (10 times); Intensive emotions (Figure 2) (admiration – excellent (4 times); terror – impenetrable (6 times), inscrutable (4 times), mysterious (8 times), monstrous (4 times) and fierce (7 times); amazement – amazing (8 times); grief – mournful (5 times) and sick (10 times); loathing – immense (12 times). These adjectives and their frequencies are illustrated in Figure 2.

The intensive emotional adjectives in Figure 2 were used with the nouns that they described and they were defined on the basis of the context in which they were located. In other words, those adjectives were understood on the basis of the meaning of the adjectives themselves, the nouns they occurred with and the context in which they were found. On the basis of this premise, it was found that the physical appearances of the blacks and their related environments and objects went with adjectives such as ‘impenetrable,’ ‘inscrutable,’ ‘mysterious,’ ‘monstrous,’ ‘fierce,’ ‘amazing,’ ‘mournful,’ ‘sick,’ and ‘immense,’ for instance, ‘impenetrable night, impenetrable forest (p. 55), impenetrable darkness (p. 78); impenetrable to human thought (p. 93)’. Also evident are, “mysterious niggers

(p. 31); mysterious sound (p. 26), mysterious frenzy (p. 108), mysterious life (p. 103), fierce nostrils (p. 12), fierce river-demon (p. 113).” These same adjectives were used and to refer to the whites but this time it is the white man’s ideology that is attacked, for instance, “mysterious arrangement (p. 118), inscrutable intention (p. 56), inscrutable purpose (p. 103), monstrous passion (p. 112).”

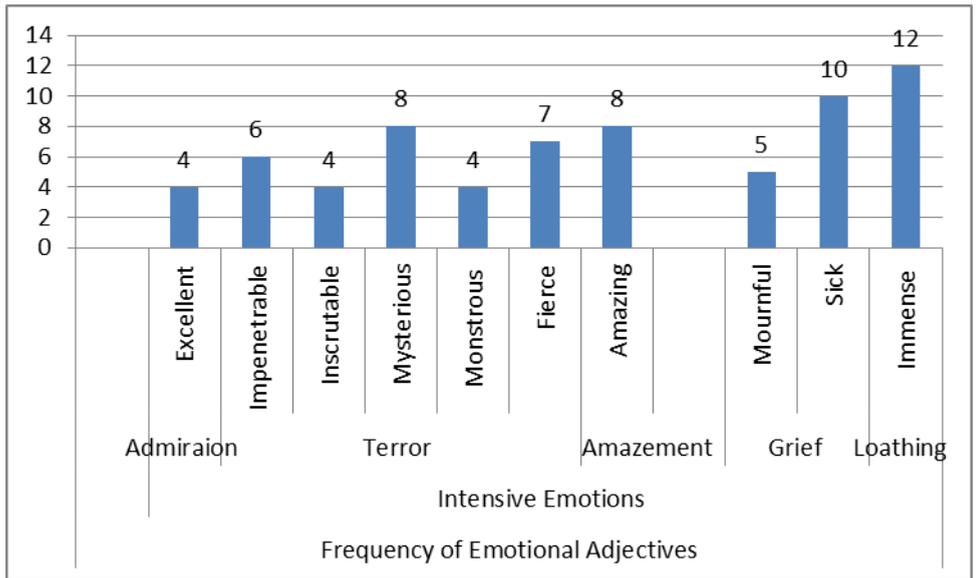
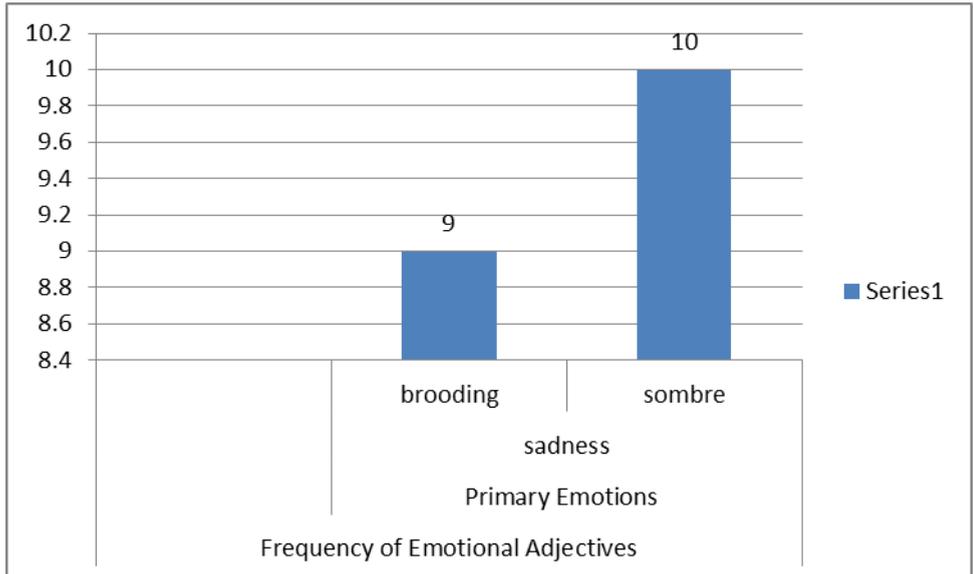


Fig. 2: Emotional intensity of adjectives

The adjectives that went with the white counterparts, mostly, were within the concept of admiration. An example of such adjectives is ‘excellent.’ Kurtz has been described as “gifted, magnificent, splendid, sincere, marked civility, genius, and other positive adjectives. It was inferred from the analysis of the adjectives that Conrad’s intensive emotional adjectives were an attack on the physical appearance of the blacks and an attack on the ideological view of the whites. Some examples are, “looting innumerable outfit shops and provision stores; lugging after a raid into the wilderness for equitable division” (p. 50).

They were also used as an attack on the attitude of the white, for example, “victorious corruption” (p. 40). The ideological view and attitudinal behaviour of the black were minimally attacked and it stood as neutral. It was, therefore, concluded that the intensive emotional adjectives were used to condemn the ideological intent and attitudinal behaviour of the white and to attack the physical appearance and attitudinal behaviour of the black, though this is minimal.

The other piquing emotional adjectives are ‘brooding’ and ‘sombre’ which occurred frequently under primary emotions of sadness. These two adjectives, (see Figure 3), were used mostly to refer to the environment of the black, the black himself, and some little, if any, ideological attack on the white.



*Fig. 3: Primary emotional adjectives*

In the text, one can cite numerous examples of how these two adjectives have been used, for instance, “brooding gloom (p. 1), brooding gloom in sunshine (p.6), brooding ferocity (p. 70), brooding expression” (p. 78). Again, sombre is used as: “It was sombre enough (p. 10), the background was sombre (p. 40), I could see through a sombre gap glittering (p. 43), its sombre and brooding ferocity (p. 70), he frowned heavily, and that frown gave to his black death-mask an inconceivable sombre, brooding and menacing expression (p. 78), I saw on that ivory face the expression of sombre pride (p. 118) (referred to Mr. Kurtz), a grand piano stood massively in a corner with dark gleams on the flat surfaces like a sombre and polished sarcophagus (p. 126), the offing was barred by a black bank of clouds and the tranquil waterway leading to the uttermost ends of the earth flowed sombre under an overcast. Both ‘brooding’ and ‘sombre’ together mean threatening, menacing, gloomy, worrying, solemn, serious, dark or sad. This relates to the threatening, menacing, worrying and sad habitat and expression or briefly uncomfortable and inconceivable living environment and human expression.

## 5. Discussion

The objective of the study was to find out the emotional level of Joseph Conrad in the writing of *Heart of Darkness* using word-level-adjectival-sentimental analysis. The study showed a very high intensive emotional level that appeared condemning the ideological intent of the white. This supports Murfin's (1996) findings that Joseph Conrad wrote to expose "the deterioration of the white man's morale when he is let loose from European restraint." Sentences from the text support this: "To tear treasure out of the bowels of the land was their desire, with no more moral purpose" (*Heart of Darkness*, 1981, p. 50). Their activities in the Congo Basin were just "robbery with violence, aggravated murder on a great scale" and instead of any drastic measures to curb such activities, the authorities went "at it blind - as is very proper for those who tackle a darkness" (*Heart of Darkness*, 1981, p. 9). Their intention was to grab "what they could get for the sake of what was to be got." (p. 9).

The study also revealed a very high intensive emotional level that appeared condemning the physical appearance of the black and his environs. The description of the black and his environ is very horrible. In the words of Marlow, the narrator:

The earth seemed *unearthly*. We are accustomed to look upon the shackled form of a *conquered monster*; but there - there you could look at a thing *monstrous* and *free*. It was *unearthly*, and the men were ... No, they were not *inhuman*. Well, you know, that was the worst of it - this suspicion of their not *being inhuman*. It would come slowly to one. They *howled* and *leaped*, and *spun*, and made *horrid faces*; but what thrilled you was just the *thought of their humanity* - like yours - the thought of your *remote kinship* with this *wild* and *passionate uproar*. *Ugly* (*Heart of Darkness*, 1981, p. 59)

The above quotation (italics used for emphasis only) clearly suggests an element of bias hence the debate on whether Conrad was racist or non-racist. Those who are in support of Conrad's biases will disagree with Svensson (2010). Thus, for Svensson (2010), for instance, to assert that "the word *racism* did not exist when Conrad wrote his novella," (p .6) is typically an understatement. If this is his assertion that racism by then had not existed, then it could be traced to Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. The complement for the first part of the statement, " ... and the men were ---- No, they were not inhuman" is simply 'inhuman.'" It could be 'the men were inhuman' and the response may be, 'Yes, they were inhuman' or 'No, they were not inhuman.' So whatever response Conrad has given, the underlying statement is that 'the men were **inhuman**.'

Other related words, phrases or sentences support this assertion, for instance, a conquered monster,' 'unearthly,' 'they howled and leaped, and spun,' 'horrid faces,' 'the thought of their humanity,' 'ugly.' This revelation of Conrad's racism supports Achebe's (1977) assertion that Joseph Conrad is "a thoroughgoing racist."

The racial ideology of a writer may not be judged on the basis of his or her personality in terms of public pronouncement but on the basis of written empirical evidence. Albert Einstein, a world celebrated Jewish physicist, who vociferously spoke against racism and called it "a disease of white people" was himself a racist as his diaries exposed him (Rosenkranz, 2018). Einstein's public pronouncements judged him a true humanitarian but according to Rosenkranz, his travels between October 1922 and March 1923, through Asia and the Middle East with his private records in his diaries showed that his private life and personal perception was different from his public pronouncements. For instance, Rosenkranz (2018) posits that Einstein called the Chinese "industrious, filthy, obtuse people." He described the people of Ceylon as those "who live in great filth and considerable stench down on the ground, do little, and need little." Thus, one cannot judge Joseph Conrad as a racist on the basis of his personality but on the basis of written empirical evidence.

The study further revealed admiration for the superordinate intelligence of the white represented by Mr. Kurtz. The initial intention of Mr. Kurtz, for example, was to make sure that "each Station should be like a beacon on the road towards better things, a centre for trade of course but also for humanizing, improving, instructing" (*Heart of Darkness*, 1981: 54). Upon all the horrible activities masterminded by Kurtz as demonstrated in the novella, he was described as 'gifted creature' with 'magnificent eloquence' and having 'universal genius' demonstrated in 'noble and lofty expression.'

## 6. Conclusion

The purpose of the study was to explore the sentimental-adjectival-emotional state of Joseph Conrad in writing the *Heart of Darkness*. Through the study, several inferences have been made. One of the inferences from the text was that Conrad used very high emotional adjectives that were racially contextual. Most of the adjectives were very judgemental and abusive. The findings were in corroboration with Achebe's description of Conrad as a 'thoroughgoing racist' and Rosenkranz's (2018) revelation of racism as 'a disease of white people.' A greater part of the adjectives that were used positively were related to the white counterparts of Conrad but those used negatively were purely to the disadvantage of the blacks. It has also been inferred that the ideological intent of the white towards the black is very discriminatory though

Conrad has vehemently condemned it. On the part of the black, Conrad has attacked their attitudinal behaviour and this attack has indirectly demonstrated the outwards outburst of Conrad's innermost racial inclination. In short, the dichotomous depiction of both the white and the black by juxtaposing them with context-selective adjectives is a clear indication of Joseph Conrad's inherent racial discrimination.

