

Revue Africaine de Sociologie
Un périodique semestriel de Conseil pour le Développement de la Recherche
en Sciences Sociales en Afrique (CODESRIA)
(Incorporant le South African Sociological Review)

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Subscriptions
African Sociological Review
Dept. of Anthropology and Sociology
University of the Western Cape
Private Bag X17, Bellville
Cape Town, South Africa

	De l'Afrique	D'Ailleurs
1. Individus	R50	\$50
2. Institutions africaines	R80	\$80

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EDITORIAL:

Gender and politics is a broad topic. Within it are other broad issues; corruption in politics and its relationship to gender is one of such broad issues. Corruption, as is well known, generally occurs with impunity and it has been shown to affect women and men in politics and public administration differently. Regarding the latter, it exacerbates the asymmetries, which are gender-based. When in 2001, the World Bank called for having more women in politics and in the labour force because it was seen as positive for good government and business trust, many suggested having generic policy for increasing the number of women in politics and public administration as a strategy to reduce corruption. As noble as this was, a crucial point was missed: it is a country's political and governance system rather than politicians' gender that determine corruption levels. Surely, corrupt actions taken by individuals in order to achieve an aim or aims tend to be in networks, mostly male, formed on patronage relationships based on long-established ties (political). No doubt, women may be excluded from opportunities to engage in or benefit from such corrupt actions.

The paper by Amaechi D Okonkwo on Gender and Corruption in Nigerian Politics in this issue of ASR should be seen within the context of the above. Of significance on the issue of gender and corruption is that it is a fairer system characterized by liberal democracies that provide equal rights for women and good governance. This, most commentators are agreed would tend to lower corruption in politics.

Olajide Oloyede
Managing Editor

Le genre et la politique est un sujet vaste. Il y a d'autres enjeux; La corruption dans la vie politique et sa relation avec le genre est l'une de ces grandes questions. La corruption, comme on le sait, se produit généralement en toute impunité et il a été démontré qu'elle affecte différemment les femmes et les hommes en politique et en administration publique. En ce qui concerne cette dernière, elle exacerbe les asymétries, qui sont fondées sur le sexe. Lorsqu'en 2001, la Banque mondiale a réclamé un plus grand nombre de femmes en politique et dans la population active parce que cela était considéré comme positif pour une bonne confiance des gouvernements et des entreprises, beaucoup ont suggéré d'avoir une politique générique pour augmenter le nombre de femmes dans la politique et l'administration publique. Stratégie de réduction de la corruption. Aussi noble que cela ait été, un point crucial a été manqué: c'est le système politique et de gouvernance d'un pays plutôt que le sexe des politiciens qui déterminent les niveaux de corruption. Certes, les actions corrompues prises par les individus afin d'atteindre un but ou des objectifs ont tendance à être dans les réseaux, principalement des hommes, formé sur des relations de patronage basées sur des liens établis (politiques). Il ne fait aucun doute que les femmes peuvent être exclues des possibilités de s'engager ou de bénéficier de telles actions corrompues.

Le document d'Amaechi D Okonkwo sur le Genre et la Corruption dans la Politique nigérienne dans ce numéro de l'ASR devrait être vu dans le contexte de ce qui précède. Le problème de la parité et de la corruption est important car il s'agit d'un système plus équitable caractérisé par des démocraties libérales qui garantissent l'égalité des droits des femmes et la bonne gouvernance. La plupart des commentateurs sont d'accord pour réduire la corruption en politique.

Olajide Oloyede
Rédacteur en chef

A Case for 'Prevailing Ecology' as Premium Determinant in Home-Based Child Care Conceptualisation and Measurements

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Abstract

This paper is based on a 22-month ethnographic study of child care practices of Tongu Ewe mothers located in Dzemeni a migrant, lakeside community in Ghana. It asserts the relevance of establishing the ecology for childcare as a premium yardstick within the practice of conceptualisation and measurement of childcare practices of mothers. It builds a case from the analysis of definitions and concepts in care literature. Notable among these are the works of Fisher and Tronto, Folbre, Longhurst, Oppong, Van Esterik among others. These are juxtaposed against the definitions and conceptual frameworks used to analyse child care in the Dzemeni study. The ethics of care framework propounded by Fisher and Tronto (1990) and the conceptual framework on care developed in 1995 by the UNICEF/Cornell University are examined in terms of their suitability as 'models' for assessing childcare practices universally. The paper proposes a re-evaluation of the tools of assessment of home-based child care costs in order to be able to construct a more encompassing framework.

Key words: *childcare; childcare measurement; migrant mothers; itinerant mothers; Volta Lakeside; Tongu Ewe*

Résumé

Cet article est basé sur une étude ethnographique de 22 mois portant sur les pratiques de garde d'enfants des mères Tongu Ewe, situées au Dzemeni, une communauté migrante au bord du lac au Ghana. Il affirme la pertinence de mettre en place l'écologie de la garde des enfants en tant que critère privilégié dans la pratique de la conceptualisation et de la mesure des pratiques de garde des mères. Il construit un cas à partir de l'analyse des définitions et des concepts dans la littérature sur les soins. On peut citer parmi les œuvres de Fisher et Tronto, Folbre, Longhurst, Oppong, Van Esterik entre autres. Elles sont juxtaposées aux définitions et aux cadres conceptuels utilisés pour analyser les services de garde dans l'étude Dzemeni. Fisher et Tronto (1990) et le cadre conceptuel sur les soins mis au point en 1995 par l'Université. UNICEF / Cornell sont examinés en fonction de leur aptitude à servir de «modèles» d'évaluation

universelle des pratiques en matière de garde d'enfants. Le document propose une réévaluation des outils d'évaluation des coûts de garde d'enfants à domicile afin de pouvoir construire un cadre plus global.

Mots - clés: *soins aux enfants; Mesure des soins aux enfants; Les mères migrantes; Les mères itinérantes; Volta Lakeside; Tongu brebis*

Introduction

Unique nature of Care

Due to its 'multi-faceted nature' and the 'inconsistency' in its meaning, definitions of care are not only quite complex they also produce 'a partial and fragmented picture of caring in society' (Thomas, 1993). It is further instructive to note that the 'concept of care is not uniformly defined, nor its epistemological status clear' (ibid.). This has necessitated the need for a proper delineation of the specific aspects discussed in each study and analysis. Thus the reference to care in this paper does not invoke all of its associated generic connotations but the specific home-based mother-child care².

As care demands and generates multiple needs and expectations care is seen as what we need and are supposed to give every time. This places a higher obligation on those who are to provide it for those who are very vulnerable and helpless especially young children. If the quantitative terminology 'indices' can be used to define them, then those human acts and expectations that define care would be multiple, varied and encompassing of the totality of the human experience. It would include how we access, provide and utilize resources on behalf of dependent others. Agreeably, this could as well lead us into a definitional and interpretational labyrinth. In view of this, this paper attempts to construct a framework of care that seeks to include all the other factors missing in the two well-known care frameworks, Ethics of Care framework (1990) and UNICEF/Cornell University framework (1995).

Whereas the Dzemeni study is not the basis for this paper the inability of the two frameworks to suitably and adequately serve to analyse and assess the childcare practices of resource-deprived migrant mothers necessitated the need to develop a framework that would take into consideration the multiple factors that made their case unique and that probably goes for mothers in other geographical and socio-economic contexts.

The Study in Dzemeni

The study in Dzemeni involved the use of ethnographic approaches such as in-depth interviews and observation to study the home-based childcare practices of migrant Tongu Ewe mothers, who are also itinerant traders, in their homes and in the market over 22 months. Dzemeni is the first lakeside community located a few kilometres at the upper section of the Akosombo Dam in Ghana. The Tongu, mainly fishers, formed about 80 per cent of those displaced during the construction of the Volta River Project (VRP: the

Akosombo Dam and the Volta Lake) in the mid-1960s. [See Geker (1999), G. W. Lawson (1963), R. M. Lawson (1961, 1963, 1968, 1972) and Tsikata (2006) on the displacement and livelihoods of the Tongu Ewe as a result of the VRP.] The reality of dwindling fish stocks around Dzemeni has more often surfaced, and also used as the pretext by men to row their canoes farther away and never return for months and years. Mothers and their children are often left behind with little or no resources to fall on. As mothers embark on economic activities in order to survive, problematic forms of childcare practices are produced which are misunderstood and misjudged by both health workers and outsiders. Incidentally, these assessments of childcare output are not juxtaposed with even a cursory glance at a fragment of care ecology; the in-flow of input - resources available to mothers as against the portfolio of indispensable resources necessary for the provision and fruitful benefits of meaningful childcare services. This has necessitated the need to include ecology as an important index in the tools of assessment of childcare or mothering practices.

Mothering Practice and Focus on Care

The 1987 SOWC (State of the World's Children's) Report stressed that the child's first two years are crucial in the sense that they constitute the 'months when growth should be rapid, energy needs are great and the period when guarding against diarrhoeal disease is most important' (UNICEF, 1987). This has called for greater attention to and examination of acts that involve and are concerned with the use of mothers' time, energy and resources to meet the needs of their infants and young children. Meanwhile, Latham (1995: 282) lamented that in spite of its huge significance in ensuring human survival, care was the least investigated. It is also the least understood among the three elements [nutrition, health, and care]. Latham thought it was unacceptable that few programmes designed to improve nutrition included a set of actions, aimed at addressing the problems related to care. The three-pronged model—in which food [nutrition], health and care are 'each considered necessary but not sufficient' has not only received wide acceptance, it also represented a 'conceptual evolution from earlier and simpler models of the determinants of child welfare' (Ruel and Arimond, 2003: 3).

The emergence of the study of care and the premium placed on it in the UNICEF conceptual framework in 1995 signifies its critical importance. It is even more significant that the attention of scholars from philosophy, psychology, sociology, economics, anthropology and paediatrics, among many other disciplines has been engaged to child care and survival. Hopefully, it seemed the neglect of care had come to an end as the case for singling out care in child survival had been made.

It was also noted that in the decade [1990-2000], care as a component of the model received increasing attention. It was a remarkable development that anthropologists and others have 'intimately studied care and nurturing of children, which is as deeply rooted as any human behaviour' (Ruel and Arimond, 2003: 3). However, bringing care into the spotlight was 'new', because the crucial nature of care was ignored in many

policy works and child nutrition and survival studies, especially in the period before the 1990s (ibid.). It is therefore a welcome development that in the pronouncements and writings of international and national organizations, the focus is now being placed on the problem of infant hunger and malnutrition (Oppong, 2001: 7). This has shown in the fact that they have increasingly acknowledged the need to include mother care as an important determinant of the nutritional status of infants (ibid.). This attention to care is supported in the scientific basis provided by UNICEF (cited earlier). With this, the definitions of *care* gained greater attention in academic and policy circles.

Care and its Supply: Some Perspectives

Care has been defined from different disciplinary perspectives. But the treatise of care by an economist is seen as revolutionary and hence the indulgent attention here. Folbre (1999: 78-79) desires that a carer should have the 'feeling' to care. It should also be seen from the perspective of being:

an emotional involvement or a state of mind. Personal identity and personal contact - especially face to face contact - are key elements of care services, involving a sense of connection between the givers and receivers. The care giver may be motivated by affection, altruism or social norms of obligation. The care receiver has a sense of being cared for. These elements are frequently there even when the caregiver is a paid employee. The commitment to care for others is usually thought to be altruistic-involving love and emotional reciprocity. But it is also a social obligation, socially constructed and enforced by social norms and rewards.

Another suggestion is that care should be seen from the perspective of 'the provision in the household and community of resources in the form of time, attention, love and skills to meet the physical, mental, and social needs of nutritionally vulnerable groups' (Longhurst, 1995 cited in Winkvist, 1995: 389). In Africa, although child care is largely associated with women, yet, the cost to women is seldom analysed or discussed. According to Noddings (1984), it feels 'natural' rather than 'moral' for a woman to take care of her own child. Since 'the impulse to respond, to nurture the living infant is overwhelming', a woman who allows her own child to die of neglect could normally not be considered 'immoral' but rather 'sick'. This 'sickness' could be interpreted as a form of incapacitation - physical and mental. It would rather be more appropriate then to apportion the cause of her action [the act of the perceived neglect] or her circumstances to a pathological condition, since the impulse to care is 'innate' (ibid).

Likely, this innate, intrinsic impulse to care, 'felt in the bosom of women' ideology has helped to erect the notion universally upheld in Africa that the relationship between women and child care is natural, symbiotic and coterminous. As such, women could not be offered any soft grounds to negotiate their time and energy out of this 'God-given', 'nature-fashioned' obligation. And, this has crafted a monstrous barricade within the informal discourse of child care acts and costs. This could have helped to set the stage for their objective analysis to be blighted as well.

And so whereas actions and inactions in childcare practices endanger child survival, this could not be openly conceded by mothers as this ideology reigns supreme superseding other biological, physical and physiological conditions at play in contextually peculiar circumstances. The cultural values and orientations of the Ewe, for instance, have no place for the 'intentional diminution' of the most 'sacred assignment' of 'mother nature'-*Bomeno*. To that extent, no one would intentionally contribute to it. Indeed, the generalization of this could represent a deceptive picture of the reality. Worldwide, and especially in Africa, most childcare practices are seen by most men as mere domestic activities and as such they do not strive to adequately invest in them. That only a mother is left to supply it perhaps stemmed from the belief that women [but not men] are well endowed by nature with its abundant source of supply.

Diminishing Altruism and Care

About the supply of care, Folbre (2004) noted that intrinsic motivation but not extrinsic reward is the driving force behind a large proportion of all care that is supplied. As such, while most of the care provided within families is unpaid, much of the care provided in markets is underpaid (ibid.). Meanwhile, the constituents of the determining ingredients of the strength of this intrinsic motivation are not really known. But, she further alerts us that the signs are clear and the times have proved that we cannot ignore the danger in continuing to take it for granted. This is because 'as our growing problems with environmental devastation warn us, misuse of natural resources can undermine their sustainability' (ibid.). To Folbre, this aptly reflects a manifestation of the capability of culture to shape the natural in the same way as the physical environment is said to be changing for the worst as a result of human activity.

Globalization has made a significant impact on care and human development as it has reshaped the nature and the use of women's time (Folbre, 1999: 78-79). It has been identified to be a prominent factor 'putting a squeeze on care and caring labour' (ibid: 77). She further noted that evolving demographic and economic trends have affected the resources of the family. For instance, 'needs once provided almost exclusively by unpaid family labour are now being purchased from the market or provided by the state' (ibid.). As such, it is becoming clearer that the increased participation of women in the labour force leading to the increase in the time women spend outside the home and changes in economic structures are transforming how care services are being provided. 'Perhaps most important, the

expansion of markets tends to penalize altruism and care' as local communities are becoming disconnected from markets, and as market relationships are becoming more impersonal there is an increasing reliance on families as a source of emotional support even as they are becoming demographically and economically less stable (ibid.: 79).

Altruism seemed to have been quietly pushed away as science and technology and corporatism assumed the driving seat dictating and defining labour, resource allocation and access in a controlled market. Consequently, women's time for and execution of domestic labour, whose market value continues to remain unmatched, has been downgraded as in a financial institution rating system by Standard and Poor's, Fitch or Moody. Incidentally, Folbre laments that individuals and institutions have both benefitted from and taken-for-granted the caring labour that was mainly provided by women (ibid.). This sounds a loud call for a more constructive examination of society's expectations of childcare and its providers. We would need to come to terms with one fact that needs further analysis; that is, whether women would be able to continue to provide such labour without fair remuneration [and adequate support] (ibid.). But at present, mother-child-care remains transfixed in difficult-to-define terms as mothers' lives, occupations and resources seemed set in uncertainty.

Conflict in Mothers' Roles

The reality of the shortage of time for child care has been discussed by others. Child care in particular has lived in myth and mystery. This is because, actions and pursuits of parents and mothers could be either positive for or turn counterproductive against child care. This induces the opinion and observation that on one hand, parents with multiple role demands might be experiencing a parenthood that is like an 'agenda crammed with conflicting priorities' (Zeitlin and Megawangi, 1995: 402). Thus the time and role constraints of parents, who were compelled to juggle priorities within their multiple roles, could make child nutrition suffer severe disruption from the inevitable compromises (ibid.).

Oppong (1999, 2001) and Gordon (1975³) have also noted that mothers' work and role conflicts have the potential to disrupt child survival chances. Perhaps the problem has persisted largely due to the fact that the real root of the problem has been left unaddressed by economic and social welfare programmes. At this time, we cannot ignore the fact that African mothers' work burdens and constraints are increasing more rapidly now, just at a time when many of their traditional and conjugal supports are dwindling and that the plight of hungry infants is an outcome of the disruptions in mothers' care of infants (Oppong, 2001: 41). Other factors such as low income of households have aggravated the situation where poor households barely have enough good food to eat. Migration of men and women is one of the major factors responsible for the diminishing time and attention for child care. And the disruptions in mother care are 'part of the wider disruption of gender roles and relations occurring as a result of economic and demographic transformations since colonial times' (ibid.).

Oppong (2001) further noted that the high rate of mobility; the dispersion of kin; men and women migrating away in 'flowing streams', 'splitting spouses and separating parents and children' has consequences for conjugal relationships, livelihood security and child well-being. And the widespread feminisation of poverty has resulted from the situation of the high proportions of households maintained by women alone without husbands/fathers in many countries (p. 36). Consequently, this has impacted women's workloads. The rippling effect of these changes and challenges have redefined and shaped child care. Indeed, if the status of mothers, environmental conditions and socio-cultural contexts of child care in the migrant, settler community could influence the quality of childcare, then we cannot attribute the dire conditions of children to lack of a caring heart or knowledge and skill of the mothers. To this end, an assessment of the earlier frameworks provides a firmer basis.

Earlier Care Frameworks

The UNICEF/Cornell University conceptual framework provides enormous insight into the prospects for child survival and development. According to the framework, the main elements that determine childcare are the national and household characteristics. These are also influenced by community and national factors. Quality of care provided to children is determined by the totality of all the factors at the various levels. It points out that caregivers' behaviour (attitudes) during feeding of complementary foods contribute significantly to the adequacy of children's nutrient intake and in effect their nutritional status. The framework suggests that the two most proximal causes of malnutrition are inadequate intake of nutrients and disease while the three underlying causes are *inadequate food*, *poor health*, and *deficient care* (emphasis mine). Each of these is essential to good nutrition. In the same vein, good nutrition impacts on health and adequate care significantly influences both.

Another important proposition the framework underlines is that the care of women is as important as the food security and health of children. It also stated it clear that although food, health and care are all necessary, none alone is sufficient for healthy growth and development. The adequacy of the three elements is paramount in ensuring the proper nourishment of children. However, it is better understood in the context that even if external factors such as poverty cause food insecurity and limited health care, enhanced care giving can make a big difference in ensuring optimal utilization of the few available resources to promote good health and nutrition.

Regarding the way to assess care, Van Esterik (1995) advocated that care should be measured with psychological, economic or nutritional instruments such as, 'the time it takes the care giver to respond to the crying (distress signal), the proximity of the caregiver to the infant, caregiver availability and breastfeeding rates'. Meanwhile, it is acknowledged that any discussion of care without the critical examination and analysis of caring capacity is both unfair and unreliable. Caring capacity is thus indispensable to any

care analysis and discourse. Therefore any study, analysis, measurement or assessment of care with any tool(s) that fail(s) to allot significant consideration to the assessment and examination of the caring capacity of carers is incomplete. Longhurst (1995) identifies this 'caring capacity' as 'the ability to perform care behaviours, to use human, economic, and organizational resources to the benefit of infants and young people [and people in vulnerable groups such as the aged, frail and sick]'.

In the circumstances unveiled above, care is deemed crucial and important in ensuring the survival and well-being of the individual. It could be illustrated with this scenario: food could be in the kitchen, it would not be ingested, unless a human being prepared it and fed it to the child. Similarly, a health facility could be easily available yet it would be of no value and significance unless someone took the child to the clinic or health post, and showed real commitment to abiding by the recommendations on prescriptions given in favour of the child (UNICEF Care Framework, 1995).

The Ethics of Care

Fisher and Tronto (in Abel and Nelson, 1990: 40) observed that the knowledge of the components of caring would enable us fully appreciate why caring could be both 'so rewarding' [satisfying and fulfilling] and yet 'so exasperating [so distastefully exacting]'. They contend that lack of ability factors such as *knowledge* and *skill* can lead to destructive and ineffective patterns in the caring practices of women. But another reality exists. The issue of other facilitators of care such as the father and other members of the kin group or hired carers are crucial in creating a congenial atmosphere for care. Here, the 'capacity for care' assumes the position of prominence that cannot simply be glossed over. Although the economic status of mother and the conditions of the household inject an important dynamic into child care, yet this has often been side-lined in the assessment of child care.

It is acknowledged that women, in general are often pressed to care about more than they can really manage, and are criticized for not caring enough (Fisher and Tronto in Abel and Nelson, 1990: 40). Women/mothers are often unjustly judged to be 'unable to do much' in the care of their children. Even without an assessment of whether they can genuinely afford the type of quality care they were expected to 'supply' or not, their child care efforts are 'measured' and labelled. Although some of these attacks seem contrived especially at the community level, professional health workers, politicians and journalists are at the forefront of the pack that often openly criticized women's efforts. Any woman who has 'failed' in this way is also deemed to have failed in attaining a basic and fundamental natural 'gender identity'. It could be seen as a major failure at being 'womanly, motherly, or nurturant' (ibid.: 42).

Noteworthy, however, these accusations and judgements of mother care performance do not normally identify whether or not the mothers *who have failed* are among other things economically self-reliant; or endowed with adequate kin resources and a congenial household

environment; or occupationally conditioned, physically fit and mentally orientated. If any of these is not provided in its full - appropriate and adequate measure, constraints would rise against the attainment of child survival expectations and goals. Though left to wade in these constraints, the ways of its assessment have remained blurred, inconclusive and the moods privately or publicly expressed have remained loud, passionate and often times largely subjective. Thus, the need to incorporate a wider swathe of factors/‘indices’ referred to here as care ecology, which identifies a mother’s peculiar circumstances (prevailing ecology) in order to clarify the conceptual haziness and definitional mistiness arose.

Working Definition of Ecology

In this paper, what we shall refer to as care ecology shall comprise a mix of the following: a fluid social policy framework that is mother friendly; enabling socio-cultural ideologies; human, economic and physical resources, factors, situations, circumstances; appropriate household and environmental conditions that generate a congenial atmosphere, are taken altogether as the core, ideal ecology for childcare. The ecology here is to be understood as a bundle, a conveniently-classed-cohort of services and activities. By this it transcends geographical space, physical representation of a household but encompasses all factors that assume place of prominence as necessary and critical resources in providing meaningful childcare and ensuring child survival.

Therefore the geographical and environmental conditions coupled with the availability of spousal/kin support, economic opportunities that have resulted thereof as a consequence of the nature of the peculiar environment and many other salient factors are taken together as the prevailing ecology for care. Consequently, in this concept, these terminologies will be applied: *Favoured* or *preferred ecology* for what is desired, or close to the ‘ideal’ and *prevailing ecology* for what is available in a particular or peculiar circumstance or context. By extension, ‘context for care’ and ‘ecology for care’ shall assume symbiotic connotations. But, why should ecology be important in childcare assessment and analysis?

Ecology as Theoretical Framework

Julian Steward (1902-72) is acknowledged to be the most consistent anthropologist to establish the analysis of culture based on ecological context (Barfield, 1997: 449). Steward ‘persistently developed a theoretical and methodological framework for studying cultural change as adaptation in which environmental influences were especially important’ (ibid.: 448-9). The critical relevance of this link between environment and culture as a major consideration in anthropology underpins the desire to do the same in this paper. This falls in tandem with the belief of existentialist sociologists that in order to fully understand human behaviour; their natural environments [of those under study] with their feelings, angst and fears must be brought into perspective and scrutiny (Scott and Marshall, [eds.], 2005: 204-5).

Naturally the study of child care in any context would not fall within the domain of existentialist sociology. Yet, bringing the ‘ecological’ background of, for instance, their status as natives or migrants, [for example the Akosombo Dam and the ‘re-creation’ of Tongu Ewe⁴ migrants], their socio-cultural and economic conditions into perspective is crucial in understanding their peculiar needs and expectations and child care challenges. This approach, based on existentialist sociology’s basic philosophy is intended to enhance both the content and scope of the analysis of the practices and *new culture*, if any, of mothers and their households in any community/society where childcare study is conducted. This effort is intended to link the influence of the ecology on the ‘make-up’ of their socio-cultural lives, economic opportunities and associated childcare behaviours and practices. For instance, in the Dzemeni study, it came out clear that the child care practices of mothers and households were borne out of the effects of the Dam - the ‘forced’ migration – the normative, abandoned mother and child households, the impoverishment risks and the inherent threats to human survival. If the ecology approach is adopted for any childcare study, a holistic political-economy for child care in peculiar circumstances would be built. Thus, we can make the case that any analysis of childcare would most likely be seen to be incomplete without a critical examination of the ecological.

Justification for Ecology Framework

The Ethics of Care Framework by Fisher and Tronto (1990) and the UNICEF/Cornell University Framework (1995) have been cited for their inadequacy in providing universal yardsticks for the assessment of care. The Fisher and Tronto model for instance stresses on *knowledge* and *skill* of mothers as being crucial in determining the survival chances of young children. The UNICEF/Cornell University Framework (1995) emphasizes the household and national factors as being crucial in determining the survival chances of young children. These factors are not disputed. Either separately or combined, they still miss some crucial factors which the ecology framework, with the baggage of a myriad of scenarios in which childcare could be taking place, takes into account.

Meanwhile, both the Fisher and Tronto and the UNICEF/Cornell University framework (1995) in different ways identified the difficulty of measuring care in a holistic way. According to Fisher and Tronto, women are judged to be ‘unable to do much’ whether they were capable of supplying the quality of care demanded or not. And when they failed, they question their being women. It must be noted that it is not easily detectable that the complexity of measuring care could be much more enormous than can be imagined. It does not easily occur to us that it would be easier to measure civil servants’ output at work than to attempt to measure care. The observation by Van Esterik (1995) that it is easier to measure access to health care and household food security [nutrition] than care provides the platform for us to construct an ecology framework. The difficulty stems from the fact that *care* requires attending to relationships, emotions, experiences, ethics, values, whose study contradicts much of the scientific tradition of

the West. It was also noted that, the real contexts within which caring relationships develop are not captured by these indicators. Just as it would be difficult to find adequate indicators for spiritual values, in the same vein, there are not many indicators that can capture the complexity of care (ibid.). This has left unresolved, what appropriate and universally applicable tools of measurement to adopt.

Ruel and Arimond (2003: ix) suggest that there would be the need to find those 'simple, valid and reliable tools' that can acceptably measure many aspects of care. They also noted that past measurements have focused on *outputs* of care reflected in terms of improved health and education in the Human Development Index, instead of finding the more satisfactory measures of the *inputs* into care. Folbre (2006) also indicated the need to develop indices that would focus on 'burdens of financial and temporal responsibility' for dependents that women shoulder.

A Case for an Ecology Framework

Indeed, the difficulty in finding a universal tool to measure care underlines another reality - the definitions, meanings and expression of care could assume different forms in different contexts. Cultural relativity is at play in the 'limited' definitions and conceptualizations. Farquhar (1990: 80) observed that 'what might be quality [of care] for one cultural group or in one country may not necessarily be so for other cultures or in other countries'. Indeed, the existence of such universal hazy concepts of quality have allowed and created the tendency in menfolk and others to easily cut resource-deprived mothers' efforts up and hurriedly dump them as 'poor', 'bad' or 'inconsiderate' mothers.

Especially in situations where a mother is not seen to be hurriedly putting her incessantly crying child to the breast, the reaction is invective-inducing; and the verdict obvious, and comes in a consciously recorded chorus: 'what type of mother is this?' 'She is uncaring'. 'What is the breast milk meant for?' 'Give it [the child] the breast!' 'Wait, if she continues to deny her crying baby the milk, it will grow sour, it will go bad [coagulate] and become stale, it will give her sickness, and she will see'. These concerns many times looked legitimate without any other consideration of, for instance, whether the baby had just been breastfed or why mothers seem to temporarily neglect their crying babies.

Proposed Ecology Framework

In the proposed prevailing ecology framework, the following twelve factors/capacities ['indices' if allowed] which are considered crucial in creating a congenial atmosphere, and making it possible for a mother to take care of and ensure the survival of her child: individual, personal capacity/physical capability; spousal support; national resources (social policy); household resources; time/space; cultural beliefs; economic resources; status of mother; nature of residence; knowledge and skill of mothers, community/environmental resources; kin resources.

Individual Capacity: A mother's capacity to care must first be assessed. Society could have wrongly assumed that every woman who has given birth to a child has the capacity and emotional disposition to take care of her baby. [Studies of Oakley (1979) and Everingham (1994) and Miller (2005) and other ethnographic studies have evidences to the contrary]. In-depth interview methods and clinical assessments could be used to find out if a mother was mentally conditioned to really take care of her child.

Spousal Support: Support from spouses is crucial in the provision of quality childcare. In the cases where husbands and male partners are absent, single mothers struggle to take care of their offspring. In many instances too, especially in patriarchal societies, where the division of labour takes men away from domestic chores, childcare is largely seen as a woman's obligation. For mothers who live with their spouses, they could be asked to rate the amount of support their husbands provide towards childcare; in physical and emotional terms (not monetary).

Social Policy: State policy on the family and childcare is crucial in providing support to mothers in the care of their infants and young children. Unlike in South Africa, Ghana does not have a clear state policy on support for child care. However, in many developing economies, social protection strategies and social policy on child care seems to be placed on the back burner as competing developmental needs and financial challenges face these economies. In the case of Ghana, the recent attempt to re-designate the Ministry of Women and Children with emphasis on Social Protection and Gender and the increase in the amount given out and the number of beneficiaries in the LEAP (Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty) programme⁵ is recognition of state support to vulnerable households. Beneficiary households are being paid monthly stipend for sustenance. Though the number of beneficiaries and amount paid are still paltry, it is a significant step. If all vulnerable mothers could be located and the programme replicated in all deprived households in Ghana, and indeed if such programmes exist for all vulnerable mothers in the developing world, the foundation for a suitable ecology of childcare, though yet still frail, would have been laid.

Scandinavian examples have shown that support in policy is crucial in determining and creating an effective and vibrant ecology for child care at the household level. Without it, the programmes aimed at addressing the child care challenge would remain as usual an inadequate and haphazard approach.

Economic Resources: Mothers could be asked to rate the way their spouses and their own resources stock up the household provisioning basket for the up-keep of the home. The items provided by the husband, and what she provides. A deduction is made to get exactly what the husband provides. Contributions could be in the form of food stuffs or bills for services such as rent and water. Monetary values of these could be weighed against the minimum wage (if a particular country's minimum wage could be universally accepted as a standard that could ensure survival).

Household Resources: This would refer to physical structures and possessions in a home. Is the house habitable, safe for human life, for instance? Do they have mosquito nets to prevent malaria to the mother and child? Do they have access to safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, etc. Does the house belong to the family or they are in rented premises?

Time/Space: The nature of a mother's occupation is crucial in determining the amount of time she has to spend on child care. The time she leaves home; the time she returns and the number of hours she is allowed to spend away from her infant are important in assessing how the care for the child can be affected by her absence. Is she leaving the home at 4am and carrying her infant along the journey on a rickety public vehicle, for instance?

Nature of Residence: The geography of the community is crucial in determining the quality of care a mother may give her child. If the mother lives in a self-contained flat in a plush serene community where the walls and tiled floors are brandishing a spick and span pedigree and overflowing affluence, and another lives a rural area in a patched-thatched roof, and clay floors and ants and bats stream into and out of their 'bedroom' at will; the childcare quality in the different scenarios would be different.

Status of Mother: There could be multiple scenarios here. The unique status of a mother could determine her emotional state and ability to take care of her child. If the mother is a migrant in a 'strange' land or she is in her own town with the conferment of the full rights of a 'true citizen', there would be differences in access to the needed psychological resources necessary for quality care for her child. In another instance, if the mother is the 'madam' in her own house or she is a maid working and living in a small room in another woman's house, these conditions would definitely introduce different dimensions into the quality of childcare.

Community/Environmental Factors: This refers to a congenial atmosphere that could enhance the survival chances of children. It refers to the availability of basic social amenities. We have to find these out: does the community have a rubbish-dump, or a rubbish collection system and toilet facilities? Are there abandoned bushy patches in the community that can be turned into toilets? Do they have patches of stagnant water that freely breed mosquitoes? Can children walk freely or crawl around in compounds? If they fetch water from a common source such as a stream/river or lake, we can find out whether it is polluted beyond wholesomeness or not.

Kin Resources: Childcare can arrest all the time of a mother in the 24 hours. That is the main reason home based childcare used to be heavily supported by kin resources. This is the assistance provided mothers by her relations, friends and the relations of the child's father. Any mother who has access to kin resources would have the advantage of being able to find some time for other engagements away from childcare.

Sudarkasa (2004) has observed that normally in nuclear families in the global north, a mother's behaviour does not necessarily attract the keenly observing lenses of adults.

In contrast, however, a mother's behaviour is observed and if necessary scrutinized by other women in African extended families. A woman's in-laws, co-wives, members of her husband's lineage and a good number of people in the community assume the responsibility and obligation of watching over her behaviour. Her child care and rearing practices, 'including the way she relates to, interacts with, teaches and disciplines her children are all carried out under the watchful eyes of others' (ibid.: 8, 9). Moreover, the care and upbringing of children is never left exclusively to parents in extended families. Kin play an active part. Women in the kin group serve as, and see themselves, as resources for each other in the care and upbringing of children. "Only societies with extended family structures, and supporting ideologies and values, could have produced the proverb that 'it takes a village to raise a child'" (ibid.).

Gordon (1975) and Oppong (2001) assert the importance of non-parental kin in child care. Nukunya (1969) attests to the fact that mechanisms are either readily available or are constructed to provide care for children who have lost their mothers. Among the Ewe for instance, and in other ethnic groups in Africa and across the world, especially in the pre-globalisation era, the communal instinct to ensure the survival of every individual is upheld.

Knowledge and Skill: It is acknowledged as the Ethics of Care framework proposed, that a mother's knowledge and skill are critical in ensuring the survival of her child. The ecology framework incorporates it as a one of the twelve factors that can be assessed as well. However, it is also noted that in the circumstances where other more pressing factors such as access to resources are lacking, a mother's knowledge and skill may be rendered irrelevant.

Cultural Beliefs and Childcare Practices: The importance of situating the study of child care within the context of cultural variation and how it influences the lives of children in childcare has been stressed (Moss and Pence, 1994). Definitely, people have different ways in which they subsist in the various ecologies. As such, there are differences in the beliefs and behavioural patterns entertained by the culture, and socialization processes geared towards the accomplishment of the cultural goals (Yovsi, 2003). Thus, it is imperative to note that agreeably though some practices could be, not all childcare practices in every part of the world could be harmonised into a standard practice. It is noteworthy that mothers subsist in different ecological, economic and cultural contexts. And in many of such ecological enclaves, child rearing values and child developmental expectations are regulated, and controlled by cultural values and attitudes (Rosenthal, 1999). These prove that the influence of cultural practices on child care and rearing is real and powerful but also an important index in childcare assessment and conceptualisation.

Legitimately, parents would allow what they consider adaptive in their cultural setting to define their [child care] practices and beliefs about the welfare and development of their children. This is hinged on the observation that children 'as a reservoir of human resources are raised according to physical and social conditions that promote their

optimal survival and development' (Yovsi, 2003: ii). But, it must be noted, this influence of culture could crumble in the face of severe strains from changes in livelihood, including the economic disempowerment of mothers. It can therefore not be downplayed, and the ecology framework agrees with Oppong (2001) that the twin-capacity of economic empowerment of mothers (and households) and adequate kin support could be rated as major determinants of childcare practice.

Scoring each of the twelve items on a scale of 1-5, a mother who scores above 55 is more likely to be capable of providing quality care to her child. Meanwhile, the likelihood exists that a mother who scores between 30 and 55 is considered to be capable of providing minimal but not very good quality care. A mother who scores between 10 and 25 overall would most probably have her child be in a dire situations of struggling for survival. But in such scoring, not only figures are put out; the prevailing ecology of her childcare space would be described as well.

Conclusions

Different childcare frameworks and definitions of the concepts of care were reviewed with their relation and relevance to the proposition of a new framework on child care practices of mothers. The paper concludes that based on the findings from the analysis of care from the literature, and their inadequacy in suiting the analysis of care and caring capacity from the field study the most important index in the assessment of childcare anywhere needs to be the *peculiar* or *prevailing ecology*. The prevailing ecology of childcare must first be assessed and critically examined in and with their peculiar cases and environmental challenges in any such analysis or assessment of childcare. The paper assumes the position that the attempt to use a universal standard or yardstick for the measurement of 'appropriate care everywhere' that does not take into consideration the peculiar circumstances of mothers and their children in terms of their geographical location/environment, economic, social and cultural beliefs, access to social amenities and social reliefs by the state in terms of social policy, would be unproductive. It would be rendered an exercise that would fail to produce a fair outcome. Such an attempt could be devoid of objective and logical conclusions. It would not only be exclusively biased. It would be inapplicable if the ecology or the holistically configured environment for care is ignored as an important index of valued prominence in the childcare assessment process. That is the motivation for the proposition of the twelve-factor ecology of care framework in childcare assessments and measurements. If childcare assessments would consider the relevance of prevailing ecology, some fairground would be established when assessing and drawing conclusions on mothering practices from different ecological backgrounds.

ENDNOTES

1. Peter Atakuma Agbodza, PhD, is a lecturer in the Multi-Disciplinary Studies department of Ho Technical University, in Ghana.
2. Perhaps due to its unique nature and difficulty in studying, there is not a profuse stock of literature on home-based mother child care as we find on formal or institutional care which is not the focus of this study.
3. Gordon conducted the study while serving as a nutrition officer in Bawku in the Upper East Region of Ghana.
4. Tongu Ewe is a sub-dialectical group within the Ewe ethnic group located in South Eastern Ghana.
5. The LEAP (Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty) programme was started in 2003 by the NPP government of President John Agyekum Kuffour as a social intervention programme that provides cash and health insurance to poor households in the country. The NDC government of President John D. Mahama has pledged to increase the coverage until every identified poor household is satisfied. 'The payment supervised by the Department of Social Welfare, uses a set of indices which include the number of children in a household, the number of disabled persons a household has, as well as the number of aged persons, among others, to calculate the payment for beneficiaries' (Source: *Daily Graphic*, August 5, 2013). As of July, 2016, the number of beneficiaries rose to 147, 881 while the projection is that by the end of 2016, the total number of beneficiaries would have reached 250, 000. (Source: <http://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/gender-ministry-to-increase-leap-beneficiary-households.html>: Sept 8, 2016). (Accessed: December 3, 2016).

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Une histoire particulière de la mondialisation : Technique, travail et industrialisation de la noix de cajou au Mozambique

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Résumé

La transformation industrielle de noix de cajou au Mozambique a connu de importants changements au cours des trente dernières années, spécialement dans le domaine des techniques et des conditions de production. L'article examine ces changements, avec une attention sur les impacts qu'ils ont engendrés dans une usine située au sud du Mozambique, construite selon le projet proposé par la Banque Mondiale. En utilisant les données recueillies pendant plusieurs enquêtes ethnographiques, la discussion cherche à démontrer que le choix technique et l'organisation du travail est étroitement dépendante d'options politiques et des luttes sociales dans les espaces de production. Ceux-ci, à leur tour, sont très conditionnés par les dynamiques politiques et économiques globales, notamment soutenus au Mozambique par les organisations financières internationales. Sans la mondialisation, il n'est pas possible de comprendre les changements gestionnaires et techniques vérifiés dans cette industrie, qui produisent de très forts impacts dans l'organisation de la production et des conditions de travail.

Mots clés: Usines, ouvrières, ethnographie, politiques de production.

Abstract

Industrial processing of cashew nuts in Mozambique has undergone significant changes over the last thirty years, especially in the field of production techniques and conditions. The article examines these changes, focusing on the impacts they have created at a plant in southern Mozambique, built according to the World Bank project proposal. Using the data collected during several ethnographic surveys, the discussion seeks to demonstrate that the technical choice and organization of work is closely dependent on political and social struggles in production spaces. These, in turn, are very conditioned by the global political and economic dynamics, particularly in Mozambique supported by the international financial organizations. Without globalization, it is not possible to understand the managerial and technical changes that have been verified in this industry, which have very strong impacts on the organization of production and working conditions.

Keywords: Factories, workers, ethnography, production policies.

Introduction

Très orientée vers les marchés externes, surtout ceux des États-Unis et de l'Europe, l'industrie du cajou été très touchée par les changements politiques et économiques vérifiés à l'échelle globale. Sans prendre en considération la mondialisation,¹ il n'est pas possible de comprendre les changements gestionnaires et techniques vérifiés dans cette industrie, qui produisent de très forts impacts dans l'organisation de la production et dans les processus de transmission des savoirs et savoir-faire.

Le début de l'article fait la présentation de la stratégie méthodologique, selon laquelle j'ai organisé le travail de terrain, suivi de la discussion du trajet historique de l'industrie de transformation de la noix de cajou au Mozambique, en soulignant les changements au cours des trente dernières années et leurs effets sur la configuration des usines de transformation de la noix de cajou, les choix techniques et l'organisation du travail. A titre d'exemple et de démonstration ethnographique, une usine de transformation de noix de cajou a été choisie, localisée à Jongué (district de Manjacaze). L'argument cherchera à démontrer que les changements sont la conséquence de choix politiques, certains liés à la mondialisation, des luttes sociales impliquant l'État, des capitaux et des travailleurs.

1. Lieux de production et travail de terrain

Du point de vue méthodologique, l'article s'inscrit dans les « ethnographies globales » (Burawoy *et al* 2000, Ribeiro 2010), simultanément attentives aux structures et processus d'ampleur mondiaux et aux existences des acteurs sociaux, surtout dans les lieux de production. Étant donné les impacts en termes de processus de changement social provoqués par l'industrialisation en Afrique, cette ethnographie essaye de suivre les propositions énoncées par Wolf (1982) et Wolf et Silverman (2001), capable de rendre compte des connexions, des dépendances et des dynamiques qui s'établissent entre les différentes sociétés et cultures du système mondial. Face à l'explosion de la société traditionnelle, comme le reconnaît Geertz (1992), Wolf (1982 : 390-391) nous

¹ *Globalisation pour la plupart des auteurs (Featherstone 1997, Giddens 2000, García Canclini 2007), formation globale pour Chase-Dunn (1991), culture globale pour Appadurai (1990), système global pour Sklair (1991), nous sommes devant un concept pluriel avec des dimensions économiques, politiques, sociales et culturelles, parmi d'autres. Malgré la production d'une compression géographique radicale et l'intensification de la conscience du monde (Robertson apud Steger 2006 : 19), elle n'a pas conduit à l'homogénéisation imaginée par Marx. Elle combine, comme le soutient Santos (2001 : 32), universalisme, dissolution de frontières nationales, cosmopolitisme avec particularisme, diversité locale, appartenance ethnique et communautarisme. Si c'est juste de dire que le centre exerce une influence colonisatrice sur les périphéries, celles-ci peuvent utiliser les ressources technoscientifiques pour les mélanger dans leur propre culture (Hannerz 1987, 1992). En d'autres termes, il émerge de la mondialisation une tension essentielle et structurante entre homogénéisation et différenciation, exprimées par tendances et dynamiques contradictoires. Bien sûr, la mondialisation n'est pas la rencontre agréable de cultures différentes. Comme le note Jameson (2001), nous sommes face un processus que vise la transformation d'une culture et d'un mode de vie particuliers en la culture et un mode de vie hégémoniques.*

rappelant que ne pouvons plus concevoir les sociétés comme des systèmes séparés, ni même imaginer les cultures comme des totalités intégrées orientées vers un « tout » autonome et organisé. L'influence des travaux liés à l'anthropologie de l'entreprise et aux études sur les ouvriers dans les usines (Bazim 2001 ; Selim 2001 ; Burawoy 1979 ; Estanque 2000 ; Lazarus 2001 ; Flamant et Jeudy-Ballini 2002 ; Durão 2003 ; Granjo 2003 et 2004), est présente dans l'ethnographie réalisée, notamment en ce qui concerne l'identification et la compréhension des dimensions politiques de l'organisation et des rapports sociaux dans les entreprises.

Avant le début de l'enquête, il a fallu négocier pour accéder à l'espace de production et choisir une « stratégie » méthodologique. Dans son travail de terrain sur les entreprises, Selim (2001: 69-71) invoque justement le fait que l'entrée du chercheur dans les institutions de ce genre – propriété privée, espaces rigoureusement délimités et à l'accès contrôlé – dépend de la volonté et de la réceptivité de l'administration. Même lorsque l'on opte pour la stratégie de l'anthropologue masqué en ouvrier, on continue à être conditionné par les contraintes imposées par l'administration de l'entreprise, la première étant celle d'ouvrir la porte de l'espace de production et de réussir à être admis comme travailleur. Mais ce n'est pas tout : la position dans le groupe, c'est-à-dire, la place que nous allons occuper dans l'espace de la production conditionne aussi ce que nous observons. Cette position a été définie, la plupart du temps, plus par la volonté des autres que par la mienne. Nous sommes devant des catégories sociologiques fondamentales, comme le genre, l'âge, la nationalité, la classe et la race. En d'autres termes, être un homme adulte, portugais, instruit et blanc étaient les signes qui définissaient mon positionnement dans l'usine. J'ai de ce fait connu une proximité plus grande avec les hommes qu'avec les femmes. La langue, nonobstant l'utilisation quotidienne de la langue portugaise, parlée par presque tous les ouvriers de l'usine, a aussi posé des problèmes. Or, c'est la langue qui nous ouvre la « porte » pour la compréhension du « non-verbal », des gestes et signes associés aux mots (Martinelli 2000: 99-100).

Au contraire de ce qu'accomplirent Burawoy (1979) et Estanque (2000), j'ai fini par choisir d'être dans l'espace de la production sans la pratique continue d'une tâche productive. Ainsi, au lieu d'assumer la position d'ouvrier dans un secteur déterminé, une présence non productive a été privilégiée, à l'image de Granjo (2003) par rapport à la production d'aluminium au Mozambique. Le fait d'avoir assumé de façon explicite la condition de chercheur et une présence non liée à l'exercice d'une tâche productive a aidé, paradoxalement, le processus de l'enquête en autorisant ma libre circulation dans tout l'espace de production, l'observation des diverses phases productives et le dialogue avec les travailleurs. Bien que ne travaillant pas dans l'usine, j'occupais une partie de mon temps à l'apprentissage rudimentaire des gestes techniques nécessaires à l'exécution des tâches productives et à l'apprentissage de terminologies spécifiques ou stratégiques pour le dialogue dans l'enquête. Ceci a aussi été d'une grande utilité pour la description ethnographique dense de la chaîne productive et pour la compréhension

des représentations des ouvriers au sujet de leur travail, car il existe des dimensions sensorielles et psychologiques qui ne sont accessibles que par l'expérimentation concrète. D'autre part, travailler auprès des ouvriers a facilité mon insertion, en faisant tomber plus rapidement les barrières et les méfiances vis-à-vis de mes objectifs dans l'usine.

2. La noix de cajou au Mozambique : choix technique et industrialisation

Le cajou a été l'une des premières productions locales de Mozambique à se connecter avec l'économie-monde capitaliste. Au début du XX^{ème} siècle a commencé l'exportation de noix de cajou *in natura* vers l'Inde (Ohler 1937). Pendant les années 50, le pouvoir politique et la bourgeoisie coloniale portugaise ont considéré l'exportation de noix de cajou *in natura* désavantageuse. Ce qui était en cause, comme l'a observé J. P. Leite (1995), c'était le problème de la complémentarité entre le Mozambique et l'Inde dans ce secteur économique, défavorable pour la colonie portugaise. Car il fallait développer l'industrie. Face aux conditions en Inde, possédant une main-d'œuvre abondante et soumise à une organisation du travail basée sur le décorticage manuel de la noix, la phase la plus ardue et en même temps la plus nécessaire d'ouvriers, la solution choisie au Mozambique a été, avec la mobilisation de beaucoup de capital, le développement de la mécanisation, comme il l'a été suggéré par les agences de L'Organisation des Nations Unies (ONU) à l'administration coloniale portugaise et aux investisseurs [(L') *Agriculture et les industries de transformation au Mozambique*]. L'expansion industrielle a été faite pendant les années 1960, avec l'arrivée du grand capital Portugais (CUF) et international (anglo-américain, dont le siège social se trouve en Afrique du Sud). La consolidation de ce secteur n'a pas été exempte de quelques turbulences. Malgré les difficultés techniques, le secteur a été largement consolidé en 1975, au moment de l'indépendance. Avec le départ des propriétaires, la direction révolutionnaire de Frelimo a décidé que les usines de transformation de la noix de cajou seraient désormais dirigées par des comités administratifs.² En 1977, ces expériences de gestion ouvrière ont fait place à une nouvelle administration nommée par l'Etat.

Finalement, une entreprise, Cajou de Mozambique, a été constituée en 1979 pour conduire, pratiquement seule, le secteur industriel du cajou. Malgré les difficultés provoquées par la guerre et par le manque des techniciens qualifiés,³ l'entreprise Cajou de Mozambique est restée soumise aux dynamiques du système capitaliste global. Très dépendante du marché Nord-Américain, déjà le plus important pendant la période coloniale, et premier consommateur mondial d'amandes de cajou, l'entreprise Cajou de

2 *Frelimo a été fondé en 1962 à Dar-es-Salam (Tanzanie). Mouvement de lutte armée contre le colonialisme portugais, il est devenu la force politique dirigeante après l'indépendance, gouvernant en régime de parti unique et, depuis 1995, en régime démocratique.*

3 *Mozambique a été victime d'une guerre civile entre 1977 et 1992.*

Mozambique a réussi à survivre pendant les années 1980. Elle vendait aux États-Unis les amandes blanches et entières, de préférence de grande taille, à un prix commercial supérieur. En même temps, elle exportait vers les pays européens du bloc socialiste les amandes jaunes et cassées à un prix commercial inférieur. Désigné système *barter*,⁴ ces accords ne fixaient que les montants d'amandes à exporter sans spécifier ni les prix, ni les *tailles ou qualités*. Une grande partie des demandes de ces pays étaient des amandes cassées pour être utilisées dans la confiserie. Ces pays ne discutaient pas les prix, laissant ce détail au critère du vendeur (*Plano Director do Caju* 1999: 34).

Longtemps avant la chute de l'Union Soviétique, de nouvelles difficultés ont touché la Compagnie avec l'adhésion du Mozambique, en 1984, aux institutions de Bretton Woods. Les institutions de Consensus de Washington ont obtenu un grand pouvoir d'intervention dans le pays, imposant au gouvernement un agenda libéralisateur. Dans le cas de l'industrie de transformation de la noix de cajou, l'option était la privatisation de l'entreprise Cajou de Mozambique, avec la vente des usines à des entrepreneurs mozambicains. La privatisation des usines de transformation de la noix de cajou a ouvert un débat autour des choix techniques avec les organisations internationales et a mis en doute la viabilité économique des systèmes productifs basés sur des technologies intensives. L'une des premières à le prendre en considération a été l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'Alimentation et l'Agriculture (FAO). Dans un rapport publié en 1990 – *Mozambique cashew industry study – Rehabilitation of cashew sector assistance* –, les experts de cette agence de l'ONU ont proposé l'introduction d'un nouveau système technique: le *Steam Heating Cutting System* (SHCS), désigné communément par système indien, précisément le système qui finirait par être installé dans l'usine de Jongué, examiné ci-après.

Bien que les protagonistes de cette confrontation au Mozambique – industriels, consultants, techniciens et autres spécialistes – se soient surtout occupés de l'analyse comparative de l'efficacité technique obtenue par ces différents systèmes, le choix entre l'un et l'autre dépasse cet aspect. Ceux-ci impliquent toujours un choix qui ne se résume en aucune façon à l'aspect strictement technique. Comme Geslin (1999: 7-9) le mentionne justement, suivant l'argument développé par Martinelli (1987), le choix technique contient une dimension sociale qu'il faut examiner pour mieux la comprendre. S'appuyant sur les rapports décisifs élaborés par les théoriciens de l'École de Francfort, I. Leite (2005 : 46) précise que les intérêts et les objectifs sociaux, spécialement ceux des groupes dominants, sont déjà insérés dans le « dessein » des systèmes techniques transférés. On y projette en effet ce qu'une société donnée dans un contexte historique concret prétend faire aux individus et aux objets matériels (Nascimento 2012, Ribeiro, Silva e Marques 2012). Harvey (1999: 100) nous montre que les techniques et les technologies sont la forme matérielle du processus de travail à travers laquelle les forces

4 Échange de marchandises contre des marchandises. De ces partenaires Est-Européens, Mozambique a reçu des produits manufacturés, des véhicules de transport et du pétrole.

productives et les relations de production s'expriment. Loin d'être socialement neutres, comme le souligne Martinelli (1987: 321-322), elles produisent un grand impact sur l'organisation du travail et sont indissociablement liées aux luttes sociales et aux rapports de force opposant les travailleurs au capital aussi bien qu'aux conflits ayant lieu dans les espaces de production (Burawoy, 1979: 47). Donc, les choix techniques ne peuvent être détachés des changements sociaux et des structures à l'intérieur desquelles ils font sentir leurs effets. Et leur critique ne peut non plus être séparée de la critique des formes organisationnelles engendrées dans les espaces de production. De plus, elles sont inséparables des politiques de production, plus précisément, de la manière dont le travail est régulé dans l'espace de production, et du rôle des ouvriers dans ce dernier. Comme les capitalistes n'opèrent pas « dans le vide », mais font face, quotidiennement, à diverses contraintes – lutte de classes, limites de la connaissance technoscientifique, coûts de remplacement d'équipements ou de simples opérations de manutention, les choix techniques constituent une ressource précieuse pour que le capital puisse chercher en permanence de meilleures conditions pour la réalisation de surplus (Harvey 1999: 117-124). Cependant, les choix techniques contenus dans un transfert n'impliquent pas, de manière mécanique, l'intensification et la complexification des processus productifs.

En effet, nous ne devons pas oublier que ce qui importe au capital, c'est « le caractère marchandise du produit » (Palloix 1974: 208), c'est à dire, ce qui est produit et non le mode de production. La manière de produire n'est pas une fin en soi, mais simplement un moyen pour la reproduction élargie du capital. Dans le présent cas, le dessein des systèmes techniques de ces usines n'a jamais incorporé le grand objectif poursuivi par le capital : l'obtention de surplus. Dans l'industrie de transformation de la noix de cajou, l'amande de cajou est ce qui compte réellement et non les techniques ni les processus utilisés pour l'obtenir. En conséquence, les systèmes productifs complexes, dans les conditions où la transformation de la noix de cajou au Mozambique se réalise actuellement, n'apportent aucun avantage aux détenteurs du capital. Face à la dérégulation des relations de travail, à l'abondance de main d'œuvre et à la lenteur de la récupération du capital investi en équipements, la façon la plus rapide pour obtenir des plus-values repose, comme l'a bien compris la bourgeoisie mozambicaine émergente, sur l'utilisation intensive de la force de travail – le capital variable de la sphère productive qui est plus proche du capital-argent, car précisément c'est celui qui, dans la formule générale de Marx [1974 (1867)], signifie « liquidité, flexibilité et liberté de choix » (Arrighi 1996: 5).

L'utilisation intensive de la force de travail basée, dans le cas de la transformation de la noix de cajou, sur le travail à la tâche est inséparable de l'agencement juridique et législatif actuellement en vigueur. C'est cet agencement qui a pu rendre légale et, d'une certaine façon, « naturaliser » la sur-flexibilité du travail, adoptant notamment un règlement ordonnateur du travail rural permettant d'éliminer les empêchements légaux au travail à la tâche, en conformité avec les besoins de l'industrie, écrasant ainsi les coûts salariaux, dont dépendent la viabilité des systèmes productifs simples. Il s'agit de mener le

salariat à sa limite extrême, celui de la flexibilité maximum qui permet de se passer, à tout moment, du travailleur. Mais plus encore : selon Meillassoux (1997: 13-15), ce régime salarial, dominant dans les pays périphériques, configure une situation de surexploitation du travail, de captation de la « substance vivante » du travailleur se traduisant par une précarisation croissante de la santé des travailleurs, due aux maladies professionnelles et aux accidents du travail et par, finalement, une réduction de l'espérance de vie.

3. Faire comme les experts l'ont prescrit : système technique et politiques de production

C'est dans un nouveau cadre politique qu'apparaissent, à partir de la seconde moitié des années 1990 (Ribeiro 2010), les nouvelles usines de transformation de la noix de cajou. Elles sont inséparables des options politiques imposées par les institutions du Consensus de Washington et adoptées par le gouvernement mozambicain, c'est-à-dire, des dispositions qui, dans le cadre des structures dominantes, conditionnent les opportunités et les choix des gouvernements, des entreprises et des acteurs sociaux. Les propriétaires de ces usines comptent avec une cadre juridique appropriée et ils opèrent dans un contexte social signé par l'abondance de la main-d'œuvre à très bas coût. Bien évidemment, les industries suivent les règles prescrites par les experts des organisations internationales, ce qui se traduit par de nouvelles normes techniques, telles que, par exemple, la norme SHCS, basée sur la cuisson de la noix à la vapeur en association avec la cassure de la coquille au travers de machines semi-mécaniques. C'est le cas de l'usine de Jongué, un cas concret de la réponse, au niveau d'entreprise, trouvé par l'élite pour manœuvrer à son profit les possibilités proposées dans le cadre socio-économique ouvert par les politiques d'« ajustement structurel ».

L'usine de Jongué fut construite en 1997, s'appuyant sur une étude de viabilité économique élaborée par un expert du secteur, ancien dirigeant de « Caju de Moçambique ». Jongué (district de Manjacaze), une des plus grandes zones de production de noix de cajou dans le Sud du Mozambique, fut l'endroit choisi pour installer l'usine. La structure principale, en forme de L, est un bâtiment avec des murs en ciment et une toiture en tôle et en plastique (v. photographie 1). C'est dans celle-ci que se réalisent toutes les opérations de transformation de la noix, à l'exception du calibrage, effectué dans un abri près de l'entrée de l'édifice où se trouvent les deux principaux responsables de l'usine.



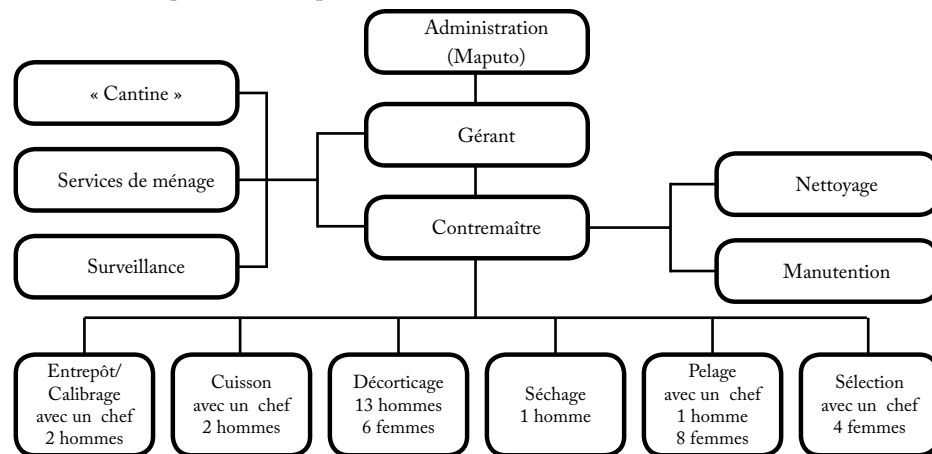
Photographie 1. Vue générale du bâtiment principal de l'usine

Le projet suivit de près les propositions de la Banque Mondiale (BM), de la FAO et d'autres institutions internationales ayant travaillé sur le cajou. La localisation est en accord avec ce qui fut prescrit : une usine insérée dans la zone productrice, de façon à ce que la distance entre les producteurs et les installations de transformation soit la plus courte possible. Outre des coûts de transport de la matière première insignifiants, la proximité des producteurs de noix de cajou en facilite l'acquisition. Au niveau technique on choisit le SHCS, basé sur la cuisson de la noix à la vapeur en association avec la cassure de la coquille à travers des machines semi-mécaniques.

Le patron de cette entreprise était un membre de la seconde génération de l'élite dirigeante du pays qui peu à peu occupa des postes dans l'appareil d'État et écarta l'élite âgée, formée dans la lutte armée. Sa carrière politique et professionnelle est commune à tous les jeunes technocrates de la Frelimo ayant les mieux réussis. Diplômé en Économie, il fut gestionnaire dans une entreprise de l'État et ensuite gouverneur de province. Au milieu de la décennie de 1990 il devint ministre de l'agriculture. En connaissant de près les dossiers produits par les experts qui indiquaient comme alternative aux grandes usines mécanisées la petite industrie basée sur l'utilisation de main-d'œuvre intensive et des systèmes techniques simples, il décida d'exploiter à son profit les opportunités offertes par l'exercice de son poste pour monter son entreprise. Enfin, avec l'expérience dans la bureaucratie et dans les entreprises de l'État, il sut mobiliser ses propres ressources – un certain capital et des connaissances au niveau des entreprises – et celles de l'État, jouant avec habileté les cartes du pouvoir politique et les réseaux de clientélisme qui gravitent autour de celui-ci. Mais la condition de ministre lui causa certaines difficultés politiques qu'il décida de contourner grâce à une manœuvre juridique habile et relativement fréquente : garder le contrôle de l'entreprise sans y être formellement compromis. Ainsi, ce sont sa femme et ses enfants qui ont la responsabilité juridique dans la société, créée en 1996 et siégeant à Maputo.

La transformation de la noix de cajou est un travail collectif qui exige une planification attentive et une rigoureuse coordination des ouvriers. L'objectif est en effet de pouvoir obtenir la plus grande quantité possible de noix blanche et entière, caractéristiques les plus valorisées par le marché, grâce à des équipements simples et au travail humain utilisé de manière intensive, encadrés par une organisation de la production que nous pourrions qualifier de taylorisme atténué. Effectivement, dans ce taylorisme atténué nous avons une division du travail simple, basée sur la dextérité manuelle et, surtout, sur l'habitude et la discipline du corps. Le rythme de travail est imposé non par la machine mais par la tâche répétitive que chaque ouvrier est obligé d'accomplir. On sait que le taylorisme repose sur une organisation, dite scientifique, du travail où chaque ouvrier exécute, idéalement, une seule tâche, si possible résumée en un geste simple. Aussi simple qu'un « gorille entraîné » pourrait l'exécuter (Harvey 1999: 109).

Le modèle taylorien ne vaut rien sans une hiérarchie – expression concrète des relations de force dans l'espace de production et du pouvoir patronal sur les ouvriers – qui impose la discipline et l'exécution des tâches. Dans l'usine, la séparation classique entre réalisation et direction est très claire. Celle-ci détient l'autorité, les savoirs de gestion et techniques, et doit définir les objectifs et les stratégies d'entreprise, ainsi que l'organisation et le contrôle de toutes les tâches dans l'espace de la production. Comme l'organigramme de l'usine enquêtée (figure 1) le démontre, l'administration, située à Maputo et dirigée par son propriétaire, possède le commandement « stratégique », notamment au niveau financier. Physiquement éloignée du contact régulier avec l'espace de la production, c'est au gérant qu'elle délègue le pouvoir. Le chef de la production dépend directement de celui-ci. Malgré sa subordination hiérarchique, son savoir technique, que personne ne possède dans l'usine, constitue un capital suffisant pour lui conférer une considérable autonomie.



Note: la « cantine » est un petit magasin de l'entreprise pour vendre des produits alimentaires aux ouvriers et aux ouvrières.

Figure 1. Organigramme de l'usine

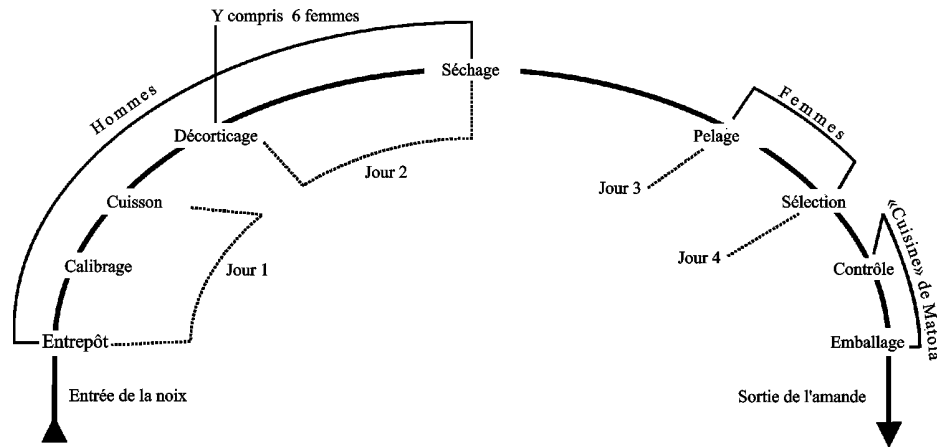
Si dans beaucoup de cas la division entre ceux qui sont au-dessus, à l'étage supérieur, occupé par la direction et des administratifs, et ceux qui sont en dessous, dans la zone de production, est courante (Moulinié 1993), dans cette usine, la séparation est encore plus physique. Alors que les ouvriers occupent l'édifice principal, le gérant a son petit bureau dans un autre bâtiment, plus proche de l'entrée de l'usine. Cette distinction spatiale se prolonge au-delà du propre temps de travail, dans la mesure où le gérant et le contremaître prennent leur repas dans le bâtiment en ciment qui leur sert aussi de logement, alors que les ouvriers déjeunent dehors, sous les arbres. Ainsi, le pouvoir s'exprime non seulement au travers des ordres ou des sanctions, mais aussi dans les pratiques quotidiennes et dans les usages différenciés de l'espace.

Les deux chefs, surtout le contremaître, s'approchent des autres ouvriers par le fait qu'ils ne sont pas détenteurs des moyens de production. Cependant, ils s'en éloignent en tant qu'agents du pouvoir patronal responsables dans l'accomplissement des rythmes établis de la production aussi bien que de la discipline. Ainsi, il faut considérer que « la position des contremaîtres est, effectivement, la plus ambiguë du point de vue du pouvoir de l'entreprise. C'est une zone-frontière qui marque le clivage de classe entre le pouvoir ouvrier et le capitaliste » (Estanque 2000: 266). Bien qu'ils puissent protéger leurs subordonnés dans l'interaction face à face, pendant les moments difficiles, comme les grèves et les autres conflits ouverts, ils sont toujours du côté du patron.⁵ Comme un ouvrier l'a justement signalé à propos du chef de production et sans oublier ses compétences techniques, « il sait beaucoup de choses mais il n'aurait pas de travail ailleurs. Les entreprises où il a travaillé sont toutes fermées. Donc, il prend toujours parti pour le patron contre les travailleurs ».

La plus importante force de travail masculine accomplit des tâches dans les secteurs considérés propres aux hommes, comme le calibrage et la cuisson. Dans le secteur du décorticage, autre service estimé masculin, six femmes font compagnie aux hommes. Elles ont été mises ici parce que c'était le seul secteur qui avait des postes disponibles. Quelques-unes ont fini par s'adapter au travail, et ont cessé à démontrer de l'intérêt pour un changement de secteur. Malgré les difficultés, dans ce secteur, les ouvrières peuvent finir plus tôt la tâche quotidienne, donc, elles peuvent rentrer chez elles pour faire les travaux ménagers. Travailler au décorticage n'implique pas de discrimination de salaire ni d'autre type de censure de la part des hommes ou des femmes qui travaillent dans les autres secteurs, où elles réalisent les tâches jugées appropriées à leur condition féminine,

⁵ Les conflits sociaux dans l'espace de production sont présents depuis que l'usine est en marche. De nombreux conflits ont été déchainés par les problèmes physiques provoqués par l'huile qui est dans la pelure de la noix de cajou. Très corrosif, la souffrance physique des ouvriers terminait par devenir insoutenable: « Nous sommes arrivés à un certain moment, les mains [ont commencé] à se détériorer. Mais ils disent: '- Allez au travail.' Ce jour il y avait confusion. Ne pas entrer. Nous travaillerons quand il y a de l'huile [de copra] (ouvrier). Bien que ce ne soit pas capable d'éliminer totalement les effets provoqués par l'huile de la noix de cajou, l'utilisation dans les mains de l'huile de copra minimise les problèmes de peau; donc, les ouvriers peuvent faire avec une efficacité raisonnable leurs tâches productives. Il a aussi les lésions dans les doigts des mains provoquées par les lames des machines de décorticage de la noix de cajou et les tendinites et d'autres lésions des muscles provoquées par le pelage de l'amande.

comme le pelage, la sélection, le nettoyage et le service de ménage.⁶ Finalement, dans la « cuisine » de Matola, ville proche de la capitale du pays, Maputo, principal marché pour l'amande de cajou, les tâches sont aussi accomplies par les femmes (figure 2) dans un petit bâtiment où est effectué le contrôle, la préparation et l'emballage de l'amande.



Note : La « cuisine » de Matola est un petit magasin près de Maputo, où se déroulent les dernières opérations de production avant la commercialisation.