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## An evaluation of Matthew 12:6 in contemporary scholarship

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### Abstract

What/who is greater than the temple is an on-going debate among New Testament (NT) scholars. Scholars interpret what is greater than the temple as (a) the kingdom of God/heaven (b) the superior service of the disciples of Jesus; (c) love/mercy; and (d) Jesus. However, though some of the literature, so far, reviewed considered Matthew's usage of comparative adjectives in his Gospel (see Duckwitz, 2014; Diefenbach, 2012), it is not exhaustive. None of them exhaustively investigated Matthean style of using comparative adjective to help interpret the one on 12:6. Moreover, neither of the literature reviewed, so far, considered the various settings of Matthew's Gospel. There is, therefore, a gap in scholarship: the examination of Matthean usage of comparative adjectives in his Gospel to help interpret the one used in 12:6, and examination of the settings of Jesus and the Evangelist to help unravel the possible identity of what/who is greater than the temple. The main objective of the study is to synthesize and evaluate contemporary scholarly views on the expression ὅτι τοῦ ἱεροῦ μείζον ἐστὶν ὧδε in Matthew 12:6. This research will benefit biblical scholars, the clergy, and Bible students who will research about the Sabbath controversy in Matthew 12:1-8. Second, it has added to the existing literature on the issue of the interpretation of the comparative adjective in Matthew 12:6.

**Key words:** μείζον, the kingdom of God/heaven, the superior service of the disciples of Jesus, love/mercy, Jesus.

### 1. Introduction

The enigma of Jesus' first response (Matt 12:3-4) to the Pharisees in Matthew's first Sabbath conflict is compounded by the meaning of the expression ὅτι τοῦ ἱεροῦ μείζον ἐστὶν ὧδε (something/someone greater than the Temple is here) in v.6. Biblical scholars are divided on the interpretation of Matt 12:6. The main argument has centered on μείζον a comparative adjective. The puzzle of what is greater than the Temple in Matthew 12:6 still lingers on

in NT scholarship. The difficulty of the riddle is heightened as it is used only in Matthew's Gospel. Blomberg and Luz attest to the difficulty of the meaning of ὅτι τοῦ ἱεροῦ μείζον ἐστὶν ὧδε in Matthew 12:6 (Blomberg, 1992). For Blomberg, the gender of the comparative adjective μείζον might not help in the interpretation since the use of the masculine and the neuter genders of the adjective was not distinct in New Testament period (Blomberg, 1992). Luz (2001) describes as an open question that what is greater than the Temple. This article attempted to synthesize and evaluate scholarly positions of the identity of what/who is greater than the Temple in Matthew 12:6.

## 2. Scholarly Views on the Comparative Adjective in Matt 12:6

The comparative adjective in ὅτι τοῦ ἱεροῦ μείζον ἐστὶν ὧδε (Mat 12:6) has been interpreted differently by biblical scholars. Below are representative views of scholars on the text. Blomberg interprets what is greater than the Temple as Jesus (if the adjective is masculine) but “the new authority, teaching, and/or the kingdom Jesus brings” (if the neuter is emphasized) (Blomberg, 1992, 197). While David Hill (1977) sees it as the superior service of the disciples of Jesus, Luz (2001) considers the phrase as love/mercy. However, Hagner construes what is greater than the Temple as “the wonderful things the Gospel has been describing to this point” which can be seen as God's presence in “the person and work of Jesus.” (1993:330). These varied views suggest that there is the need for further research to determine what/who is greater than the Temple in Matthew 12:6.

## 3. Comparative Adjective as the Kingdom of God

Some scholars infer the comparative adjective in Matthew 12:6 as the kingdom of God. Blomberg points out that if the neuter (rather than the masculine) gender of the comparative genitive (in Mat 12:6) is emphasized, it means “something greater than the Temple is here” (1992:197). In his view, the expression may bring the understanding of a new perspective of the kingdom, instructions, as well as the authority of Jesus. For Hicks, it is “the present reality of the kingdom of God in the person of Jesus.” (1984:86) Specifically, Manson (1949) posits that the phrase is a reference to the Kingdom of God (as cited in McIver, 1995).

However, an examination of how Matthew uses comparative adjectives has revealed that he compares entities of the same kind or entities that are related. Therefore, what is greater than the Temple in Matt 12:6 appears to be a Temple or something related to the Temple. If this postulation is true, then the phrase presents a theological enigma worth investigating. Moreover, what is greater than the Temple should be considered in the settings of both Jesus and the Evangelist.

#### 4. Comparative Adjective as the Superior Service of the Disciples of Jesus

In the view of some scholars mentioned above, the comparative adjective in Matthew 12:6 refers to the superior service of the disciples of Jesus (Gerhardsson, 1974, cited in McIver, 1995). Hill (1977) observes that the comparative adjective refers to the service or worship of God in which Jesus was involved. In his view, this is greater than the service the priests performed in the Temple (Hill, 1977). However, as stated earlier, Matthean style of using comparative adjective seems not to support this assertion. This, therefore, necessitates an investigation into the style of Matthew to bring to the fore a clearer understanding of the usage of the comparative adjective. Also, the settings of Jesus and Matthew should be investigated to determine what is greater than the Temple.

#### 5. Comparative Adjective as Love/Mercy

Another position is that the comparative adjective in Matthew 12:6 represents mercy or love. This argument is advanced by proponents like Luz (2001), Cohn-Sherbok (1979), and Margaret Davies (1993). According to Luz (2001), Matthew 12:6 should be considered in the context of  $\theta\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$  in 12:5, and that v. 6 takes up again the idea of sacrifice on the Sabbath. In his view, mercy is greater than the Sabbath, the Temple, and sacrifice. He, however, admits that what is greater than the Temple in 12:6 “is an open question.” (Luz, 2001:181, 182). Arguing for love or mercy for the comparative adjectives by these scholars therefore gives room for other interpretations. This makes considering how Matthew uses comparative adjective in his gospel as another option to solving the question in 12:6. The settings of Jesus and Matthew should be considered in determining the identity of what is greater than the Temple.

#### 6. Comparative Adjective as Jesus

Proponents, like Stanislaw Witkowski (2017), Nina Collins (2015), Walter Wilson (2016), Francois Viljoen (2016), Yong Chung (2011), David Turner (2008) and Robert McIver (1995), interpret the comparative adjective in Matthew 12:6 as Jesus. Witkowski (2017) considers what is greater than the Temple as “Jesus’ authority” (144). Turner (2008) points out that the neuter  $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\acute{o}\nu$  is used instead of the masculine,  $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\nu$ , in order to emphasize the general quality of greatness rather than the specific individual, Jesus. Carson (1984) also posits that the most likely interpretation of the construction is either Jesus himself or the kingdom. In his view, the two merge into one. He explains that, if it were the kingdom, then it is the kingdom Jesus inaugurates. Carson again argues that it is not only Jesus as a man but also as Messiah, Son of David (vv. 3-4), Son of Man (v. 8), and the One who ushers in the messianic age. He

concludes that Jesus as greater than the Temple is more likely because of the Christological connections alluded to and the parallel drawn by Jesus himself between his own body and the Temple in 26:61; cf. John 2:20-21 (Carson, 1984). Yang (1997) maintains that Jesus is greater than David and the Temple. He argues that Jesus is the ‘son of man’, who is also the Lord of the Sabbath. Davies and Allison (2004) posit that though *μειζόν* is neuter, the reference must be to Jesus. For Chung, what is greater than the Temple is “the aspect of Jesus’ ministry that makes the disciples innocent.” (2011:180). McIver (1995) also interprets what is greater than the Temple as Jesus. Nichol (1980) equally argues for the attestation of primary witnesses of the comparative adjective as neuter, instead of masculine. He, however, admits that someone greater would point to Christ. Nichol (1980) points out that “something greater” is in reference to “the spirit of true worship” (cf. John 4:23, 24) rather than the physical Temple and its worship system (5:392). To Nichol’s understanding, Jesus is of greater significance than the Temple.

According to France, the comparative adjective in Matthew 12:6 possibly “intended to point beyond Jesus himself to the new principle of God’s relationship with his people which is the result from Jesus’ ministry” (2007:461). Schnackenburg (2002) also highlights that it is Jesus’ exalted being which can be seen as of greater magnitude than the Temple. Carson (1984) agrees with Moulton and Turner (1963) who point out that “The neuter can refer to a person when some quality is being stressed rather than the individual per se” (Moulton & Turner, 1963:21, as cited in Carson, 1984:8:281). These interpretations put forth by the proponents seem to suggest that the neuter points beyond the person of Jesus to his ministry or it stresses some quality. There is the need to explore the probable aspect of Jesus’ ministry, or the quality that Matthew stressed, that the comparative adjective points to. A critical analysis of Matthean style seems to suggest that what is greater than the Temple may be a temple. Thus, further investigation into the issue would be in order.

What has made the interpretation of *μειζόν* in v. 6 difficult is its variant readings. While majority of the witnesses favour the neuter *μειζόν* in 12:6, other witnesses use the masculine gender *μείζων* in 12:6 (see Tasker, 1969). However, Matthew 12:41, 24 seem to suggest that the gender might not help in determining the meaning of the comparative adjective in 12:6. In 12:41, 42, the adjective *πλεῖον* seems to compare Jonah, v. 41, and Solomon, v. 42, though the gender in both is neuter. This varied reading has contributed to the debate. For instance, Blomberg (1992) points out that the distinction between the masculine and neuter comparative adjective was often not clear in Hellenistic Greek. Consequently, Luz asserts that the interpretation of “what is greater than the temple” in v. 6 “is an open question” (2001:181, 182). This indicates that there is, therefore, the need for further research to be conducted. Moreover,

none of the literature reviewed considered the various settings of Matthew's Gospel and how the respective audiences might have understood the identity of what/who was greater than the Temple.

## 7. Conclusion

The review of the literature indicated above can be summarized as follows: Scholars interpret what is greater than the temple as (a) the kingdom of God/heaven (b) the superior service of the disciples of Jesus; (c) love/mercy; and (d) Jesus. For Blomberg, Jesus is greater than the temple (if the adjective is masculine) but "the new authority, teaching, and/or the kingdom Jesus brings" (if the neuter is emphasized). On the contrary, David Hill argues for the superior service of the disciples of Jesus. For Luz, it is love/mercy, and for Hagner, it is "the wonderful things the Gospel has been describing to this point" which can be seen as God's presence in "the person and work of Jesus." Manson believes the debate is about the Kingdom of God while Turner, McIver, Carson, Yang, France, Nichol, Davies and Allison, and Schnackenburg interpret the comparative adjective in Matt 12:6 as Jesus but from different perspectives.

However, though some of the literature, so far, reviewed considered Matthew's usage of comparative adjectives in his Gospel (see Duckwitz, 2014; Diefenbach, 2012), it is not exhaustive. There is, therefore, the need for further investigation to determine how the authorial usage of comparative adjectives in Matthew's Gospel could help interpret the one on 12:6. Also, none of the literature reviewed considered the various settings of Matthew's Gospel. There is, therefore, a gap in scholarship. The gap includes the examination of Matthean usage of comparative adjectives in his Gospel to help interpret the one used in 12:6. It also includes an examination of the settings of Jesus and the Evangelist. Identification of these gaps would help unravel the possible identity of what/who is greater than the temple. The researchers propose that Matthean style was generally to compare objects of the same category in his gospel. As such, what/who is greater than the Temple could be a temple or something relating to the Temple. Also, in the setting of Jesus, what is greater than the Temple was not clear to the Pharisees. It is safe to say that if the Pharisees perceived that Jesus referred to himself as greater than the Temple, they would probably have accused him of blasphemy (see Mat 9:3). However, in the setting of the Evangelist, what is greater than the Temple points to Jesus and his ministry. Further investigation is, therefore, warranted.

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# Housing options and incidence of Common Illness of Marginalized Groups: The Case of Female Head Porters in Urban Ghana

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## Abstract

Housing serves as protection against communicable diseases, injury, chronic diseases, exposure to psychological and social stress, and promotes provision of neighbourhood services. Migrant Female head porters (kayayei) who are part of marginalized group in Ghana do not have access to decent housing. This study aims at analyzing the socio-demographic and economic factors influencing the choice of housing and their ill-health implications. The study through simple random sampling technique sampled 400 kayayei from Kumasi Metropolis (Kejetia, Bantama and Alaba) and Accra Metropolis (Agbogboloshie, Kantamanto, and Mallam Atta Market). We used multinomial logistic regression and binary logistic regression to analyze factors influencing housing choices and impact of housing choices on ill-health among the kayayei respectively. Ill-health (sicknesses) considered in this study were malaria incidence, heat burns incidence and cholera incidence. The common housing choices in descending order were wooden shacks, open spaces, rented houses and uncompleted building. Kayayei with secondary education were significantly more likely to live in rented houses than wooden shacks and open spaces. Kayayie who had relation in the study areas were significantly less likely to live in rented houses than open spaces. Kayayei who earned above GH¢350 per month were significantly more likely to live in rented houses than uncompleted houses. Kayayie who lived in rented houses with toilet facilities were significantly less likely to be infected with heat burns, malaria and cholera within every quarter of a year. Those who lived in wooden shacks with toilet facilities were

significantly less likely to be infected with cholera within every quarter of a year but not heat burns and malaria. We argue that to reduce ill-health among marginalized groups and subsequent avoidable burden on National Health Insurance Scheme, the Government of Ghana should relook at the housing options and their conditions for these groups.