Figure 2. Chaîne opératoire de l'usine, avec distribution de fonctions par sexe et par temps de production

Essentiellement, l'usine reproduit les différences occupationnelles selon le genre existant dans les autres espaces de la vie quotidienne, en particulier dans l'espace domestique, où les femmes réalisent des travaux liés à la production, au maniement et à la confection d'aliments, dont certains exigent de la dextérité manuelle. Comme il l'est affirmé par les hommes et les femmes, dans l'usine, il a des travaux plus appropriés pour les hommes, alors que d'autres sont plus appropriés pour les femmes :

Ceci dépend de la nature du propre travail. La manière dont le travail est fait [de pelage et de sélection] mérite même d'être fait par les dames. C'est un travail avec toute l'habileté d'une dame. Qu'est-ce que c'est le travail d'une sélection ? Les dames, chez elles, sélectionnent l'amande pour pouvoir préparer la nourriture, là aussi elles sélectionnent la noix de la même espèce. C'est simple d'avoir de la flexibilité pour travailler (ouvrier).

6 La femme fait le ménage de la résidence du gérant et du contremaître.

Bien qu'il n'existe pas de discriminations du salaire dues au genre, les femmes ouvrières ne peuvent prétendre à d'autres postes qu'à ceux de chefs du secteur de pelage ou de la sélection. Cependant ces « grades » ne les libèrent pas, surtout en ce qui concerne le premier secteur, de l'accomplissement de leur tâche sous les mêmes conditions que leurs collègues. Bien qu'il n'existe pas de réseaux institutionnalisés de mobilité dans l'espace de la production, être une femme, même lorsqu'on exécute des tâches exigeantes, comme dans le secteur de la sélection, fonctionne comme un facteur limitatif de la promotion.

La transformation de la noix (la matière première) en amande de cajou (le produit final) implique la combinaison d'opérations techniques précises au long de diverses phases qui impliquent de la matière première, des instruments de production, des acteurs sociaux, avec leurs savoirs et leurs gestes inséparables des corps qu'ils mettent en pratique, encadrés par un dispositif d'organisation du travail. Celui-ci implique la gestion du temps, le contrôle et la vigilance. Nous sommes face à la chaîne opératoire dont l'étude devra, selon Martinelli (1991: 66), chercher à identifier la façon dont les acteurs sociaux organisent les opérations techniques, les disposent dans un ordre donné, toujours influencées par les contraintes existantes et les options disponibles. Comme c'est évident, dans cette usine, la chaîne opératoire met en évidence non seulement les aspects techniques et le modèle d'organisation engendré – notamment les instruments de productions utilisés, les temps de travail et les formes de contrôle –, mais aussi le caractère social de la production, la nécessité pour les ouvriers de mettre en pratique des formes de coordination du travail et de coopération dans l'espace de production. Comme nous l'avons vu, lors de la discussion sur les effets produits par le changement technique, cette chaîne opératoire, appuyée sur le travail à la tâche, soumet les ouvriers à des rythmes de travail très intenses et marqués par des gestes simples répétés presque jusqu'à l'épuisement, en échange d'un salaire qui est loin de correspondre à leurs besoins vitaux. Il faut dire que le salaire journalier n'est jamais supérieur à deux euros, insuffisant pour la reproduction sociale des ouvriers et de leurs familles. Par conséquent, tous les hommes et toutes les femmes de l'usine travaillent aussi dans leurs « machambas » – petits terrains agricoles où la propriété est garantie pour leur usage – pour produire les céréales et les végétaux destinés à la nourriture quotidienne, en réservant le salaire pour l'acquisition de marchandises, comme sel, sucre, savon, cahiers scolaires pour les enfants et pour le paiement des tarifs obligatoires relatifs à l'accès à l'école et aux hôpitaux.

4. Conclusion

L'industrie de transformation de la noix de cajou constitue un cas concret de transfert et de localisation des machines, outils, techniques et savoir-faire. Sans prendre en considération la mondialisation, il n'est pas possible de comprendre les changements gestionnaires et techniques vérifiés dans cette industrie, qui produisent de très forts

impacts dans l'organisation de la production et des conditions de travail. Pendant les diverses phases du développement industriel et, plus amplement, de l'économie du cajou au Mozambique, le pouvoir de l'État joue toujours un rôle dans la définition du chemin tracé, surtout dans ses virages importants. À ces moments là, le facteur juridique assume une fonction fondamentale, légitimant le nouvel ordre politique et social et ses intérêts dominants. L'action de l'État est conditionnée par les luttes entre les diverses forces sociales essayant d'imposer la configuration qui leur semble mieux servir la défense, l'élargissement de leurs bénéfices et de leurs privilèges. Donc, à chaque moment, les choix pris proviennent de la corrélation des forces existantes. C'est le cas, comme nous l'avons vu, de la privatisation de l'industrie de transformation de la noix de cajou. Même si les experts néolibéraux prétendent être entendus comme étant de nature strictement technique – usines de grandes dimensions et systèmes productifs complexes versus usines de petites dimensions et systèmes productifs simples – ils sont traversés par des relations de force et de pouvoir éminemment politiques.

Comme nous l'avons rehaussé, le choix technique est inséparable des luttes sociales, notamment de celles qui ont lieu à l'intérieur des espaces de production : c'est la dimension politique de toute forme de transmission et de circulation des savoirs. Le triomphe des petites usines est la conséquence directe des nouvelles conditions économiques qui favorisent la compression des salaires et l'augmentation démesurée de la disponibilité de la force de travail au Mozambique, rendant superflu l'investissement en capital fixe.

Ces changements ont des conséquences très concrètes pour les ouvriers. Le système technique leur impose une augmentation très nette de la durée du travail, marquée par la violence des rythmes de production et la fatigue physique sévère, accompagnée de lésions professionnelles et de déformations corporelles. D'autre part, les conditions politiques et sociales actuellement prépondérantes permettent une compression brutale des salaires, au point de ne pas être suffisants pour assurer la reproduction sociale des ouvriers. Malgré tout, le salariat est décisif pour l'accès régulier, bien que marginal, des ouvriers et de leur famille aux échanges de marché, atténuant la dépendance extrême par rapport à la terre et aux gains, toujours incertains, obtenus grâce à la vente des petits excédents de la production agricole. Vivre en-dehors des réseaux monétaires et des échanges implique un quotidien fait de privations extrêmes et d'un accès limité à certains biens et services. Donc ici nous sommes en présence d'une véritable aliénation du travail, promue par les marchés et par de grandes institutions commerciales internationales, relayée par l'état. Enfin, nous sommes en présence de groupes sociaux dépossédés surtout de tout recours juridique et politique. De plus, cette dépossession semble légitimée, rendue acceptable, par le simple fait des exigences du marché international de la noix de cajou, produit alimentaire et symbolique à la fois, puisque personne en Occident ne peut plus imaginer son rituel de « l'apéritif » sans lui !

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Gender Issues in Human trafficking in Edo State, Nigeria

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Abstract

This study examined the predominance of human trafficking within a social cultural milieu in Nigeria, by taking into account gender issues that have reinforced the phenomenon in the region. The paper relied on primary data generated from an anthropological fieldwork conducted in the affected area. A total of 120 household heads were purposively selected and interviewed in order to capture family dynamics and power relations and women status in contemporary Benin society. In addition four key-informants were interviewed to appreciate the historical and cultural context of the Benin people. Furthermore, eighteen (18) Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted among males, females and youths with a view to capturing the insiders' perspective of the perceived gender issues precipitating human trafficking. Findings revealed that the presence of classical patriarchy as shown in high prevalence of polygyny, male-child preference, inheritance and succession systems and highly controlled female sexuality, segregated and unequal access to critical economic resources have continued to heighten the inequality within the social structure in favour of the male child. The paper concluded that efforts targeted towards eradicating existing gender inequality in the region can potentially mitigate the convoluted challenges posed by high human trafficking incidences in the region.

Key words: Human trafficking, Edo State, polygyny, female sexuality, inheritance system

Résumé

Cette étude examine la prédominance de la traite des êtres humains dans un milieu culturel social au Nigeria, en tenant compte des questions de genre qui ont renforcé le phénomène dans la région. Le document s'appuie sur les données issues Primaires d'un travail de terrain anthropologique réalisé dans la zone calls at port. Au total, 120 chefs de ménage ont été choisis you interviewés dessein AFIN à saisir de la dynamique familiale et les relations de pouvoir et le statut des femmes dans la société contemporaine du Bénin. En outre, quatre clés informateurs ont été d'interrogés AFIN apprécier le contexte historique et culturel du peuple béninois. De plus, dix-huit (18) discussions de groupes de discussion (FGD) ont été menées auprès des hommes, des femmes et des jeunes AFIN de saisir la perspective des Initiés sur les ques-

tions de genre perçues comme précipitant la traite des êtres humains. Les résultats révèlent que la présence du Patriarca classique, comme le montre la forte prévalence polygynie de la, la préférence des males et des enfants, les systèmes d'hérédité et de la succession you sexualité féminine hautement contrôlée, l'accès aux ségrégué you inégal ressources économiques critiques ont Continué à l'accentuer inégalité au sein de la structure sociale Faveur de l'enfant mâle. Le document a conclu que les efforts Visant éliminer à l'inégalité entre les sexes dans la région existant pourraient potentiellement atténuer les difficultés compliquées posées par les INCI-DENCES élevées de la traite des êtres humains dans la région.

Mots clés: Trafic d'êtres humains, État d'Edo, polygynie, sexualité féminine, système héréditaire

Introduction

Human trafficking can best be described as a global problem and a modern form of slavery. Women and children are the key target groups because of their unequal socio economic status and their lack of awareness of their legal rights (Onyejekwe, 2005). ILO (2008) estimates indicates, that women and girls make up 98 percent of the overwhelming majority of those trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation. This underscores the gender dimension of sex trafficking which is the focus of this paper. Several factors have been explored as the root causes of human trafficking. These include family disintegration (Lazouri, 2003); gender inequality, Hughes, 1999; Bamgbose, 2005; feminization of poverty, (Aina, 1998; UNDP, 1995 and IOM, 2002), feminization of migration (Martins, 2003); globalization (Musaccio, 2004; Osezua, 2012), and patriarchy (Aghatise 2002, Osezua, 2012). Information provided by National Agency for Prohibition of Traffic in Person NAPTIP for the period 2003-2008 also indicate that 2,120 victims of human trafficking were rescued by the Agency (NAPTIP, 2008). Nigeria is currently been described as a leading country in human trafficking with UNICEF classifying her as a leading country of origin for human trafficking (Skogeth, 2006). The preferred destination of those involved in sex trafficking is include Europe and some African Countries like Mali, Benin Algeria and Libya. A notable and distinguishing dimension of the Nigerian version of human trafficking is the active use of voodoo to charm potential and actual trafficked persons (Osezua, 2016) Despite the fact that prostitution has always existed in Nigeria the phenomena of trafficking for the purpose of international prostitution is relatively recent (Onyeonoru, 2003, Nzeogwu, 2004).

Nigeria is also a signatory to many International Conventions. Some of these Conventions have been domesticated. Some of them include: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948; Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women, CEDAW, 1979; Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of Prostitution of Other, 1949 and the African Charter on Human and People's Rights, 1981. Others include International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention on Minimum age on Forced Labour, 1999; Convention of Rights of Child,

1989 and United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, 2000. This suggests Nigeria has put adequate legal provisions in place to protect women's rights with regards to human trafficking, but the implementation and enforcement remain a controversial matter altogether. Laws are not implemented in a vacuum, but within a social structure. Consequently, Maus, (1990) affirmed that sexual exchange of girls and women embodies deep cultural practices, which often times requires a historic interrogation of the family and kinship structures.

For instance, in Nigeria, the capital of Edo State, metropolitan Benin City is considered as a major market for cross border commercial sex work arising from human trafficking. (Onyeonoru, 2003, Norli, 2006). Majority of the studies previously conducted in relation to women trafficking and international prostitution in Benin City identified economic depression, occasioned by Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) as the root cause of this imbroglio (Women's Health and Action Research Centre (WHARC), 2002; Osakue and Okoedion, 2002; UNICRI/UNODC, 2003; Onyeonoru, 2003). However, there are however no empirical data, which suggest that the *Benin* are the most adversely affected by the economic downturn in Nigeria. Also, all the studies (WHARC, 2002; Osakue and Okoedion, 2002; UNICRI/UNIDOC, 2003) identified the involvement of close relatives or family members. These studies however attribute the Benin family involvement in illegal trafficking for sexual exploitation to poverty (Long, 2004) observed that trafficking for sexual exploitation though a world-wide phenomenon, implicates a cultural practice within the given society.

The objective of this paper is to document cultural practices that has resulted gendered imbalance within the Benin Society that has made the region more vulnerable to human trafficking activities. While no nation functions in isolation of macro forces like the political economy, globalization, liberalization policies, insufficient attention has not been given to socio-cultural factors within the Benin Society. The paper argues that these factors have continued to precipitate gender inequality, which engenders systemic inequality and vulnerability to trafficking incidences, hence this study.

Importantly, previous studies have utilized macro theoretical perspective in explaining the phenomenon of trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Micro theoretical method like ethnography, has the potential of capturing emic perspectives of people and give greater attention to the cultural environment of the study area. Existing social dynamics of a particular society differ from another. This accounts for the reason why some nations are "sending communities" (that is those who traffic) while some are "destination nations" (WHARC, 2002; Mussaccio, 2004). This study bridges the gap in terms of by paying greater attention to the gender issues within a socio-cultural context.

Operational Definition of Concepts

Gender: This refers to culturally defined ways of acting as a male or female that becomes part of a person's sense of self. In other words, children's feelings of being a boy or a girl are defined more by how they are treated by their parents than by their actual biological characteristics (Stockard and Johnson, 1992). Gender draws attention to socially constructed aspects or differences between male and female.

Sex: This refers the biological differences between male and females including primary sex characteristics that are present at birth, which is the presence of specific male or female genitalia and secondary sex characteristics that develop later. Oakley (1974) introduced the term "sex" and "gender" into Anthropology and also defined sex as the biological division into male or female.

Trafficking: Since various agencies have radically addressed the subject of trafficking from different vantage positions, arriving at a definition is an uphill task (Ucarer, 1999). When viewed as a process, trafficking entails several processes of recruitment, transportation and control of victims in final places of destination. Trafficking usually does not occur on its own as there are constituent elements. Hence a definition of trafficking must include the aspect of servitude of victims of trafficking. However, the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime which eventually metamorphosed into the PARLEMO protocol defined trafficking as:

Recruitment, transportation, harboring, receipt of person by threat or use or force, or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud or deception of the abuse of power of position of vulnerability or of giving or receiving payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include as a minimum, the exploitation of others or other forms of sexual exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced abduction or services, slavery practices similar to slavery servitude or the removal of organs.

Exploitation: This is one of the contested concepts in the protocol since it is what distinguishes prostitution by choice from forced migration, or trafficking for the purpose of being sexually exploited. Exploitation therefore implies the process of trafficking, which a person undergoes and then ends up being taken advantage of. Tyldum, Tveit and Brunovski (2005) observed that this is what distinguished the trafficked victim into guilty and innocent; the first being those who engaged in prostitution before their involvement in trafficking incidence while the latter are those who were forced.

Patriarchy: The term 'patriarchy' is being used to refer to the systematic organization of male supremacy and female subordination (Kamarare, 1992; Stacey, 1993; Aina, 1998.).

Patriarchy is therefore a system of male authority which oppresses women through its social, political and economic institutions. Literally patriarchy means rule of the father.

Polygyny: This is a form marriage where a man marries more than one wife at a time.

Gender inequality: Gender inequality refers to the social, cultural, economic, and political disparities between men and women. It describes how men and women are given different opportunities because of their gender. Gender inequality has resulted in the marginalization of many women which in turn perpetuates the inequalities between men and women in society. Due to gender inequality, women all over the world are poorer than men. This has compelled many women to engage in behaviour that are risky to their health. Indeed, there is a relation between the low economic status of women and their involvement in prostitution. (Conseil du statut de la femme, 2002).

Literature Review

Trafficking Women and Sex Slavery

In evaluating the global trend in trafficking activities all over the world, Kempadoo (2005) argued that the interest in trafficking waned globally, for a while, but was greatly resuscitated during the Vietnam war when feminists began to highlight the predominance of sex tourism, militarized prostitution and the attendant development of sex industries. By the beginning of the twenty first century, the United Nations Protocol to Prevent Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons especially women and children, shifted focus towards criminalization and illegal migration (Kempadoo, 2005). Be that as it may, available data suggest that illegal trafficking usually involved some degree of coercion or even deception by traffickers. For example, the Human Rights Watch (2001) likened the phenomenon to slave-like practices. Even the studies conducted in Benin City on human trafficking for the purpose of sexual transactions have established significant forms of coercions and deception (UNICRI/UNDOC, 2003). Furthermore, Malthazan (2001) disclosed that women are sold like commodities, many times over, thereby increasing the profits realized by traffickers. He further revealed that less risk is involved in sexual trafficking of women, with the excessive profits associated with it has continued to make trafficking for sexual exploitation more attractive to human traffickers than illegal drugs or arms transactions.

Another perspective to the phenomena of human trafficking and highlighted is the issue of consent. Bhabha (2005) observed that the United Nations Convention on Transnational Organized Crime had two distinct protocols; the Trafficking Protocol which came into force in December, 2003, and the Smuggling Protocol which came into force in January, 2008. Since our focus is essentially on the phenomena of trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation, then not much attention would be paid to the protocol on smuggling.

Generally there is a paucity of accurate data on trends and magnitude of human trafficking around the world. Due to the clandestine nature of trafficking, volumes of women trafficked in Nigeria for the purpose of international prostitution is very limited. Several studies suggest that Nigerian women make up the largest percentage of illegally trafficked workers in Italy. Loconto, (2002) discloses that in Italy, between 1994 and 1998 alone, about 116 Nigerian girls were killed in sex-related violence.

Young women, who are potential victims of sex-trafficking, are usually recruited by organized syndicates, which have both local and international network (Giwa -Osagie, 1999). She states these syndicates, through some of the known family members, enticed the victims with material benefits of traveling 'abroad'. She also reveals that desperate parents have sold property to enable their children travel to Europe for prostitution. The traffickers usually procured traveling documents for these women, which are usually confiscated as soon as the victims arrived at their destinations (Parrandang, 1999). This was to ensure compliance to the directives of the traffickers and the *madams* (Onosode, 1999).

There is a consensus among researchers that the amount of money, which the trafficked victims are required to remit to their *madams*, is usually outrageous. This is further exacerbated by the oath of compliance and secrecy, which the victims have been previously subjected to. Abhulimen (1999) discloses that pubic hair, fingers or toe-nails of trafficked victims were used by traffickers for rituals or *'juju'*, prior to their departure from Nigeria. Studies have also revealed that due to the involvement of rituals in trafficking and international sex slavery among the *Benin*, disclosing the identities of the traffickers and the *ritualists* by victims is usually very difficult (UNICRI/UNDOC, 2003). The study further reveals that while some of the traffickers had loose net-works, other trafficking syndicate had formidable and well organized networks. Most of these networks of traffickers cut across international boundaries, with membership drawn from highly placed indigenes of Benin and some prominent Nigerians. The study concludes that most of the people charged with human trafficking in Benin City, were not often prosecuted due to lack of evidences.

Gender and Benin Culture: The *Benin* are in Edo state of Southern Nigeria, which was carved out of the former Mid- Western State (1963-1976) of the defunct Western Region, and later known as Bendel State (1976-1991). The total area of Benin speaking people covers over 4000sq/km (Bradbury, 1957), with a population of about a million people (Federal Office of Statistics, 1995). Benin City is located approximately 250 km east of Lagos, the former capital city of Nigeria. It is the ancestral home of the *Benin* people who trace their genealogy to a common ancestor. There are different ethnic groups currently living in Benin City, but these people are different from the *Benin* since they do not share a common ancestral history. Benin City is called "*Edo*" by its inhabitants and individuals who are from Benin City refer to themselves as "*Oviedo*", child of Benin, or "*Ovioba*", subject of the *Oba* (Bradbury, 1957). While *Benin* served as a territorial label, with the advent of the colonial contact *Benin* has been adopted to

represent the territorial label in recent times as in Benin Division, Benin City, Benin Kingdom. However, both "Benin" and "Edo" serve as ethnic and linguistic labels for the indigenous inhabitants of Benin territory (Okpoko and Agbontaen, 1993). The people of Benin were historically referred to as *Benin* or *Oviedo*. This also means therefore that people who are indigenes of Benin City are referred to as the *Benin*. For the purpose of this study, the pre-colonial label "Benin" would be adopted except when there are direct references to the current capital of Edo State, Benin City.

The Benin people have been described as a typical example of a patriarchal society (Egharevba, 1949, Ebohon, 1996). For instance, it is customary for women to be subjected to series of oaths (Ebohon, 1996). For example, Ebohon (1996) reveals that married women in Benin are made to swear oaths of marital faithfulness in the family shrine. Also, in the event of the death of a man, his wife or wives are also made to swear at the village shrine 'ogwedion' to establish innocence over their husbands' death. The law of inheritance recognized the primogeniture which privileges the males from each door. "Ubro" as eldest son of each woman in a polygynous marriage represented a 'door'. Girls were generally perceived as less important to male children and are described as "half current" depicting that it is with less virility of manhood that the female child is conceived, while the male child is the apt expression of man's sexual strength and prowess, thereby seen as "full current." Women are culturally related to as "transitory beings" that have no significant portion in the family's estate (igiogbe) and also considered less preferred beneficiaries of Western education when a choice is to be made has a result of scarce economic resources.

Evidently, the review highlights the veracity of giving attention to context in understanding the phenomenon of human trafficking even though it is a social problem with global magnitude.

Theoretical Frame Work:

I engage two theoretical analyses, the unified gender kinship model that examines more critically, elements within the social structure which generate gender inequality with a specific cultural context and radical feminism.

Unified Gender Kinship Model

According to Yanagasiko and Collier (2004) in analyzing social whole, the model is relevant when studying facts. They argued that 'facts' are socially constructed, which therefore underscores the importance of investigating the underlining symbolic meanings. There is also an assumption of 'systemic inequality', which suggests a prestige structure that calls for analysis. This is crucial considering the sensitive nature of the phenomenon under investigation. Yanagasiko and Collier (2004) explain that cultural analysis involved gaining insights into the nature of social relationships within specific contexts. They explicated on the need to adopt a historical and comparative analysis in understanding relationships between gender, kinship and change.

They further posit that systemic inequality will enable one understand subjective meanings of given 'facts' as well as structural location of the respondents. Yanagasiko and Collier (2004) maintained that cultural analysis, involved interrogating the nature of social relationships within specific context; the people's evaluation of prestige models, which are usually encoded in their description and interpretations of events or social relationship. They concluded by stating the need to adopt a historical and comparative analysis in the light of the fact that meanings attached to words or events which they argued cannot be a- historical.

This theoretical model is relevant to the current study in that it emphasizes a culture-specific gender relation analyses. This no doubt provided adequate insight to the specificity of illegal migration and international sex transaction among the people of *Benin*. In this case, cultural meanings, which the *Benin* identifies as family, roles and expectations, obligation, and values, are brought to the fore. Among the Benin people, prestige structure is indicative of the value system in the society. For instance, the prominence of a Benin man is rooted in his relevance and relationship to the palace. Hence Curnow (1997) observed that virility and regal display of wealth and relatedness to the palace characterized the concept of *ukponmwan* that is a real man. Also primogeniture gives the eldest son access to the family inheritance known as *igiogbe*. This has implication on wealth distribution in the Benin Society. Inequality in wealth distribution privileges the males and places greater value for male children especially the eldest son in a family. As observed by Osarumwense (1999) the concept of *igiogbe* is very crucial to the traditional Benin Society. Another element within the Benin society which is suggestive of systemic inequality is access to land which is an important economic resource. Traditional Benin City was basically agrarian, which again placed those who could own land in position of advantage. Arguably, this lack of access may not be synonymous with just Benin women, but the inheritance system continually eliminates women from ownership of vital economic resources, which compels dependence and powerlessness. Again, just like Yanagasiko and Collier (2004) posited, the need for a cultural analysis within specific context which involves examining the relationship within specific context is crucial. Hence among many people of this extraction, being polygynous has traditionally been perceived as a measure of wealth and prominence. Women were therefore to be acquired as physical acquisitions rather than seen as partners. Consequently, colonial contact only bequeathed to women the legacy of owning property (Osarumwense, 1999). At this point in time, things began to change as women who owned property became less dependent on their husbands who most times had several other wives. Competition, rivalries and suspicion are typical characteristics of many Benin traditional families. Expectedly, the cultural element of *ubro* known as gate, other factors like ancestral worship which has a very close affinity with and with the status of the woman in the Benin Society.

Secondly, the model takes systemic inequality as given and therefore emphasizes the need to appraise the value structure of the *Benin*. In this case, cultural meanings attached

to gender roles, obligation, are vital in appreciating the gender issues. Among the Benin Society, the wife is seen as an inversion of the ideal Curnow (1997). Women are made to swear to oaths of fidelity before family shrines. A married woman was placed under very many rules of sexual restrictions which are considered sacrosanct. Violation of such sexual rules was usually sanctioned by the affinal kins and the ancestors would have to be appeased. Ancestral worship is still very common in Benin despite the upsurge in the establishment of several Pentecostal churches in the city. (Osezua, 2016). However, colonial contact has altered the status of women as many have begun to own businesses and build their own houses. This apparent "freedom" arising from financial empowerment may have given women of this extraction greater impetus to clamor for more wealth.

Generally, the society is stratified on the basis of class. Class distinction was also portrayed in the patterns of dressing among the Benin people. Okpokunu, Agbontaen-Eghafona and Ojo (2005) explored the relationships between various classes in tradition Benin and dress patterns. They explained that Benin dress patterns reflected the social hierarchy which was characteristic of the Benin people with the Oba at the apex.

. With the advent of colonialism, corresponding social changes had occurred in the style and patterns of dress worn by contemporary Benin. However, dressing is still very important to an average Benin man who pays great attention to what he wears. As Curnow, (1997) succinctly puts it, clothes make men in Benin and yardages and exorcism are badges of wealth. Dress is therefore a major avenue through which class distinction is maintained and perpetuated. For instance, certain coral beads and ivory are still the exclusive preserve of the Oba, while the chiefs can wear only certain designated attire (Curnow, 1997).

Thirdly, the theory accommodates gradual or drastic change, which is buttressed by the adoption of ahistorical analyses and a comparative viewpoint in order to verify the sequence and causes of change. One of the critical elements of changes witnessed in pre-colonial Benin was their contact with the Portuguese in the eighteenth century as reported by Igbafe (1979). That altered significantly, the belief systems with the reported conversion of the then Monarch to Christianity and the visit of the crown prince to Portugal. In addition, the language pidgin English was an inevitable outcome of the indigenes' relationship with the Portuguese.

Many of the economic transactions were conducted at the Oba's discretion and prerogative. It is noteworthy that there were obvious trajectories in the economic activities which led to a high demand placed in cultivation of rubber for the exportation purposes.

Although, many studies have identified poverty as the root cause of human trafficking, the systemic inequality leading to gender discrimination has been touched on very casually. In conclusion, this model supports Maus' (1990) declaration that sexual exchange of girls and women embodies deep cultural practices and is historically embedded in

many family and kinship systems. In conclusion, the shortcoming of this theoretical analysis lies basically on its limited application and specificity to context which are highly variable, making generalization impossible.

Radical Feminism: The central argument of radical feminism is the consensus among these theorists about the structured and systematized operation of patriarchy in all human societies, carefully orchestrated and facilitated by the economic, ideological, emotional and legal structures in these societies. This scenario places women at the receiving end, making them barely able to resist patriarchal control and oppression both at the individual level and sometimes at the group level. Consequently, women are generally perceived as sexual objects met to satisfy the unbridled sexual desires of men. They are also viewed as ornamental signs of man's status and power (Ritzer, 2000). Radical feminists therefore seek to abolish this perceived patriarchy (Willis, 1984). They argue that the way to deal with patriarchy and oppression of all kinds against women is to attack the underlying causes of these problems and address the fundamental components of society that support them. Radical feminists believe that eliminating patriarchy, and other systems which perpetuate the domination of one group over another, will liberate women from an unjust society.

The utility of this theory lies in its ability to paint an apt picture of the Benin traditional society and its social structures. The degree of patriarchy has also been observed by radical feminists to vary from one society to another. As has been observed by various scholars (Egarevbha, 1949; Igbafe, 1979; Curnow 1997), Benin has been described as a clear example of a highly patriarchal society. Some of the critical indicators of patriarchy are the institution of primogeniture, the excessive sexual restrictions placed on women on chastity; gender segregated utensils and poor status of women in the Benin society except those who are blue blooded, that is those of royal parentage. Also polygynous marriages are highly prevalent as the number of wives a man has is seen as status booster. Divorce or separation is generally frowned at as women are expected to learn to be totally subservient to their husbands. This study proposes that classical patriarchy is a critical factor that has resulted in the phenomenon of sex trafficking among the Benin.

Study Area:

Benin City, the capital of Edo State has an enviable history on pre-colonial West Africa based on its expansiveness and the density of rich cultural heritage. The region had the first contact with the Europeans in the mid-15th century and a sustained commercial intercourse which largely influenced the Benin culture and language. Till date, Pidgin English is still widely spoken in the region, representing the vestiges of this contact. The arrival of the Portuguese was a very significant aspect of the Benin history (Bradbury, 1957). Although the Portuguese sought to Christianise the *Benin*

people on the contrary, the Benin were more interested in a commercial intercourse with the Portuguese (Igbafe, 1979). Igbafe added that the great demand for slaves by the Portuguese became a valuable means of wealth for the *Benin*, with the Oba of Benin being the royal monopolist in the sale of slaves to the Portuguese.

Males constituted the bulk of slaves sold in this region as they were in higher demand than the female slaves. With the abolition of slave trade, pre-colonial Benin Kingdom had benefitted tremendously, and the social class between the ruling class and the ordinary citizens had widened. Benin though an agrarian economy was traditionally known for brass casting, blacksmithing and carving which were male dominated tasks.

The women were usually part of traditional guilds that made beads and clothes, locating them in the domain of providing aesthetic significance to the Oba and his chiefs. The introduction of a monetized economy served to erode the privileges of the dominate class of the haves and led to the emergence of a new class of men who could attain to the highest level of significance if they had money.

In terms of post-independence experience, Benin City had its fair share of the Structural Adjustment Policy popularly referred to as SAP, which some scholars argue led to the emergence of human trafficking for international prostitution in the region (Oyeonoru, 2001). Presently, Benin City can be described as a civil service town (Omorodion, 2004). Ancestral worship is still dominant despite the presence of several Pentecostal churches which also is dominant. It is the home of the Late Archbishop Benson Idahosa, who is reputed to have turned the face of Christianity in Nigeria with the introduction of the gospel of prosperity. This gained wide acceptance based on the natural display of flamboyance reminiscent of prosperous empire of pre-colonial Benin..

Methods:

This paper relied on the ethnographic data generated from a fieldwork survey carried out in Benin City, and two other neighbouring communities/Local government areas; Egor and Uhumwode in 1999 (March-May). This selection was based on the researches that have classified the region as the hub of human trafficking in Nigeria (Onyeonoru, 2003, WHARC, 2002). Oredo and Egor Local government areas located in city of Benin while Uhumwode is the largest local government area of the Benin people in the suburb. Since this is an ethnographic study which sought to understand the depth of social phenomena within a specific historical and social-cultural context, the study therefore employed an array of qualitative data collection techniques. These include; (i) household/ family based interview, (ii) Focus Group Discussions using Vignette stories, (iii) Key -informant interview, ((iv) Observation method

Forty (40) households were purposively selected from each local government (Oredo, Egor and Uhumwode) based on two criteria; ethnic origin and socio- economic status. A

total of 120 household/ family based interviews were conducted in all. Household heads were targeted to provide information on their households. Data obtained through these avenue provided information on the changes within the family structures and gender relationships among the Benin. A total of 18 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) using vignette stories were conducted on three categories of people; adult women, adult men and youths. Each FDG category consisted of 7-12 participants. The vignettes¹ stories were in two parts; (a) the story of trafficked victim that ended on a “happy note” and (b) the story of a trafficked victim that ended on a “tragic note.” In each local government, the three categories of participants were exposed to both the “happy” and the “tragic” stories. This added up to six (6) FGDs in each local government area. Data obtained through this method helped identify and analyze and document the gender issues precipitating trafficking incidences of sex trafficking in Benin women and their family structure. Four (4) key- informants which included a male and a female who are versed in Benin culture and the family institution, a representative of a Non -Governmental Organization (NGO) who had done extensive work in trafficking among the Benin people, and an opinion leader were targeted. Information sourced through this technique provided insight to the cultural factors that precipitated trafficking and international prostitution among the Benin. These methods were complemented with observation of social events like wedding and burial ceremonies in order to document the gender issues associated with human trafficking among the Benin people. In all, 120 household interviews, 4 key-informants interviews, 18 FGDs were conducted.

Ethical Consideration

Due to the sensitive nature of the study, participation was voluntary. Attempts were made to explain the objectives of the research to the various categories of participants included in this study and their decision for anonymity was respected. All participants were duly informed of their right to withdraw at any time from the study.

Data Analysis: The data were analysed using the content-based approach as suggested by DeVault (1990); Woods, Priest and Roberts (2002). Since all the interviews were recorded, all of them were transcribed verbatim and checked for accuracy. The transcripts were rereads several times by the author and thematic patterns which emerged from the participants perspectives were documented. Hence, all the transcribed data were reviewed line-by-line to analyze the main concepts, and these concepts were given codes. Relationships between codes were organized into thematic categories. Common themes which emerged through this process reflected a shared understanding among all participants in the FGDs, household heads and the key informants. To provide an indication of the accuracy of theme generation and allocation, three well experienced

social researchers in qualitative techniques were approached to participate in the data coding process as suggested by Woods, et al (2002). From the transcripts coded in this manner, a resulting level of agreement (70%) was achieved.

Discussion of Findings

Table 1: Socio-demographics of Household Heads:

	Local Government of Origin							
	Egor		Oredo		Uhumwode		Total	
	N=40	%	N= 40	%	N=40	%	N=120	%
Marital Status of family heads								
Married	31	77.5	32	80.0	30	75.0	93	77.5
Separated/Divorce	5	12.5	4	10.0	2	5.0	11	9.2
Widower/Widow	4	10.8	4	10.8	8	20.0	16	13.2
Occupation of family heads	5	12.5	4	10.0	10	25.0	19	15.8
Artisan								
Civil Servant	10	25.0	9	22.5	10	25.0	29	24.2
Professionals	5	12.5	6	15.0	2	5.0	13	10.8
Retirees	10	25.5	12	30.0	12	30.0	34	28.3
Self employed	20	40.0	9	22.5	10	25.0	19	15.8
Religion of Family Heads	32	80.0	29	72.5	31	77.5	92	76.7
Christianity								
Muslim	2	5.0	-	-	-	-	2	1.6
Traditional Religious Beliefs	6	15.0	11	27.5	9	22.5	26	21.7
Family Head Monthly Income								
Less than N10,000.00	9	22.5	9	22.5	12	30.0	30	25.0
N10001, -N35,000	21	52.5	18	45.0	16	40.0	55	45.8
N35,001 – N65,000	07	17.5	10	25.0	10	25.0	27	22.5
N65,001- N100,000	2	5.0	2	5.0	2	5.0	6	5.0
# 100,000.00 or more	1	2.5	1	2.5	0	0	2	1.7

Socio-demographics of Key Informants and Focus Group Discussion Participants:

All the key informants fell within the age range of 41 – 85years of age. All except one are Christians. The least qualification that key informants had was a Nursing and Midwifery certificate while the highest qualification obtained by the key informants is a doctor of philosophy (PhD) degree. The age category of the FGD participants across

the three locations ranged between 15 and 68 years, with the adult male groups ranging between 40 and 68 while the female adult group ranged between 35 and 60. The youth group age ranged between 15 and 30 in all the locations. In the adults category, (male / female) FGD group comprised of professionals like teachers, architects, social workers and lawyers and non- professional such as clerks, salon /hair dressers, market women, artisans, vulcanizers, among others. The youth group comprised of artisans, bus conductor, *okada* riders, but majority of them were students in public Senior Secondary classes. Majority of the participants are Christians with some claiming to be traditional belief adherents. The FGD conducted in each location was done by reading out the vignettes which were in two parts; a story of trafficked victim that ended on a tragic note and the second one was a vignette of a trafficked victim that ended on a positive and apparently successful note.

Study Findings

Social Cultural Factors Precipitating Gender Inequality among the Benin People:

Prevalence of Polygyny: Findings from the fieldwork showed that a total of 74 households representing 64.1% of the entire households in the study area are still polygynous. This goes to highlight the pervasiveness of polygyny among the Benin despite the strong westernization influences arising from early colonial contact. The number of wives ranged from 2-7 wives. Incidence of polygyny is relatively higher in Oredo local government area despite its metropolitan status. Furthermore, marital status of household heads revealed that divorced or separated is relatively low in that only 9.2% of the total number of household interviewed are divorced or separated. This further buttresses the value placed by the Benin on marriage institution. However, more cases of separation and divorce were recorded in Egor (12.5%) and the Oredo (10.0%) the urban areas.

The implication is that such marriage practice is also closely associated with having many children. Many of the female children became exposed too early as a result of the economic downturn in Nigeria. Many are made to source for viable means of livelihood. This was aggravated because most of these young females were not sent to schools because in the times of scarcity economic resources, the girl child is usually the one who suffered neglect and then is withdrawn from school so that the male child would attend school.

b) Male-Child Preference

Among the Benin, the study revealed that there is greater preference for the male child based on two basic reasons: inheritance system in Benin which recognized or reckons with descent only through the male line and the concept of *urho* "door". The door is used to depict the kind of polygynous relationship in existence in Benin. For instance, a male house-hold in Oredo opined;

If a woman is producing only female children, take another wife to get a male child.

Male, 37, Civil Servant (Oredo)

On the contrary, a female member of a household interviewed in Oredo argued thus: *It is God that gives children and no matter the type or the sex of the child. These days family could go extra mile to do anything to change the sex through herbal means, but I believe that God knows the best for you.*

Female, Trader, 53, (Oredo)

Whereas, another female member of a household in Egor was ambivalent in her views *A child is a child, whether boy or girl.*

Female, Primary School Teacher, 45, (Egor)

In what could be considered as a departure from the norm among the Benin, one of the household heads in Uhumwode observed a change in the perception of the society towards the girl-child, largely due to the fact that she is considered as a potential economic good. She explained;

The mothers of girls now have more voice and are been accorded more respect. When they are more than one wife the competition becomes very tough.

Female, Market woman, 47, (Uhumwode)

Moreover, despite the presumed fortunes, which the female children have been synonymous with in Benin, there is still strong preference for male children in the region. Most of the household heads (males) are still of the opinion that male children's place of cultural importance cannot be eroded, no matter the level of social change that the Benin society is currently witnessing. Many of the men rejected a situation where their son would have all females' children without a male child, stating that it was totally unacceptable. Most men considered the option of marrying another wife for their sons, if their wives failed to have male children. They insisted that such woman would be sent away. Others felt that they would go and do something about the situation, which is, engaging the means of the Supernatural intervention to have a male child.

Social Inequality within the Benin Society:

Understanding the social structure in place is vital in appreciating the context in which human trafficking incidences is embedded. The view of this key informant was instructive and aptly described the context. The informant, a highly revered chief in Benin City and widely acknowledged for his versatility in Benin culture, disclosed:

Great Benin kingdom was one of the greatest empires with great sense of organization. The early European, that is the Portuguese whom the natives referred to as 'Kpotokin' (the corrupted indigenous versions the word, Portugese by the Indigenes) till date were greatly amazed at the level of socio-political organization which distinguished the empire. If you have ever been to Ring Road, Benin city you would

notice that it is an intersection of nine roads which lead to different parts of the country, to Warri, Asaba, Gele Gele, Abuja and even Lagos. Moreover, you would also notice the settlement patterns of the people, highly organized, the blacksmith, sculptors, weavers and even the those who work with iron have their own quarters. This simply amazed the early Europeans. As early as the 18th century, the Benin had ambassadors in Spain. The long relationship which the Benin had with these Europeans was profound. Our cultural roots are very deep and this was a psychological boost for the Benin. The Benin man is very proud: he had this self-sufficient posture. So are the girls.

Based on the knowledge of the context, the type of relationships within the context as posited by Yanagasiko and Collier (2004), exploring the such relationships provided insight into systemic inequality and trajectories in the society, hence another male key informant, a renowned chronicler of Benin History further explained:

Traditionally, a wife was economically self-sufficient in that she provided for her children from the piece of land given to her by her husband to cultivate. Also women were exposed to different informal schools like poultry, animal husbandry, music or even traditional medicine. Some of them understood human physiology. This is because a woman was said to be very close to nature in Benin philosophy. Hence, in Benin, a married woman could not shake hands with another man. She could not stretch her legs out for another man to cross over, if a man were to stare at her lecherously, then she was expected to report the incidence to her husband; otherwise she would incur the wrath of the ancestors. Adultery incurred the wrath of the gods which could ultimately lead to the death of the husband by the gods. The women were put under traditional oaths of allegiance since this was the only means to ascertain fidelity of a woman for reproductive purposes.

This view was corroborated by an octogenarian female key informant, who is a Princess. She described the status of Benin woman:

When a woman came into a family, whatever the family forbade is what she forbade. When the woman was menstruating, she could not reach the apartment of the husband. She must not cook or even touch anything that belonged to her husband. She could not even greet the husband. She would need an intermediary to do so. In the palace, as at today, all these practices are still in operation. The man and his wife cannot use the same bucket for bathing.

The findings further accentuate the state of women in Benin Society which has significantly gone through changes mediated by colonial contact, introduction of wage economy, neo-liberal economic policies, migration among many other factors.

Changes in Traditional Belief System and gender implication:

The data obtained from the household interviews conducted suggest that traditional beliefs were still pervasive even though many claimed to be Christians. Ancestral worship served as a key institution of regulating social behavior. It is also important that ancestor worship is the underlying factor that helps perpetuate the rule of primogeniture among the Benin. Hence, the males are usually the custodians of the family shrines community shrines and other traditional worship centres.

A consideration of the changes in Benin traditional family structure showed that ancestral worship was still pervasive with 76 (63.3%) out of the 120 households claiming that it is still an integral aspect of life in Benin. Reasons identified for such practices included the preservative/protective functions the ancestors are believed to play in the affairs of the living kinsmen. Consequently, a cultural practice which has a gender dimension is the oath swearing which has been incorporated into the human trafficking acts in the region. For instance, a male key informant disclosed that oath taking of an integral part of admitting a won into the family. It was a symbolic representation of loyalty and allegiance to her family of procreation.

“Every family had ritual restrictions that were observed by the females. For example, “*emanode*”{previous day pounded yam} was “*awaa*”(forbidden) in many families. A woman had to abide by these rules. When she entered into a family she had to swear by that family’s shrine that she would not spoil that home (i.e. cause any havoc or bring about disaffection among the agnatic kins. In the event of husband’s death, she also has to swear that she is not guilty

Majority of household heads (who were largely males) agreed that ancestral worship served to regulate the sexual activities of family members especially the female members; and ensured compliance to community mores, family traditions and customs. Hirschson (1984) has observed that in societies where classical patriarchy is endemic, older men controlled women and children but usually ensured that the honour of a family was significantly tied to the honour of the females in that society. This explains one of the reasons why several restrictions were usually targeted towards the women in order for that family to enjoy certain prestige within the society. For instances, reasons for such sexual restriction was identified by one of the male key informants as posited;

Traditionally, a wife was economically self- sufficient in that she provided for her children from the piece of land given to her by her husband to cultivate. Also women were exposed to different informal schools like poultry, animal husbandry, music or even traditional medicine. Some of them understood human physiology. This is because a woman was said to be very close to nature in Benin philosophy. Hence, in Benin, a married woman could not shake hands with another man. She could not stretch her legs out for another man to cross over, if a man were to stare at her lecherously, then she was expected to report the incidence to her husband; otherwise she would incur the wrath of the ancestors. Adultery incurred the wrath of the gods which could ultimately lead to the death of the husband by the gods. The women were put under traditional oaths of allegiance since this was the only means to ascertain fidelity of a woman for reproductive purposes.

These extracts further helped to underscore the critical gender inequality inherent within the social structure. Another female key informant described the conservative disposition of Benin culture in regards to the sexuality of the females. She noted:

When a woman came into a family, whatever the family forbade is what she forbade. When the woman was menstruating, she could not reach the apartment of the husband. She must not cook or even touch anything that belonged to her husband. She could not even greet the husband. She would need an intermediary to do so. In the palace, as at today, all these practices are still in operation. The man and his wife cannot use the same bucket for bathing.

The octogenarian female key informant resonated in line with the earlier observations made by the previous key informants:

A man then was the head of the home and with wife or wives and children supporting all the decisions of the man. Whatever the man decided was final and could not be questioned. This continued for a long time and even now, modernization is changing things. A woman was seen as a property just like any other patriarchal set-up in Nigeria. She was seen as a property as soon as the bride price was paid. The wives were subject to the husband in all things and the husband’s wish overpowered everything she did. The woman could not call her husband by name. She could not even stay in the same apartment with him during her period.

Identified Factors of Causes of Human Trafficking among the Benin People

A total of 18 Focus Group Discussions were conducted. One of the questions was to know the involvement of parents in trafficking female minors. A culture that was completely averse to sexual promiscuity of any degree can be permissive to the point of playing active roles in the process of trafficking. Find below the table and the key FGD participants views as follows

Table 2: Perceived Reasons why Mothers' support their daughters' involvement Sex Trafficking

Responses of Categories	Oredo						Egor						Uumwode					
	Ma	Mb	Fa	Fb	Ya	Yb	Ma	Mb	Fa	Fb	Ya	Yb	Ma	Mb	Fa	Fb	Ya	Yb
1. Wickedness	+	-	+	-	++	-	++	-	+	-	+	-	++	+	++	-	++	++
2. Desire for liberty (freedom)	++	++	+	++	-	-	+	++	+	++	-	-	+	++	++	-	-	-
3. Desire to acquire property	++	++	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	++	+	++	+	+	++	-	+	++
4. Greed	-	-	+	-	-	-	++	-	++	-	-	-	++	-	+	-	++	-
5. Competition and rivalry in the family	-	-	+	+	+	+	++	+	++	+	-	-	-	++	++	-	++	-
6. Women's belief that children are a means to an end	+	++	-	++	+	-	-	++	-	+	++	+	-	++	++	++	++	+
7. Loss of cultural values	++	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	++	-	-	-
8. Ignorance of hazards of prostitution	=	=	++	=	=	++	=	=	++	++	++	++	=	=	++	++	=	=
9. Poverty	-	++	-	+	++	++	+	++	++	++	++	++	+	+	++	++	++	++
10. Societal Pressure	-	++	-	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	+	++	++	++	++

KEY

Ma – Male FGD group that was exposed to vignette A: The story of a trafficked victim that ended on tragic note.

Fa –Female FGD group that was exposed to vignette A: the story of a trafficked victim that ended up on a happy note

Ya–Youth FGD group that was exposed to vignette A, the story of a trafficked victim that ended up on a tragic note.

Mb–Male FGD group that was exposed to vignette B: The story of a trafficked victim that ended on tragic note.

Fb–Female FGD group that was exposed to vignette A: the story of a trafficked victim that ended up on a happy note.

Yb –Youth FGD group that was exposed to vignette B, the story of a trafficked victim that ended up on a happy note.

++ Where opinions were strongly expressed by four or more participants in the FGD)

+ Where opinions were mildly expressed by participants three or less participants in the FGD

- Where opinion was not expressed by any of the participants

Table 3: Perceived Status and Role of Fathers in Trafficking in the Study Areas

Responses of Categories	Oredo						Egor						Uumwode					
	Ma	Mb	Fa	Fb	Ya	Yb	Ma	Mb	Fa	Fb	Ya	Yb	Ma	Mb	Fa	Fb	Ya	Yb
1. Fathers are generally lazy and do not want to work	+	-	-	-	+	-	++	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Fathers encourage it when they are ultimate beneficiaries	++	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
3. They are threatened and can no longer control women	+	++	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	++	+	-	-	-	++	-	-	-
4. 4)Fathers have lost control over the family due to economic hardship	+	++	++	+	-	-	++	-	++	-	-	-	++	-	+	++	+	-
5. Polygyny and too many children have affected fathers control over the family	++	++	++	-	-	+	++	+	++	+	-	-	-	++	++	-	++	-
6. Women are no longer controllable	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	++	-	+	++	+	-	+	++	+	-	-

Key:

Ma – Male FGD group that was exposed to vignette A: The story of a trafficked victim that ended on tragic note.

Fa –Female FGD group that was exposed to vignette A: the story of a trafficked victim that ended up on a happy note

Ya–Youth FGD group that was exposed to vignette A, the story of a trafficked victim that ended up on a tragic note.

Mb–Male FGD group that was exposed to vignette B: The story of a trafficked victim that ended on tragic note.

Fb–Female FGD group that was exposed to vignette A: the story of a trafficked victim that ended up on a happy note.

Yb –Youth FGD group that was exposed to vignette B, the story of a trafficked victim that ended up on a happy note.

++ Where opinions were strongly expressed by four or more participants in the FGD)

+ Where opinions were mildly expressed by participants three or less participants in the FGD

- Where opinion was not expressed by any of the participants in the FGD session.

Table 4: Perceived Roles and Status of the Trafficked female Victim in the Family

Responses of Categories	Oredo						Egor						Uumwode					
	Ma	Mb	Fa	Fb	Ya	Yb	Ma	Mb	Fa	Fb	Ya	Yb	Ma	Mb	Fa	Fb	Ya	Yb
1. The victim did not have a choice due to family pressure	+	-	+	-	+	-	++	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+
2. Victim was a good girl and wanted to salvage her family. (Sacrificial Lamb)	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
3. She was a victim of circumstances	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	++	+	-	-	-	++	-	+	-
4. She had no fear of God	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
5. She was fortunate and her destiny was good	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
6. She was greedy.	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	++	+	+	-
7. She is usually worshipped like demi-gods in the family when the succeed	-	-	-	+	+	++	-	+	-	++	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	++

Key:

Ma – Male FGD group that was exposed to vignette A: The story of a trafficked victim that ended on a tragic note.

Fa – Female FGD group that was exposed to vignette A: the story of a trafficked victim that ended up on a happy note

Ya – Youth FGD group that was exposed to vignette A, the story of a trafficked victim that ended up on a tragic note.

Mb – Male FGD group that was exposed to vignette B: The story of a trafficked victim that ended on a tragic note.

Fb – Female FGD group that was exposed to vignette A: the story of a trafficked victim that ended up on a happy note.

Yb – Youth FGD group that was exposed to vignette B, the story of a trafficked victim that ended up on a happy note.

++ Where opinions were strongly expressed by four or more participants in the FGD)

+ Where opinions were mildly expressed by participants three or less participants in the FGD

- Where opinion was not expressed by any of the participants in the FGD session.

Table 2 shows participants' reaction to mothers' roles and involvements in trafficking of their female children are directly related to outcome of trafficking and the gender of the participants. So when trafficking ended "successfully", participants observed that the mothers were quietly or subtly commended but when it ended on a tragic note, she was often derided and described as "wicked" "heartless" or "bad". However when trafficking ended on a successful note like the case of the story in vignette B, she was hardly derided before her face. Even if people resented what she was doing, many people would never ridicule her directly.

FGD participants sought to explain the reasons why mothers may have played active roles in offering their daughters to be sold in the international sex market. Factors like poverty, desire to acquire property which are not accessible to the women folks and desire to be liberated from dominant patriarchal control of men were identified. On the other hand, all the male participants in all the local governments were of the opinion that the women's desire for freedom is what has necessitated connivance between them and their daughters for the purpose of trafficking. This observation was made by these male participants only when trafficking outcomes were tragic as the case of the story in vignette A. It is important to clarify that the freedom or liberty that is referred to by the male adult participants in the FGDs conducted is the one freedom associated with a master servant or a teacher –apprentice relationship which infers a power relation. The word "freedom" used by the males adults in the FGDs are therefore uncomplimentary and an indication of their reservation about the changes in the status of women.

In Oredo, the desire for liberty by women was expressed with greater strength in the two categories of FGDs conducted among them, than was the case in Uhumwode. Here are some of the factors identified by FGD participants as to the present role of mothers' involvements in trafficking of their female children among the Benin people of Edo State. These factors highlighted by the participants can be categorized into three main broad themes- socio-cultural factors, psychological factors and economic factors.

Liberty is seen here as a freedom from culture's oppressive influences over the women. Evidences from literature have established that women are generally conceived as inversion of the ideal and that patriarchy was essentially hegemonic in both colonial and post -colonial Benin. Below is an excerpt from an FGD participant (female) in Oredo where there was a very strong opinion in favour of women's liberty

Liberty is what she wanted. She wanted to be able to own property and do what she wants. Let her eat the property now (She stated this with sarcasm). This is because of our crave for property. (Referring to the Benin). No matter what, there is a reward. Prostitution always ends on a bad note one day.

This view is corroborated by one of the female key informants' views stated below:

The issue is that women think that proceeds from trafficking and international prostitution bring liberty. It is not true. When the girls look at their mothers and their lives they don't want to be that relegated. The issue is that these women want to be visible and have a voice. They see the culture as it relates to them (women) as oppressive and hence they want to be seen and not heard

It will be instructive to mention here that even there is a convergence of opinion with respect to liberty being sought by women. While the female participants in the FGD were of the opinion that seeking liberty at the expense of their children was a great price to pay for liberty, the males however derided the women for taking such extreme position, viewing it as a direct challenge on their authority. Hence some of these remarks:

Since this event of trafficking to Italy women's eyes have opened. They are simply uncontrollable and this has affected the home. When dollar comes, it affects the home. The wife conspires with the daughter against their fathers.

Male FGD in Oredo in response to vignette A).

This position was also reaffirmed in all the FGD conducted among men using vignette A. Another issue classified as a psychological factor as identified by the female FGD participants exposed to the tragic story (vignette A) is 'greed'. Greed was identified by the FGD participants in Oredo and Uhumwonde LGs as the main reason why mothers would allow their children to be involved in trafficking for the purpose of international prostitution. Also, in Uhumwode, the youths who were exposed to vignette A, observed that there were other jobs that young girls could do outside prostitution if the victims of trafficking and their parents were not greedy. One of the participants stated:

Eki's mother and her daughter are greedy. Eki's mother could have asked her daughter to do sales girl at least. At least if you walk around this town, you will definitely see many places where there are signs of "Sales Girl Wanted" I think that woman was greedy and just wanted to make it the quickest way.

In the FGD held with the youths in Uhumwode, a female secondary school students also affirmed the earlier views expressed by the previous FGD participant. She opined:

I will not listen to my mother. That was a bad advice for her to go and prostitute. She should have gone around for other jobs to do. There is no way you walk around this entire community that you will not see a sign board requesting for the services of a sales girl. It is better to do such things because God hates prostitution, it is a big sin".

Another psychological factor is the perceived ignorance of the women who encouraged their daughters' involvement in international prostitution. A number of the FGD participants especially those who responded in defense of Eki's mother (the trafficked victim that ended on a happy note) stated that these women may have been oblivious of the degree of inhuman denigration which trafficked victims are sometimes subjected to. This view was more pervasively discussed. These respondents were of the opinion that there were a lot of deceptions associated with trafficking. Also they reiterated that traffickers often prefer to work through relatives of unsuspecting victims with promises of large remittances. This often served as baits to the parents and a good insensitive to motivate their female children to comply.

Moreover, based on the findings from the FGDs and family based interviews, there are changes in the family structure in relation to husband and wife/wives relationship. Most men who practice polygyny, when their daughters have been trafficked with the support of the mothers, there is a general feeling of suspicion and unhealthy rivalry between these men and the other wives. Sometimes the level of rivalry might be too much that the children who become very unsafe and eventually seek ways to fend for themselves.

Also, findings have actually shown that these women who have children abroad are economically empowered and quite a number of them are able to own landed property which ordinarily could not be accessed by them. Therefore, this has further threatened the relationship with their spouses. This we can see from the FGD when a man disclosed that that dollar that is "hard currency" has come to put the hitherto peaceful Benin family asunder.

Men from this extraction especially those of low socio-economic status generally perceived by the women folks as less concerned with their fatherly role and responsibilities since a number of them have been alleged to depend primarily on the proceeds which are realized from international prostitution. For instance, from the findings, a number of men have had to support the decision by their own wives to travel to Europe to earn "hard currency" without jeopardizing the marital relationship. In such a case, the husband is a major beneficiary. This is a departure from the primordial era when the husband was expected to provide a farm land for the woman to cultivate. They were also

expected to protect their offspring from negative external influence which would be detrimental to the family name.

Another change in the family structure occasioned by these phenomena is the apparent dependency on a minor (usually in their teens) or a female child whom many of them described as the “sacrificial lamb” by all members of the family for economic survival. The terminology used to describe the role of the female child in the contemporary Benin family, is suggestive of role ascribed to Jesus Christ in the Christian faith, his decision to lay his life down for the salvation of mankind. This is well buttressed by the illustration made by the female key informant, of how large extended polygynous families now depend on the sexual servitude of a sixteen year old girl to meet the daily needs of the family member, conduct burial and wedding ceremonies for the family.

From observation carried out in this study, Benin weddings are usually elaborate and expensive with massive display of wealth. Also it was usually an opportunity to show the other perceived competitors (who may be co-wives) or other extended relatives what stuff they are made of. Hence there are usually many imported clothes, exotic laces, designers’ shoes from first class designers in Europe and custom made outfits. High patronage was given to those who had the “*acatarian*” touch that is, those who have are abroad. Many of these young women are highly revered when they spend their money for such family events, since it enabled intergenerational mobility. This is an obvious departure from what was in place where co-operation by all members of the family was the norm in the traditional pre-colonial Benin family structure. The female members were expected to work closely with their mothers and assist in domestic chores. Even married women were not allowed to travel outside their homes except there was a disagreement between her and the husband (Ebohon, 1990).

Discussion of Findings:

Data from house- hold interviews about male-child preference corroborate earlier findings made by Egharevba (1949); Bradbury, (1957) and Igbafe (1979). Out of the 40 households interviewed in (Oredo, 28 household, 29 in Egor and 30 in Uhumwode) all claimed that they would not accept a situation if the wife of their son had all males. Only a few household which in such cases were females member of household interviewed and a few household heads claimed to be born-again Christians agreed that they would accept an all -female children if it so happened. The pervasiveness of ancestral worship gave impetus to male children preference where the eldest male son occupies a strategic role in performing the family roles such as burial and ancestral worship. Also, the custom of primogeniture as emphasized by Igbafe (1979) among the Benin is still the order of the day in contemporary Benin families.

With the advent of trafficking and international sex trade, the traditional belief system that was used to enhance social order and support compliance with existing norms have been transmogrified to become the tools for taunting and threatening trafficked victims who have been conscripted by syndicates or traffickers (Osezua, 2015). Extant literature suggests strong involvement of traditional religious activities like engaging oaths of secrecy before a family shrine (UNICRI/UNDOC, 2003; Skogeth, 2006). What was previously used to protect the integrity of women’s sexuality within the family and the society has become the same agency mediating and perpetuating the trafficking of females for the purpose of trans-border sexual transaction (Osezua, 2010). Consequently, the fear of breaching the contract between the traffickers and victims further heightened the depth of secrecy surrounding the phenomena since many victims are afraid of the consequence of violating the agreement. The difficulty of obtaining accurate data on traffickers is explained by the degree of secrecy in which the whole process of recruitment and subsequent trafficking are enmeshed.

Nigeria is among the 30 of the countries in the world with highly unequal income distribution (Gender Report, 2012). This is evidentially proven from the findings of this study. Women constitute a larger chunk of the informal sector, which is highly unregulated and least economically rewarding. 54 million of the 80.2 million of women in Nigeria are in the rural areas. There is a huge differential between rural and urban women. Rural women are usually poor with little or no level of education, poor access to credit facilities and other critical resources. These women serve as a huge reservoir for intending traffickers (Osezua, 2011). Poverty creates a level of invisibility powerlessness and voicelessness, while money bestows social significance to its possessor. This has continued to create positive incentives to traffickers, women and young girls (who are perceived and sometimes perceive themselves as potential economic messiahs).

Again, 60 -70% of rural women constitute the labour force of rural Nigeria (Gender Report, 2012). Yet it is 5 times easier for a man to own a land than a woman. It becomes increasingly difficult for poor uneducated women to raise finance and start a business. The proclivity to engage in sex trafficking becomes irresistible to many.

So much attention has been given to combating trafficking incidences, which have been described as embarrassing to the Nigerian Government. Much money is being spent on organizing training for migration personnel’s, the police, NGOs, prosecuting traffickers and other third party offenders. Yet the root cause of the phenomenon is deeply rooted in cultural fabric of the Nigerian people, which encourages gender inequality. Granted that globalization and liberalization policies have enabled the illicit trade, but the root cause is endemic within the patriarchal structure that continues to privilege the males. There is a dire need to give attention to the highly skewed gender structure that has made women particularly receptive to the gimmicks of traffickers whom many perceive as economic liberators, which makes combating the phenomenon in the region a convoluted one.

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The author acknowledges the generous support of the Council for Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) and the African Regional Sexuality Resource Centre (ARSRC) graciously provided generous funding for this research.

Strategic Objective 55 of the Beijing Platform of Action calls for an increase in the productive capacity of women by providing "access to capital, resources, credit, land, technology, information, technical assistance an Strategic Objective 55 of the Beijing Platform of Action calls for an increase in the productive capacity of women by providing "access to capital, resources, credit, land, technology, information, technical assistance and training so as to raise their income and improve nutrition, education, health care and status within the household".

Much of the work women do is unpaid. Data from the Core Welfare Indicators Questionnaire (CWIQ) show that, whereas one in every two men spends time doing pursuits that earn them an income, one in every two women spends time doing unpaid work (Angel-Urdinola and Wodon, 2008: 381).

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Joint Ownership of family land in Uganda: Examining the responses, challenges and policy implications

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Abstract

Many widows and orphans in get dispossessed of family land after the death of the head of household, but this could be countered by registered joint ownership of the land. Based on a study of two districts in Uganda, this paper examines the local responses, challenges and policy implications of joint ownership. Over 260 households, and a variety of key informants, were interviewed. The majority of respondents, especially women, agreed that joint ownership of family land is useful, arguing that it provides family security and enhances marital stability. Those who opposed joint ownership argued that marriage itself is unstable, and there is no trust between the spouses. In practice however, the family land is mostly male-owned. Most households do not have any ownership documents, and this is a challenge because joint ownership needs to be registered in order to be legally binding. The growing commercialization of land is also a challenge since it makes individual ownership more preferable. Joint ownership lacks strong support among both men and women, it is constrained by cultural beliefs and practices, and the institution of marriage in which it is anchored is getting weaker. Therefore in order to be effective, any policies and strategies for securing the interests of the family members in the family land must take account of these challenges.

Key words: *gender, family, inheritance, joint ownership, land, marriage*

Résumé

Beaucoup de Veuves et d'ont été orphelins dépossédés des terres familiales après la mort du chef de ménage, mais cela pourrait être contre la propriété par enregistrée conjoint de la terre. Base sur une étude de deux en Ouganda districts, cet article examine les Réponses locales, les Defis et les politiques de la implications Copropriété. Plus de 260 ménages et divers informateurs clés ont été interviewés. La majorité des répondants, en particulier les femmes ont convenu que la Copropriété familiales des terres est utile, arguant qu'elle assure la sécurité de la famille et la renforce Stabiliti conjugal. Ceux qui se sont la propriété à opposés conjoint ont soutenu que le mariage lui-même est instable et qu'il n'y a pas de confiance entre les conjoints. Dans

la pratique Cependant, les terres de la famille sont pour la plupart des hommes. La plupart des ménages they disposent pas de documents de propriété, ce qui constitue un défi car la propriété conjoint doit être pour être enregistrée juridiquement contraignante. Croissant la commercialization des terres est également un défi car elle rend la propriété individuelle plus préférable. La Copropriété they bénéficie pas d'un soutien solide tant que chez les hommes chez les femmes, elle est limitée par les croyances et les pratiques culturelles, et l'institution du mariage où elle est ancrée s'affaiblit. Par conséquent, pour être efficaces, toutes les politiques et Stratégies Visant à garantir les intérêts des membres de la famille dans la terre familiale doivent tenir compte de ces Defis.

Mots clés: *the genre, famille, Heritage, Copropriété, terre, mariage*

Introduction

Women and children in Uganda face discrimination in land rights because of cultural and traditional practices that favour men in land ownership. Despite the tide of change that is engulfing the world in gender relations, achievements in gender parity in land ownership remains very meagre. The struggle for gender equality in land remains very visible on paper but hardly visible in practice. At the level of the family, gender inequality is very manifest in the way most land ownership is vested in men. Legal measures to correct this imbalance have so far been ineffective in trying to extract the cultural roots of inequality. The inequality not only damages the self-esteem of women, but also threatens their livelihood and that of the children. Women and children generally lack decision making powers over family land, and anything that threatens the stability of a family also threatens their livelihood and physical security. This paper examines the responses, the challenges, and policy implications of joint ownership of family land, in the belief that joint ownership has the potential to enhance women's and children's land and livelihood security. It is based on a 2013-14 study of two districts of Kayunga and Busia. The study was guided by three specific objectives namely (i) to examine the local responses and practices on joint ownership of family land (ii) to examine the challenges and opportunities for joint ownership of family land, and (iii) to analyse the policy implications of joint ownership of family land in Uganda. In this study, family land was understood to be that land on which the family lives and extracts a livelihood.

The family is the most basic social unit, united by blood, marriage, shared residence and shared consumption. It serves as an organizational unit in which members raise young ones, provide mutual love and support, share income, own assets, and have rights to use the family assets. Family members have mutual obligations, they influence each other's livelihood, and therefore have compelling reasons to jointly own the property on which their livelihood depends. However, joint family ownership of the property is elusive almost everywhere. The ownership tends to be characterized by male dominance, which is a function of the institutionalised gender inequality, and even threatens the very institution

of the family. The family, because of social change, is barely functioning as an enduring, secure and mutual support unit. The changing meaning and nature of the family, and its place in the social structure, provide context to our appreciation of the dynamics of joint ownership of family land.

Cultural and legal perspectives are very divergent on family land, joint ownership and on what constitutes a family. The African, and certainly Ugandan, view of family land is influenced by patriarchy, in which the male husband and father in the family controls the land and other productive assets, while the wife/wives and children have only rights of use to the land. The husband as the male head of the family is expected to keep the land securely in the family by applying the rules of patriarchy. Patriarchy therefore moderates the appreciation of joint ownership, and reinforces the need to have the land available to the present and future members of the nuclear and extended family. On the other hand, the legal perspective, with its origins in the culture and practices of the western world, appears to view family land from a detached position, without consideration for the importance of keeping the land in the family lineage. The legal perspective tends to commercialise family land, and in its practice appears to strip the land of its cultural value. Legally, joint ownership of the family land is viewed in terms of each party's proportion of rights to the land, and how the land should be divided if and when the joint owners can no longer own together, or when one of them dies¹. As regards what constitutes the family, the legal perspective tends to focus almost exclusively on the nuclear family, and pays almost no attention to the importance of the extended family and family descent. Whereas cultural practices and values attach a lot of importance to keeping the land in the family line through male inheritance, the legal practice seems to be less concerned about these issues in an attempt to be non-discriminatory. The cultural and legal perspectives are therefore often in conflict, embodying the contradictions between the traditional and the modern, and are a constant source of tension in the family.

Joint ownership can also be referred to as joint tenancy or co-ownership. Co-ownership of land is where two or more persons concurrently own an interest in land. Each co-owner is entitled, simultaneously, to the enjoyment or use of the land. They all have equal and mutual right to the land, and therefore none can individually claim a part of the land (Mugambwa, 2002). Co-ownership can be in the form of either joint tenancy or tenancy in common. Co-owners in joint tenancy do not have distinct shares in the land; they hold the whole jointly. Upon the death of one co-owner, all the interest in the land reverts to the surviving owner under the right of 'survivorship'. Mugambwa says that if a husband and wife own their matrimonial home in joint tenancy, whoever survives the other automatically becomes the sole owner. Tenancy in common, on the other hand,

¹ On the other hand, the land on which the family subsists is also known legally as marital property, which automatically bestows joint ownership to both spouses. Any other property acquired by either or both spouses during marriage also automatically becomes marital property.

gives individual shares in the land to each of the co-owners. Each tenant in common has a distinct share in the land, and that share can be transferred to his/her successors. Tenancy in common is not as good as joint tenancy for married people because the latter allows the surviving spouse to become the sole owner without need of probate (Mugambwa, 2002). The joint ownership discussed in this paper is mainly of the joint tenancy type.

The 2011 draft Land Policy alludes to the failure of legal instruments to safeguard the interests of women and children in family land. The policy states that much as the Constitution (1995) and the Land Act (1998) have tried to overcome the discriminatory cultural values and practices in land ownership, occupation and use, they have not been effective because of poor implementation. Recognizing the failure of past attempts, the draft land policy states that government shall by legislation protect the right to inheritance and ownership of land for women and children, and ensure that both men and women enjoy equal rights to land before, in and after marriage, and at succession. Some of the strategies proposed to achieve these policy statements include designing of matrimonial property law to protect spouses in and outside marriage, and making legal provision for co-ownership of family land and home. These strategies, among the many, are the most relevant to the formulation of a legal framework for realizing joint ownership of family land. Previous attempts to streamline ownership of family land and to reform marriage included the Domestic Relations Bill (2003) and the Marriage and Divorce Bill (2009), but these were frustrated by the legislative system. The two could not be enacted into law because of conflicting interests among the legislators.