**Key Words:** Housing Choices, Ill-health, Socio-demographic and Economic Characteristics, and Urban Ghana

## 1. Introduction

Adequate housing remains a challenge in the world as a whole. The housing deficit is higher in developing countries than developed countries. Ghana's housing deficit stood at 2.7 million in 2010 (calculated on the basis of 4-persons per household per 2-bedroom unit) [Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), 2014], and this is even more severe among the marginalized groups in urban Ghana. The reasons for increasing housing deficit in urban Ghana are due to the rapid growth in population and rural-urban migration. For example, today, majority of the young people between the ages of 14 and 35 years are being drifted to the few urban centres of Ghana often in search for jobs and other economic gains due to the current economic pressures and non-existent of alternative jobs in rural communities. Evidence shows that approximately 55.3% of Ghanaian citizens currently reside in urban areas, a proportionate increase of more than 7% over the past 10 years (GSS, 2018). A whopping majority of young migrants, particularly females who anticipate jobs in their destinations end up to be head porters across the streets of the urban areas. The arrival of female head porters in urban Ghana has been great in the recent times (GSS, 2013). The population of head porters (herein called "kayayie") in Accra and Kumasi, all in Ghana, has been estimated to be over 50,000 (GSS, 2013). This has led to overcrowding in these cities as the number of persons per house is as twice as that of rural areas (Gazeley & Newell, 2009). This leads to a greater challenge in housing in urban areas.

Majority (over 90%) of housing units in Ghana is provided by private individuals (Aziaban, 2018). This is because government housing policies since post structural adjustment programme place more emphasis on the private sector participation in housing provision (GSS, 2014). However, Ghana Statistical Service (2013) argues that the private sector is not likely to provide housing for marginalized groups without appropriate incentives to the sector. Although, the Government of Ghana through "Affordable Housing Scheme" provides housing in urban Ghana, these houses target high earning households to the disadvantage of the marginalized and low-income groups, particularly

female head porters (ISSER, 2013). This situation makes housing options available to “kayayie” in urban Ghana a challenge.

Previous studies have identified housing types for “kayayie” to include wooden shacks, verandas, kiosks, in front of stores, lorry parks, uncompleted building with very few in rented rooms (Owusu-Ansah & Addai 2013; Alhassan, 2017). The lack of decent shelter makes “kayayie” susceptible to many diseases such as malaria, cholera and skin rashes (Schaefer’s 1990; WHO, 1987). However, previous studies failed to account for socio-economic factors aside income, influencing the choice of housing type among the “kayayie” in Accra and Kumasi (the two main cities in Ghana) and the impact of housing choices on incidence of common sickness (malaria, cholera and skin rashes) among the “kayayie. This study investigates these issues, using more appropriate statistical models to help policy makers to make informed decisions regarding accommodation for kayayie in urban Ghana.

The study progresses by reviewing literature on housing and health, presenting methods and materials for the study, presenting the results, discussing the findings, and concluding the study based on the findings.

## 2. Literature Review

The study is based on Schaefer’s (1990) article on Home and Health-On Solid Foundation and WHO’s (1987) report, Housing-the implication for health. The two mentioned studies have confirmed a relationship between housing and health. Scharfer for example identified four ways through which housing affect health of people. He noted that housing serves as protection against communicable disease, injury, poison and chronic disease, minimal exposure to psychological and social stress and provides neighbourhood services. This study however focused on housing and incidence of common disease such as skin rashes (chicken pox), malaria and cholera among “kayayie” in urban Ghana.

Beamish, Gross and Emmel (2001) and Beyer, Mackesey and Montgomery (1995) on housing options identified four groups of values influencing housing choice by households. These value groups include family, personal, economy and social prestige. Among these four value groups, personal group is mostly cited in the housing choice among kayayie. The most cited personal factors are educational level, income level, age, marital status and social ties of the migrants.

The educational level of the female migrants in Ghana is low (Owusu-Ansah and Addai 2013; Kwankye et al, 2007; Yeboah and Appiah-Yeboah, 2009; Alhassan, 2017). The factor responsible for low level of education on this marginalized group include lack of money, culture that places preference

to boy's education as against girl's education, perceived difficulty of academic life and push by family members and friends in cities (Owusu-Ansah & Addai, 2013). This lack of formal education demonstrates the low level of school enrolment of girls in the country and in northern Ghana in particular. This low educational attainment among women has resulted in limited roles of women in socio-economic development of Ghana in particular and the world as a whole. Most women are engaged in informal economic activities mostly due to low level of education (Alhassan, 2017).

Earnings of the female head porters in Ghana are low and far below the daily minimum wage in Ghana (Owusu-Ansah and Addai, 2013; Korang-Okrah, 2013; Amponsah, 2012). Female head porters in Ghana earn as low as ten to fifteen (10-15) cedis per week or four (4) cedis per day on a good business day. Out of this little income are their remittances to their families, payment of their daily market tolls, housing rent and feeding among others. Contemporary north-south migration flow in Ghana is largely dominated by young girls (Kwankye, 2012; Alhassan, 2017). Agyei et al. (2016) added that most of the female migrants in southern Ghana are between 12 and 35 years. Owusu-Ansah and Addai (2013) noted that youthful nature of the migrants suggests that less family responsibilities at their homes of origin and economic factors drive this kind of migration.

Van den Berg (2007) as quoted in Ziblim (2017) observed that some of the pull and push factors responsible for the phenomenon of kayayei in Accra, the Capital City of Ghana included marriage breakdown and forced marriages. Azumah and Onzaberigu (2018) and Awumbila et al. (2014) have all confirmed in their studies that most of the female head porters are single or divorcees. Female migrant social ties in the cities are noted as one of the causal agents of migration and housing options available to them. Ahlvin (2012) indicated that kayayei were encouraged by their families to move to the cities because of economic difficulties. Awumbila et al. (2014) in their study in Old Fadama and Nima, both suburbs in Accra, Ghana realized that female head porters migrated due to family related issues such as spouses and parents being in the cities.

The above factors do not only raise issue of migration and head portage (kayayei) but also housing options or choices of these kayayie in the cities. The low-income earnings coupled with high rate of illiteracy, family commitment at home and the desire to amass wealth gives an indication that "kayayie" in urban Ghana cannot afford decent housing but would rather opt for accommodation of lower standard. This in the views of Schaefer (1990) and WHO (1987) would have implication for health of "kayayie" in urban Ghana.

### 3. Research Methods

#### 3.1 Research setting

The study sampled kayayei from Kumasi and Accra Metropolises. Kumasi Metropolis is one of the 30 administrative districts in the Ashanti Region of Ghana. Kumasi Metropolis is located between Latitude 6.35° N and 6.40° S and Longitude 1.30° W and 1.35° E and elevated 250 to 300 meters above sea level. Kumasi Metropolis share boundaries with Kwabre East and Afigya Kwabre Districts to the north, Atwima Kwanwoma and Atwima Nwabiagya Districts to the south, Asokore Mampong and Ejisu-Juaben Municipalities to the east, and Bosomtwe District to the south. Kumasi Metropolis is approximately 270 km north of the national capital, Accra.

Accra Metropolis is one of the 21 administrative districts in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana. It covers a total land area of 60km<sup>2</sup> (23 sq. mi). It is bounded to the north by the Ayawaso West Municipality and Okaikoi North Municipality, to the west by the Ablekuma West Municipality and Ablekuma North Municipality, and the east by the Ayawaso East Municipality and the La Dede Kotopon Municipality. The Gulf of Guinea serves as the southern border.

#### 3.2 Study design

The study considered housing options and health implications through mixed method research strategy where both qualitative and quantitative research methods were used. The mixed-methods helped ensured triangulation and minimized the weaknesses in each method. Quantitative design helped to employ statistical techniques such as multinomial and binary regressions to estimate determinants of housing choices and impact of housing choices on health of “kayayie” respectively. The qualitative design, however, afforded the study to explain the housing choices and their health implications from the “kayayie’s” point of views.

#### 3.3 Population

The target population for this study was kayayei in the Kumasi Metropolis and Accra Metropolis. Though there is no national data on kayayei in Ghana, Kumasi and Accra have about 50,000 kayayie (Bibir, 2014). These kayayei are mostly migrants from Northern Ghana (Participatory Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment [PPVA], 2011; Awumbila, 2007). “Kayayie carry goods on their heads for shoppers and traders in and around commercial centres for a petty fee.

Within the Kumasi Metropolis, the kayayei were selected from Kejetia, Bantama and Alaba; and in the Accra Metropolis, they were selected from Agbogboloshie, Kantamanto, and Mallam Atta Market. These locations are noted for head porters' activities in the two metropolises.

### *3.4 Sampling and sample size*

Simple random sampling was used to select the respondents ("kayayie") from the two locations. The study through Gomez and Jones (2010) formula for sample size determination and 10% non-response rate aimed at sampling 437 kayayei. However, 400 respondents neatly and completely filled in the questionnaires; hence 400 kayayei (Agbogboloshie, 70; Kantamanto, 60; Mallam Atta Market; 75; Kejetia, 60; Bantama, 70; and Alaba, 65) were used in the study. The study moreover, interviewed a leader of kayayei in each market centre, constituting 6 leaders of kayayei.

### *3.5 Data collection tool*

The study employed semi-structured interview and structured questionnaire to gather the data from the respondents. The structured questionnaires were administered to the kayayei while the semi-structured interview guides were administered to the leaders of kayayei in the market centres.

### *3.6 Data collection procedure*

The study pre-tested the questionnaire on 10 Kayayie in Suame market in the Kumasi and interview guide on 1 leader of kayayei in the market. The questionnaire was reliable (Cronbach's Alpha= 0.819). The researchers were aware of possibility for a "kayayie" to cross markets and fill in questionnaire more than once. The study therefore wrote down the names of sampled "kayayie" to ensure that every "kayayie" had one chance of filling in a questionnaire. This fulfilled the requirement of simple random sampling without replacement. However, the names were not further used in this study.

### *3.7 Compliance with ethical standards*

Ethical clearance was sought from the Committee on Human Research, Publication and Ethics of the School of Medical Sciences/Komfo Anokye Teaching Hospital with reference number CHRPE/ AP/361/14. All participants gave verbal consent for their participation in the study.



$$\begin{aligned}
 Chol_i = & \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 Age_i + \alpha_2 Rel_i + \alpha_3 Edul_i + \alpha_4 MarS_i + \alpha_5 Relat_i \\
 & + \alpha_6 AMIR_i + \alpha_7 Toil * RenH_i + \alpha_8 Toil * WoS_i \\
 & + \alpha_9 DW * RenH_i + \alpha_{10} EL * RenH_i + \alpha_{11} El * Unc_i \\
 & + \alpha_{12} El * WoS_i + \alpha_{13} El * OpS_i + \varepsilon_i \dots \dots \dots Model 2C
 \end{aligned}$$

The variables in the models are described in Table 1.

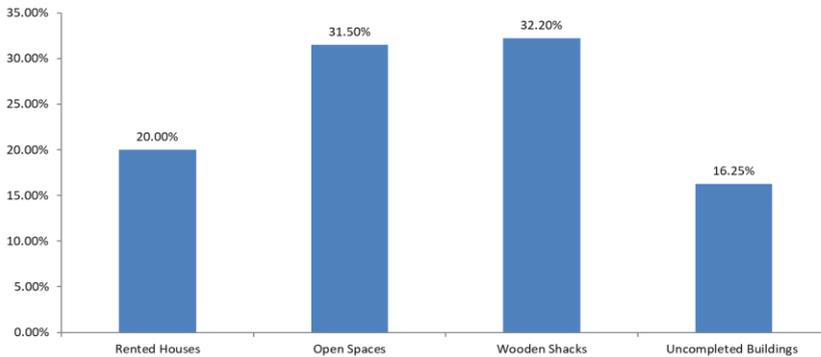
Table 1: Descriptions of Variables

Variables	Meaning	Described	Categories	Coding
Age	Age (Years)	Age of the respondents in years	18-40 41-50years	1 2
MarS	Marital status	Marital status of the respondents	Single Married	1 2
Rel	Religion	Religious affiliation of the respondents	Christianity Islam	1 2
Edul	Educational level	Education level of the respondents	Basic education Secondary education	1 2
Relat	Relation in Destination (Kumasi or Accra)	having relation (mother, father, family member, friend) in Accra or Kumasi	Yes No	1 2
AMIR	Average monthly income earned	Average monthly income earned by respondents in kakaya business	Below Gh¢300 (below \$) GH¢300- GH¢500 (\$)	1 2
HouC	Housing options(choices)	This is where kayayie (respondents) live	Rented House (RenH) Uncompleted building (UNC) Open space (OpS) Wooden shacks (WoS)	1 2 3 4
HB	Heat Burns	Probability that heat burns reoccurs within first three month after treatment or not	Those infected with heat burns at least once every three months after treatment  Those not infected with heat burns at least once every three months after treatment	1  0
Mal	Malaria	Probability that malaria reoccurs within first three month after treatment or not	Those infected with malaria at least once every three months after treatment  Those not infected with malaria at least once every three months after treatment	1  0
Chol	Cholera	Probability that cholera reoccurs within first three month after treatment or not	Those infected with cholera at least once every three months after treatment  Those not infected with cholera at least once every three months after treatment	1  0

#### 4. Results

##### 4.1 Housing Choices and Characteristics of Kayayie

Housing is one of the important variables that determine the level of comfort enjoyed by “kayayie” in urban Ghana. The various housing choices of “kayayie” in the study areas are shown in Figure 1.