Land and livelihood

In an economy such as Uganda where over 70% of the population is rural based, and where most of that rural population are dependent on agriculture for their livelihood, family and individual access to land is very important. Whereas the percentage of population that is rural based is declining because of urban growth, and the percentage rural population engaged in agriculture is also declining, the absolute number of people that depend on and need access to land is increasing. The population is increasing much faster than the ability of the non-farm sector to absorb the available labour. Even in peri-urban and urban areas, many households practice agriculture to supplement income. Families, whether rural or urban, also need land for settlement. Access and secure ownership of land is therefore critical to the livelihood of most families, although that access and ownership are not equitable even within the families. The women and children are often denied their right of access to the family land because the patriarchal system vests ownership and control of the land in men, and also bestows a superior status on men within the family. In the event of family instability or dissolution of the marriage, the woman and children are at high risk of displacement and decline in livelihood.

Methodology

The study was conducted in Kayunga and Busia districts. The study population included families that owned land in rural and peri-urban locations, local leaders, opinion leaders, staff of NGOs and CBOs operating in the two districts, and practitioners in land administration. The families were sampled randomly, while the rest were sampled purposively. Quantitative data was collected from 263 families in the two districts, while qualitative data was collected from the rest of the respondents using focus group discussions and key informant interviews. The key variables of the study were the social and demographic characteristics of families, land ownership, attitudes and practices on joint ownership of family land, and challenges to joint ownership. The quantitative data was statistically analyzed while the qualitative data was analyzed thematically.

Demographic and socio-economic characteristics of respondents

The demographic characteristics considered in the study were age, sex, marital status, type of marriage, number of children, education and religion. The 263 respondents in the quantitative sample were aged between 18-89 years, with an average of 43.6 years, a median of 40 years and mode of 30 years. The sex composition was 47% male and 53% female. Most of them were married (63%), 15% were separated, 14% were widowed, and 8% were single. Among the 243 married or previously married respondents, 50% described their marriage as religious marriage, 27% described it as customary, 22% as cohabitation, and less than 1% as civil marriage. Over 93% of the families had children numbering between 1 to 18, with an average of 5.4 (median=5 and mode =3). There was almost no difference in the average number of male and female children per family (3.1 vs 3.0). As regards formal education, 15% said they had received no formal education, 43% had completed primary education, 23% had O-level, 4% had A-level, and 13% had post A-level. The religious composition of the sample was 34% catholic, 22% protestant, 26% muslim, 10% adventist, and 1% other.

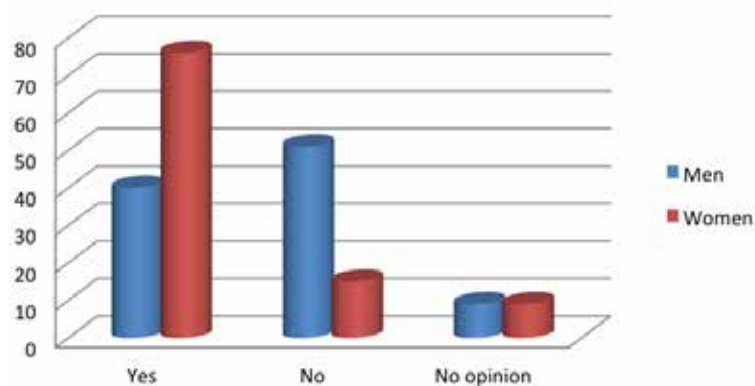
The socio-economic characteristics of respondents in the study included main occupation and land ownership. The variables in land ownership were acreage owned, how the land was acquired, the tenure of ownership, possession of ownership documents, type of documents, and whether any portion of the land had ever been disposed of. The most prominent main occupation of respondents was that of peasant farming (46%), while others were trading (22%), civil servant/salary earner (13%), craftsmanship (11%), casual labour (5%) and commercial farming (3%). All the families had some land, which ranged in size from less than an acre to as big as 36 acres, with an average of only 3 acres. Most of the families held the land on squatter or tenancy basis (84%), while 12% owned

the land on private (also called 'mailo'² in the Buganda Region where Kayunga District is located) tenure and 4% had registered leasehold. Private and leasehold tenure were commoner in Kayunga than in Busia district. Most of the families had acquired the land through purchase (64%), while 34% had acquired it through inheritance or allocation by the clan/community. Another 2% were not quite sure of how the land had been acquired. As regards the land ownership documents, 43% had purchase agreements, 17% had registered title of private or leasehold, 10% had inheritance documents, 26% had no documents at all, while in 4% of the families the respondent did not know.

Local responses and practices on joint ownership of family land.

The local responses and practices were assessed by examining the respondents' opinion on joint ownership, who is named on the ownership documents, whether there is consultation in the family about land matters, and whether the household had done anything to safeguard family land. Opinion on whether family land should be owned jointly between husband and wife was heavily skewed towards yes, 60%, while 32% said no and 8% had no opinion. Women had a much higher tendency to support joint ownership as shown in Figure 1, and this tendency was statistically significant. There was also an association between age and opinion on joint ownership, whereby the persons who supported joint ownership had an average age of 41 years, those who said no were 47 years, while those with no opinion were 53 years. Contrary to expectations, other parameters such as education or religion had no association with opinion on joint ownership.

Fig. 1: Should family land be owned jointly by husband and wife?



² The mailo land tenure was a result of the 1900 Buganda Agreement, which provided for the allocation of land to individuals in chunks of a square mile. The term mailo land therefore refers to land which had been allocated on that basis in Buganda, even if it has now been sub divided into smaller plots. Mailo land tenure provides nearly the same rights as freehold tenure.

Various reasons were provided to justify opinion on joint ownership. The reasons in support of joint ownership were categorized into security (40%), marital stability³ (32%) and economic stability of the family (28%). The reasons provided against joint ownership were more numerous and diverse so they more generously categorized into marriages are unstable (49%), husbands and wives have different plans (22%), women can't be trusted (14%), land is for men (6%), men have many wives (4%), men can't be trusted (4%) and joint ownership can cause misunderstanding (1%).

The respondent also provided the main factors that they would consider before consenting to joint ownership of land with the spouse. The variety of factors were categorized into stability of marriage (27%), personality of the spouse (27%), the type of marriage (16%), and whether the couple have children (10%). Over 19% of the respondents did not provide any factor. The considerations illustrate the variety of circumstances that influence people's opinion and response to joint ownership of family land. For example, whether a person considers his/her marriage stable or not would influence his/her decision to consent to joint ownership, although the indicators of stability may be relative. The following are the factors that were categorised into 'stability of marriage':

- There should be good communication in our marriage, and trust among ourselves
- The relationship should be good depending on the period we have stayed together. There should be persistence and perseverance in our family
- Good understanding between us
- If there is cooperation in the home, and if I know all about the land and how it was bought.
- If there is true love, and if we have common goals to achieve.
- If we can agree on most occasions, and don't keep secrets from each other.
- The love that we have, and obedience to each other.
- There must be friendship in the home, respect of each other and discipline.

The individual's decision to consent to co-ownership of the family land also appears to be influenced by the personality of his/her spouse. Various aspects of a person's character combine to make that person different from others, and they also contribute to whether that person is perceived as interesting, attractive, likeable, etc. Indeed, the stability of marriage is partly a function of the extent to which the personalities of the husband and wife are compatible. The following are some of the factors which were categorized into 'personality of the spouse':

- A spouse who is not greedy for land
- A spouse who is committed to the marriage
- Faithfulness and being developmental

³ Further analysis showed that women had a higher tendency to associate joint ownership with marital stability

- I consider a calm spouse in behaviour, and trustworthy
- If the spouse is kind and understanding
- If the wife is a patient woman
- If the spouse is respectful, trustworthy and hardworking
- If the spouse is responsible and caring
- If the wife is disciplined and will not sell the land in my absence
- If the wife is tolerant to the challenges of marriage

As regards type of marriage, the responses show that persons would consider various objective attributes of the marriage before consenting to joint ownership of the family land. Indeed, some types of marriage may be more suitable than others for joint ownership of the family land, with a very high likelihood of the cultural and legal aspects of the marriage playing a big role. A spouse may consider whether the marriage has a cultural or legal basis for social acceptance while making the decision to consent or not to consent to joint ownership. Equally, whether the marriage has resulted in procreation of children, and the sex composition of the children, have a role to play in influencing the decision whether to consent or not. The following quotations are examples of the factors that I categorized into 'type marriage' and 'whether the marriage has children':

- If the marriage is official, we can own land jointly
- If we are married for a long time and we have children
- It depends on how long we have stayed together and how many children
- If people of my family are notified of our marriage
- If the husband has many wives, I would need joint ownership
- When the marriage is clean before God, we can have joint ownership
- The most important thing is the children which helps the woman to be recognized
- I look at the sex of the children. We may have only girls yet they are not allowed to inherit

In practice, the ownership of the land on which the family lives is in most cases in the hands of the men. The data shows that for most of the households with title deeds (for private or leasehold) the ownership is registered in the names of the husband. This was also true among households with only a purchase agreement, although husband-only ownership was more prominent among title deeds (84% vs 62%). Only very few title deeds (5%) were registered in joint ownership between the husband wife. The rest were between husband and children (7%), or whole family (5%). There were no titles with wife only or wife and children registered as owners. Households that had only purchase agreements as proof of ownership had a little more widely distributed ownership, including children only, wife only and wife and children. Table 1 summarizes the ownership as reported about the ownership documents.

Table 1: Ownership of the family land as reported about the ownership documents (n=149)

Ownership document	Owner(s) indicated on the document							TOTAL
	Husband only	Husband and wife	Husband and children	Children only	Whole Family	Wife only	Wife and children	
Title deed	36 (84%)	2 (5%)	3 (7%)	0	2 (5%)	0	0	43 (100%)
Purchase agreement	66 (62%)	23 (24%)	3 (3%)	3 (3%)	2 (2%)	6 (6%)	3 (3%)	106 (100%)
TOTAL	102 (68%)	25 (17%)	6 (4%)	3 (2%)	4 (3%)	6 (4%)	3 (2%)	149 (100%)

On whether husbands should obtain the consent of the family before selling family land, the majority respondents said yes (77%), and only 23% said no. Opinion about the consent was significantly associated with gender, whereby the women had a higher predisposition to believe that the consent was necessary. The opinion was also significantly associated with education level, whereby the respondents with a lower education⁴ were less predisposed than those of higher education to believe in the importance of the family consent (75% vs 88%). Support for the need for consent was justified with various reasons that I categorized into (i) it contributes to family stability (ii) security of family members (iii) it is a legal requirement. Those who did not support the consent said basically that land belongs to men, and that the institution of marriage is uncertain.

In practice, family consultations are actually held in the majority of households before family land is sold. Among the families⁵ that had at one time sold some of their land, 77% had had family consultations before the sale was effected. Among those where consultations had been held, the family consent had been obtained in 70% of the cases, but 30% had not given it. The reasons for sale of land were cited as general family needs, treatment, home improvement, school fees, payment of bank loans, acquisition of other assets, and support to relatives. However, most of the reasons for selling the land had not been achieved as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Various aspects of family sale of land

	Yes	No	Total
Has family sold any land since you got it? (n=263)	12%	88%	100%
Was the family consulted before the sale? (n=23)	77%	23%	100%
Did the family give the consent? (n=23)	70%	30%	100%
Was the main objective of selling the land achieved? (23%)	45%	55%	100%

⁴ The education was recoded into 'lower' (none, primary and O-level) and 'higher' (A-level and above) and a cross tabulation done with opinion on family consent.

⁵ About 12% of the households in the study had at one time sold some of their land

The 163 married respondents were asked whether the family had done anything, and what they had done, to ensure that the family interests in the land were protected in the event of the death of the male head. Over 53% affirmed that they had done something, but 47% had not. What they had done to protect the family interests can be broadly categorized into will-making, arrangements related to ownership documents, interactions with relatives, and practices on the land itself. Examples of strategies that represent these categories are presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Strategies that some families had adopted to safeguard family interests in land

1. Write a will
2. Obtain ownership documents
3. Keep ownership documents safely
4. Make the ownership joint
5. Make several copies of ownership documents and distribute them to different people
6. Be open to family members about land
7. Utilise the land so that it is not idle
8. Keep land boundary clear and marked
9. Sensitise children on the importance of family land
10. Give the children some powers over the land
11. Inform relatives about the family land
12. Inform local leaders about the family land

When specifically asked if they (the husband or wife or both) had a written will that showed how the land would be administered after death, over 30% of married respondents agreed that there was such a will⁶. Further analysis showed a number of patterns about will-making:

- Respondents in a religious marriage had a higher tendency to have a written will than those in customary marriage or cohabitation
- Adventists and muslims had a higher tendency to have a written will than the protestants or catholics
- There is no association between level of education and having a written will
- Respondents that have documented ownership of land have a higher tendency to have a written will than those without any documentation.
- Respondents owning land on freehold or leasehold tenure have a higher tendency to have a written will than squatters or tenants
- Older respondents have a higher tendency to have a written will than the younger respondents (average age of 52.2 Vs 39.5 years)
- Over 75% of the married women did not know whether their husbands had written a will or not.

⁶ The limitation here is that people often do not know if their spouse have written a will or not.

Those who had written a will said they did so for various reasons that were categorized into the need to ensure family security in the family property (39%), obligation to the children (21%), fulfillment of a normal adult obligation (11%), and security of the property itself (10%). Other reasons were that it is a religious obligation, that it gives peace of mind even in sickness, it is a male obligation, and that it allows one to die in an orderly way. On the other hand, the reasons for not having a written will included problems with the ownership of the property (12%), having little property (10%), a feeling of still being young and healthy (8%), ignorance about the importance of a will (6%), a belief that it is not cultural to make a will (6%), not having children or the children being young (5%), fear of writing a will (5%), uncertainty about the marriage or the family (4%), being a woman (4%) and being polygamous (1%). Other reasons cited were laziness and inability to write.

In practice, some families do actually lose land upon the death of the male head of households. The 31 widows in the study were asked whether the family land had in any way been affected by the death of the husband. Of these, more than half (16) said that the husband's death had indeed affected the family land. The most prominent effect was that some of the land had been grabbed by the late husbands' relatives (eight cases), while another four said that new disputes had erupted over the land. One said that an old dispute over the land had resurfaced, while another two said they had to sell some of the land. Besides land, other property was also lost as a result of the husbands' death. A total of 18 widows reported losses of other property which included house (5 grabbed by in-laws, clan members and heir), livestock (3 grabbed by in-laws and heir), household property (4 grabbed by in-laws and clan members) and 1 bicycle which had been grabbed by late husband's friend.

Opinion on whether joint ownership of family land could contribute to family stability was varied. Over 65% of the respondents believed that joint ownership would create more family stability, but 35% thought otherwise. The women had a much higher tendency to believe in the contribution of joint ownership to family stability. Belief in the contribution of joint ownership to family stability was supported with various reasons such as: it would enhance development in the family, it would increase trust, it would increase security, it would increase unity, and it would reduce conflict. All these reasons implicitly indicate the respondents' perceptions of what makes a family stable. On the other hand, the respondents with the opposite view said joint ownership can cause family instability because it may result in misunderstandings in the nuclear family, and that it could cause conflicts with relatives in the extended family.

Interestingly, some respondents (28%) believed that it would be okay for a person to buy land elsewhere without the knowledge of the spouse. Gender did not seem to influence this belief, although the men and women gave varying reasons to justify their beliefs. In general, the reasons provided for and against buying land elsewhere without the knowledge of one's spouse were related to issues of trust in marriage, personal rights and quality of the relationship. Those who believed that it is okay argued that men and women are free to do what they want, and that they all have rights to their privacy. It was also argued that women need their own property, which can be used as a safety net for themselves and for their children. They said women need a secret plan for their children, and that everybody in marriage has a secret. In addition, it was argued that there is no longer any trust among men or women in marriage. In particular, the men were accused of being jealous of their progressive wives and of interfering a lot. Some said it is okay for spouses to act independently because marriage was becoming temporary, and therefore people need a fallback position. On the other hand, respondents who thought persons should not buy land without informing the spouse said that doing so would be a sign of marital mistrust. They said marriage unites man and woman into one and therefore the two should plan together. They also argued that land that is bought secretly can be easily lost. Other reasons were that women are subject to men, and that women have no right to property. It was also argued that married women become insubordinate when they acquire property.

Challenges to Joint Ownership of family Land

The challenges to joint ownership of family land are examined in the relation to how factors such as gender, personal characteristics, attitudes to marriage, and culture influence the responses and practices on joint ownership. Other dynamics such as land administration, and the interactions between the cultural and legal dimensions of land at family level, are also important to the examination of the challenges to joint ownership. The study found that support for joint ownership is not only relatively low at only 60% of respondents, but it is also unevenly distributed between men and women. The most opposition to joint ownership comes from the men, and this is a challenge because men are the major power holders and decision makers. In the circumstances, joint ownership of family land becomes difficult to implement; any policies and programmes are likely to meet resistance from the men, who tend to dominate decision-making institutions such as the parliament. Interestingly however, there are also many female respondents who were opposed to joint ownership. Overall, 15% of the women said no to joint ownership, and 9% were undecided. This may sound surprising because joint ownership is thought to be pro-women and pro-children, and one may wonder what motivates this proportion of women to say no or be undecided about it. Of course it would be naïve to

expect total support from the women, or to imagine that women are a uniform category with uniform opinions and responses. They cannot all support joint ownership, but this constitutes a fundamental challenge. Social changes have ushered in new gender and economic dynamics in which many women have themselves become property owners in their own right. Such women are constrained to support joint ownership for the same reasons that many men oppose it. The social changes that are transforming the women's position in the economy are also affecting the gender and economic relations in the family. Such changes are a challenge to any strategies that overly assume female subjugation in the home.

That association between age and support for joint ownership raises interesting questions. How come that the younger people are more supportive of the joint ownership while the older ones are less supportive? Is it possible that attitudes change as people get older, and perhaps more experienced and more wealthy? If so, what realities make people change their mind about joint ownership as they get older? It is possible that younger persons are more idealistic and romantic about the unity of property in marriage, but this idealism gets redefined as new realities unfold during the marriage. With time, people may become more skeptical about marriage and the centrality of the family in their lives, while at the same time becoming more concerned about personal welfare. They become more concerned about having personal property because it symbolizes personal security, as opposed to having joint property which symbolizes collective family security. When people become less instead of more supportive of joint ownership as they get older, the prospects for joint ownership are weakened. However, it can also be argued that the higher support for joint ownership among the younger people is a sign of what the future holds; it is possible that the younger people's support represents a new thinking while the older people's lack of support represents the traditional attitudes.

While it may be comforting to speculate that the older people's opinions represent traditional attitudes that provide ground for gender discrimination, and that these attitudes may be on their way out, we must also take heed that they still influence many decisions over family land. The tension between the traditional and the modern in land ownership and land use is still very real and poses a challenge to female access to family land. Beliefs such as 'land is for men' are anchored in strong cultural convictions about male superiority in the home, supported by patriarchy. Family land is very intimately and intricately tied with the family heritage and identity in most African societies, and the patriarchal system tends to favour keeping that land under male control. Since joint ownership opens up possibilities for the family land to pass on to another lineage if the wife outlives the husband and marries someone else, it is not likely to be wholly embraced in patriarchal societies such as Uganda.

The variety of reasons that the respondents advanced for not supporting joint ownership are helpful to the discussion of the challenges to the ownership. The reasons included instability of marriage as an institution, husbands and wives having different plans, women and men lacking in trust, a belief that land is for men, and that joint ownership can cause misunderstandings. Most of these reasons point to a serious disillusionment with the institution of marriage, in which the strategy of joint ownership is grounded. Whereas it is argued that joint ownership of the property can glue the marriage and the family together, it may also be argued that people need some reasonable confidence in marriage before they voluntarily embrace joint ownership. They need to have a high expectation that the marriage would remain cohesive. However, with the increasing disillusionment with the marriage institution, coupled with the beliefs that men and women cannot be trusted, the society needs to rethink the assumptions that it makes about joint ownership. The task therefore is to find ways of promoting joint ownership of land that take account of the fact that many people are already disillusioned with marriage.

The respondents have questioned the notion of oneness in marriage. While the Christian view is that husband and wife become one upon marriage, and therefore presumably do what they do and own what they own together, it is becoming increasingly difficult to sustain this view. Some respondents in the study said that men and women need their own property, they each have their own rights, and that they should be free to do what they want. These views manifest the changing perceptions and functions of marriage, in which individual interests and rights are increasingly taking centre stage. Economic considerations and personal material gain are now an important feature of marriage, and are overtaking the conventional functions such as emotional support, sexual gratification and the reproduction and raising of children. Modernity is making the conventional functions achievable without formal marriage, and therefore persons tend to think more broadly before they marry. Studies such as Arland Thornton and Deborah Freedman (1982) have found that more people are actually opting for a single life because they can get what they want even without marriage.

The argument that men tend to have many 'wives' potentially constrains joint ownership of the family land. Whereas many men begin their early married life in seemingly monogamous unions, they tend to slip into polygamy over the years, adding to themselves responsibilities which compromise the security of the family members. The very likelihood that a man will take on another wife makes him hesitant to totally commit the family land to the current wife, other cultural values notwithstanding. That likelihood may also make the current wife skeptical about joint ownership of the family land, especially if she has put her own resources into securing the land. In conditions of polygamy, questions arise as to who should jointly own what with who, and especially if

the man is not able to provide for all his wives equally. On the other hand, questions also arise as to what would happen if a widow who took over total ownership of the family land marries another man. As one male respondent in Kayunga put it:

I cannot own my land with my wife because if I die today she marries tomorrow. She can take away my family land if she gets married to another man, then what will happen to my family and the family graves? So when I marry a wife she can use my land but she cannot own it.

There are several ramifications of joint ownership, depending on the circumstances of any particular marriage. While some men are worried that ownership of the family land may eventually get transferred into the hands of 'foreigners' in case the wife marries another man, others are worried that the wife may alienate the children from the land. It is possible for the widow who, because of the automatic assumption of full ownership, may want to use the land as her personal property, without due consideration for the interests and rights of the children. She may want to sell the place in order to buy another one where she feels that she has total and unencumbered ownership, but this would certainly be a cause of serious conflict with the children and members of the extended family. As one respondent in Kayunga put it:

You cannot totally trust a woman to keep the land for the family. Some women have sold their husbands' land and gone to buy land somewhere else where they feel free to do what they want. Women cannot be committed to the dead husband forever and sometimes they move on, but they must leave the land behind for the children.

Whereas some respondents argued that joint ownership can help prevent family conflicts, others also argued that it can actually cause the conflicts. There is therefore no guarantee that joint ownership would secure the land interests of the family members that it is supposed to protect. The modern values enshrined in joint ownership are very likely to be misunderstood by the family members, including those in the extended family, who have a strong traditional orientation. Whether a family effects joint ownership of the family land or not may be inconsequential to the family conflicts. Not only have women and children continued to be deprived of property mainly by the relatives of the deceased husband, but also internal conflicts within the nuclear family over property are common. It is common for adult children to want to share the land among themselves, or among a few of them, at the expense of the widow; their mother!

Security of tenure appears to be associated with support for joint ownership. The data of the study showed that the respondents with more secure tenure over the family land tend to have less support for joint ownership. The respondents who had registered land titles, which provide maximum tenure security, were less predisposed to support joint ownership than those with only purchase agreements. Having a registered title provides the land owner with the most secure and legally verifiable ownership. It is the most desirable form of ownership, but it comes at a cost. The data also shows that in practice, registered land titles have a lower incidence of joint ownership than the purchase agreements, but this is a constraint to the prospects of joint ownership. It means that Uganda's strategy of enabling more people to acquire registered interest in their land through land demarcation could actually be an unforeseen hindrance to joint ownership. The more secure the ownership over the land is, the less incentive among landholders to share the ownership, yet shared ownership makes legal sense under conditions of registered title. Unfortunately the majority of Ugandan landholders do for various reasons not have land titles⁷, so they are constrained to have a truly legitimate joint ownership even if they wanted it.

Contradictions between the traditional culture and the modern law, which are manifest in the antipathy between the formal and informal dimensions of the African social system, are a real challenge to joint ownership of family property. There are legal provisions to safeguard the interests of the family members in the family land, but those provisions are compromised by the cultural practices which are oriented towards keeping the family land firmly under male control through patriarchy. Patriarchy discriminates against female inheritance of family land, although legal provisions such as in the Succession law and the Land Act allow both males and females to inherit or buy land. The traditional values of gender inequality in the home have also led to the defeat of the DRB and MDB, which attempted to promote equity between husbands and wives. Therefore while many people are still bound by the cultural values and practices on family land, and while the cultural dimensions of land are still very strong, the prospects for accelerating joint ownership remain cloudy.

Policy Implications of Joint Ownership

Joint ownership has the potential to enhance the security of family members in the family land in the event of any disruption to the family, such as the death of a spouse. It also has the potential to forestall the inequality that patriarchy has entrenched into land inheritance and ownership. However, to achieve reasonable security of tenure for the

⁷ *Most people live on customary or communal land, while many live as long-term bonafide occupants of someone else's freehold or public land. In addition, the processes and costs of land administration are cumbersome and costly, and this hinders many eligible applicants from actually getting the land titles.*

family members through joint ownership, a combination of policy and legal measures need to be carefully and deliberately crafted. The policy and legal measures must take into account lessons learnt from the failures of previous attempts, and the variety of challenges to joint ownership.

The fact that marriage as an institution is becoming more shaky calls for a reflection on the modus operandi of pursuing joint ownership. The security of family members which joint ownership attempts to promote works best in conditions of stable marriage, therefore strategies to strengthen the institution of marriage must also come into play. Many people are in marriage but with a lot of uncertainty and skepticism about what that marriage holds for the future. Motivations for marriage have changed a lot, and marriage has come to mean different things to different people. The traditional culture and the modern law have become divergent on what marriage is, and this further complicates the issue. For example, Ugandan law does not recognise cohabitation as marriage, yet very many people perform marital roles in cohabitation. Many men and women stay in cohabitation and take advantage of the immediate benefits of the 'marriage' without committing themselves legally, and without committing to the legal obligations such as planning for the future of the spouse and children. This is a loophole which many men have taken advantage of. Attempts to recognize cohabitation in law have so far failed. The Marriage and Divorce Bill 2009, which had proposed that cohabitation should be recognised as marriage in relation to family property, and that matrimonial property should be owned in common by the spouses (Section 116), was frustrated. This bill needs to be tabled again in parliament because it would help awaken the spouses' consciousness about their obligations to each other, and hopefully help to strengthen the institution of marriage.

Many attempts to protect the rights and interests of family members tend to focus more on women, in the name of affirmative action for women. However, when modern social change is taken account, continued affirmative action towards women's rights becomes questionable. Does affirmative action really help society achieve its objectives? In the modern age, many women would feel uneasy about either of the spouses assuming automatic joint ownership of property in the family. Many women are property owners in their own right and are hesitant to share it. The idea of a wife becoming an automatic joint owner in the family land is based on the notion that women must be provided for and is now old fashioned. This is why the women that have made their own material achievements may not support automatic joint ownership because it is patronizing. The modern women may also resist joint ownership because of its potential to create complacency and dependency, yet modern times require individual hard work and self determination. Therefore the affirmative action that is implicit in joint ownership of family property may sometimes be counterproductive.

Many social problems in developing societies such as Uganda are rooted in the mismatch between the traditional and the modern. While the state policies and legal provisions to the management of society and property are guided by modern principles, many of our people are still struggling to transit from traditional thinking. They have neither substantially embraced the modern nor have they relinquished the traditional values. Of course the two do not always have to be in conflict, but quite often they are, such as in gender relations, gender roles, inheritance and property relations in the home. Any attempts to address social problems such as family conflicts over property need to be guided by a comprehensive analysis of the mismatch between the traditional and the modern, and the extent to which this mismatch accelerates those problems.

The land tenure regimes in the country must also be quickly revised in order to have a lasting solution to the confusion created by multiple tenure. Whereas the 2011 Land Policy states that the state would resolve and disentangle the multiple, overlapping and conflicting interests on land, the perseverance of the customary tenure and dual tenancy on freehold land remains a big issue. The fact that the status quo allows two independent entities to have independent ownership over the same piece of land causes confusion. For example, I can have a registered freehold ownership over a piece of land, but another person occupies the land and holds customary tenancy on it, as a bonafide occupant. Similarly, I may have customary ownership over a piece of land in an area where communal ownership is practiced, meaning that my ownership over the land is proscribed to the interests of the community. Over the years, government has tried to address the dual ownership problems, and to streamline the relationship between lawful owners and bonafide occupants, but with hardly any success. This is clearly a hindrance to many families that may be willing to implement joint ownership of their family land, but cannot do so because of the limitations and confusion imposed by the existence of multiple tenure regimes. The 2011 Land Policy made the correct observations about this problem, but the observations must be quickly translated into practical interventions.

Indeed, the existing policy and legislative guidelines of ownership of family land must be honestly and equitably implemented before new ones are formulated. There needs to be evidence that the land administration system is committed to the implementation of the guidelines, to create confidence and win the trust of the people. It is not enough for policy guidelines to say, for instance, that there would be no gender discrimination in land ... yet there are no practical measures to ensure that the discrimination does not happen. It is also not enough to legislate for the consent of the spouse before a man sell family land, without following it up with legally enforceable measures. At the local level, some of the community leaders are trying to involve wives in the land transactions initiated by their husbands, and this is a good attempt but it is not what one would expect, legally. The land administration system should make special provisions for

transfer of family land, which clearly provide for the consent of the spouse. At present, the land transfer form that is in use is the same one that has been used for many decades, and does not make any provisions for evidence of spousal consultations or consent to the sale or transfer of the land.

Community views on how to promote joint ownership

The community views on how joint ownership of family land can be promoted resonate quite strongly with the policy implications discussed in this paper. The most prominent view expressed by the community was that joint ownership will work better if marriage is strong, and that marriage, and the religious values on which it is based, should be strengthened through sensitization. Programmes must be established to sensitize people on the importance of marriage as one of the pillars of society. Another view was that communities need to be sensitized on family land ownership, so that there is an understanding of the rights and obligations of all the parties to the land. The implication here is that many people lack an understanding of who has what rights, what obligations the rights entail, and the forms of ownership. The mechanisms for actualizing the rights and for performing the obligations are also either not clear or are hindered by several constraints. The communities also proposed that cultural beliefs and practices on land need to be reviewed. Needless to say, cultural beliefs that exclude women from land ownership, or practices that tie up land to particular lineages, are a concern to many people. The view that people need to be sensitized on land therefore comes naturally from the community, which has lived experiences of the pain of ignorance on land issues. Lastly, some community members were of the view that joint ownership of family land between husband and wife should be made into law.

Conclusions

Joint ownership of family land has the potential to protect the interests of the family members in the land, so that the death of the husband does not have to be followed expulsion of the wife from the land, as is often the case. Joint ownership allows the surviving spouse to assume full ownership of the land, but it must be backed by proper and legal documentation of the ownership, which is for various reasons difficult for many families. Even among families that have legally documented ownership over the land, joint ownership is hardly practiced, despite the fact that they know about it. The knowledge, attitudes and practices on joint ownership are inconsistent. Almost everyone knows about joint ownership, the majority are in favour of joint ownership, but only a very small minority practice it. Cultural factors seem to be very central to the attitudes of the people towards joint ownership of the family land, but economic considerations

also have a role to play. Women are more in favour of joint ownership than the men, but it is also remarkable that there are many women among those opposed to it. This paper has argued that, among other reasons, some women are opposed to joint ownership because many of them have themselves become property owners in their own right, and want to protect their hard earned property. The discrepancy in the attitudes and practices suggests that joint ownership is faced with many challenges, which include the dominance of cultural values that propagate discrimination of women in land ownership, disillusionment with marriage, the conflict between the cultural and legal prescriptions on land, the multiple land tenure regimes in the country, the cumbersome and costly land administration system, and the poor political support for the joint ownership. Therefore in order to be effective, any policies and strategies for securing the interests of the family members in the family land must take account of these challenges.

Acknowledgements

I am most grateful for the funding that I received for this study from the Sida-Makerere research programme. I also acknowledge the support that I got from the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in the study, as well as the cooperation that I enjoyed from the respondents wherever they were located.

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L'embouteillage dans Les Grandes Villes de L'Afrique de L'ouest et ses Problemes : Cas de Cotonou au Benin

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Résumé

La présente étude axée sur le thème « L'embouteillage dans les grandes villes de l'Afrique de l'Ouest et ses problèmes: cas de Cotonou au Bénin » a pour objectif d'étudier les causes et les conséquences économiques et socio-environnementales de la congestion au niveau des grandes artères de la capitale administrative du Bénin surtout aux heures de pointe. Et pour y parvenir, la collecte des données a été effectuée à travers la recherche documentaire, l'observation directe et participative, l'entretien et l'enquête de terrain. Après le traitement des données, l'analyse des résultats est réalisée suivant le modèle PEIR (Pression, Etat, Impacts, Réponse). En effet, de ces différents résultats, il résulte que la concentration des services administratifs dans la ville de Cotonou, l'exode rural, la défection du réseau routier et la prolifération des engins à deux roues dans ce milieu d'étude constituent les principales causes de l'embouteillage communément appelé « Go Slow » avec pour pôle principal, le carrefour d'Akossombo. Cette situation occasionne de graves préjudices non seulement à l'environnement mais également aux populations du Bénin. Au nombre de ces nuisances, figurent entre autres, la perte de temps et par ricochet d'importantes recettes financières sans oublier la baisse du Produit Intérieur Brut (PIB) pour l'Etat béninois ainsi que pour les entreprises et les sociétés. A toute cette vague de conséquences, s'ajoutent la pollution atmosphérique et sonore, le développement persistant de certaines pathologies comme les céphalées, les infections respiratoires aiguës, le cancer des

poumons, le stress, etc. Enfin, pour réduire un tant soit peu les différents problèmes relatifs à ce phénomène dans la ville de Cotonou au sud du Bénin, il importe que les autorités à divers niveaux pensent à la construction de nouvelles infrastructures routières, la délocalisation des services administratifs, des entreprises et sociétés vers des villes secondaires, la subvention des véhicules neufs, la création et l'encouragement du transport en commun, etc.

Mots-clés: Cotonou-Embouteillage- Economie-Environnement-Santé-Solutions.

Abstract

This study focused on "The congestion in the major cities of West Africa and its problems: Case Cotonou in Benin" aims to study the causes and socio-economic and environmental consequences of the congestion at the major arteries of the administrative capital of Benin especially during peak hours. And to achieve this, the data collection was conducted through desk research, direct and participatory observation, interview and field survey. After data processing, analysis of results is carried out following the PEIR model (Pressure, State, Impact, Response). Indeed, these different results, it follows that the concentration of administrative services in the city of Cotonou, the rural exodus, the deflection of the road network and the proliferation of two-wheeled vehicles in this study environment are the main causes bottling commonly called "Go Slow" with the main pole, the crossroads Akossombo. This situation causes serious harm not only the environment but also to the people of Benin. Among these nuisances, include among others the loss of time and in turn significant financial revenue not to mention the decline in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) for the State of Benin and for companies and societies. A whole wave of consequences, add air and noise pollution, the continuing development of certain diseases such as headaches, acute respiratory infections, lung cancer, stress, etc. Finally, to reduce a little bit different problems related to this phenomenon in the city of Cotonou in southern Benin, it is important that the authorities at various levels think about the construction of new road infrastructure, outsourcing of administrative services, businesses and companies to secondary cities, the grant of new vehicles, the creation and promotion of public transportation, etc.

Keywords: Cotonou Embouteillage--Economy-Environment-Health-Sol

Introduction

Partout dans le monde on assiste depuis quelques décennies à une croissante démographique sans précédent. Cette situation n'est pas sans conséquences sur les populations, l'économie et l'environnement (André, Désile et Reveret, 2003). Certains pays africains comme le Bénin n'est pas en marge de cette réalité qui ne cesse d'impacter plusieurs domaines de la vie socioéconomique et environnementale surtout au niveau des grandes villes du pays. La croissance de la population urbaine est ainsi passée de « 2, 8% entre 1960 et 1979 à 3,3% entre 1979 et 1992. A ce rythme, la population urbaine qui représentait 36% de la population totale en 1992 est estimée à 41% en 2001 et sera d'environ 51% en 2016 » (Rapport national, DDN/CIPD, 2002). Cette croissance démographique

est surtout très remarquée dans les grandes villes du Bénin à statut particulier comme Cotonou, Porto-Novo et Parakou où sont installés les grands services administratifs, les grandes entreprises et sociétés. Elle évolue en concomitance avec le développement des infrastructures et des activités économiques (N'bessa, 1997). En effet, le développement des activités économiques d'un pays passe inévitablement par le secteur des transports qui contribue de façon considérable à la croissance économique et à la réduction de la pauvreté. Les décisions prises en matière d'investissement et d'emploi dépendent de la qualité des infrastructures de transport et du libre mouvement des marchandises et des personnes à l'intérieur de part et d'autres des villes d'un pays. Au Bénin, comme dans la plupart des pays en voie de développement, le transport routier reste cependant le principal mode de transport le plus développé parce qu'il achemine la majorité des voyageurs et des marchandises vers une destination donnée et représente aussi le seul moyen d'accès à la plupart des communautés rurales. C'est d'ailleurs dans cette optique que la Table Ronde des Experts tenue en 2008 sur le secteur montre que la route est le principal moyen de transport en Afrique et assure plus de 90% de trafic sur le continent. Mais force est de constater que les infrastructures existantes dans ces grandes villes de l'Afrique ne sont pas souvent en adéquation avec l'évolution démographique ; ce qui crée trop de préjudices aux populations (Thomson et Bull, 2002). Ainsi, la congestion devient un problème et prend de plus en plus de l'ampleur dans les grandes villes du Bénin. Appelé « bouchon » ou « file » en Europe, « congestion » au Canada, « Go slow » ou embouteillage au Bénin, il est un encombrement de la circulation automobile, réduisant fortement la vitesse de circulation des véhicules. Ce problème devient critique au niveau de Cotonou où les durées des déplacements quotidiens atteignent des niveaux importants qui se comparent désavantageusement à celles observées dans certaines villes étrangères de taille équivalente. Cette congestion réduit la qualité de vie des usagers et engendre des coûts environnementaux et économiques non négligeables. C'est pour mieux appréhender les causes, les conséquences en vue de trouver quelques approches de solution à ce phénomène qui mine les grandes villes que le présent sujet intitulé « L'embouteillage dans les grandes villes de l'Afrique de l'Ouest et ses problèmes : cas de Cotonou au Bénin » a été retenu.

I. MATERIEL ET METHODES

1. Données

Cette étude est réalisée suivant une approche méthodologique participative qui prend en compte tous les acteurs qui permettant de mieux analyser le phénomène d'embouteillage dans la ville de Cotonou et plus particulièrement au niveau de la grande artère d'Akossombo. Et pour y parvenir, plusieurs techniques et outils de collecte de données ont été utilisés à cet effet. Ainsi, les données recueillies dans ce cadre sont à la fois qualitatives et quantitatives.

2. Méthodes d'étude

La méthodologie utilisée est basée sur deux types d'approches : l'approche théorique et celle empirique. Le premier volet de l'approche a permis de fixer les seuils de décisions pour la validation des hypothèses de départ émises. Ainsi, sont retenues comme les vraies causes relatives au problème de l'embouteillage à Akossombo dans la ville de Cotonou, les données recueillies qui pourront être des preuves fiables à plus de 50%. En ce qui concerne la seconde approche, elle est constituée d'enquête de terrain effectuée à base de plusieurs outils tels que le questionnaire, le Focus Group, l'entretien et l'observation. Ces outils ont permis de vérifier les différents impacts liés à l'embouteillage dans le milieu d'étude choisi.

3. Technique d'échantillonnage et taille de l'échantillon

Dans ce cadre, plusieurs acteurs qui utilisent et ont une bonne connaissance des tronçons Echangeur Godomey-Stade de l'amitié, Stade de l'amitié-Carrefour Akossombo, Carrefour Akossombo-Etoile rouge et enfin Carrefour Akossombo-Echangeur Houéyiho ont été retenus de façon aléatoire pour la collecte desdites informations. Au total, 250 personnes ont servi de cibles à la collecte des informations relatives aux indicateurs ci-après :

- durée d'un automobiliste dans l'embouteillage (en minutes) pendant les heures de pointe de la matinée et de la soirée ;
- durée d'un motocycliste dans l'embouteillage (en minutes) pendant les heures de pointe de la matinée et de la soirée ;
- durée totale de l'embouteillage (en heures) ;
- impacts sur les populations, l'environnement et l'économie.

4. Population d'enquête

La population cible concernée par cette enquête est constituée d'acteurs tels que les motocyclistes, les automobilistes, les riverains, les policiers qui interviennent dans la régulation de la circulation à Akossombo et dans les environs, les agents de santé (infirmiers et médecins), les policiers de l'environnement, les sapeurs pompiers, les agents de la Direction des Services Techniques de la Mairie (DST) de Cotonou, de la Direction des Transports Terrestres (DTT), du Centre National de Sécurité Routière (CNSR) et les associations des consommateurs, etc.

Ces personnes interrogées sont retenues sur la base du critère de choix raisonné en tenant compte du fait qu'elles sont capables de fournir d'importantes informations sur le sujet d'étude tant sur les plans quantitatif que qualitatif.

5. Outils et techniques de collecte des données

La collecte des données est faite à base de l'entretien individuel, du Focus group, de l'administration de questionnaire et de l'observation directe. Les informations recueillies à l'aide de ces outils et techniques ont permis de mettre en exergue les causes, les conséquences et les approches de solution relatives au phénomène d'embouteillage communément appelé « Go slow » au niveau du carrefour Akossombo de la ville de Cotonou. Pour recueillir les informations relatives à ces trois variables au niveau de ce milieu d'étude, nous avons donc recouru aux techniques ci-après :

- l'entretien individuel réalisé à l'aide d'un guide d'entretien avec les motocyclistes, les automobilistes, les sapeurs pompiers, les policiers qui régulent la circulation à Akossombo et aux environs ;
- le focus group réalisé avec les riverains, les agents de santé (infirmiers et médecins), les policiers de l'environnement, les associations des consommateurs intervenant dans le domaine routier ;
- l'administration de questionnaire aux agents de la Direction des Services Techniques de la Mairie (DST) de Cotonou, de la Direction des Transports Terrestres (DTT) et du Centre National de la Sécurité Routière (CNSR) ;
- l'observation directe à l'aide de grille d'un certain nombre de comportements socioéconomiques et environnementaux relatifs au phénomène d'embouteillage à Akossombo.

Le tableau I présente de façon détaillée les cibles de cette collecte d'informations et les outils utilisés pour y parvenir

Tableau I : Récapitulatif des différentes personnes interrogées et les outils de collecte d'information

N	Outils de collecte de données	Cibles	Effectif
01	Guide d'entretien	Motocyclistes Automobilistes, Sapeurs pompiers Policiers	100 50 05 10
02	Focus Group	Riverains Infirmiers Médecins Policiers de l'environnement Associations des consommateurs du secteur routier	50 10 10 05 03
03	Questionnaire	Direction des Services Techniques de la Mairie (DST) de Cotonou Direction des Transports Terrestres (DTT) Centre National de Sécurité Routière (CNSR)	02 03 02
TOTAL			250

Source : Enquête de terrain, octobre 2015

Il faut noter que les données de terrain recueillies à l'aide de ces différents outils ont été complétées par des informations générales, spécifiques et statistiques obtenues au niveau des centres de documentation des universités, centres de recherche, des ministères en charge des transports, de l'environnement, de la santé, de la sécurité et de la défense.

6. Matériels

Plusieurs matériels ont été utilisés au cours de la présente étude. Au nombre de ceux-ci, on peut retenir : une carte sommaire de reconnaissance du cadre d'étude, des fonds de cartes tirés de la carte générale du Bénin IGN mise à jour en 1992 et de l'Atlas monographique de l'Atlantique, un appareil photo numérique pour les prises de vue, les fiches, une moto SANILI, un appareil Global Positioning System (GPS) et une montre qui a permis d'évaluer les distances les plus longues et courtes effectuées sur les différents tronçons retenus dans le cadre de cette étude.

7. Traitement des données

A la suite de la collecte des données sur la base de ces techniques et outils pré cités, le dépouillement des fiches d'enquête et de la grille d'observations a été faite de façon manuelle. Notons que les informations quantitatives ont été traitées à l'aide des logiciels Word et Excel. Ces logiciels ont également permis de présenter les données collectées sous forme de tableaux de synthèse et de contingence, de faire les représentations graphiques et d'autres calculs à des fins utiles.

8. Modèle d'analyse

Après le traitement des données, l'analyse des résultats a été faite suivant le modèle PEIR (Pression, Etat, Impacts, Réponse).

A l'issue de cette approche méthodologique et de ce modèle d'analyse utilisés, les différents résultats obtenus sont présentés ci-dessous.

II. RESULTATS ET DISCUSSION

Cotonou, la capitale administrative du Bénin ne cesse de faire face chaque jour au problème récurrent de l'embouteillage. Tous les usagers de cette ville constatent sans cesse que la congestion est bien présente sur les grands axes routiers de la ville notamment au niveau d'Akossombo.

La figure 1 présente le milieu d'étude avec ses différents compartiments administratifs

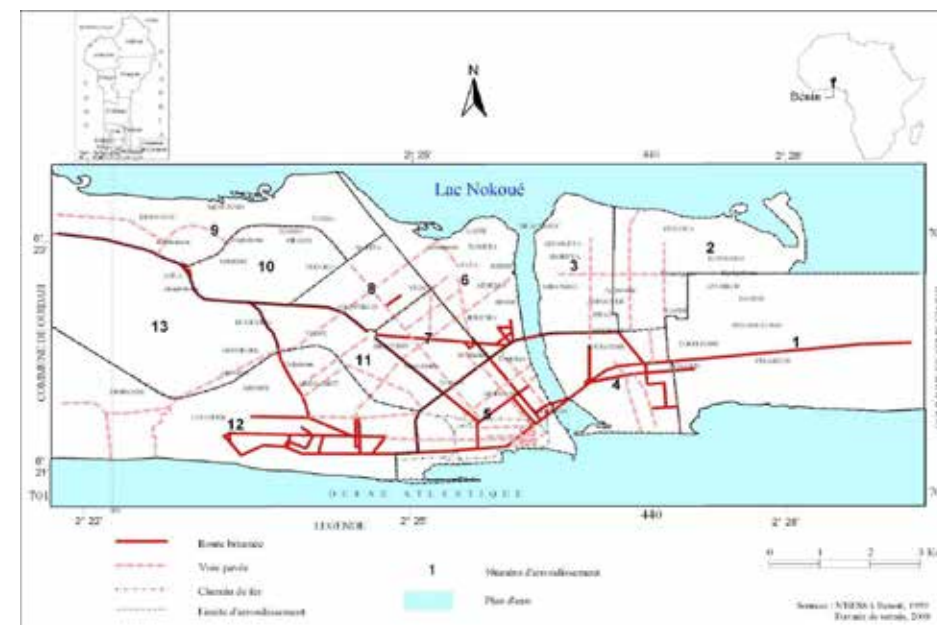


Figure 1 : Situation géographique et administrative de Cotonou

Au bord de l'asphyxie, la capitale économique observe le flot interminable de voitures et motos coincées dans ce qu'on appelle communément le « Go slow ». Ces voitures et motos se déplacent au ralenti. A bord, des conducteurs patientent dans un état hystérique. Cotonou souffre d'un grand problème de circulation. L'embouteillage, phénomène des grandes métropoles embarque la capitale administrative du Bénin et la malmène.

La photo 1 est une illustration patente de la congestion de cette principale artère aux heures de pointe



Photo 1 : Embouteillage sur le tronçon carrefour Akossombo-Echangeur Houébiyo dans la matinée Prise de vue Akiyo, octobre 2015.

Le calvaire de la circulation au niveau de la ville de Cotonou devient de plus en plus traumatisant. Ainsi, nous assistons à un spectacle d'embouteillage sur les grands axes comme Echangeur Godomey-Stade de l'amitié, Stade de l'amitié-Carrefour Akossombo, Carrefour Akossombo-Etoile rouge et Akossombo-Echangeur Houéyiho pendant les heures de départ pour le travail et de sorties du service. Il est donc difficile de se rendre à son lieu de travail à Cotonou sans faire des heures dans la circulation. L'attente dans les embouteillages est devenue alors une réalité quotidienne sur ces axes pour de nombreux citoyens, surtout pour ceux provenant d'Abomey-Calavi et ses environs dans le but de vaquer à leurs occupations à Cotonou et à Porto-Novo.

Au regard de cette situation ainsi décrite, quelles sont alors les causes, les manifestations et les conséquences du « Go slow » sur les usagers, leurs activités quotidiennes et l'environnement.

1. Causes et manifestations de l'embouteillage au niveau du carrefour Akossombo dans la ville de Cotonou

Plusieurs raisons justifient l'embouteillage dans la ville de Cotonou en général et au niveau de l'axe échangeur Godomey-carrefour Akossombo en particulier. Au nombre de celles-ci figurent en première loge, la concentration des services administratifs, des sociétés, des entreprises, des industries et des structures financières dans la capitale économique. En effet, sur les 28 ministères que compte actuellement le Bénin, 27 ont leur siège à Cotonou avec la plupart de leurs directions générales et techniques. Les grandes sociétés et entreprises de la place comme la SONACOP, la SOBEBRA, la SONAPRA, la CCIB, etc. sont toutes installées à Cotonou. Enfin, il convient aussi de noter la présence dans cette même ville de certaines hautes institutions de la République

comme la Présidence de la République, la Cour Constitutionnelle, la Haute Autorité de l'Audiovisuel et de la Communication, le Conseil Economique et Social, l'Autorité de Régulation des Postes et Télécommunication, etc.

A cette première cause s'ajoutent aussi d'autres facteurs tels que le non-respect du code de la route par les usagers, le dysfonctionnement des feux tricolores, l'insuffisance des transports en commun, l'insuffisance des infrastructures routières de qualité, la croissance démographique, les accidents répétés sur les tronçons reliant à ce carrefour, les véhicules en panne garés sur ces artères, l'exode rural et l'accroissement du parc automobile. C'est d'ailleurs pour mieux caricaturer ce difficile rapport entre les possibilités d'absorption des villes et le nombre toujours plus important de véhicules que Jean disait que : « Trop de gens ont trop de voitures, qu'ils veulent utiliser dans le même périmètre restreint ». Les installations anarchiques au bord des artères et l'absence de patience de certains usagers à laisser les autres passer avant de continuer, etc. sont autant de causes non négligeables qui développent le phénomène de « Go slow » dans la ville de Cotonou en général et au niveau du carrefour Akossombo en particulier.

La ville de Cotonou est pour plusieurs citoyens un lieu de travail alors qu'Abomey-Calavi, la commune voisine représente un site d'origine pour plusieurs raisons socioéconomiques et environnementales. Ainsi, depuis plus d'une décennie, les habitants de la ville de Cotonou et ceux des villes voisines immigrent vers la commune d'Abomey-Calavi qui est actuellement la zone la plus peuplée du Bénin pour des raisons de logement, de situation géographique et de la nature du sol (Assouma, 2006). Les différentes investigations révèlent que la majorité des commerçants et fonctionnaires publics et privés de Cotonou proviennent chaque matin de la Commune d'Abomey-Calavi pour vaquer à leurs diverses occupations alors qu'il n'y a que le tronçon Echangeur Godomey-carrefour Akossombo qui relie ces deux villes. Pendant les heures d'entrée et de sortie du service, les jours ouvrables, cet axe présente un important embouteillage qui crée d'énormes préjudices aux populations, à l'économie béninoise et celle des pays voisins (IEPF, 2006). Selon les enquêtes sur le tronçon, l'embouteillage démarre souvent à 07h 08mn et prend fin à 9h53min soit donc une durée de 2h 45mn. Dans la soirée, il reprend à 18h 35mn et prend fin à 20h 42mn soit une durée de 2h 07mn.

Au regard de ces différentes manifestations de l'embouteillage au niveau du milieu d'étude, quels sont alors ses impacts sur l'environnement et les populations.

2. Analyse des impacts économiques et socio-environnementaux de l'embouteillage au niveau du carrefour Akossombo dans la ville de Cotonou

Cette phase de l'étude portant sur les conséquences de l'embouteillage au niveau du carrefour Akossombo dans la ville de Cotonou est déclinée en deux parties. La première partie présente les conséquences économiques à travers l'analyse des données collectées sur le terrain et celles déjà disponibles au niveau des institutions tandis que la seconde s'intéresse aux conséquences sociales et environnementales qui en découlent.

2.1- Conséquences économiques de la congestion dans la ville de Cotonou

Cette partie de l'étude fait cas d'une part, de l'analyse du temps perdu par les usagers sur les axes Echangeur Godomey-Stade de l'amitié (T1), Stade de l'amitié-Carrefour Akossombo (T2), Carrefour Akossombo-Etoile rouge (T3) et Akossombo-Echangeur Houéyiho (T4) pendant les heures de pointe de la matinée et de la soirée et d'autre part, de l'analyse du coût estimatif lié à ces temps perdus.

2.1.1- Temps perdu par les automobilistes dans l'embouteillage

Le temps perdu par les usagers des axes Echangeur Godomey-Stade de l'amitié, Stade de l'amitié-Carrefour Akossombo, Carrefour Akossombo-Etoile rouge et Akossombo-Echangeur Houéyiho pendant les heures de pointe de la matinée et de la soirée n'est pas négligeable et est récapitulé dans les figures 1 et 2.

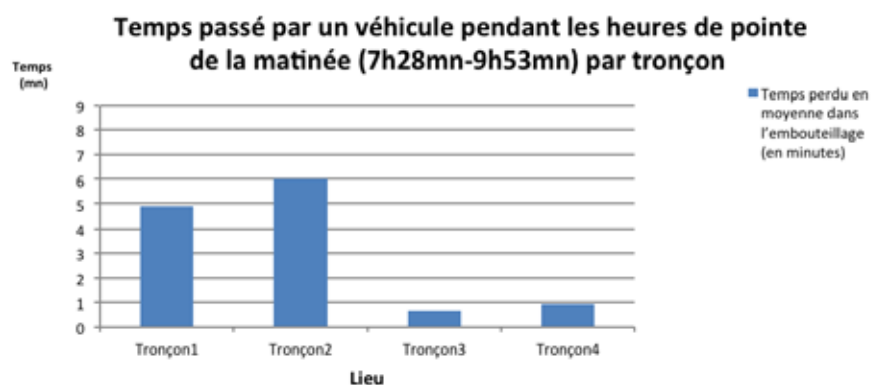


Figure 1 : Temps passé par un véhicule sur les quatre tronçons dans la matinée

Source : Enquêtes de terrain, Octobre 2015

Une analyse de ce graphique montre que dans la matinée, les usagers en véhicule perdent chacun en moyenne dans l'embouteillage 4,9 ; 6 ; 0,7 et 0,9 minutes respectivement sur les tronçons 1, 2, 3 et 4. De plus, le temps perdu par les conducteurs de véhicule sur les tronçons 1 et 2 est plus élevé comparativement à celui perdu sur les tronçons 3 et 4 parce que dans la matinée, tous les usagers qui quittent la Commune d'Abomey-Calavi pour vaquer à leurs occupations dans la ville de Cotonou et de Porto-Novo empruntent en majorité l'axe Echangeur Godomey-Carrefour Akossombo pour rejoindre leurs différents lieux de résidence. Quant au faible temps noté au niveau de T3 et de T4, cela s'explique par le fait qu'arrivé au Carrefour Akossombo, la vague se dissipe sur ces tronçons et la circulation devient alors fluide. Ainsi, il n'y a pas d'embouteillage sur T3 et T4 aux heures de pointe de la matinée.

La photo 3 vient illustrer la stagnation des véhicules pendant des minutes au niveau de cet important carrefour



Photo 3 : Stagnation des véhicules au niveau du carrefour Etoile rouge avec ses corollaires dans la matinée sur les usagers et les agents de sécurité

Prise de vue Akiyo, octobre 2015.

La congestion de ces grandes artères de Cotonou n'est pas seulement l'apanage de la matinée mais également de la soirée aux heures de sortie des bureaux. Le temps passé par voiture au cours de cette période de la soirée est présenté à travers la figure 2.

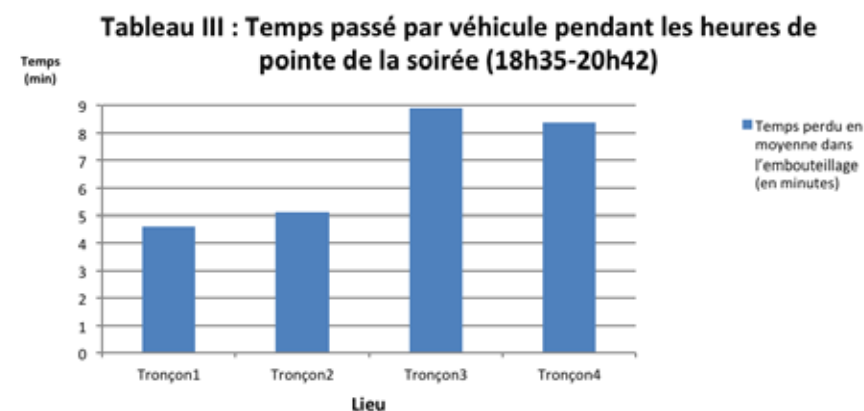


Figure 2 : Temps passé par véhicule pendant les heures de pointe de la soirée au niveau des quatre tronçons

Source : Enquêtes de terrain, Octobre 2015

Les données de la figure 2 révèlent que dans la soirée, les quatre tronçons connaissent

de véritable congestion. La densité de la circulation s'observe plus sur les T3 et T4 que sur les T1 et T2. Aux heures de sortie de service dans la soirée, les usagers en véhicule perdent chacun en moyenne dans l'embouteillage 4,6 ; 5,1 ; 8,9 et 8,4 minutes respectivement sur T1, T2, T3 et T4. Ces statistiques démontrent une fois encore la dangerosité des T3 et T4 pour les usagers de la route qu'ils soient dans le secteur public ou privé aux heures de pointe.

La photo 3 met en exergue le développement du phénomène de « Go Slow » au niveau des tronçons Akossombo-Etoile rouge et Akossombo-Echangeur Houéyiho qui créent de grands préjudices tant aux usagers qu'aux agents de sécurité chargés de réguler la circulation.



Photo 3 : Embouteillage sur les tronçons Akossombo-Etoile rouge et Akossombo-Echangeur Houéyiho dans la soirée

Prise de vue Akiyo, octobre 2015.

Ce n'est pas seulement les conducteurs d'automobile qui subissent matin et soir les congestions constatées au niveau de ces tronçons initialement répertoriés mais aussi les motocyclistes.

2.1.2- Temps perdu par les motocyclistes dans l'embouteillage

Le temps effectué au niveau des quatre artères par les usagers détenteurs de motos (Mate, Sanili, Bajaj, etc.) est présenté dans le tableau II.

Tableau II : Temps passé par motocycliste aux heures de pointe de la matinée (7h28mn-9h53mn)

Lieu	Tronçon1	Tronçon2	Tronçon3	Tronçon4
Temps perdu en moyenne dans l'embouteillage (en minutes)	3,8mn	4,3mn	0,3mn	0,4mn

Source : Enquêtes de terrain, Octobre 2015

Le tableau ci-dessus montre que dans la matinée, les motos cycliques font chacun en moyenne dans l'embouteillage 3,8 ; 4,3 ; 0,3 et 0,4 minutes respectivement sur les tronçons 1, 2, 3 et 4. Les temps perdus sur les T1 et T2 sont élevés comparativement aux tronçons 3 et 4 dans la matinée. Cette situation est due au fait que la majorité des usagers de ces différents tronçons quittent la commune d'Abomey-Calavi pour vaquer à leurs occupations dans la ville de Cotonou et de Porto-Novo. Pour parvenir à leurs différents lieux de travail, ils sont alors obligés d'emprunter tous, l'axe Echangeur Godomey-Carrefour Akossombo. Quant au temps passé au niveau des T3 et T4, cela s'explique par le fait qu'arrivé au Carrefour Akossombo, la vague se dissipe sur ces tronçons. Ainsi, il n'y a pas d'embouteillage sur T3 et T4 dans la matinée et la circulation devient fluide.

La photo 4 vient une fois encore confirmer que l'embouteillage ne se produit pas seulement au niveau des automobiles mais également des motos.



Photo 4 : Embouteillage des motocyclistes sur le tronçon Stade de l'amitié-carrefour Akossombo dans la matinée

Prise de vue Akiyo, octobre 2015.

L'embouteillage constaté au niveau de ces artères impactent sur le temps d'activité des motocyclistes et est répertorié dans le tableau III dans la soirée.

Tableau III : Temps passé par moto cycliste pendant les heures de pointe de la soirée (18h35mn-20h42mn)

Soirée	Tronçon1	Tronçon2	Tronçon3	Tronçon4
Temps perdu en moyenne dans l'embouteillage	3,5mn	4,9mn	5,8mn	6,5mn

Source : Enquêtes de terrain, Octobre 2015

Les motocyclistes font chacun en moyenne, respectivement 3,5 ; 4,9 ; 5,8 et 6,5 minutes sur les tronçons T1 ; T2 ; T3 et T4 dans la soirée. Ils perdent alors plus de temps dans l'embouteillage sur les T3 et T4 que sur les T1 et T2. Le temps passé par les conducteurs de motos sur T4 est plus élevé que celui passé sur les autres tronçons malgré sa distance. Cette situation est due au fait que la circulation est plus dense sur ce tronçon dans la soirée. Il y a donc d'embouteillage sur les quatre tronçons aux heures de sortie de service dans la soirée.

Au regard de ces différents résultats, il convient de noter que dans la matinée, les tronçons 3 et 4 ne sont pas embouteillés alors que dans la soirée, tous les tronçons connaissent de véritable embouteillage. Les données collectées sur le terrain révèlent que les automobilistes perdent plus de temps dans l'embouteillage que les motocyclistes et ce, pour plusieurs raisons. Au nombre de ces raisons, figurent la facilité de manipulation du moteur, la possibilité des motocyclistes à se faufiler facilement dans les rangs et le volume d'espace qu'occupe les motos sur la voie à côté des automobiles, etc.

La photo 5 décrit le phénomène de « Go Slow » dans la soirée sur l'un des tronçons retenus au niveau du milieu d'étude.



Photo 5 : Embouteillage des motocyclistes sur le tronçon Akossombo-Echangeur Houéyibo dans la matinée

Prise de vue Akiyo, octobre 2015.

Le temps perdu constaté un peu partout au niveau des quatre tronçons retenus dans le cadre de cette étude n'est pas aussi sans répercussion sur l'économie des usagers et celle du pays.

3. Coûts liés à la perte de temps occasionnée par l'embouteillage au niveau d'Akossombo

La présente évaluation de coût lié au temps perdu par les usagers dans l'embouteillage tient uniquement compte des Agents Permanents de l'Etat (APE) par catégorie à cause de l'indisponibilité des données relatives aux autres types d'usagers de cette artère travaillant dans le secteur privé (artisans, commerçants, etc.).

Les données présentées dans les tableaux ci-dessous sont obtenues à partir des calculs effectués dans EXCEL à base des formules suivantes :

$$SB = \text{Indice} * \text{Point Indiciaire} / 12$$

- **SB** : Salaire de Base
- **Les indices** utilisés sont ceux de la grille salariale des Agents Permanents de l'Etat (APE) du Bénin dans chaque catégorie (collectée au trésor public).
- **Point Indiciaire actuel** = 3007 (Selon les données collectées au trésor public).

Après le calcul des salaires de base, nous avons déterminé les salaires de base moyens par catégorie d'APE (catégorie A, B, C et D). Cette moyenne est obtenue par la formule suivante :

$$SBm/\text{catégorie} = SB/12$$

- 12 étant le nombre d'échelon par catégorie d'agent. Ainsi, nous avons obtenu le salaire de base moyen par catégorie d'agent.
- **SBm/catégorie** : Salaire de Base moyen par catégorie d'agent.
- Avant de déterminer le coût moyen en FCFA du temps perdu dans l'embouteillage, nous avons au prime abord calculé le salaire de base par minute d'autant plus que le temps perdu dans l'embouteillage est évalué en minute. En effet, le salaire de base moyen par minute est déterminé en considérant 30jours/mois, 8heures de travail/jour et 60minutes/heure.
- Ainsi, le coût moyen en FCFA du temps perdu dans l'embouteillage est déterminé par la formule suivante :

$$C_m \text{ TPE} = SB_m / \text{min} * \text{TPE} / \text{min}$$

- **C_m TPE** : Coût moyen du Temps Perdu dans l'Embouteillage.
- **SB_m/min** : Salaire de Base moyen par minute.
- **TPE/min** : Temps Perdu dans l'Embouteillage par minute.

Tableau IV : Estimation du coût journalier de temps perdu dans l'embouteillage par un Agent Permanent de l'Etat en voiture

Evolution du coût par catégorie d'agent				
Catégorie d'agent	A	B	C	D
Coût moyen en FCFA de temps perdu dans l'embouteillage	499,3104	326,1688	216,5256	143,956

Source : Données de terrain et du Trésor Public, octobre 2015

Le coût de temps perdu dans l'embouteillage diffère selon que l'on est dans une catégorie d'agent ou une autre. En effet, un APE en véhicule fait perdre à l'Etat béninois par jour en moyenne **499,3104** , **326,1688**, **216,5256** et **143,956 FCFA** respectivement selon qu'il appartient à la catégorie A , B , C et D soit respectivement **14979,312** ; **9785,064** ; **6495,768** et **4318,68 FCFA** par mois. En prenant quatre agents, chacun dans une catégorie, ils font perdre à l'Etat béninois par jour, une somme de **1185,9608 FCFA** soit **35.578,824 FCFA** en moyenne par mois.

Tableau V : Estimation du coût journalier de temps perdu dans l'embouteillage par Agent Permanent de l'Etat (APE) à moto

Evolution du coût par catégorie d'agent				
Catégorie d'agent	A	B	C	D
Coût moyen en FCFA du temps perdu dans l'embouteillage	373,47	243,965	161,955	107,675

Source : Données de terrain et du Trésor public, octobre 2015

Le coût du temps perdu dans l'embouteillage par les agents à moto diffère aussi selon que l'on est dans une catégorie ou dans une autre. En effet, un APE à moto fait perdre à l'Etat par jour et en moyenne **373,47** ; **243,965** ; **161,955** et **107,675 FCFA** respectivement selon qu'il appartient à la catégorie A, B, C et D soit respectivement **11204,1** ; **7318,95** ; **4858,65** et **3230,25 FCFA** en moyenne par mois. En prenant quatre agents, chacun dans une catégorie, ils font perdre à l'Etat béninois par jour une somme de **887,065 FCFA** soit **26.611,95 FCFA** par mois.

Au regard des milliers d'APE qui utilisent chaque jour ces différentes artères pour accéder à leur lieu de travail sans oublier aussi ceux du secteur privé, il est à noter que l'Etat béninois perd chaque jour des millions de FCFA dû à l'embouteillage avec la perte de temps et de carburant au niveau de ce milieu d'étude sans compter les autres quartiers de Cotonou comme Dantokpa, Akpakpa et Ancien Pont. Ces embouteillages ont des coûts qui se revêtent sous plusieurs formes et certains de ces coûts, comme la perte de temps et le gaspillage du carburant sont directement assumés par les usagers. D'autres coûts sont assumés par l'ensemble de la société. Par exemple, la perte de temps, la hausse des coûts de production, la réduction de la productivité et le gaspillage du carburant nuisent à l'économie dans son ensemble. Le temps passé dans les embouteillages est souvent non seulement la cause des retards observés dans les services, mais aussi des retards de livraison qui peuvent être dramatiques pour les entreprises, notamment celles qui utilisent le principe du juste à temps (flux tendu). Cette situation contribue à la baisse de productivité de l'économie, l'augmentation du coût des transports et des biens et le coût équivalent au carbone de la pollution.

Le « Go Slow » observé au niveau du carrefour Akossombo n'a d'impact que sur l'économie du pays ?

4. Conséquences socio-environnementales de la congestion à Cotonou

Dans le cadre de cet aspect de l'étude, il sera présenté dans un premier temps le contexte théorique des coûts externes de la pollution due à l'embouteillage dans le milieu d'étude puis dans un second temps, les différentes pathologies qui en découlent.

4.1.- Contexte théorique des coûts externes liés à la pollution par l'embouteillage

L'évaluation des coûts externes de l'embouteillage est de plus en plus destinée à une régulation du système de transport avec des signaux de prix qui permettent de se rapprocher d'un optimum. En effet, l'automobiliste et le motocycliste génèrent des effets externes négatifs (nuisances) supportés par les populations exposées à la pollution. Comme la relation entre l'émetteur de la nuisance et les récepteurs s'établit en dehors d'un marché, l'effet externe conduit alors à un coût externe. La mesure de la valeur économique de la pollution de l'air causée par les véhicules à moteur vise à déterminer le niveau de taxe qui donne un signal tarifaire aux agents pollueurs correspondant à leur émission polluante. Ce signal internalisé dans le coût de production, donc du prix des ventes des outputs (carburant, véhicule à moteur), déplace alors l'équilibre vers un niveau de nuisance acceptable (MEHU, 2002). Les coûts qu'imposent les taxis moto surtout les « zémidjamen » dans l'embouteillage à la société sont multiples (accidents, pollution sonore, pollution atmosphérique, etc.). Ces coûts sont pour la plupart des coûts sociaux non compensés surtout au niveau de la pollution atmosphérique. C'est dans cette optique que Jonas, un usager régulier du carrefour Akossombo déclare ce qui suit : « Chaque jour que j'emprunte le carrefour Akossombo pour aller au boulot je ne fais que sentir des malaises de tous genres : toux atroce, céphalées et maux d'yeux, etc. Même quand j'achète et j'utilise les médicaments et que je repasse encore par ce carrefour, les mêmes maux reprennent ».