*Fig. 1: Housing choices of “kayayie”*

Figure 1 indicates that most of the respondents do not have decent accommodation. Only 20.00% of the 400 “kayayie” sampled lived in rented houses; the remaining are accommodated in open spaces (31.50%), wooden shacks (32.20%) and uncompleted buildings (16.25%). In an interview, the leader of “kayayie” in Bantama-Kumasi disclosed as follows:

*“We sleep in live kiosks. Yes, it is not fine but we do not have any other place to sleep. Where we sleep is far from the market but we still sleep there. We do not have money to rent a place. Yes, they charge about 10 cedis per week and we cannot not pay. The landlord is not patient when we default. If we are not able to pay the rent, the landlord will evict us” (Key Informant, 28 years, Bantama-Kumasi, August, 2018).*

Another kayayoo stated as follows:

*“I slept outside in the open for a long time before I got a room and it used to rain on me. I could not pay for the rent. It was too much. Where I am now, I am not paying. I cannot not pay if I am asked to pay. The business is not good at all” (Key Informant, 31 years, Mallam Atta Market-Accra, August 2018).*

Relating the socio-demographic and economic characteristics of the kayayei to housing choices revealed as shown in Table 2. The table shows significant association between housing choice and all the selected socio-demographic and economic factors. The above clearly shows that the choice of housing among kayayie is driven by the interplay of social, demographic and economic factors.

Table 2: Association of Housing Choices and Characteristics of the Respondent

Socio-Demographic and Economic Characteristics	Categories	Rented building	Open space	Wooden shacks	Uncompleted building	P-Value
Age (Years)	18-40	56 (15.8%)	121(34.2%)	112(31.6%)	65(18.4%)	0.000
	41-50years	24(52.2%)	5(10.9%)	17(37.0%)	0(0.0%)	
Marital status	Single	69(33.9%)	56(19.4%)	104(36.0%)	60(20.8%)	0.000
	Married	11(9.9%)	70(63.1%)	25(22.5%)	5(4.5%)	
Religion	Christianity	45(60.0%)	40(40.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0.000
	Islam	36(11.1%)	96(29.5%)	128(39.4%)	65(20.0%)	
Educational level	Basic education	60 (56.1%)	126(72.3%)	129(48.8%)	65(22.8%)	0.000
	Secondary education	20(100.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	
Relation in Destination (Kumasi or Accra)	Yes	50(16.9%)	86(29.2%)	114(38.6%)	45(15.3%)	0.000
	No	30(28.6%)	40(38.1%)	15(14.3%)	20(19.0%)	
Economic Factors Monthly income earned	Below Ghc300 (below \$ )	55 (19.2%)	89(31.0%)	79(27.5%)	64(22.3%)	0.000
	GHC300- GHc500 (\$ )	25(22.1%)	37(32.7%)	50(44.2%)	1(0.9%)	

The study through multinomial logistic regression modelled housing choices among Kayayie. Each predictor has three parameters, each one for open spaces, wooden shacks and uncompleted building. To facilitate the interpretation of differences between predictors, each predictor variable had been standardized to mean 0 and standard deviation 1. The parameter estimates are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Parameter Estimates Contrasting Rented Houses versus Each Other (N=400)

Predictors	Open Accommodation Vrs Space	Coefficient	Std. Error	Wald	p-value
Age	Open Space	-2.539	0.895	8.041	0.005*
	Wooden Shacks	-0.077	0.807	0.009	0.924
	Uncompleted Building	-17.332	1124.595	0.000	0.988
Religion	Open Space	0.154	0.653	0.056	0.813
	Wooden Shacks	16.773	0.000	-	-
	Uncompleted Building	1.966	0.000	-	-
Education	Open Space	-2.882	0.700	16.971	0.000*
	Wooden Shacks	-3.825	0.758	25.452	0.000*
	Uncompleted Building	-19.621	728.983	0.001	0.979
Marital Status	Open Space	2.676	0.714	14.051	0.000*
	Wooden Shacks	-1.271	0.691	3.383	0.066
	Uncompleted Building	-0.577	0.846	0.465	0.495
Relation	Open Space	2.966	0.574	26.668	0.000*
	Wooden Shacks	1.157	0.754	2.355	0.125
	Uncompleted Building	2.491	0.733	11.559	0.001*
Monthly Income	Open Space	-1.024	0.698	2.151	0.142
	Wooden Shacks	0.570	0.669	0.724	0.395
	Uncompleted Building	-3.336	1.211	7.582	0.006*

Goodness of fit:  
 Pearson's  $\chi^2=763.071$ ;  
 $p=0.000$   
 Deviance  $\chi^2=$   
 $159.646$ ;  $p=0.000$   
 Cox and Snell  
 $R^2=0.700$   
 Nagelkerke  $R^2=$   
 $0.750$   
 McFadden  $R^2=$   
 $0.447$

#### 4.1.1 Education Attainment and Housing Choices

One predictor had a significant parameter for comparing the kayayie who lived in rented houses with those who lived in wooden shacks. For each one, standard deviation increases in education, the odds of being in rented house rather than wooden shacks is increased by 0.2806 ( $e^{-1.271}=0.2805509$ ) and open space is increased by 0.0560 ( $e^{-2.882}=0.0560226$ ).

One kayayie disclosed in an interview with passion as follows:

*“I want money and I am working to earn some money...but it does not mean I have to sleep anywhere. My health is important. If I sleep in wooden shacks, mosquitoes will bite me and I will fall sick. I will end up using the little money I have saved to treat myself. So what is the point in working and sleeping in bad places. That is not good and I*

*have told my friends but some do not listen to me”.....oh yes, I went to school up to secondary level and I know when you sleep in bad places, you will get mosquitoes. (Key Informant, 27 years, Alaba-Kumasi, August, 2018).*

In Accra, one kayayei stated as follows:

*“I have completed senior high school, so I am educated though I have not being to university. Sleeping in open spaces will make me sick because of mosquitoes bite. I have always rented house with my friends whom I share the rent with. I have been in Accra for 5 years now. I know it is expensive to rent a house compared to sleeping in open spaces but I think it is good to sleep in places where you not fall sick very often”(Key Informant, 32years, Kantamanto-Accra, August, 2018).*

The study realized that education is a driver influencing the choice of housing among the kayayie in urban Ghana. Kayayei with high level of education (up to secondary level) are much particular about their health and may look for much more decent accommodation to reduce health risk. They would not like to be accommodated in wooden shacks where they are more likely to be exposed to mosquitoes, rain, predators and any other things harmful to health. However, the educational level of these migrant head porters is very low, and most of them are uneducated (Owusu-Ansah and Addai 2013; Kwankye et al., 2007; Yeboah and Appiah-Yeboah, 2009; Adaween and Owusu, 2013; Alhassan, 2017). This low level of education coupled with ignorance makes most of them choose to live in wooden shacks, open spaces and uncompleted building.

#### *4.1.2 Relation and Housing Choices*

Table 3 further shows that the odds of being in rented house rather than open space decreased by 19.4 ( $e^{2.966}=19.41410765$ ) and uncompleted building is decreased by 12.07 ( $e^{2.491}=12.07334343$ ) for each increase in standard deviation in relation.

*“I have sister in Kumasi. I chose Kumasi because I don’t know anyone in the other cities. My sister is married with two children..... I told her I was coming to Kumasi but when I arrived she could not offer me a place. I do not fault her; she lives with her husband and the children in one room, so I cannot join them in the same room. So I have to sleep on a veranda until I got enough money to rent a room” (Key Informant, 28 years, Bantama-Kumasi, August, 2018).*

This study like previous studies (Opare, 2010; Awumbila et al., 2014) has confirmed that some good number of kayayie have relations in urban Ghana. However, the perception that having relation in urban Ghana would improve housing condition of kayayie is nullified as many of those kayayie live in open spaces and wooden shacks. Majority of kayayie who have relation in Kumasi and Accra live in indecent houses because these kayayie came to Kumasi and Accra with the notion that their relatives or friends would offer them accommodations. They therefore came to Kumasi and Accra without any plan of renting a place of their own. Most of such people end up being disappointed and therefore live in indent places (wooden shacks, open spaces and uncompleted building). However, those without any relation in Kumasi and Accra plan to rent houses.

#### 4.1.3 Marital Status and Housing Choices

Table 3 further shows that the odds of being in rented house rather than open space increased by 0.079 ( $e^{2.539}=0.07894530564$ ) for each standard deviation increase in age but decrease by 14.52 ( $e^{2.676}=14.52686945$ ) for each standard deviation increase in marital status.

#### 4.1.4 Monthly Income Earned and Housing Choices

The odds of being in rented house rather than uncompleted building increased by 0.036 ( $e^{-3.336}=0.03557898943$ ) for each increase in standard deviation in monthly income earned.

*“what I get in a day is between 10 and 15 cedis. In some days, do not get any money and my children and I do not eat.” I like to sleep in a house but I do not have money to rent one” (Key Informant, 39 years, Kejetia-Kumasi, August, 2018).*

This finding about the income level of the kayayie is consistent with that found by Boateng and Korang-Okrah (2013) in Accra. They found out that the average earnings for kayayie per day is between 10 and 15 cedis. Given the low-income levels, most kayayie are unable to rent decent houses and are forced to live in wooden shacks, open spaces and uncompleted buildings.

#### 4.2 Housing choices and ill-health implications

The study established association between housing choices and housing conditions as shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Association Housing Conditions and Housing Options

Conditions	Responses	Rented houses	Open Space	Wooden Shacks	Uncompleted Buildings	Fisher's Exact Test
Toilet	Yes	80(80.0%)	0(0.0%)	20(20.0%)	0(0.0%)	324.343; p-value= 0.000
	No	0(0.0%)	126(42.0%)	109(36.3%)	65(21.7%)	
Drinking Water	Yes	80(100.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	382.046; p-value=0.000
	No	0(0.0%)	126(39.4%)	129(40.3%)	65(20.3%)	
Electricity	Yes	80(84.2%)	126(0.0%)	15(15.8%)	5 (0.0%)	331.471; p-value= 0.000
	No	0(0.0%)	0 (41.3%)	114(37.4%)	60(21.3%)	

The results in Table 4 show that majority of “kayayie” in the study areas were without essential amenities of life (toilet, drinking water and electricity). However, the selected amenities are significantly associated with housing choices as majority of “kayayie” in rented houses had more access to toilet facilities, potable water and electricity than those who lived in open spaces (verandas, in front of stores and lorry parks) and uncompleted building.

It was disclosed in an interview as stated below:

*“We are 21 in the uncompleted building but we don’t have potable water, toilet and electricity and we go to public toilet”. The toilet is not close to us, it is very far away from where we live. Sometimes in the night some of us defecate in a polythene bags or containers and throw away.” (Key Informant, 28 years, Bantama-Kumasi, August, 2018).*

*“We do not have toilet at the place. We have complained about this to the landlord but he has said nothing about it. He and his wife have toilet but we do not have toilet and he has warned us not use it” (Key Informant, 27 years, Alaba, Kumasi-August, 2018).*

The conditions in these houses (accommodations) have health implications as given in Figure 2.

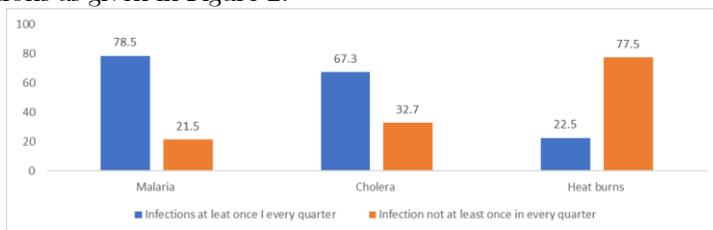


Fig. 2: Health implications of housing units

The results in Figure 2 show that majority of respondents were infected with malaria, cholera and chicken pox at least once in every quarter of a year. Housing is inevitable in ill-health of people, especially the marginalized groups like migrant female head porters (herein called kayayie). The study confirmed that most of the kayayie suffer from malaria, cholera and chicken pox more than once in every quarter of a year. This woe of kayayie may be attributable to housing choices (options available) of these kayayie as noted by WHO (1987) and Schaefer’s (1990).