Le social non compensé est le concept économique qui permet de traiter les relations avec l'environnement. Ce coût est dit social parce qu'il affecte le bien être d'un ensemble d'individus et non compensé, parce que les dommages dus à la pollution ne sont pas intégrés dans les prix du marché. Il paraît alors évident que le coût social total de l'offre de service par les conducteurs de taxis moto est supérieur au coût social effectivement compensé (coût privé supporté nécessaire à l'exercice de l'activité). L'écart entre ces deux coûts représente le coût des dommages et constitue les externalités négatives dont la non prise en compte par les conducteurs favorise l'accroissement de la pollution (Akobi, 2014).

4.2.- Pollution de l'environnement et développement des pathologies

Cotonou enregistre chaque jour d'innombrables problèmes environnementaux qui menacent l'équilibre écologique et hypothèquent dangereusement la santé des populations du fait des flots d'embouteillage observés sur les axes routiers précités. La plupart des véhicules qui circulent sur les quatre tronçons utilisent des moteurs diesel et à essence qui émettent à leur tour des fumées noires appelées polluants comme le dioxyde de carbone, les monoxydes d'azote qui sont des gaz très dangereux pour l'environnement et la santé des populations (Boko, 2005). En effet, le dioxyde d'azote est un des gaz les plus polluants du trafic routier : sa concentration moyenne à l'intérieur d'un véhicule

est bien supérieure à celle que l'OMS recommande de ne pas dépasser. «La densité du trafic, l'âge des voitures, leur état technique, mais aussi la qualité du carburant sont autant de facteurs qui contribuent à la pollution atmosphérique» (Akobi, 2014). Ainsi, la congestion génère les pollutions atmosphérique et sonore provenant des émissions de gaz d'échappement, de toutes natures qui constitue des périls environnementaux ayant des répercussions graves sur l'appareil respiratoire. Notons aussi que cette pollution est davantage provoquée par les gaz d'échappement provenant de la voiture située en première position surtout lorsque celle-ci s'arrête et accélère plusieurs fois de suite. L'air à Cotonou est alors chargé de plomb et devient de plus en plus irrespirable à cause des gaz d'échappement (Akiyo, 2012). Les embouteillages constituent alors un problème majeur à Cotonou. C'est ce que témoigne cette déclaration de BV en ces termes : «Chaque soir, je rentre chez moi avec la gorge complètement sèche et un goût amer dans la bouche et respirer correctement est tout un calvaire quand j'arrive à Akossombo». Selon certains médecins interrogés sur le sujet, une épaisse fumée noire, âcre, s'amoncelle progressivement au fond du poumon, perturbant la respiration : des cas de cancer des voies respiratoires et y causant plusieurs troubles. Plusieurs maladies liées à ce fait sont enregistrées chaque jour dans les services spécialisés du Centre National Hospitalier Universitaire-Hubert Koutoukou MAGA de Cotonou. C'est pour limiter les effets néfastes de cette pollution que malgré la chaleur atroce due parfois aux effets néfastes des changements climatiques, certains motocyclistes circulent avec des cache-nez ou des mouchoirs pour se protéger le nez et la bouche. D'autres s'essuient même le nez à cause des gaz d'échappement. La fumée est partout présente, constate avec amertume l'usager Dieudonné qui ajoute : « Nous mourons à petit feu, pour ne pas dire à petit gaz ». Une étude américaine, réalisée à la demande de TomTom, sur la circulation automobile tend à prouver que les bouchons sont dangereux pour la santé. En effet, les automobilistes souffriraient d'une augmentation significative de leur stress physiologique quand ils sont coincés dans les embouteillages. L'augmentation du stress serait selon cette étude dans les milieux de congestion de 8,7% chez les femmes alors que chez les hommes, elle atteindrait la hausse vertigineuse de 60%. La moitié d'entre eux n'en seraient même pas conscients. Une exposition de longue durée aux hormones du stress provoquerait notamment une réduction de la fonction immunitaire ainsi qu'une élévation de la pression artérielle et du taux de sucre dans le sang. En effet, ce stress physiologique influence aussi en retour la conduite de certains usagers et serait donc à termes à la base de certaines pathologies notamment les étourdissements, l'essoufflement des usagers ainsi que des douleurs musculaires et thoraciques. Cette situation amène parfois certains automobilistes à se déconcentrer et à avoir un comportement erratique avec pour conséquence la prolifération des accidents. Une étude effectuée à l'Institut Helmholtz Zentrum de Munich en Allemagne conclut aussi que le trafic routier dense pourrait augmenter fortement le risque de crise cardiaque. L'équipe d'Annette Peters a travaillé avec des adultes ayant déjà eu un infarctus et leur a demandé de lui décrire

les quatre jours précédant la survenue de l'infarctus. Le trafic routier avait engendré la crise cardiaque dans 8 % des cas. Le Dr Peters approfondit en disant que : «Nous avons découvert que tous ceux qui sont coincés dans le trafic voient leur risque de crise cardiaque tripler dans l'heure qui suit». Les facteurs tabac, surpoids et obésité amèneraient un risque supplémentaire (Bradley, 1996). Ce risque ne concerne pas que les conducteurs d'automobiles et de motocyclistes, mais tous ceux qui en subissent les conséquences comme les policiers qui sont tous les jours au niveau de ce carrefour pour réguler la circulation. Les conducteurs et passagers de tous les moyens de transport personnels ou en commun sont aussi concernés.

L'air des quatre tronçons retenus dans le cadre de cette étude est pollué par les émissions de particules en suspension, de fumée et des odeurs dans l'atmosphère. En effet, les principales sources de pollution de cet air sont relatives aux gaz dégagés par la fumée des motos et autos. Ces gaz qui ont la propriété de se mélanger avec d'autres substances atmosphériques comme le gaz carbonique naturel, l'oxygène, l'azote, etc. forment à leur tour, des composés plus complexes et plus toxiques qui ont d'énormes conséquences sur la santé des populations (Georges, 1974). Au nombre de ces dommages induits par la pollution atmosphérique, figurent la destruction de l'ozone stratosphérique dans le milieu, l'amplification de l'effet de serre avec pour corollaire la prolifération d'importantes maladies (Akiyo, 2010). Caractérisée par le soulèvement et le dépôt de nombreuses substances qui affectent la qualité des sols et des eaux de surface, la pollution atmosphérique peut être considérée comme un facteur de dégradation environnementale (PAE, 2001). Il s'agit là d'une hypothèse à partir d'un constat de terrain. Si cela se vérifiait, ces polluants en suspension dans l'air initialement évoqués, finiront par se retrouver dans les eaux et les sols. Dans ces milieux, ils influenceront négativement les produits halieutiques et agricoles consommés par les populations de Cotonou et environs (Akiyo, 2012). Il est vrai que sur la question, les statistiques sont rares, mais les plaintes croissantes des populations, liées aux nuisances et à la recrudescence des maladies dues à la qualité de l'air au niveau du Carrefour Akossombo et ses environs, constituent des indicateurs non négligeables. En effet, pour la plupart des gaz polluants, les concentrations mesurées au niveau de carrefour Akossombo dépassent les nationales et internationales, souvent dans les grandes proportions (Toffi, 2008). Signalons que ces différents polluants associés à des déchets issus des activités humaines et industrielles alimentent l'atmosphère en divers polluants sous forme de poussières, de fumées et de gaz. Par leurs mouvements pendulaires nord-sud, les brises reprennent ces polluants en suspension et les répandent au-dessus des agglomérations. Durant les périodes de calmes éoliens (vents nuls) et la forte hygrométrie de l'air aidant, ces polluants sont maintenus en suspension et augmentent ainsi le volume des gaz à effet de serre. A la faveur d'une pluie ou de la simple rosée nocturne et matinale, ils sont précipités et déposés à la surface et/ou infiltrés, contaminant ainsi sols, eaux de surface et nappes phréatiques (Toffi, 2008). Ces polluants présentent plusieurs nuisances qui affectent la plupart du temps la santé

des populations. A ces facteurs de nuisance, il faut aussi associer le commerce illicite de l'essence frelatée provenant du Nigéria communément appelée "KPAYO" vendue aux abords desdits tronçons alimentant certains moteurs d'engins qui constitue aussi une grave menace pour la santé des populations (Sègbédji, 2001). Des recherches effectuées par certains auteurs, il s'est également avéré que la pollution atmosphérique affecte plusieurs systèmes chez l'homme. Mais de tous, l'appareil broncho-pulmonaire est plus ciblé parce que sujet à de multiples affections notamment les infections respiratoires aiguës, les bronchites chroniques, la tuberculose et le faible poids à la naissance (Boko, 2005).

Au-delà de ces impacts environnementaux et sanitaires dus à la pollution atmosphérique avec l'embouteillage au niveau du carrefour Akossombo de Cotonou, on note aussi la destruction de certaines infrastructures comme le noircissement du mur des habitations, des plaques de publicités, des poteaux électriques et parfois des ampoules d'éclairage.

La photo 6 montre l'influence de la pollution atmosphérique sur certaines infrastructures au niveau du carrefour Etoile Rouge à Cotonou.



Photo 6 : La fumée produite par la pollution atmosphérique due à l'embouteillage a entraîné le noircissement de certaines infrastructures (poteaux, mur et ampoule) au niveau de station d'essence SONACOP à l'Etoile Rouge de Cotonou

Prise de vue Akiyo, octobre 2015.

Au total, les conséquences néfastes provenant de l'embouteillage à Cotonou sont énormes. Pour ce faire, les usagers de la route en ce qui les concerne, doivent en prendre conscience et respecter certaines prescriptions. Quant aux autorités, il leur revient de « repenser » le plan de développement de la ville de Cotonou à travers les actions présentées ci-dessous.

III. Quelques suggestions

Pour réduire le problème de l'embouteillage sur les tronçons, objet de cette étude et plus précisément au niveau du carrefour Akossombo de la ville de Cotonou, il urge de :

- construire un échangeur au niveau du carrefour Akossombo qui est un tronçon inter-état ;
- créer et encourager les transports communs afin de réduire les déplacements individuels et par ricochet la prolifération des pollutions de tous genres avec pour corollaire, la dégradation de la santé des populations ;
- sensibiliser les usagers de la route sur l'importance du respect du code de la route et du port des équipements de protection individuelle (EPI) comme le cache-nez, le casque, les lunettes ;
- subventionner l'achat des véhicules neufs ;
- construire d'autres routes de déserte pour les populations ;
- réhabiliter et bitumer les routes Zogbo-Fifadji à Marina en 2 x 2 et route Houéhiyo-Godomey magasin en 2 x 2 ;
- construire des pistes rurales pour les motocyclistes ;
- faire respecter par les véhicules gros-porteurs l'arrêté fixant les heures de circulation ;
- exiger aux motocyclistes un passage obligatoire au niveau des trottoirs réservés à cet effet ;
- ouvrir si possible une nouvelle voie reliant Abomey-Calavi à Porto-Novo ;
- créer et élargir les espaces verts pour faciliter le phénomène de photosynthèse ;
- promouvoir au moins une fois par an à travers la journée mondiale de l'environnement un système de vélo libre au cours duquel les automobiles et les motos ne vont pas circuler à Cotonou ;
- délocaliser les services administratifs, certaines entreprises et sociétés vers les villes secondaires comme Abomey-Calavi, Ouidah, Porto-Novo et Parakou...etc. pour réduire un tant soit peu l'exode rural qui est aussi une cause de l'embouteillage.

CONCLUSION

Cette étude met en exergue les différents facteurs qui expliquent la congestion du carrefour Akossombo dans la ville de Cotonou et analyse en dernier ressort les impacts économiques et socio-environnementaux qui en découlent. Et pour y parvenir, l'approche analytique et descriptive a été utilisée. Cette méthodologie a donc permis de parvenir aux conclusions selon lesquelles, la question de l'embouteillage au niveau du carrefour Akossombo cause de grandes nuisances aux populations du Bénin en général et celles de Cotonou et environs en particulier. Toutes les hypothèses émises

au départ ont été confirmées d'après les investigations et les résultats issus de l'analyse des données collectées sur le terrain. Il ressort donc desdits résultats, que la principale cause de l'embouteillage au niveau du carrefour Akossombo est la concentration des services administratifs publics comme privés dans la ville de Cotonou. A cette cause principale, s'ajoutent aussi celles secondaires dont la croissance démographique, l'exode rural, la prolifération des voitures et engins à deux roues, le non-respect du code de la route, la défaillance du réseau routier et l'insuffisance du transport en commun, etc. Les conséquences résultant de ce phénomène sont d'ordre économique, social et environnemental. Ainsi, sur le plan économique, l'embouteillage constitue une énorme perte de temps et de carburant pour les différents usagers avec pour corollaire, la baisse du Produit Intérieur Brut (PIB). Les conséquences socio-environnementales sont entre autres, la pollution atmosphérique et le développement de certaines pathologies comme les céphalées, les toux chroniques, le cancer du poumon et le rhumatisme, etc.

Au regard de ces multiples causes et conséquences de l'embouteillage communément appelé « Go slow » à Cotonou, il revient donc aux autorités à divers niveaux de l'Etat d'en prendre conscience et de trouver des mesures subséquentes notamment le développement du réseau routier et la promotion du transport en commun pour soulager un tant soit peu, les multiples peines que vivent quotidiennement les populations car le développement d'un pays réside dans la qualité de ses infrastructures routières.

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Gender and Corruption in Nigerian Politics.

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Abstract

This article explores the relationships, or the lack thereof, between gender and grand corruption in Nigeria. Methodologically, Butler's theory of subject formation/performativity, and Kothari's critique of participation, was used to interrogate selected Nigerian grand corruption literature and public indictment records. The objective was to tease-out and explain under-emphasized influences on grand corruption, such as the roles of godfathers, women's political socialization and self-interests. Findings indicate that powerful political, cultural, military and industrial godfathers and mothers regulate aspirants' selection, electoral funding, appointments and extra-constitutional protection from prosecution when they engage in grand corruption. Godfathers regulate political participation in a manner that encourage protégées fantasies about, and imitative adoption of their patrons' corrupt worldviews and practices. Consequently, godfather political socialization, extra-constitutional pressures on office holders, and crass materialist accumulation interests of indicted female leaders seem to matter more than the gender binary.

Key Words: Nigeria; Godfathers; Subjection; Gender; Corruption

Résumé

Cet article explore les relations, ou leur absence, entre le genre et la grande corruption en Nigeria. Méthodologiquement, la théorie de Butler sur la formation de sujet / Performativity, et la critique de participation de Kothari, a été pour on Employee roger de la Littérature Selection sets Nigeria grand corruption et les dossiers publics d'acte d'accusation. L'objectif était de Decrypter et d'expliquer influences les sous-soulignées sur la grande corruption, Telles que les roles des parrains, socialisation la politique des femmes et les intérêts personnels. Les résultats de que indiquent puissants parrains mères et politiques, culturels, Military INDUSTRIELS régissent et la sélection des aspirants, for Financing électoral, les nominations et la protection extra-Constitutional contre les poursuites lorsqu'ils commettent une grande corruption. Les parrains participation réglementent la politique d'une manière qui les encourage fantasmes des protégés et l'adoption des imitative visions du monde et des pratiques de leurs corrompues patrons. Par conséquent, socialisation la politique de parrain, les pressions extra-constitutionnelles sur les titulaires de charge et les intérêts Grossiers de l'accumulation des femmes materialists accusées semblent avoir plus d'Importance que le genre de binôme.

Mots clés: Nigeria; Parrain; Sujétion; Le genre; la corruption

Introduction

It is trendy for scholarly and professional development discourse about Nigeria to blame patriarchy for her perennial underdevelopment. Such discourse additionally accentuates narrow corrective programmes and projects that address selective symptoms of maladministration, such as grand corruption. A version of such essentialist development orthodoxy suggests that “increasing women’s presence in public life can reduce levels of corruption” (Swamy et al, 2001:36; see also Dollar et al. 2001; Oduyoye 1986). Another version states that “African men have ruined Africa; therefore, there might be a need to shift the political power base to the women” (Ojior 2002:2; see also Arowolo and Aluko 2010; Akunyili 2006; World Bank 2001).

The above essentialist sentiment that women’s political participation will reduce levels of grand corruption continues to be driven by an inexact interpretation of the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action declaration (see Beijing Declaration 1995: Chapter 1: 7). Critically, the Beijing declaration did not claim that women are less corrupt than men. Instead, the platform promotes socio-economic and political parity, which is a desirable development goal in itself. Unlike the Beijing Platform’s advocacy for parity however, a powerful wing of the parity lobby proposes that masculinity is synonymous with corruption while femininity is synonymous with probity (Arowolo and Aluko 2010; Swamy et al, 2001). This foundational proposition of the essentialist parity lobby neglects that “not all men are successful patriarchs” nor every woman oppressed (Silberschmidt 1999:8). Moreover, the essentialist parity lobby seem to illogically suggest those women’s historic marginalization experiences somehow confer emancipatory governance qualities, such as probity, on them.

Unfortunately, women’s growing participation in Nigerian public sphere has not reduced the levels of grand corruption by May 2015 (see Global Witness 2015; Human Rights Watch 2011; Ribadu 2010; Smith 2010; Ajayi 2010). Consequently, rather than a priori assignation of honesty to one gender, and corruption to the other, anti-corruption stakeholders should advocate for institutional/legal reforms, and dispassionate legal enforcement, which would encourage honesty among politically exposed Nigerian men and women; and judicially try indicted persons, exonerate or punish offenders. Politically exposed persons are Nigerians who contest and win elections into public offices, such as the president, governors and local government chairpersons; are appointed to serve as ministers, commissioners, and heads of government agencies, such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), and are wealthy and powerful men and women who exert influence over Nigerian political processes.

The seeming failure of the gender binary, as an anti-corruption device in Nigeria, implies that there may be alternative and plausible explanations for grand corruption that the gender binary fails to capture. Such explanations may include godfather pressures, women’s political socialization, and their own materialist interests and pursuits. The importance of considering these latter set of influences on grand corruption is accentuated by the fact that participation in Nigerian politics is like gender action. Public service in Nigeria has become a pre-scripted act that is sustained by godfather influence and corrupt self-interests of participants, which are disguised as community service and emancipatory politics. The foregoing is why successive generations of Nigerian public servants “fight for booty or ‘national cake’ through grand corruption in a very pre-scripted and predictable manner (Garba 1995:237). Grand corruption nurtures the collapse of public services and confidence in government across Nigeria amidst worsening poverty rates, ethnic divisions and “shriller parochial politics in which ethnic groups battle for the shrinking national cake” (Africa Confidential 1999;online).

Leveraging Butler’s performative gender construct, this article proposes that the extra-constitutional activities of Nigerian godfathers/mothers and candidates’ own action-orientations are more robust explanations for grand corruption in Nigeria than the gender binary (and other factors discussed in the next sections). The remainder of the article will attempt to validate this claim. For analytical and presentational clarity, this paper focuses exclusively on grand or public sector corruption, such as those perpetrated by politically exposed women. Several institutional and individual authors have robustly catalogued and discussed politically exposed Nigerian males’ indictments for grand corruption (see Global Witness 2015; Human Rights Watch 2011; see Ribadu 2010; World Bank 2007; USAID 2006; Bello-Imam 2005; Transparency International 2004). It is important to note that female leaders presented herein were indicted for grand corruption in a manner similar to some of their male counterparts, such as former Governor Lucky Iginiedion of Edo state and James Ibori of Delta State. Influences discussed by this paper are selectively limited to politically exposed women’s socialization and induction into politics by godfathers in a permissive political culture (the processes of subject formation), which combines with the women’s own agencies (assimilation and imitation of patrons’ perverse desires for, and actions to accumulate crass wealth) which promotes and sustains grand corruption in Nigeria.

To achieve the above objectives, the remainder of the paper is divided into eight broad sections. Section one stipulates the meaning of corruption; and examines why it is intractable in Nigeria. Section two presents literature on gender and corruption while section three discusses the paper’s conceptual framework. Section four presents the article’s methods while section five presents evidence of conceptual linkages between the Nigerian structure and indicted women’s agencies, pathways to public office and

corruption. In contrast, section six demonstrates the practical implications of the described subject formation and action linkages on the women's corrupt conducts. The next section, section seven, presents evidence of the growing list of Nigerian women indicted for grand corruption. The last section revisits key issues discussed, and concludes that corruption is not gendered but a product of systemic godfathers' political socialization and pressures on politically exposed persons, and their own perverse desires to accumulate crass wealth in a selectively permissive political culture.

The meaning of corruption; and why it is intractable in Nigeria

This article adopts Nye's definition of corruption, which is very pertinent to Nigeria. According to Nye, corruption is "behaviour which deviates from the normal duties of a public role because of private-regarding (family, close private clique), pecuniary or status gains; or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private-regarding influence. This includes such behaviour as bribery (use of reward to pervert the judgment of a person in a position of trust); nepotism (bestowal of patronage by reason of ascriptive relationship rather than merit); and misappropriation (illegal appropriation of public resources for private regarding uses)" (Nye 1967:419). Rephrased, corruption "is the misuse of public power for private gain" (Rose-Ackerman 1999:9; see also Joseph 1997; Goetz 2007 and 2002). But why is corruption endemic in Nigeria?

Simply put, corruption is endemic in Nigeria because politically exposed persons are socialized by Nigerian oligarchs and elites' who observe a corrupt political culture; and lack incentives (because they derive perverse advantage from it) to sustainably address several factors that recommend public servants grand corruption. Some of these influences include festering inter-ethnic cultural, political and economic uncertainty and fears, which are associated with Nigeria's initial and present conditions (i.e. colonialism, fractured ethnicities, regional/ethnic variance in natural resource endowment, development outcomes, poverty etc.). These challenges continue to promote splintered national identities among Nigerian citizens, erode the state's legitimacy and capacities for action, and delineate her resources as a bounty to be captured by elected and appointed office holders, and those in their patronage networks. In different combinations, these features of the Nigerian state inadvertently accentuate the importance of holding elective/appointive office as the means to accumulate personal wealth and power.

It is important to note that the article's primacy of political subject formation and self-interest argument does not disqualify competing influences on endemic corruption in Nigeria. A few of these readily come to mind. They include the expedient colonial divide-and-rule legacy, which institutionalized corruption by vesting warrant chiefs and other

local potentates with power (beyond their traditional limits and divested of traditional constraints) to collect, grant tax exemptions and keep a portion of the collected sums as their remuneration (Ezekwesili 2014; Adebani and Obadare 2010; Brown 2011; Taiwo 1999). Writing about the pivotal role of colonialism in institutionalizing grand corruption in Nigeria, for example, Brown (2011) observed that "warrant chief's salaries were a percentage of the tax they collected and they became fat, rich men ... This is also where we first see the phenomenon of Big Men, leaders who are gorged with unchecked power and ill-begotten gain" (Brown 2011:56; see also Afigbo 1972). In Nigeria's *illiberal democracy* today (Zakaria 2007), elected officials continue the above described practice of aggregating state funds and keeping self-determined portions (Mohammed 2013; Ribadu 2010).

Other influential factors on endemic corruption in Nigeria include inter-ethnic elites' concerns about diminishing (and the need to maintain their) cultural, political and economic power; interpersonal relations/network pressures, a pervasive belief that every politician in Nigeria is corrupt, and fears that the Nigeria state is ultimately bound for dissolution. In addition, we have influential factors such as the Nigerian state near-total control of the economy, which accentuates the importance of controlling the state (and her resources) through her cultural, religious and military-industrial complex; poor civil service remuneration culture, limited institutional oversight of politically exposed persons, selective prosecution and limited punishment of offenders, endemic poverty amidst spectacular wealth displays, the abetting influence of multinational corporations, local and international financial institutions, personal greed, and so on (see Lederman, Loayza and Soares 2006; Bello-Imam 2005; Ake 2000).

Above all, corruption is intractable in Nigeria because select and indicted politically exposed persons, male and female, are rarely prosecuted for their crime (Human Rights Watch 2011; Ribadu 2010; World Bank 2002 and 2007). In fact, the "knowledge of probability of getting caught and knowledge of the penalty" are limited deterrents against grand corruption in Nigeria (Tanzi 1994:8). It is against the foregoing backgrounds and not the gender binary that one may comprehend the corrupt conducts of indicted female politically exposed persons in Nigeria (see Ribadu, 2010; Sampson and Decker, 2010).

Literature – gender and corruption

A combination of structural and (inter)personal factors have been blamed for women's under-representation in Nigerian politics today (Inter-Parliamentary Union 1999; Arowolo and Aluko 2010; Ajayi 2007). These include cultural prejudice and stereotyping, difficulties encountered in everyday (re)productive life, lack of time and

family responsibilities, lack of motivation and the bad image of party politics, lack of resources, and lack of self-confidence - all allied to low literacy levels, income and social statuses. Other obstacles include the patriarchal hierarchies and prejudice within political parties and the lack of solidarity among women themselves (see Inter-Parliamentary Union 1999:35-47; Arowolo and Aluko 2010). Without explicitly addressing the above listed parity challenges, nascent movements for political parity in Nigeria have coalesced into affirmative action, quotas, and so forth, pursued to achieve gender parity in politics (see INEC 2006; Suara 1996). The essentialist parity lobby is particularly enlivened by attempts to capture Nigeria's acclaimed gender-neutral pre-colonial past where women were not as subjugated and subordinated to men in political and civil life as they are today (see Amadiume's (1987) dual sex system).

In literature and lay discourse therefore, the benefits of women's participation in Nigerian politics are thus uncritically proposed drawing-on their biological uniqueness from men, which supposedly endow them with good governance attributes (see Dollar, Fisman and Gatti 2001; Swamy et al, 2001). In their zeal to effect change, the essentialist parity lobby have adopted a "reverse-discourse that uncritically mimics the strategy of the oppressor instead of offering a different set of terms" (Butler 1999:18). Accordingly, modest parity gains have been made in the 1999, 2003 and 2007 Nigerian elections. However, these gains were eroded in the 2011 and 2015 national elections (see Table 1).

Office	1999		2003		2007		2011		2015	
	Seats	Women	Seats	Women	Seats	Women	Seats	Women	Seats	Women
President	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
Senate	109	3 (2.8%)	109	4 (3.7%)	109	9 (8.3%)	109	7 (6.4%)	109	8 (7.3%)
House of Representatives	360	7 (1.9%)	360	21 (5.8%)	360	27 (7.5%)	360	25 (6.9%)	360	18 (5%)
Governor	36	0	36	0	36	0	36	0	36	0
State House of Assembly (SHA)	990	24 (2.4%)	990	40 (3.9%)	990	57 (5.8%)	990	68 (6.9%)	990	Data Unavailable
SHA Committee Chairpersons	829	18 (2.2%)	881	32 (3.6%)	887	52 (5.9%)	887	Data Unavailable	Data Unavailable	Data Unavailable
LGA Chairpersons	710	13 (1.8%)	774	15 (1.9%)	740	27 (3.6%)	740	Data Unavailable	Data Unavailable	Data Unavailable
LGA Councillors	6368	69(1.1)	6368	267(4.2)	6368	235(3.7)	6368	Data Unavailable	6368	Data Unavailable

Table 1: Parity Trends in Nigeria from 1999-2015: Source British Council Gender in Nigeria Report 2012 and EU Election Observation Mission Nigeria, General Elections 2015

This article attributes the reversal to the triple tyrannies of participation (or

domineering and exploitative exercise of political power) among the above listed challenges of political parity in Nigeria. The triple participatory tyrannies in Nigeria are the tyrannies of: (1) patriarchal decision-making and control, (2) masculine interest-begotten group dynamics and, (3) patriarchal manipulative usurpation of participatory methods to suggest progress in political parity, discipline feminine political conduct, and pacify international pressure groups (see Cooke and Kothari 2001:7-8).

Additional literature on gender and corruption include Sampson and Decker (2010) study of the applicability of the parity-anticorruption hypothesis to Nigeria. The authors found that instead of gender, the Nigerian corrupt political system is responsible for politically exposed women's indictment for corruption. However, Sampson and Decker (2010) did not elaborate on the recursive interrelationships and interdependencies between the corrupt political system and female candidates, which creates and maintains the corrupt system. For example, in Uganda, Goetz (2002:549) reports that "the political value of specially created new seats [quotas] has been eroded by their exploitation as currency for the National Resistance Movement's (NRM) patronage system, undermining women's effectiveness as representatives of women's interests once in office." Elsewhere, literature testing the gender-corruption relationship abound.

In a study that sought theoretical and practical lessons on corruption in Nicaragua and Tanzania for the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Seppanen and Virtanen (2008) report that parity in the public service did not necessarily improve service because pre-existing accountability structures were not reformed. Similarly, UNDP and UNIFEM report systemic corruption of senior female officials managing the baby food supply contracts in Karnataka, India (2010:23; citing Sengupta 1998). In the same vein, leveraging a re-analysis of parity and mitigated corruption data, Sung (2003) conclude that liberal democratic institutions or "fairer systems," and not femininity, more robustly account for what the author called the fallacious association of femininity with reduced corruption. Further challenging the parity-anticorruption rhetoric, Alolo (2005) did not find significant differences in corruption levels among government bureaucrats gendered as male or female in Ghana (2005: cited in Sung 2006). Correspondingly, Alatas and colleagues (2009) cross-country study of gendered attitudes to corruption report a stronger influence of cultural inducement (not gender) in accounts of attitudes to corruption. To cap these cautionary studies, Goetz (2007) advances the limited opportunity argument for corruption (see also Zager 1994; Okin 1989). That is, women seem less corrupt because of their limited numbers in politics unlike men, and as a consequence, they have limited opportunities to embezzle state funds.

The foregoing synopsis of gender and corruption literature raises important questions about emerging experimental evidence, such as Lambsdorff and Frank's (2011:122-

123) study with students simulating the roles of businesspersons and public servants. Although the authors qualified their findings with several caveats, such that deterministic interpretations are unwise, they did conclude that 'where one-shot interactions between public and private entail temptations for bribery, women are less likely to strike successful corrupt deals' (Lambsdorff and Frank 2011:123). For this paper, Lambsdorff and Frank's (2011) findings raises another question. How would the female participants in their experiment react if the public servants/business persons' interactions become recurrent and not a one shot deal? In Nigeria, as in most developing nations, public officials' interactions with the organized private sector are recurrent and depend on monetized personal networks, which are leveraged to exploit existing legal and bureaucratic rules for personal gain.

Consider other inconclusive laboratory corruption experiments. In a 2009 experimental study, Alatas, Cameron and Chaudhuri report that men were more willing to punish corruption in all the four countries under study while women's willingness to punish corruption was variable and contextual (opportunistic?). Moreover, according to the authors, "while women are less tolerant of corruption than men in Australia, no significant gender differences are seen in India, Indonesia, and Singapore" (Alatas, Cameron and Chaudhuri 2009:663). Similarly, another recent study, which sought to establish "the contexts in which we would expect female involvement in government to fight corruption," the authors assert, "that women are less susceptible to corruption in democracies but are equally susceptible in autocratic system" (Esarey and Chirillo 2013:362). The Nigerian system is neither a *de facto* nor *de jure* democracy. It is an illiberal democracy (Zakaria 2007) because it retains a variety of autocratic features. These features include the over-centralization of state power, abuse of power by state officials, to mention a few. Based on the above review of literature, the essentialist claims that women in politics have a constraining effect on corruption seem unfounded.

Conceptual Framework

To demonstrate that essentialist parity claims, such as women's participation in politics reduces grand corruption is conceptually and empirical misleading, this paper is sensitized by Judith Butler's (1997) construct of subject formation and performativity. Butler's construct is employed to understand and explain why corruption in Nigeria is not determined by the gender of politically exposed persons. Instead, we must reference the extra-constitutional influences of godfathers, public leaders' political socialization and selection processes, and their own perverse desires and active pursuit of crass material accumulation. In Butler's more technical formulation, this means the article will deconstruct "the substantive appearance of gender (femininity and masculinity) into its constitutive acts (corruption

or probity) and locate and account for those acts within the compulsory frames set by the various forces" (patriarchy, prebendal and self-interest politics) which regulates political participation in Nigeria (Butler 1999:45; words in parenthesis, by author).

According to Butler, subjection or "the process of becoming subordinated by power as well as the process of becoming a subject commences with an infant's passionate attachment and dependence on 'parents, guardians, and siblings' for physical and emotional survival" (i.e. life and growth assets; Butler 1997:2 and 8). The relationship between an infant and its significant adults are unequal and ambiguous, which ensures the child becomes a well-adjusted contextual subject whose conduct is not predetermined. Critically, the desires and conducts of the child's powerful guardians (in the eyes of the child at least) saturates the child - unequivocally influencing the child's life choices and conducts in a manner that is neither predetermined nor structured by unfettered freedom. Yet, the child's life choices and conducts are neither predetermined nor structured by unfettered freedom because people can always (and often) do otherwise despite threats to their persons and privilege.

Comparable to a child's unequal relations and dependence on adults, aspiring politicians in Nigeria depend on godfathers' patronage for introduction to politics, nomination, appointments, electoral support and victory (Fayemi 2009; Kew 2006). Nigerian godfathers/mothers are drawn from various cultural, religious, political and military-industrial complexes. Godfathers, and lately godmothers,' patronage for political participation are imperative because "politics at the federal, state, and local levels of the Nigerian federation are dominated by the powerful mandarins who built vast patronage networks ... who now use political office to expand these networks and their personal fortunes" (Kew 2006: 419; see also Ayoade 2008; Human Rights Watch 2007). Consider Butler's more technical formulation of the above concept - quoted at some length for clarity purposes:

The more a practice is mastered, the more fully subjection is achieved. Submission and mastery take place simultaneously, and this paradoxical simultaneity constitutes the ambivalence of subjection. Though one might expect submission to consist in yielding to an externally imposed dominant order and to be marked by a loss of control and mastery, paradoxically, it is itself marked by mastery ... the lived simultaneity of submission as mastery, and mastery as submission, is the condition of possibility for the emergence of the subject (Butler 1997:116-117).

Similar to parity, participation is ideally a tool for the recruitment and empowerment of local people, especially marginalized groups into politics and development (see

Cornwall and Gaventa 2001; Scott 1998). Of late Nigeria, participation may have become a technique for the procedural drafting of minority elites (especially women) into development and politics – a substitute for good, inclusive and accountable governance (see Ake 1996; Ayoade 2008; Goetz 2002; Lovenduski 1993). Consequently, political participation in Nigeria may be judged tyrannical. The relevant tyrannies are: (1) patriarchal decision-making and control, (2) masculine interest-begotten group dynamics and, (3) patriarchal manipulative usurpation of participatory methods to simulate progress, discipline feminine political conducts, and pacify international stakeholders (see Kothari 2001). The above-described processes of political subject formation and political participation explains why corruption thrives in Nigeria. Indeed, public officials in Nigeria respond most to informal [godfathers/mothers dictates and/or personal greed] than formal institutional and legal regulations (UNDP 2004).