The study through binary logistic regression model investigated whether or not housing choices impact on incidence of chicken pox, malaria and cholera among the kayayie and the results are shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Impact of Housing Options on Key Ailments among Kayayie

Variables	Heat Burns	Malaria	Cholera
Education	-0.233(6.883*)	-0.105 (9.266**)	-0.107 (12.512**)
Marital status	0.333(0.204)	0.621 (0.372)	0.045 (6.332)*
Age	0.591 (0.306)	0.264 (0.021)	0.113 (0.266)
Religion	0.217 (0.001)	0.190 (0.144)	0.582 (2.219)
Relation in urban Ghana	0.164 (0.163)	1.034 (0.199)	0.266 (1.858)
Monthly income	-0.970 (10.012**)	-0.215 (11.185**)	-0.235 (8.327*)
Toilet*rented houses	-0.215 (6.223*)	-0.237 (6.467*)	-0.366 (7.001*)
Toilet*wooden shacks	0.125 (1.237)	0.427 (2.648)	-0.023 (7.221*)
Potable water*rented houses	0.277 (0.016)	0.115 (1.579)	-0.337 (7.467*)
Electricity*rented house	-0.182 (11.833**)	-0.235 (12.027**)	0.204 (0.212)
Electricity*wood shacks	0.119 (0.237)	0.157 (1.864)	0.272 (0.368)
Electricity*Open space	0.144 (2.771)	0.155 (0.234)	0.117 (0.224)
Electricity* Uncompleted Building	0.218 (1.005)	0.231 (1.146)	0.028 (0.022)
Constant	0.278 (7.117*)	1.459 (13.004**)	0.366 (2.157)
No. Observation	400	400	400.
Cox and Snell R <sup>2</sup>	0.529	0.419	0.638
Nagelkerker R <sup>2</sup>	0.631	0.577	0.718
Ombus test of model fit (χ <sup>2</sup> )	128.001	89.688	142.833
p-value	0.000	0.000	0.000

The results in Table 5 show that “kayayie” who lived in rented houses with toilet facilities were significantly less likely to be infected with heat burns, malaria and cholera within every quarter of a year. Those who lived in wooden shacks with toilet facilities were significantly less likely to be infected with cholera within every quarter of a year but not heat burns and malaria. Those who lived in rented houses with potable water (pipe borne water and bore hole) were significantly less likely to be infected with cholera within every quarter but not heat burns and malaria. Those who lived in rented houses with electricity were

significantly less likely to be infected with heat burns and malaria within every quarter but not cholera.

The study confirmed the assertion by World Health organization (1987) and Schaefer (1990) that housing for kayayie matters in their health conditions. Among the housing options (rented houses, wooden shacks, open spaces and uncompleted buildings), rented houses with electricity, toilet facility and potable water (either bore hole and pipe borne) were identified to be significantly reducing the incidence of all the common illnesses (malaria, cholera and chicken pox). This clearly suggests that no matter the improvement in conditions of wooden shacks, open spaces and uncompleted building some illnesses (malaria, cholera and chicken pox) will still be prevalent.

### **5. Conclusion and policy implications**

The study revealed that majority of kayayie in urban Ghana lived in wooden shacks, open spaces and uncompleted building. The housing choices determine the housing conditions they enjoy and their ill-health. Our study found educational level, income level and relation as factors influencing housing choices among kayayie in urban Ghana. Our study reiterates that housing choices (option available) is a key determinant of ill-health among kayayie in urban Ghana. The study recommends that the affordable housing project should be extended to the marginalized groups such as kayayie in urban Ghana. Moreover, housing policy and health policy in Ghana should be integrated to make a fight against malaria, cholera and other common diseases possible. The metropolitan assemblies, as matter of urgency, should ensure that all houses or structures for human habitation in the cities have basic amenities like toilet, water and electricity to reduce the incidence of malaria, cholera and heat burns.

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## Local Accountability in Ghana: A Case Study of Tema Metropolitan Assembly

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### **Abstract**

Although Ghana's democracy may, at least date back to the time of Independence in 1957, the emphasis on accountability of public officials as indispensable values within the nation's democratic culture became one of the loudest political slogans sang when the Rawlings' Military regime seized power in 1979. Since then, several laws have been enacted to mandate public officials to be accountable to their citizens. There is however little empirical studies to provide information about the state of local accountability in Ghana, three decades after implementing the new decentralization policy. The study was carried out to examine the performance of local government actors with respect to whether they are accountable, and if so, how they account to residents within the Tema Metropolitan Assembly. The study adopted the interpretive philosophy and qualitative approaches to collect primary data from key informants and actors who were purposively sampled due to their active involvement in the local government system. The open, axial and selective coding methods were employed for data analysis. Both the theories of power and the Principal-Agent theory of accountability were also used for the interpretation of findings. The results showed that there existed major accountability deficits within the Assembly with respect to citizens' participation, responsiveness to citizens' needs, transparency and compliance with procurement laws among others. To address the gaps, the researchers recommend the establishment of a robust incentive regime, including sanctions by principals to manage the actions of local government agents to make them accountable to the people. The authors further recommend that the position of the Metropolitan Chief Executive should be made elective, while the Assembly must also be granted the right to recruit bureaucrats whom it can manage to serve the interests of the local residents.

**Keywords:** Local Government, Accountability, Ghana, Tema, Metropolitan, Assembly.

## 1. Introduction

In May 1992, the Provisional National Defense Committee (PNDC) Government which was headed by Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings, having seized power by force of arms on December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1981, declared its position on the future of Ghana's Local Government in its Policy Guidelines as follows:

The urgent need for participatory democracy to ensure that the bane of remote government that had afflicted Ghanaians since independence is done away with effectively, to render governments truly responsive and accountable to the governed. The assumption of power by the people cannot be complete unless a truly decentralized government is introduced, that is, Central Government, in all its manifestations, should empower Local Government Councils to initiate, coordinate, manage and execute policies in all matters affecting them within their localities (Ahwoi, 2017, p.1).

This principle of accountability by local officials through citizens' participation was later codified into specific provisions in Ghana's 1992 Constitution as follows:

as far as practicable, persons in the service of local government shall be subject to effective control of local authorities; to ensure the accountability of local government authorities, people in particular local government areas shall, as far as practicable, be afforded the opportunity to participate effectively in their governance (Article 240 (d, e).

Besides the constitutional provisions, there are numerous other legislative and policy instruments that make provisions for participatory, transparent and accountable governance. For example, while sections 40,41, 42, 43 and 44 of the Local Government Act, Act 936, make provisions for the participation of local citizens in local governance and the specific modalities of such participation, section 45 of the Act mandated MMDCEs to give periodic reports on the state of stakeholder participation to the General Assembly. These notwithstanding, the UNDP (2013) has observed that:

The state has established laudable mechanisms for addressing challenges relating to transparency and accountability...These efforts are characterized by constructive and steady partnerships across stakeholders including civil society. Still challenges remain, particularly at the local levels. Perhaps more significantly, more effective partnerships between rights holders and duty bearers can catalyze and

lead to measurable improvements in transparency and accountability through greater involvement by citizens in the business of governance (p.4).

While admitting that improving government accountability could lead to gains in quality service delivery, Yilmaz, Beris and Serrano Berthet (2008) noted that despite decentralization's promise for more accountable government, results have been mixed, and that, literature on decentralization contain many examples where decentralization has not led to greater accountability. They expressed the worry that increasing the resources allocated for public services without fixing the accountability incentive structure will most likely not translate into greater development benefits for the poor.

For example, despite the passionate provisions in the laws for local accountability in Ghana, Appau and Anku-Tsede (2015) made the following findings:

It is truism that for quite a long time, some of Ghana's political, administrative and economic elites working in our public institutions have constantly lived above the law, protected by self-serving culture of impunity - be it at the national level, regional level, district level, local level or community/village level. Some public officials at all levels and in all capacities, engage in misconducts without the least attention to the interest of the state. The notion of public officials as fiduciaries who have a duty (moral and social) to account to the people they represent is alien to many public officials. The term 'Public Servant' has lost its real meaning. It now implies 'Public Master'... For instance, the annual reports of the Auditor General routinely carry pages and pages of similar financial and administrative misconducts of public officials in our ministries, departments, agencies, commercial institutions of State, Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies, etc. with suggested recommendations to nib the practices in the bud, but nothing happens after these reports are submitted to Parliament (p.32).

Although local administrators are required to be accountable to the entire citizenry of the local area, the Assembly members, being the representatives of people, have a major duty of overseeing the executives for the realization of the constitutional dream of accountable local governance. Addressing a section of the Assembly members who visited the former statesman, the Former President of Ghana, J.A Kuffour, made some observations about the local legislators, their role and the expectations of society on them as follows:

[T]he role played by Assembly members in the local government structure, particularly in the area of ensuring accountability in the Assemblies is a serious one, hence your work should not be regarded completely as voluntary service. Assembly members themselves must be accountable to the electorate and also desist from seeking offers from the local executives of the Assemblies since such practices could compromise your authority to demand accountability. When you compromise your authority, you equally compromise the sovereignty of the people. The MMDCEs are your servants. You are leaders not because you have been trained to be administrators, but because the people have chosen you to be the overseers of the technocrats. So you should see yourselves as very powerful and demand accountability at all times', (J.A Kuffour, Graphic Online, August 1, 2019).

In the foregoing address by the former President is the expectation of society, which is backed by law, that the Assembly Members should represent the people in their demand for accountability from the local public administrators. For three decades of implementing the current constitution, the foregoing show concerns and findings are demonstrations of the fact that there are still gaps in local government accountability in Ghana, notwithstanding the fact that the laws unambiguously require that local administrators account to the citizenry.

Considering the fact that the lack of accountability has been closely associated with corruption in Ghana, of which some estimates indicate that padding of salaries (popularly known in Ghana as 'Ghost names') alone costs the country about \$5.5billion or thirty billion Ghana Cedis (Gh30,000,000,000.00) annually ( NACAP Report, 2011in UNDP, 2013), one could conclude that the existence of accountability gaps(if any) and hence its related corruption within the public sector in Ghana could constitute one of the greatest threats to confidence in both Ghana's democracy as well as economic growth and development. These provide a need for empirical studies on accountability in Ghana generally, and especially at the micro level. Among others, such studies would help to validate and also find solutions to the challenge at the local level which may, in the nutshell, contribute to dealing with the problem of corruption at the national level.

## 2. Research Questions

The study sought to investigate whether the Tema Metropolitan Assembly is accountable to key stakeholders as required by the acts establishing the Assembly. To this end, the questions for the study were: Did local stakeholders other than the administrators participate in the making of major decisions such

as planning, budgeting and Implementation? Did local legislators have access to the Auditor General's reports, and do administrators provide satisfactory answers to questions about the reports? Were the procurement processes of the Assembly transparent as specified by law? Were any other stakeholders other than state institutions involved in demanding accountability from both local politicians and administrators? And finally, were sanctions applied to non-compliance to policy and procedures?

### **3. Methodology and Theoretical framework of the Study**

The study adopted the interpretivist paradigm and the social constructionist view of the creation of knowledge about social reality. The design was therefore qualitative. The Tema Metropolitan Assembly was used as case study because besides the fact that it has not attracted much study, a UNICEF sponsored CDD study in 2015 ranked it the best performing local government in Ghana study. Qualitative data were collected from multiple primary and secondary sources. The primary data were collected through in-depth interviews and focused group discussion from fifty two (52) key informants including Assembly members, and leaders of the Assembly Sub-structures. Other key informants were Presiding members, Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executives, Heads of Decentralized Departments, elected District Assembly Members, Chairpersons of subcommittees of the Assembly and Coordinating Directors of the Assemblies. Others were Internal Auditors, District, Municipal and Metropolitan Planning and Finance Officers, Local Government Inspectors, leaders of Unit Committees, Zonal, Town and Area Councils and leaders of Community Based Organizations and NGOs among others. The broad range of different sets of participants was meant to ensure that data from one set of source were triangulated with those of the other sources. Secondary data were obtained from minutes of the Assembly and reports of Subcommittees and the Medium Term Development Plans.

Finally, the authors situated the interpretation of findings within theories of power since Ghana's decentralization was aimed at transferring power not only from central to local governments, but also to bring local officials 'under the control' of the people. In these regard, special insights were drawn from Robert Dahl (1961); Michel Foucault (1991) and Stephen Lukes' (1974; 2006) conceptions of power.

In Lukes' three faces of power (2006; 1974), for example, the first face of power is typified by those individuals or groups whose policy preferences result in government decisions. The second face of power is expressed when some individuals and groups are able to prevent certain issues from being discussed or being able to prevent certain specific decisions from being taken. The third

face of power has to do with the ability to shape or manipulate people's desires in a way that could even cause harm to those who may accept such desires.

In Ghana, the Assemblies were established as the highest political and administrative authorities for their areas, and as such were vested with legislative, deliberative, and executive functions within their jurisdictional areas. They therefore possess the power to make and implement by-laws and could as well lawfully prevent other decisions from being passed for implementation. Since all kinds of power being held by anyone is liable for abuse, the provisions of accountability is one of several methods of constraining the possible abuse of the power transferred from the centre to the subnational levels. The provisions in Ghana's local government system for local administrators to be accountable to local people were also aimed at ensuring that power at the local level resides in the people; that decisions implemented by the Assemblies do not only emanate from the preferences of the people and their representatives, but that such decisions shall be in the best interest of the wider public.

Although it is impossible for local executives to be accountable to the people without restructuring power relations in favour of the later, one cannot rely on such legal provisions alone to necessarily deliver the magic of local accountability because of the power of agency. Those who had been handed power, such as Assembly members would need to assert their authority by demanding accountability from local officials since the later may not be willing to give power away so easily. As Nietzsche recognized, we give an account only when it is requested and (and to be more effective) only when that request is backed by power (Butler, 2005: 11 in Lindberg, 2009).

#### **4. Conceptualizing Accountability**

The literature on the concept of accountability traces the origin of the concept to the field of accounting and political science and particularly, to John Locke's theory of the superiority of representational democracy which is constructed on the notion that accountability is only possible when the governed are separated from the governors (Locke, 1690/1980; cf. Grant and Keohane (as cited in Lindberg, 2009).

Although the literature thus traces the concept to the middle ages, one may also trace the practice of accountability about a thousand years earlier to the time of Jesus Christ as recorded in His presentation on the parable of the talents in the Bible (Mathew 25: 14 - 30). In the presentation, a master gave his servants talents (money) for keeping and later travelled to 'a far country'. The master returned after the long travel and invited the servants, one after the other, to render account on how each one of them had used the resources in their trust. After the reports were provided, the master rewarded those servants who performed creditably and also meted out grievous punishments to those whose

performance did not meet the master's expectations. In this story, one can find every element of a modern day accountability system. A principal giving a specified amount of resources to an agent to perform a given function with the expectation of results, opportunity being given to the agent to explain his action or inactions and a related rewards and sanctions for satisfactory performance or otherwise.

In modern times, accountability is seen as bed fellow to democracy, in that when power, resources, decision-making and responsibilities are entrusted to any individual or a group of people on behalf of others as is the case in a decentralized system, it is only through the accountability of duty bearers that the governed could be assured of efficient, effective, responsive and responsible leadership and also prevent lawlessness and maladministration. According to Bovens, Schillmans and Goodin (2014):

The etymological roots of the English concept of "accountability" stem from the Middle Ages when, as Dubnick (2007) points out, it was first used in its current connotation in the Domesday books by William I in 1085, as a translation for the French expression "comptes a rendre.". The Domesday books held very accurate accounts of all the possessions of the king, which is to say, everything in his realm. In roughly the same vein, the 13th century French Archbishop of Rouen, Eudes de Rigaud, visited all the religious houses in his jurisdiction and made detailed notes of his findings (Dunbabin 2007; Vincent 2007). In both medieval examples, accountability refers to the counting of possessions and classifying information on the basis of implicit or explicit norms and conventions. In both instances, also, agents were obliged to provide answers to the questions posed to them by the accountants on behalf of their master, be it William I or Eudes de Rigaud (p.3).

Bovens (2007) defined the concept as a relationship between an actor and a forum, in which the actor has an obligation to explain and to justify his or her conduct, the forum/principal can ask questions and pass judgment, and the actor may face consequences. He explained that accountability is an institutionalized practices of account giving. The account giving process may be done formally or informally. Formally, one may be required to give accounts on regular basis to superiors, supervisory agencies and auditors, or in cases of administrative deviance, the agent may be forced to appear before a Court or testify to representative bodies such as parliamentary committees or the District Assembly. There can also be informal obligation on the part of the agent to render accounts through Press Conferences, informal briefings or public

confessions. The account giving usually consists of some three elements or stages.

First, an actor must feel obliged to inform the principal (Forum) about his conduct by providing various sorts of information and data about his performance of tasks, about outcomes, or about procedures. This also involves the provision of justifications for the actions. Second, this report then leads the principal to interrogate the actor and to question the adequacy of the information or legitimacy of the conduct. Here lies the close connection between 'accountability' and 'answerability'. Third, the principal may pass judgment on the conduct of the actor. Such judgment may take the form of expression of approval of a specific action or inaction, an annual account, denounce a policy or publicly condemn the behavior of the agent. On account of poor performance, sanctions that may be applied could take the form of fines, disciplinary or penal actions, but often, the punishment can be implicit and informal such as the very fact of having to give account in front of television cameras or having one's public image or career damaged by negative publicity that may result from the process. Lindberg (2009) asserts:

when decision-making power is transferred from a principal (e.g. the citizens) to an agent (e.g. government), there must be a mechanism in place for holding the agent to account for their decisions and if necessary for imposing sanctions, ultimately by removing the agent from power (p.1).

Bovens (2004) asserts further that this relatively simply defined relationship contains a number of variables. Depending on the context, as he noted, the actor, or accountor, can be either an individual or an agency. The significant other, the accountability forum or the accountee, can be a specific person or agency, but can also be a more virtual entity, such as, in case of devout Christians, God or one's conscience, or, for public managers, the general public.

Although those entrusted with power even in a democratic system may exercise wide discretions, such discretions need to be consistent with some set standards such as laws, policies and norms, failure of which duty bearers must provide explanations for their actions or in default be punished for unsatisfactory explanation of noncompliance, if any. Accountability therefore helps to ensure that decision-makers adhere to publicly agreed standards, norms and goals, that citizens expect the government to explain and justify the use of power and to take corrective measures when needed (UNDP, 2010).

Accountability is also seen to be important for its value in constraining the use and abuse of power thereby helping to fight potential corruption by public agents. For example, Posner (2007) asserts that at the centre of the concept of

Accountability is the checking of potential abuse of power by public officials with the objective of limiting the potential for corruption. Accountability is one of several methods of constraining power and thus subordinate to the concept of power in the classical typological sense (Sartori, 1970, 1984, 1991 in Lindberg, 2009).

Having analyzed a number of definitions and drawing insights from the Principal-Agent theory of public accountability, Lindberg (2009) identified the conditions necessary for accountability relations as follows:

1. An agent or institution who is to give an account (A for agent);
2. An area, responsibilities, or domain subject to accountability (D for domain);
3. An agent or institution to whom A is to give account (P for principal);
4. The right of P to require A to inform and explain/justify decisions with regard to D; and
5. The right of P to sanction A if A fails to inform and/or explain/justify decisions with regard to D.

From the above framework, it could be noted that for an effective accountability regime and relationship to occur, there ought not only have to be an agent (A), principal (P) and a domain (D) to account for, but also and more importantly, the principal must have the rights and sufficient power or capacity to demand accountability from the agent and also apply the same rights and powers to sanction the agent for any unsatisfactory performance.

Also, Schillemans (2013), having reviewed some hundreds of papers of writers on accountability, listed four characteristics of accountability as follows, that:

- (1) Accountability is about providing answers and answerability towards others with a legitimate claim in some agent's work;
- (2) Accountability is a relational concept. It focuses attention on agents who perform some function for others;
- (3) Accountability is retrospective - ex post - and focuses on the behavior of some agents, ranging from performance and results to financial management, regularity or normative and professional standards and
- (4) Accountability is not a singular moment or situation, but refers to a layered process.

In Ghana's decentralized system, the law requires both local representatives and Management of local government authorities to be accountable. The administrators are not only expected to render vertical accountability to the audit service, but are also expected to come under the control of both local representatives and citizens by providing relevant information; responding to questions regarding actions and managerial processes to the public and local representatives. Furthermore, the laws require the administrators to involve citizens and their representatives in development

planning, budgeting and implementation etc. In addition to being accountable to the audit service, Heads of Decentralized Department were also mandated to provide periodic reports to the Management of the Assemblies and also attend sub-committee and General Assembly Meetings where they may further be called upon to provide information and also respond to questions. On the other hand, local representatives (Assembly members) are also required to be accountable to the electorate. The Assembly member is politically accountable to her/his constituents as he is required by law to explain government policy to his electoral area and also report decisions of the General Assembly to his/her constituents.

Also, the Assembly member may be voted out at the end of his/her tenure or in instances of extreme non-performance is liable for recall by the electorate. Although the law requires that local administrators be subject to the control of the Assembly the Assembly do not have the power to engage or dismiss them for any reason. The Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executive also owe their appointment or dismissal to the President of the Republic. Therefore, the principals (P) at the Assemblies are the audit bodies, local administrators, local representatives and the citizens. At the same time, the agents (A) include the administrators, heads of decentralized department and local representatives. While each one of the key local government actors are accountable to one entity or the other the citizens or the electorate is not accountable to any of the actors.

Accountability may also take vertical, horizontal and social dimensions. Vertical accountability may occur where the principal or forum formally wields some sort of power over the agent. This may arise, for example, in instances where the principal had appointed, elected into office or delegated authority to the agent, and thus the principal could wield much power over the agent such that the principal may not only enforce accountability requirements over the agent but could also punish the later for failing to meet the required standards. The power relationship between the electorate and their Members of Parliament or the government in a democratic system, for example, could be described as vertical since the former may punish the latter for unsatisfactory performance during elections although this could happen only in a four yearly intervals. Horizontal accountability on the other hand may be wielded by one state agency over the other, for example, the oversight role of parliament over the executive arm of government. The Audit Department also performs horizontal accountability over the other ministries, departments and agencies. Institutions of state may have legal obligations to be accountable to other oversight bodies, hence such principals may have some power to compel obedience to recommendations and also have the power to sanction unsatisfactory performance. Social Accountability is implied where citizens, NGOs and Civil Society Organizations demand accountability from state

institutions and officials. This sort of accountability may not carry much power behind it since such bodies may not have any power to punish nor compel the accountant to submit to its recommendations.

In the case of Ghana's decentralized system, the provisions for accountability of local appointees, administrators and Assembly members may not achieve much in its present form. For example, in the case the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executives, they are not likely to be accountable to the people because they owe their positions to the President who appointed them, and he alone may also remove them from office. The Assemblies do not currently take part in the recruitment of the bureaucrats nor are they able to take any disciplinary action against them in case of non-performance or indiscipline because such actions could only be carried out by relevant central government bodies. However, the mandate of an elected Assembly member could be revoked, on stated grounds, if 25 per cent of the electorate submitted a petition to that effect to the Electoral Commission (section 9, Local Government Act, 1993, Act 462). The removal of the affected person would however take effect only if a referendum organized by the electoral Commission upon receiving the petition is patronized by at least 40 per cent of the electorate, and out of which 60 per cent confirms the removal of the affected person from office. One may observe from the foregoing that the processes of calling the principal stakeholders at the local level to account could be very daunting, if not prohibitive and impossible.

It is obvious that without a well-established institutionalized mechanisms of accountability with clear framework of agents, principals and powers of control over agents, those who are entrusted with public asserts, decision-making, discretionary power and other resources to perform functions for and on behalf of others could eventually assume the role of owners, lords and masters with the corresponding rights and habits, instead of seeing themselves as stewards or caretakers. Such an abuse of public trust may not only negatively affect the collective interest of society and the entity involved, but would also lead to a betrayal of one of the fundamental corner stones of democracy - Hobbes' social contract theory.

Modern democracies may have at least five relationships of accountability. These imply accountability forums with five different norms of accountability and as such five different expectations. Scholars classify accountability mostly by having in mind who the forum is, as well as what is to be accounted for or the object of accountability. In Bovens, Goodin and Schillemans (2014), the categorization of accountability was based on answering the following questions: who is the actor or agent that is expected to provide the answers? Who constitute the forum to be accounted to? What is the account or the content of the accounts to be rendered? By what standard(s) is the actor going to be judged

by the forum? And whether the accountability is mandated by law or that, it is a voluntary act for the accounts to be rendered. Based on the foregoing considerations, the subtypes of accountability may include: organizational or managerial accountability, professional accountability, political accountability, process accountability, outcome accountability, mandatory or voluntary accountability, legal accountability, bureaucratic accountability and social Accountability. In managerial accountability, which may also be referred to as bureaucratic or hierarchical accountability, the forum is the head or management of the said body. These may include CEOs, Boards and Ministers at the top of the hierarchy. Here, the agent is the subordinates, employees and other duty bearers. Political Accountability is involved where managers in the public sector have to account to political forum such as voters or constituents, legislators and elected representatives such as in the instances where political appointees appear before Parliament or Parliamentary Sub-Committees to answer questions. In legal accountability, the Courts constitute the forum where state officials may be asked to account for their own actions or those of the agencies that they represent. Finally, in administrative accountability the forums are made up of regulatory bodies, auditors, inspectors and the office of Ombudsman.

Based on the foregoing review, the researchers adopted the analytical framework for local government discretion and accountability (Yilmaz, Beris, and Serrano-Berthet, 2008), as the appropriate conceptual framework to examine the phenomena under study. The framework focused on assessing the participation of local key actors in decision-making, adherence and compliance with laws including procurement, financial management, planning and budgeting etc.; local administrators' response to questions by Assembly members and social accountability processes of non-state actors in demanding accountability from local administrators among others.

## 5. Findings

### 5.1 Participation in Decision Making

The 1992 Republican Constitution of Ghana identified the participation of local residents as one of the critical paths to achieving accountability of local executives. It states, among others: "to ensure the accountability of local government authorities, people in particular local government areas shall, as far as practicable be, be afforded the opportunity to participate effectively in their governance" (article 240, clause 2 e).

Again, section 40 of Act 936 states that a District Assembly shall enable the residents and other stakeholders in the district to participate effectively in the activities of the district Assembly and the sub-district structures of the District Assembly. The modalities for stakeholder participation as provided in

section 42 of the Act include participation through information communication technology-based platforms, town hall meetings, budget preparation and validation fora visits to development project sites and writing of petitions to the Assembly by individuals and groups which the law requires the secretary to the Assembly to acknowledge receipt of such petitions within one week period. Finally, the MCE is mandated by the same law (section 45) to report to the Assembly on the state of stakeholder participation in the activities of the Assembly.

Awhoi (2017) asserts that among those who were required by law to participate in decision-making at the local government were ordinary citizens, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), Community Based organizations (FBOs), Faith Based Organizations (FBOs), Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) Chiefs and opinion Leaders. Considering that the local government substructures function under delegated authority of the Assemblies, one may also see them to be core participants in all activities and programmes and projects of the Assemblies. These include the Zonal, Town, Area Councils and the Unit Committee even has a more official mandate to participate in planning, budgeting and implementation.

Despite these provisions, findings made by the researchers indicated that the participation of citizens in decision-making was very low. Firstly, the substructures of the Assembly, particularly the Unit Committees and Town Councils, as well as the weak position of the Sub-Metropolitan District Councils had made it practically impossible for the people to participate in governance in the manner prescribed by the relevant laws. Of the three Sub-metropolitan District Councils that were established for the municipality, only two of them (Tema East and Tema West sub-metros) were in existence and functioning, leaving the Tema Central sub-metropolitan district council completely non-functioning. Also, none of the town councils within the metropolis were operational. The unit committees on the other hand were relatively active in that some of them had an average of two meetings within a year, but such meetings were all called at the instance of the respective Assembly members who claimed that but for their initiatives none of the Unit Committees would call any meeting. No minutes were however recorded to provide evidence that the said meetings actually took place. These structures would have provided the space for residents to mobilize themselves at the community level to take decisions, plan and execute activities relevant to their needs especially in the case of the Sub-Metros and Town Councils. Commenting on the meetings and activities of the unit committees, one of the Assembly members said:

*'we find it hard to organize Unit Committee meetings because the members would often expect you to pay their transport costs but that*

*was difficult for us to do since we do not receive any compensations for our role nor the services that we render’.*

The Tema Metropolitan Assembly, however, organized a few Town Hall Meetings, Community Needs Assessment Workshops and Fee Fixing Resolution sessions for the purpose of providing information to various opinion leaders of some sections of the public. The purpose of such activities, according to management, were to receive feedback from the public and also fix levels of fees and rates to be paid by affected persons. These notwithstanding, Assembly members and some of the other participants who had participated in these meetings, including the leadership of the Ghana Private Road Transport Union (GPRTU), were of the view that the Assembly scarcely accepted any suggestions coming from them. They asserted that at best the Assembly only met them occasionally to provide them with information concerning decisions that management of the Assembly had already taken, but not to take suggestions from the opinion leaders.

The researchers also found that the *Questions Time* provided by law as a mechanism to ensure that Assembly Members had the opportunity to get explanations from the Executives during Assembly sessions had also proved to be ineffective. Although the Assembly Members knew about the provision and do send questions to demand answers from the Executive, usually on the floor of the Assembly, members were most often not satisfied with the answers provided. Such responses, according to the participants, were often very brief with no opportunity for the questioner to ask follow-up questions. Furthermore, the Municipal Chief Executive did not present reports on the state of participation of citizens in the processes of the Assembly as required by law. An officer of the Assembly explained that:

*‘we do not have much to report about that particular requirement’.*

On what they were going to do in future to improve the situation, the officer simply said:

*‘we shall discuss that later with management’.*

On the need for Assembly members to meet with their constituents before and after each Assembly meeting for briefing and debriefing purposes, the researchers found that some Assembly members met occasionally with their constituents to debrief them after some of the Assembly meetings. It was also found that the continuity and frequency of the meetings were threatened by the expectations by participants who often asked for food and drinks during such meetings. It is however worthy of note that the Tema Metropolitan Assembly

provided Assembly members some small amount of money (termed 'mobilization') that were meant to assist in taking care of such costs.

Again, the requirement that local legislators also meet their constituents to discuss the agenda meant for discussion at upcoming Assembly Meetings and also take the views of the public from such meetings to the Assembly were generally not adhered to. Besides the cost of organizing such meetings, the Assembly members also indicated that one may not be in the position to know details of items on the agenda to enable them properly brief their constituents until after the meetings were held. One of the Assembly members lamented:

*‘The invitations to Assembly meetings, whether sub-committee or general Assembly meetings were often not accompanied with the necessary reports and documents to be discussed.’*

The malfunctioning of the very institutions and systems that were aimed at creating opportunities for the ordinary citizen to participate in the affairs of the Assembly had also weakened the abilities of the citizens to hold local officials accountable.

### *5.2 Transparency of the Auditing Processes*

Ensuring a transparent and effective auditing processes and systems is one of the means to make local government officials accountable. The researchers observed that the Tema Metropolitan Assembly had an Internal Auditing unit that was staffed with eight (8) personnel that carried out quarterly auditing of the financial activities of the Assembly and all other decentralized departments. Besides, external auditors from the Auditor General’s Department also conducted annual audits of the financial activities of Assembly.

The existence of the Department within the Assembly was in conformity with section 175 of the local government Act which requires that each Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assembly possesses such a unit. Clause 4 of the act also stipulates that the head of the internal audit unit is:

- a) responsible to the District Assembly;
- b) Shall, at intervals of three months, prepare a report on the internal audit work carried out by the Unit during the three-month period immediately preceding the preparation of the report to the Presiding Member of the District Assembly;
- c) Shall make observations necessary as to the conduct of the financial affairs of the District Assembly during the period to which the report relates; and
- d) Shall forward a copy of each report prepared by the Unit to the District Chief Executive, the Minister of Local Government, the

Internal Audit Agency, the Regional Coordinating Director and the Office of the Head of the Local Government Service.

Furthermore, section 176(4) of the Local Government Act provides that such audit reports 'shall be taken into consideration at the next ordinary meeting of the Assembly'. Besides, external auditors from the Auditor General's Department also conducted annual audits of the financial activities of the Assembly. Section 176(5) of the Constitution also demands that the Auditor General submits the reports to Parliament.

According to officials of the internal audit unit, three types of audit that were often carried out by the auditing bodies included financial auditing, risk assessment auditing and compliance auditing. The Assembly also had a Local Government Inspectorate Unit that was charged with the mandate of providing monthly analysis of the trial balances of the Assembly. The unit was also required to write reports of their findings for submission to the Regional Coordinating Council. Also, in accordance with the law, the Assembly had in place the Audit Report Implementation Committee (ARIC) which had the main role of seeing to the implementation of the recommendations made by the external auditors. Members of the ARIC included the Presiding Member who is also the Chair of the Committee, the Metropolitan Chief Executive, the Metropolitan Coordinating Director, the Metropolitan Finance Officer and the Chairperson of Finance and Administration Sub-Committee. The rest were an external auditor who was a co-opted member, the Internal Auditor and an Assistant Director who serves as recorder. The study established that the Internal Audit Unit often provided copies of its reports on quarterly basis to the MCE, the Presiding Member and the Regional Coordinating Council. Some aspects of the report, mostly brief summaries of the Auditor's opinion (without details) were often sent to the Finance and Administration Sub-Committee and also the Authority (Executive Committee) which was chaired by the MCE.

Notwithstanding the existence of these audit structures, the findings of the study indicated that the existence of the structures by themselves were not sufficient to ensure that they were effective. According to some of the Assembly members, the executives were not transparent and accountable to the Assembly on audit matters, let alone to the public. Examples cited included the fact that although the law required that the Audit report and findings be disseminated to the Assembly through the Presiding Member, the later scarcely tabled the audit reports on the floor of the Assembly. These confirms King, Owusu and Braimah (2013) as they found that although the Audit Committees existed in the Assemblies, that in itself, and the Presiding members could not achieve local accountability since the law failed to assign any role to the Presiding members. The denial of such critical information to the General Assembly by the PM

defeated the wisdom inherent in the law making him the main recipient of the Audit report as both Chair of the General Assembly and also the ARIC. His access to the audit report was to ensure that the General Assembly had access to the report, through him as chair of the house for discussion and appropriate actions taken by the house, where necessary. In a situation where this was denied the Assembly members, they were not only being kept ignorant about how the financial resources of the Assembly were being used, but also, they were thus prevented from exercising financial oversight of the administration. This also prevented the law makers from holding the executive accountable for their use of the financial resources of the Assembly.

Concerning why the Presiding member did not forward that information to Assembly members, some of the legislators were of the opinion that the motive was to prevent Assembly Members from getting access to any information that may be considered incriminating against the Executive arm of the Assembly and even the government. As one Assembly member remarked": *'this is one of the reasons why a lot of efforts were often made by the political structures to ensure that the Presiding Member was someone who supports the ruling government'*.

On the implementation of the recommendations of both the internal and external auditors, the respondents expressed dissatisfaction with the half-hearted way in which the audit recommendations were implemented. They asserted that most of the issues raised were concerned with actions of politicians who held power and hence unless higher authorities were willing to act, no other person, either than the government, was in the position to do anything.

Furthermore, the Internal Audit Unit of the Assembly also found itself in a difficult position to provide a full report of its findings to the management of the Assembly. They claimed that in a situation where the auditee (the Assembly) was also the one that provided them office and other resources to enable them carry out their activities, they found it difficult to report all their findings, especially the incriminating ones, to Management since the latter may get angry and could deny them necessary resources for their work. According to them, on a few occasions where they tried to do that, they were invited by management for questioning and were prevailed upon to remove any such information from the report. They therefore often had to understate their true findings to make them much less victimizing of the Executive. It was suggested that making them independent of the Executive by, for example, by relocating them and also financing them through a means outside of the Assembly could be most helpful to make them do their work in the interest of the people rather than to serve the whims and caprices of the executive.

The local government Inspectorate division also had experiences similar to those of the Audit unit. They were scarcely given copies of the Assembly's trial balances to examine. On the few occasions that they had copies, following which they wrote their reports, they were called by the Executive for rebuke for including certain findings in the reports which were considered to be damning for the Executive. One officer of the audit unit commented as follows:

*'We have been instructed by management never to send any report to the Regional Coordinating Council without showing it to management first.'*

The Unit also felt that they had no independence to do the job required of them, and that making them independent by relocating their office away from the premises of the Assembly as well as getting their funds from an independent source would be most helpful for them to hold the Assembly to account.

On the need for the Assembly to publish its annual statements of accounts as well as the Auditors reports annually, the researcher found that these also did not take place except for the quarterly records of Internally Generated Funds (IGF) that were often posted on the public notice board. In the current circumstances as described above, the Assembly members felt that they were not only kept in the dark as to how the financial resources of the Assembly were managed, but also, the state of financial governance as described did not allow the local legislators to know much of what was actually happening within the Assembly. This had also contributed to make both the Assembly members and the public less able to make the Executive arm of the Assembly accountable.

### *5.3 Transparency in Procurement Management*

All Local Governments in Ghana spend almost 80 percent of their total funds on procurement of goods and services, making the systems in place to ensure an efficient procurement process very critical for the development of the Metropolitan area. Such systems within the Assembly included the TMA Metropolitan Entity Procurement Committee. Members included the MCE, the Director of Finance, the Legal officer of the Assembly, Chairpersons of the Works and Finance and Administration sub-committees, two heads of department (one of whom must be the user department of the works, service or goods to be procured), the Budget officers and the Coordinating Directors. The Assembly also had in place an Entity Tender Committee responsible for review and approval of annual procurement plans. The Committee also had power to approve contract upon submission, and may also reject same. Also, a five-member ad-hoc Tender Evaluation Panel exists which recommends the award of contract, and is was made up of persons with training and experience in finance, legal and other technical expertise. For the sake of accountability,

the law does not permit members of the Tender Evaluation Panel to be members of any contract award committee.

Finally, the Assembly also established a Tender Review Board for the Assembly with the responsibility to review procurement decisions within the given thresholds set out in the procurement law, approve or reject a contract submission with reasons. The law also provided threshold limits for the various entities within which they may have the power to engage in any procurement activity. To this end, the Metropolitan Assembly was permitted by law to award contracts for the supply of goods, works and services whose values did not exceed 550,000, 750,000 and 550,000 Cedis, respectively. Any contract with values above these levels should be referred to the appropriate Regional Tender Committee for approval. Until recently, (in late 2016) the thresholds were much lower, just about 100,000 Cedis, above which the process must be referred to the Regional Coordinating Council.

In spite of the existence of these structures, which were meant to ensure a fair, accountable and transparent process, the Assembly members expressed doubt about the effectiveness of the procurement structures listed above. For example, the law prescribed five different procurement methods through which the Assembly may engage a service provider. These were International Competitive Tendering, National Competitive Tendering, Two stage Tendering (National/ International) and Restricted Tendering (National/International). The rest were Single Source Tendering, Direct Procurement and Request for Quotations. According to management, the Assembly often used the Competitive Tendering method for the award of contracts, which process included the placement of advertisements in the national dailies for qualified bidders to apply. The bidder with the lowest quotation in terms of price, who also demonstrates sufficient capability and experience is often awarded the contract. While the above procedure reflects the requirements of the procurement law, information provided by the local legislators suggested otherwise. The Assembly members reported that the laws and the foregoing provisions were not adhered to by management. One of the Assembly members claimed, as another one nodded in agreement:

*'my brother, you must know that the laws can not implement themselves. People must simply respect and decide to work with them or forget it'.*

When asked what they did to ensure that the right things were done, another Assembly member responded:

*'what do you expect us to do? We can't do anything; only the government can discipline the officials or do you have any other suggestion for us?'*

Ameyaw, Sarfo and Osei Tutu (2012) also reported on procurement within public institutions in Ghana that there were deliberate control of competition and general non-compliance with the procurement laws within public organizations in Ghana. One of the Chairmen who was both a member of the Works Committee and also the Authority (Executive Committee) lamented:

*‘The technocrats take over everything and bring it to the Assembly for approval which is not in the best interest of anyone’.*

Specific examples were cited of instances of procurement of goods and services that were often made for, and on behalf of the Assembly by central government officials without the involvement of the Assembly, although the cost of some of those projects still fell within the ceiling for which the Assemblies were permitted by law to handle. Such projects did not often go through any procurement process to ensure value for money. The cost of such projects and services were very high and were also deducted at source from the Assembly’s Common Fund with some involvement of the Ministry of Local government and Rural Development and the Common Fund Secretariat. Some examples of such projects included construction of basic school blocks by the Ghana Education Trust Fund (GETFUND) Secretariat from Accra, Projects by the Youth Employment Secretariat, Refuse and Sanitation Management Equipment from ZOOMLION, the Ghana School Feeding Programme, and clinical equipment among others. Still other examples cited were that though the Urban Roads Department was fully decentralized since 2015, road contracts were still awarded for construction of projects and not even the officials of Urban Roads Department of the Assemblies were aware of, much less the Assembly. These problems came up as very disturbing for even the Executive branch of the Assemblies, but they claimed that there was nothing that they could do about them since the MCE was a political appointee of government who could do very little about the problem.

In the nutshell, the Assembly members were of the opinion that the procurement structures were not being adhered to; that most of the contract award procedures of the Assembly were far from being transparent, and did not provide equal and fair opportunity to all prospective contractors and service providers. They further asserted that the manipulation of the processes were done to favour party associated contractors and service providers, most of whom did not meet the legal requirements to qualify for contracts. Confirming to this, an officer at the Local Government Inspectorate Unit lamented:

*‘Government pushes projects and purchases over the Assemblies, but no one can do anything so long as the MCE, Finance Officer and*

*Coordinating Director know about it. Most of the things in the Development Plan and Budget are often sacrificed for the ones pushed from the top’.*

With Assembly members expressing disappointments and frustrations in the procurement system of the Assembly, and coupled with their feeling of powerlessness to address the problem, it is obvious that the executive had captured the power from the hands of the legislators, the very problem that the current local government system sought to remedy.

#### *5.4 Social Accountability*

Social accountability is the processes by which non-state actors such as community-based organizations, NGOs and local opinion leaders adopt processes to demand accountability from public officials. Such processes may be seen to be complementary to those of state actors in the demand for accountability but could also serve as a last resort to achieve accountable governance in situations where state actors failed to produce tangible results in terms of the accountability of state officials.

Data obtained from the Assembly and the Department of Social Welfare indicated that although some NGOs were operating within the city, their activities were focused on economic, health and welfare issues instead of matters of good governance and accountability. There was therefore a void in the role of citizens and their formations demanding accountability from local government officials within the metropolis. In explaining why there were almost no NGOs within the city that were working on projects aimed at good governance, an official of the Department of Community Development and Social Welfare explained that most of the CBOs and local NGOs were more interested in activities that had to do with health and economic empowerment of the poor. The leadership of the Ghana Private Roads Transport Unit (GPRTU) on the other hand suggested that it was a very daunting task beyond their capabilities to work on issues such as government accountability and transparency especially when one has to deal with government officials. They were not sure of getting any results from such efforts which some of them described as ‘*waste of time*’.

## **6. Discussion and Conclusion**

The study about local public accountability at the Tema Metropolitan Assembly established that contrary to constitutional provisions that people in service of local government shall come under the control of local citizens and also be accountable to them, local administrators at the study area had rather assumed the position of masters than servants of the people – a situation of

power reversal. This was demonstrated by the fact that most of the key policy decisions that affected the metropolis were made by them with little inputs from the people in violation of the provisions of section 40, 41, 42, 43 and 44 of Act 936, which provided modalities and structures for citizens' participation. This lack of participation of the people was further aggravated by the non-functioning of the sub-structures of the Assembly. It was also found that the Public Relations and Complaints Committee was also not active since citizens did not know much about its work and functions, thus further undermining local citizen's participation. The study also established that non-compliance with procurement laws and procedures were rampant, while the auditor General's Department also failed to demand accountability from the perpetrators. Although the Presiding member was required by law to table quarterly audit reports of financial management of the Assembly at the floor of the House for discursion and questions, the study could not establish compliance with this provision. In the midst of these cases of lack of compliance with policies, laws and procedures, the Assembly members were unable to demand the required answers from administrators since the provisions about 'Questions Time' were also not well activated for members to ask questions. They also complained of insufficient time for debates, non-responsiveness on the part of administrators as they were unwilling to provide them with adequate and satisfactory answers at the floor of the house. This had led to a situation that one may call *complaints fatigue* as they have over time decided to keep quiet since according to them no one was capable of changing the habit of the administrators. This is a confirmation of Ato Arthur (2017) that instead of the Assembly and unit committee members within the Komenda-Edina-Eguafo-Abrem (KEEA) Municipality demanding accountability from the administrators, they instead looked up to the Chiefs of the area to perform that function on their behalf as they did not believe that they had the necessary power to perform such a function. The study also established that constituents could not remove nonperforming Assembly members from office because the processes and requirements for a successful recall were quite difficult to satisfy.

A number of factors account for the lack of accountability at the Assembly. First, the political head of the Assembly – the Metropolitan Chief Executive, owed his position to appointment by the President of Ghana. In fact, he is by law the representative of the president at the subnational level. He is therefore accountable to the President rather than the people, although as an official in service of the local government, the constitution required that he was accountable to the people. This made very little room for political accountability to be achieved at this level. Although his accountability to the President is not mutually exclusive to being equally accountable to the people, there is more

rationality and incentives for him to focus on accountability to the president and the ruling party than any another entity.

The second most important factor for the lack of administrative accountability is because the Assembly didn't have power to hire or fire staff of the Assembly. With the exception of city guards and other casual employees such as cleaners, all the core staff were employed, ranked, promoted and posted to the Assembly by their relevant Central Government Ministries and Departments. These bodies included the Ministries of Local Government and Rural Development, Finance and the Office of local Government Service. Under such conditions where the Assembly lacked the power and discretion to hire, promote, and also discipline its core staff, one is unable to see the possibility of the former controlling or making the later accountable to it as specified in the Constitution any time soon. It is obvious therefore that although the constitution had intended that local administrators account to the people, the existing institutional structures have not created the necessary environment for this dream to be actualized.

That the Metropolitan area lacked NGOs and other non-state actors who were interested and involved in issues and projects focusing on good governance and accountability could also explain the low level of accountability of local administrators to the people. The few NGOs that were present in the metropolitan area were had their projects focused on economic development and health. This does not however mean that the people didn't care completely about matters bothering on good local governance and accountability. Instead, one may infer from the studies that the persistent lack of results from such efforts on the part of even the local legislators could be a source of disappointment for others to engage in such efforts.

Finally, partisan affiliations were also found to undermine the resolve by Assembly members to demand accountability from officials of the Assembly. This situation was nurtured by the current practice that permitted the President to appoint 30 percent of the total number of Assembly members. Contrary to the provisions of the law, the study established that all such appointees tended to be sympathizers of the ruling party, most of whom saw their role within the Assembly as protecting the good name of the government and party. Most of these category of Assembly members including others with such mindset often argued against any discursion that had the potential to undermine the integrity of the Administration and particularly the MCE, including matters of accountability.

In conclusion, one may argue that on the grounds of the foregoing findings, power and control at the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies currently reside in the MMDCEs, the Administrators and the ruling Party, but not in the people or their local Assembly members. Among all other

factors, this is primary because decisions about what gets implemented or not implemented reside in the former group of actors, notwithstanding the fact that Assembly members passively approved some of these decisions. This establishes Gaventa's (1980) model of power which is used mainly to seek quiescence and preventing groups from participating in decision-making, except for obtaining the passive agreement of the group (s). Under these circumstances the concerns and advice of Ghana's former President, J.A. Kuffour to Assembly members is worthy of reflection:

The role played by Assembly members in the local government structure, particularly in the area of ensuring accountability in the Assemblies is a serious one, hence their work should not be regarded completely as voluntary service. While advising the Assembly members themselves to be accountable to the electorate, the former President also implored the Assembly members to desist from seeking offers from the local executives of the Assemblies since such practices could compromise their authority to demand accountability. 'When you compromise your authority, you equally compromise the sovereignty of the people', he said. 'The MMDCEs are your servants. You are leaders not because you have been trained to be administrators, but because the people have chosen you to be the overseers of the technocrats. So you should see yourselves as very powerful and demand accountability at all times', he concluded. (JA Kuffour, Graphic Online, August 1, 2019).

## 7. Recommendations for Policy Interventions

To enhance public accountability within the Assembly, the following recommendations are being put forward for the consideration of policy-makers.

1. The Constitutional provision that grants power for the President to appoint MMDCEs and 30 per cent of local legislators must be amended to make room for the election of MMDCEs and each Assembly member on nonpartisan basis where each one of them would also be accountable to a specific electoral constituency.
2. The Assembly should make the Public Relations and Complaints Committee active through community engagement activities across the metropolitan area to create awareness about the existence and functions of the Committee. This could motivate more people to report the activities of officials of the Assembly and others to the Committee.
3. Assembly members must be offered a more effective training by exposing them to their role with the decentralized system, the relevant laws for planning, financial management, procurement laws, procedures

- and processes to enable them ensure that the actions of management are in conformity with the laws.
4. The donor community and other such bodies must encourage and provide support for NGOs and Community Based Organizations to develop interest in governance related programmes so that they can focus part of their activities on citizens' participation and local accountability.
  5. Management of the Assemblies must submit quarterly compliance reports to the General Assembly indicating compliance to relevant laws and procedures especially for the award of contracts, development planning, Budgeting and implementation of projects.
  6. To enable exhaustive deliberations on the floor of the Assembly and also give sufficient time for management to provide adequate answers to the questions on the floor of the Assembly, it is recommended that General Assembly Meetings is extended from the current two days within every four months for each session to four days.
  7. It is also recommended that the law requiring Assembly members to call a meeting at their electoral areas prior to each General Assembly Meeting to share the agenda items with the electorate and also take suggestions and ideas from them to the Assembly should be replaced with one that would require them to, on quarterly basis report to their electorate.
  8. The internal auditor should be given some independence by relocating his office and also placing him under the Auditor General's Department.
  9. The Metropolitan Assembly must be given power and discretion to hire and discipline the administrators who are at its service.
  10. The existing laws must be improved upon to enable the legal unit of the Assembly to certify that contracts being awarded had fulfilled all relevant requirements in the procurement laws.
  11. Assembly members must consider impeachment proceedings against MMDCEs for any repeated breaches of the procurement and other financial management laws.
  12. Special courts to be empanelled by respectable citizens, including religious leaders, must be established at the District Levels to hear and adjudicate on cases of breaches of the laws and impeachment procedures against key local government actors.
  13. Finally, it is also recommended that some of the General Assembly meetings such as the one dedicated for *Questions only* be held openly to enable attendance by interested members of the public.

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