Methods

This article identified analysed and synthesized select literature on Nigerian grand corruption, and grand corruption indictment records from the EFCC website. This paper relied on grand corruption indictment records because “corruption generally comprises illegal activities, which are deliberately hidden and only come to light through scandals, investigations or prosecutions” (Transparency International 2014; see also Global Witness 2015). It is through indictments that the Nigerian public learns about public sector corruption. In addition, this paper relied on indictment records because they have been similarly used to discuss politically exposed Nigerian males’ grand corruption with little controversy (see Ribadu 2010; World Bank 2007; USAID 2006; Bello-Imam 2005; Transparency International 2004).

In 2009 for example, the Chairman of EFCC, Nuhu Ribadu, claims that Nigeria lost \$440USD billion since independence in 1960. How does available literature theoretically and empirically account for this loss? Was the gender of office holders responsible for the said loss? What alternative influences on grand corruptions, which were previously not accorded primacy, could be discerned in literature? The objective of these sensitizing questions was to identify and fill gaps in current grand corruption research, indictments records, and apply an alternative theory to understand, interpret and support empirical evidence.

Most of the analysed articles were previously published in journals and reports, such as ActionAid (2015). The inclusion criteria for literature analysed are their relevance to the Nigerian case, and critical content. Ultimately, the selected articles were subjected to a theoretical content analysis and interpretation (see Hsieh and Shannon 2005: Miles

and Huberman 1994). That is, selected studies and reports were critically read to isolate and categorise passages of texts that are assignable to Butlers (1997) theoretical concepts of political subject formation and conduct, which offer alternative insights into grand corruption in Nigeria.

Findings

Conceptual linkages between structural influences and politically exposed women’s corruption

In the Nigerian context, the political socialization and subordination of willing political aspirants often entails their stylized guidance, observation and (re)enactment of corrupt practices of either their godfathers and/or previous public office holders. Aspirants’ relationships with their patrons are consolidated with pre-electoral agreements and juju/oaths (Ribadu 2010; Fayemi 2009; Kew 2006; Ake 2000). Pre-electoral agreements are believed to be enforced with threats of political sanctions, character and/or physical assassination.

Similar to a growing child, male and female political and bureaucratic aspirants’ in Nigeria ambivalently depend on godfathers and godmothers for nomination, electoral funding, and protection from prosecution for corruption (Global Witness 2015; Human Rights Watch 2011; Ribadu 2010). On the one hand, aspirants’ dependence on their godfathers/godmothers is a demonstration of their subjection by, and submission to, the oligarchs. On the other hand, and paradoxically, aspirants’ dependence on the mandarins is a demonstration of their agential penetration, or reflexive knowledge and mastery of their political economic contexts. The above ambivalent processes of dependence and mastery of contextual political norms inform public office holders’ selective and creative re-application (or not) of select political norms, such as grand corruption, to maximize their symbolic, political and material advantage in Nigeria.

Accordingly, godfathers and godmothers do not deterministically impose their (corrupt) worldviews and grand corruption practices on protégés. Neither does every political protégé unilaterally fantasize about, or adopt their godfather’s corrupt political worldviews and practices. Thus, the political socialization (subjection) and subordination of willing Nigerian elites into active political actors, and their mastery of contextual political culture of grand corruption are incomplete until male or female public office holders wholly or selectively re-enact the dominant political norm in Nigeria – grand corruption. This is likely what Butler (1988) described as performativity – in this instance, public office holders’ stylized repetition of grand corruption acts. The above-described processes illustrate how godfathers/mothers’ power concurrently forms Nigerian public

office holders (as subject) and provides “the very condition of its existence (political participation) and the trajectory of its desire” which is often grand corruption in Nigeria (Butler 1997:2; words in bracket, by author).

Consequently, there are symbiotic but non-deterministic relationships among Nigerian mandarins of politics and their protégés. The relationships is such that protégés’ need to participate in politics (and accumulate wealth) are exploited by patrons who have the power and resources to facilitate (or thwart) such aspirations. Evidence for such relationships often emerges at the indictment of public office holders when godfathers often derail their prosecution – despite their indictment for grand corruption. It is in this regard that Human Rights Watch observes that “although Nigeria lost about 380 billion USD to corruption ... many of the corruption cases against the political elite have made little progress ... At this writing, not a single politician was serving prison time for any of these alleged crimes” (Human Rights Watch 2011:1; see also Ribadu 2010; World Bank 2002 and 2007).

Practical linkages between structural influences and politically exposed women’s corruption

We saw in the literature review section how combinations of structural and (inter)personal factors are responsible for women’s under-representation in Nigerian politics (see Inter-Parliamentary Union 1999; Arowolo and Aluko 2010; Ajayi 2007). Another important constrain is what MacLeod describes as “women’s own contradictory subjectivities and ambiguous purposes” (1992:534) – such as their desires to personify the contradictory dictates of traditional motherhood, professionalism and modernity. This means that women lack critical mass in Nigerian public office. The consequence is that there are fewer female role models that aspirants could rely-on for political socialization, nomination, electoral funding and public sector appointments. These facts necessitate female aspirants’ reliance on better established patriarchal networks for political socialization, nomination, electoral funding and public sector appointments. As we have seen so far, patriarchal (and slowly emerging matriarchal) political networks who currently dominate Nigerian politics practice and socialize aspirants on self-interest-begotten politics.

To the above, we must add Fayemi’s (2009: online) empirical observation that regardless of gender, success in Nigerian politics, and in securing political appointments, depends upon aspirants active and purposive appeasement of five mini-gods. These gods are the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Nigeria’s election management agency; the Nigerian Police Force, State Security Service and military,

and thugs and bandits employed to rig elections. The other mini-gods are the Nigerian judiciary, needed to legally secure stolen elections, and the money god/godfather complex, which determines who can run, and who wins elections (see also Ake 2000 and Sklar, Onwudiwe and Kew 2006). If the foregoing assertion by a former Nigerian state governor sounds incredible, please consider Human Rights Watch documented account of the disagreement between a godfather and his protégé as another evidence of the linkages between public office holders’ political socialization and corrupt conducts.

The public quarrel between a godfather (Chris Uba), and his protégé, the former Governor Chris Ngige of Anambra State, Nigeria is now infamous. Apparently, Chris Ngige entered an extraconstitutional agreement (constituents of which he subsequently reneged) with his godfather Chris Uba, and signed a private contract to “exercise and manifest absolute loyalty to the person of Chief Chris Uba as my mentor, benefactor and sponsor;” and “allow Uba control over all important government appointments and the awarding of all government contracts” (Human Rights Watch 2007:68; see also FGN 2005). As can be deduced from the preceding quote, Chris Uba and former Governor Ngige’s conducts are emblematic of the active and purposive agencies of both Nigerian political candidates and their patrons in orchestrating corruption and bad governance. Consequently, it seems plausible to suggest that politically exposed Nigerian women, similar to their male counterparts, are prone to similar pressures from godfathers, and pursuit of self-interests that were outlined by a former Nigerian President. According to former President Obasanjo, “elective offices have become mere commodities to be purchased by the highest bidder, and those who literally invest merely see it as an avenue to recoup and make profits” (cited in FGN 2005:5).

Probably as a consequence of the above-described political culture, “women in office do not necessarily defend ... feminist(s) position(s) on policies” as the essentialist-parity lobby would argue (Cornwall and Goetz 2005:784; words in parenthesis, by author). Elsewhere in New Zealand, a 1975 - 1999 study found that women previously conceived as unaggressive adopted essentialist masculine aggressive attitudes during parliamentary debates. This finding contradicted the investigators earlier essentialist expectations that males’ parliamentarians are more aggressive than their female counterparts (see Grey 2001:9). A plausible explanation for New Zealand’s female parliamentarians’ aggressive attitudes, such as rude interjections and personal attacks during parliamentary debates, is that new female parliamentarians were socialized on pre-existing male parliamentary elites’ uncivil behaviour – in concert with female parliamentarians’ own interests in adopting the existing parliamentary norms for success. The above-described process parallels how female politically exposed Nigerians may have adopted the prevailing corrupt political and bureaucratic behaviour to advance their godfather’s and own wealth accumulation agendas.

Based on the foregoing analysis, one may conclude that the pathways into Nigerian politics have high integrity and material costs. This implies that successful candidates (male or female) must jettison emancipatory and development ideals on entering office - if they ever held any. Instead, most successful politically exposed Nigerians focus their considerable energies on recouping politicking expenditures, materially and symbolically reaffirming their loyalties to patrons with uncompetitive and unsupervised contract awards; and building the financial arsenal and political networks that are imperative for defeating future challengers (see Smah 2008; Ribadu 2006).

Supporting evidence: the growing list of Nigerian women indicted for corruption

Thus far, the paper employs conceptual and empirical evidence to defend the claim that Nigerian politicians are corrupt, not because they are gendered as male or female, but because their career paths are structured by powerful mandarins whose patronage, in concert with protégées' unorthodox wealth aspirations, have significant material and integrity costs. It is against the above dual background, and not easily falsifiable gender binaries, that we must view the corrupt conducts of select indicted Nigerian women.

Consider, for example, the alleged corrupt conducts of Nigerian 'first ladies' whose political power and influence derives directly from male relatives who hold political office at the federal, state, local levels of governance. Maryam Babangida, the late wife of former President Ibrahim Babangida, was the pioneer of the first lady syndrome in Nigeria with her launch of the Better Life Program (BLP) in 1987. The stated objective of the extra-constitutional organization was to emancipate rural Nigerian women from poverty, disease and other existential insecurities. With considerable state resources at her disposal [over 20 million USD] and fanfare, Maryam Babangida drafted the wives of senior military officers at the federal, state and local government areas to assume leadership of the triple-tiered organization whose achievements are contested today as non-emancipatory, femocracy and governmentality (see Mama 1997; Okeke 1998; Smith 2010).

Other 'first ladies' succeeded Maryam Babangida. They include Mariam Abacha, the former wife of late General Abacha; the Late Stella Obasanjo, wife of former President Obasanjo, and Patience Jonathan. They all established pet-projects to tackle endemic poverty, feminine health challenges, unemployment, and so forth, which were similarly adjudged failures by observers - despite adequate state funding (see Omotola 2007; Okeke 1998; Mama 1997). First ladies alleged exorbitance, autocracy and corruption likely instigated the unresolved law suit in Nigeria against all wives of former Presidents, Vice-

Presidents and state governors requiring them to "render public accounts of all the funds raised in their respective foundations and projects; and to refund funds and properties not accounted for" (Agina-Ude 2003:1). Notwithstanding the negative assessment of first ladies pet-projects, they allegedly amassed great fortunes for themselves and select members of their extended families by drawing unconstitutionally and unaccountably from the Nigerian state treasury (Omotola 2007; Okeke 1998; Mama 1997). In Smith's opinion, for example, Maryam Babangida's:

Better Life program established a precedent and pattern for how Nigerian rulers and their wives at all levels of government channelled resources to themselves in the name of development Nigerian public coined new names for the program, such as 'Better Life for Rich Women' and 'Better Life for Ruling Women' (Smith 2010:6).

Regardless of the above, the question could be asked: if first ladies' pet projects failed, does this mean that the funds were lost to corruption? In Nigeria, it consistently does (see Ribadu 2010; Bello-Imam 2005; Ake 1996). This is because most projects are conceived and executed to facilitate patronage and corruption. First ladies' project failures are no exceptions. Their extra-constitutional office and projects have been associated with wilful inflation of project costs; project abandonment, fund misappropriation, procurement scams, and direct embezzlement (see Ajayi 2010; Smith 2010 and 2007; Ibrahim 2004). First ladies' project syndrome is particularly problematic because they mirror a component of the development project in Lesotho eloquently critiqued by Ferguson (1994). In Nigeria, first ladies employ hegemonic and technocratic versions of development to appropriate land and wealth while simultaneously obscuring the political and exploitative content and trajectories of their pet projects, manifest wealth and land usurpations.

To cite one example, Maryam Babangida (First Lady from 1985-1993) built the Maryam Babangida Centre for Women and Development with state funds (16 million USD). She registered it as her private property (Maryam Ibrahim Babangida Foundation), and subsequently as a trust jointly administered with her son - Mohammed Babangida (Ibrahim 2004; Okeke 1998). On a related note, Maryam Abacha, the Late General Sani Abacha's widow "was caught trying to flee the country with 38 suitcases stuffed with cash" (Global Witness 2015:4). How do such conducts enhance women development in Nigeria? It came as no surprise therefore that a formal assessment of Nigerian first ladies' pet-projects' performance reveals that:

majority of the respondents believed that the first ladies' programs had no direct benefits for the political emancipation and aspirations of the Nigerian women, and therefore, were a waste of time, energy and resources They also believed that the office provided them with avenues to embezzle public funds, to acquire fame and to exhibit their latest clothes (Ajayi 2010: 47).

Consider also several politically exposed Nigerian women recently indicted for corruption. Recall that indictments in Nigeria are often the only media through which the public learns of grand corruption in Nigeria. Regardless, the indicted are rarely tried in law courts, and often return portions of stolen wealth in secret negotiations with the Nigerian state (Human Rights Watch 2011; Ribadu 2010; World Bank 2007). The list indicted includes the former (and first) female speaker of the House of Representative, Patricia Etteh, who was indicted for spending 3.1 million USD to modernize her residence, her deputy's residence, and purchase of 12 official cars for the House of Representatives. Similarly, the Housing Minister under President Obasanjo, Alice Mobolaji Osomo, was fired for her questionable allocation of over 200 government properties (slated for public auction) to top government functionaries while Veronica Uloma Onyegbula stood trial (with other male officials) for allegedly embezzling about 72.8 million USD from the Nigerian Police Pension fund (see Mohammed 2013; Soniyi 2012; International Herald Tribune 2007).

The list of indicted politically exposed women, which continue to grow, include Senator Iyabo Obasanjo-Bello (former President Obasanjo's daughter); who was indicted with the former Minister of health, Professor Adenike Grange for embezzling 1.5 million USD. Also indicted was the previous Nigerian President's wife, Patience Jonathan, who was variously indicted by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) for laundering 67.5 thousand USD and 13.5 million USD while her husband was a governor of Bayelsa State. Moreover, Christine-Ibori-Ibie, former Governor James Ibori's younger sister who is currently serving a jail term in the UK was indicted for corruption and money laundry while the former female chairperson of Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, Farida Waziri, was accused of corruption by "leading activists and political figures" in Nigeria and has since been removed from office (Human Rights Watch 2011:2; see also Akindele, Adeyemi and Aluko 2010; Transparency International 2004).

Furthermore, we could consider the conduct of the former Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) Commissioner for Legal Services, Mary Obegolu, who allegedly embezzled 105 thousand USD. Also indicted was Stella Oduah-Ogiemwonyi's (former Aviation Minister) for purchasing two (2) armoured BMW cars worth about

1.1 million USD for her personal use (see Amaize & Anozie 2013; Mohammed 2013; Soniyi 2012). Another case involves Amaka Anajemba, who plea-bargained her participation (in association with her late husband) "in a financial scam which cost a Brazilian bank some \$242 million, leading to its collapse" (see Enweremadu 2012:100). There is additionally the case of Diezani Alison-Madueke, a previous Federal Minister of Petroleum Resources, who was indicted for her spurious accounting for about 155.2 million USD, which she allegedly withdrew under five days in 2007 while serving as a Minister of Transportation. Diezani Alison-Madueke made the withdrawals against express presidential directives to lodge unspent ministry funds only in federal accounts (see Amaize and Anozie 2013; Mohammed 2013; Soniyi 2012).

Yet others indicted for embezzling various sums of money include Zainab Dakingari, the Late President Yar' Adua's daughter and wife of former Kebbi state Governor Saidu Dakingari who was indicted for 'misappropriating' over 10 million USD. Also indicted was Marilyn Ogar, the former Department of State Security spokesperson for accepting 75.4 thousand USD bribe in connection with Osun State gubernatorial elections (see Mohammed 2013; Soniyi 2012; International Herald Tribune 2007; Ekenna 2007). Furthermore, some state governors' wives have been implicated in corruption. For example, Toyin Saraki, the wife of the Senate President and former governor of Kwara state, Bukola Saraki, indicted for money laundering because of the alleged questionable inflow of undisclosed funds into corporations she has interest in. Other women were indicted for maintaining illegal foreign bank accounts while their spouses were sitting governors. This latter list included former Governor Alamieyeseigha of Bayelsa State wife, Margaret Alamieyeseigha, was indicted for maintaining a foreign NatWest Bank Account in London worth 438 thousand USD. Another state's first lady implicated in corruption is Valentina Dariye, the spouse of former Plateau State Governor, Joshua Dariye, who had two bank accounts in the United Kingdom's NatWest Bank worth 151 thousand USD (see Global Witness 2010:9 and 24).

Similarly, Ndidi Okereke-Onyiuke, the previous Director-General of the Nigerian Stock Exchange, was indicted for misappropriating the organization's funds used for fraudulent purchases. Her successor, Aruma Oteh, told the House of Representative Panel investigating the near-collapse of the Nigerian Stock Exchange (NSE) that the previous Director General, Ndidi Okereke-Onyiuke, spent 6.5 million USD on trips; 930 thousand USD on Rolex watches allegedly used for staff awards, 190 thousand USD for the purchase of a luxury yacht, and 8.5 million USD distributed among Nigerian Stock Exchange council members (see Alliyu, Kalejaiye and Ogunola 2014; Osaze 2011; KPMG and Oyebo 2010).

It ought to be noted however, that every indicted politically exposed person in Nigeria (male and female) usually alleges political persecution by powerful forces that dislike them and/or consider them a threat to the status quo. The indicted make such defensive claims until most prejudicially return a portion of the stolen funds to avoid prosecution and potentially spending time in Nigerian notorious jails (see Enweremadu 2013; Human Rights Watch 2011; The World Bank 2007). Notwithstanding such defensive claims, and based on the conceptual and empirical evidence presented so far, the masculine facade of corruption in Nigeria is illusory because they exist as instruments that the gender (currently males) who dominate Nigerian politics exploit to maintain themselves in office and accrue personal gains.

Reflection and Conclusion

It must be noted that godfathers/godmothers, aspirants and public office holders in Nigeria actively seek each other out; and enter into complex extra-constitutional contracts and agreements that have little emancipatory and development outcomes. Such extra-constitutional associations and contracts open both male and female politically exposed persons to perverse manipulation by political mandarins, who the candidates often imitate. This because most aspirants and public office holders “desire to survive ... is a pervasively exploitable desire ... [by godfathers and godmothers] who hold out the promise of continued” political growth, and in some instances, physical survival in Nigeria (Butler 1997:7; words in parenthesis, by author). The above deduction accentuates the reality that godfathers’ pressures, aspirants’ political socialization, wealth aspirations and personal conducts continue to (re)combine to promote and sustain grand corruption rather than the gender binary (see Alatas et al, 2009; Alolo 2005; Sung 2003; Goetz 2007 for similar conclusions).

This may explain USAID’s contention that “corruption is still the stock-in-trade of Nigerian democracy, rooted in the centralized, clientelistic nature of politics Political elites misappropriate considerable public funds for their personal gain” (USAID 2006:19). Thus, the reasonable and plausible conclusion to be drawn from any critical analysis of parity, political participation and grand corruption in Nigeria is that there are no empirical bases to associate sex differences with grand corruption or probity. In Nigeria, the dominant masculine facade of grand corruption is a testament to the historic and numeric dominance of the Nigerian socio-economic and political space by males. The lack of relationship between gender and corruption probably explains why the movement for parity in Nigeria have so far amounted to governmentality; that is, the Nigerian government production public office holders who perpetuate her corrupt political culture (see Foucault 1997:67).

Consequently, while political parity remains an important ideal in and of itself, it may not redress the broader Nigerian grand corruption challenge. More sustainable solutions to political and bureaucratic probity will reside in the institutionalization of good governance or features of development states elaborated by Leftwich (2000; see also World Bank 1992). These will encourage honesty and accountability of male and female public office holders. Notwithstanding the preceding discussions, findings do not negate the human rights value and associated utilities of parity in Nigeria. Honest Nigerian men and women, who wish to serve, must be encouraged to serve – against the background of stringent institutional and legal reforms that emulates Leftwich’s (2000:160-165) description of a development state, which would reduce grand corruption in Nigeria. For example, Nigeria must cultivate a committed and developmentally-oriented political elite, insulated her bureaucracy from political interference, and so forth.

The foregoing implies that this paper’s does not challenge the necessity or validity of parity. Instead, the paper challenges the essentialist wing of the parity lobby’s proposition that gender binary is a tool that would reduce grand corruption, despite four conceptual and empirical shortcomings. First, calls for political parity, as constituted by the essentialist parity lobby, inherently propagates uncritical assumptions about deterministic linkages between people gendered as males with corruption; and people gendered as females with probity. Second, the movement fails to acknowledge that Nigerian women are heterogeneous in their needs, aspirations, strength, limitations, and so forth, such that the unitary versions of their felt-needs and challenges, such as aspirations for political participation, are spurious. Third, essentialist parity proponents neglect to work-on the various structural and agential challenges that constrain varied Nigerian women’s political participation, such as illiteracy, poverty, and so forth. Fourth, essentialist proponents of political parity seem unaware that the movement may have been hijacked by dominant political oligarchy in Nigeria to divert attention from what should be the primary development discourse – the institutionalization of political and bureaucratic accountability regardless of the sex of office holders. These shortcomings illustrate that essentialist parity stakeholders have not been “self-critical with respect to the totalizing gestures of feminism” or masculinity (Butler 1999:18).

In their various combinations, the above shortcomings of the essentialist parity lobby ensure that narrow affirmative admission of elite Nigerian women into politics, which does not substantively challenge patriarchy-begotten self-interests, has little emancipatory or developmental content. Instead, narrow affirmative actions just serve to ensure that women remain consumers of parity, and not producers of socio-economic and political development in Nigeria. Moreover, until Nigerian people gendered as men and women commence a subversive challenge of the local socialization processes, emotive calls for political parity in Nigeria, to adapt Goetz analysis of the political

parity movement in Uganda, will neither threaten patriarchy nor challenge entrenched interests because women's "gender, not their politics ... is their admission ticket" into the grand corruption club in Nigeria (2002:559).

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Militantisme Politique et Entrepreneuriat :: relations de dépendance et enjeux dans le contexte Camerounais

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Résumé

Au Cameroun, la forte implication des entrepreneurs dans le champ politique se traduit par un fort militantisme politique. Il existe une forte dépendance entre le monde entrepreneurial et le monde politique. Les milieux politiques permettent aux entrepreneurs politiques de développer des réseaux qui non seulement protègent et encadrent leurs affaires, mais aussi leur génèrent de véritables capitaux. En retour, les capitaux générés alimentent le pouvoir politique. Des entretiens réalisés auprès d'une trentaine de petits entrepreneurs dans la ville de Dschang, l'esprit d'entreprise et la pensée innovante sont perçus comme des activités qui ne s'appliquent véritablement qu'aux hommes à succès politique et ne présente aucun intérêt pour le citoyen ordinaire. Les enjeux de cette dépendance sont certains car si le moteur du développement est la capacité à percevoir des opportunités économiques et à les saisir, la Liberté politique et liberté d'entreprise doivent rimer et concourir au développement de l'économie d'une nation.

Mots clés: militantisme politique- entrepreneurs politiques- entrepreneuriat -politique-économie

Abstract

In Cameroon, the strong involvement of entrepreneurs in the political field is reflected in a strong political activism. There is a strong dependence between the entrepreneurial world and the political world. Political circles allow politicians to develop networks that not only protect and manage their affairs, but also generate real capital. In return, the capital generated fuels political power. Interviews with about thirty small entrepreneurs in the city of Dschang, entrepreneurship and innovative thinking are the activities that really apply only to men of political success and are of no interest to the ordinary citizen. The stakes of this dependence are certain because if the engine of development is the capacity to perceive economic opportunities and grasp them, political freedom and freedom of enterprise must rhyme and contribute to the development of the economy of a nation.

Keywords: political militancy, political entrepreneurs, entrepreneurship, politics, economics

Introduction

Trois conceptions sont attribuées à la complexité du mot entrepreneuriat. La recherche de l'opportunité est la première conception telle que énoncée par des auteurs comme Shane et Venkataraman (2000), Verstraete (2003), Fayolle (2002). Dans cette recherche d'opportunité, les réseaux de tontines, d'amis, de sectes sont développés par certains entrepreneurs pour un accroissement de leurs affaires. Outre ces réseaux, les milieux politiques deviennent de plus en plus des milieux de convergence des hommes d'affaires camerounais. La plupart des hommes d'affaires par conviction ou par contraintes sont souvent des militants de premier rang dans le monde politique. Sur 10 entrepreneurs influents au Cameroun, 08 sont soit membres du bureau politique d'un parti politique, soit membres du comité central, soit un élu local¹. A tous les niveaux des instances politiques se trouvent des hommes à succès dans le monde des affaires.

Ce constat a été fait par Daniel Claude Abate, lors du Cameroun Business Forum tenu le lundi 09 mars 2015 à Douala. Le président du Mouvement des entrepreneurs du Cameroun (Mecam), a déploré la grande tendance des hommes d'affaires camerounais à s'engager en politique. Il déclare : « *Au Cameroun, on ne sait plus véritablement qui est politicien, qui est homme d'affaire. La plupart des hommes d'affaires qui émergent deviennent automatiquement soit maire, soit député par leur propre volonté ou par la volonté de la société.* »².

La politique et les affaires se lient au point où la position de l'individu au sein des partis politiques ne s'inscrit plus dans le cadre d'un programme politique répondant à des intérêts sociaux, mais à des intérêts qui n'existent qu'au niveau individuel. L'esprit d'entreprise est pour reprendre les propos de Guimond (2010:50) « socialement biaisé » par les contraintes politiques, ce qui fait de la politique selon Muller (2006) ce qui divise, ce qui contraint, ce qui ne relève pas de simples citoyens. L'idéal démocratique est « le gouvernement du peuple, par le peuple et pour le peuple », selon la formule d'Abraham Lincoln dans son discours (1863). Il supposerait ainsi selon M. Nonna (2014) la participation de tous, chaque voix devant peser le même poids. Or dans le contexte camerounais, deux catégories d'entrepreneurs émergent : d'une part ceux qui n'ont aucune ambition politique et qui peinent à réussir, d'autre part ceux qui développent pleinement leurs réseaux politiques et qui connaissent une ascension dans le monde des affaires. Le pouvoir politique exerce ainsi une contrainte sur les initiatives entrepreneuriales rendant difficile non seulement la promotion des initiatives privées, mais aussi l'émergence des petits entrepreneurs.

Cet article est une projection des études sur les pratiques entrepreneuriales au Cameroun. Il établit le lien entre le militantisme politique et le développement de l'esprit entrepreneurial ainsi que ses enjeux dans le contexte camerounais. Il s'inscrit à la suite des études sur les problèmes liés au développement entrepreneurial au Cameroun notamment celles liées à l'inégalité d'accès au financement et les lourdeurs

¹

² Cette déclaration est extraite du journal en ligne DOUALA - Cameroon-Info.Net du 10 mars 2015

administratives (H., Aldrich 1989 ; Hurley, 1991 ; Scott, 1986) ; une fiscalité et les défaillances institutionnelles qui découragent la croissance Achraf Ayadi et al(2005), (Garbine, 2006). A ces contraintes s'ajoutent :

« *La complexité du climat d'investissement et de l'environnement des affaires ; faiblesse des structures d'accompagnement entrepreneurial ; double contraintes de l'enracinement socioculturel et de l'ouverture sur la modernité technologique ; limites des expériences, de la formation, des compétences techniques et managériales des créateurs d'entreprises ; informatisation croissante de l'activité économique etc.* » E. Kamdem et R. Nkakleu (2015)

METHODOLOGIE

L'étude prenant appui sur la théorie des réseaux s'inscrit dans les domaines de la sociologie politique et de la sociologie économique. Elle tente de répondre aux questions suivantes : Comment comprendre la tendance à la dépendance aujourd'hui entre le militantisme politique et le développement de l'esprit entrepreneurial ? Quelle influence cette dépendance exerce sur les initiatives entrepreneuriales ? Après une mise en contexte des concepts, l'étude par la suite analyse la relation qui existe entre le militantisme politique et l'émergence de l'esprit entrepreneurial. L'étude s'inscrit dans une orientation essentiellement qualitative. La présentation des cas issus de la littérature et des entretiens auprès des entrepreneurs militants des partis politiques (15 au total) et des entrepreneurs non militants des partis politiques (14), permet de rendre compte de la dépendance entre le militantisme politique et l'esprit entrepreneurial. Notre choix de la ville de Dschang pour arbitraire qu'il soit, consiste à partir de l'expérience des entrepreneurs de cette ville pour porter dans le cadre des prochaines études sur le même objet un regard plus élargi vers d'autres villes. D'autres réseaux servent de relais à l'émergence entrepreneuriale et ont fait l'objet de plusieurs études. Il s'agit des sectes, des églises, des associations ethniques, des tontines etc. (Nodem J.E 2015), Ndongmo (2000). Cet article traite d'un aspect de ces réseaux : les réseaux politiques

1. MISE EN CONTEXTE THEORIQUE DES CONCEPTS : MILITANTISME POLITIQUE ET RESEAU SOCIAUX

1.1- Militantisme politique

« *Le militantisme politique est un acte par lequel un individu adhère de manière active à un parti politique dans une logique de revendication, de défense d'intérêts, d'idéologie de ce parti* » Neveu (1996 : 10). Le moyen d'action du militantisme politique est un parti politique et celui qui y milite est appelé militant. Un militant politique est pour reprendre les expressions de G. Gilles (2009) une personne qui soutient activement un parti politique quelconque. Un militant diffère d'un adhérent. Tout militantisme commence par

une adhésion, mais un adhérent peut ne pas être un militant. Les adhérents sont des personnes affiliées à un parti politique, dont elles possèdent la carte après avoir payé une cotisation, généralement d'un faible montant. Le militant, quant à lui, est un adhérent actif. Inspiré par l'orientation théorique de (Sainteny, 1995), Baillet a identifié deux fonctions sociales du militantisme : celle de « communalisation » ou de socialisation communautaire et celle de « sociétarisation ».

La sociologie française et américaine a longtemps étudié certains déterminants du militantisme. Si les théories de l'action militante et des rétributions du militantisme sont nombreuses, argumentées et convaincantes, les théories de motivation sont plus controversées et discutables et peu d'entre elles combinent les motivations du militantisme et le sens donné à l'action politique, et tenant compte de sa durée dans le cycle de vie d'un individu. Pour des auteurs comme Peneff J. (2004), Seve (1972) la raison du militantisme est liée à la quête de l'identité par le militant. Les individus recherchent une certaine désaliénation et selon S. Bonnet (1972) la promotion socio politique et la socialisation. Ces raisons peuvent varier selon qu'on est militant événementiel de carrière, militant situationnel de passage ou militant d'interconnaissance de carrière, D. Baillet (2005)

La théorie de D. Gaxi élaborée à la fin des années soixante-dix a montré que la motivation du militantisme n'était pas d'abord et surtout idéologique. L'idéologie étant souvent mal connue et maîtrisée par l'acteur en question, d'autant plus qu'il appartient à une catégorie sociale défavorisée. Aussi, et selon (D., Gaxi, 1977 : 15) « *Le militantisme politique permettrait non seulement l'obtention des ressources financières, d'un capital culturel et d'une rentabilité professionnelle, mais aussi favoriserait l'intégration sociale et économique* ». Le militantisme politique dans le contexte africain et camerounais en particulier prend parfois la forme d'un « zèle ardent » ou de prosélytisme de la part de militants S. F. Subileau. (1981). Le militantisme politique est un réseau important dans le développement des affaires.

1.2-Réseaux sociaux

La théorie des réseaux sociaux fait l'objet d'un intérêt croissant tant en sciences de gestion qu'en sociologie. En Sociologie économique, Granovetter (1995) montre qu'il existe un lien entre les réseaux et l'économie. L'orientation des individus n'est pas dépendante des liens sociaux et de leurs influences. Le rôle des réseaux sociaux de l'entrepreneur ou du dirigeant de PME a émergé et est devenue un champ important d'investigation dans le domaine de l'entrepreneuriat et de la recherche en PME (Birley, 1985; Aldrich et Zimmer, 1986; Johansson et Nowicki, 1992; Zhao et Aram, 1995; Greve et Salaff, 2003). Les réseaux sociaux influencent les comportements économiques. *Le capital social découle des réseaux sociaux et joue ainsi rôle primordial dans le processus d'identification d'opportunités d'affaires en ce sens qu'ils participent à l'identification et à l'exploitation d'opportunités d'affaires.* (R. Nkakleu, 2007, p.8). M.U. Proulx (1995), distingue trois types de réseaux :

- les réseaux informels ou naturels ;
- les réseaux formels ou fonctionnels ;
- les réseaux « utilitaires ».

Les réseaux utilitaires sont en fait des réseaux informels qui se créent au-delà du social entre des acteurs à la recherche d'informations. Dans leur étude sur les entrepreneurs chinois dans trois grandes villes canadiennes, Brenner et al. (2000), reconnaissent que le dynamisme entrepreneurial des communautés d'immigrants a été pendant longtemps associé en grande partie à l'accès au réseau ethnique en tant que source de financement, de main d'œuvre, d'approvisionnement, d'information et de conseils mais également en tant que marché. La présence d'un réseau familial dans le pays d'accueil est particulièrement importante pour les immigrants voulant créer une entreprise à l'extérieur. Selon J.M. Toulouse et G. Brenner (1988, 1990) l'accès aux ressources du groupe ethnique constitue l'un des principaux facteurs explicatifs du succès des immigrants. Le milieu politique constitue un réseau et est susceptible d'influencer le processus entrepreneurial.

2. MILITANTISME POLITIQUE ET VISION ENTREPRENEURIALE

2.1-Expérience des hommes d'affaires reconnus originaire de l'Ouest Cameroun

Deux expériences issues de la revue de la littérature et de nos entretiens à l'Ouest du Cameroun attirent particulièrement notre attention

Première expérience

INDIVIDU 1

Il a été militant de l'UNC³, il rejoint le RDPC⁴ après le congrès de Bamenda au cours duquel l'UNC a été transformé en RDPC. En 1990, le multipartisme naît au Cameroun. Il intègre le SDF principal parti d'opposition. En 1997, ce milliardaire originaire de l'arrondissement de BANA à l'Ouest Cameroun démissionne du SDF et intègre à nouveau les rangs du RDPC principal parti au pouvoir dont il est aujourd'hui membre du comité central et maire RDPC de sa commune depuis 2003. Sa position dans le parti et son dévouement à le financer lui a procuré une ora sur le plan économique.

Les affaires de mon oncle ont failli pendant qu'il était encore dans le SDF, il a reçu parfois de menaces de fermeture de certaines de ses entreprises. Plusieurs fois il a été victime de surtaxe dans ses affaires. Il a été contraint à adhérer au RDPC, et cela va de soi aujourd'hui pour le développement de ses affaires⁵

Deuxième expérience

³ UNC (Union National du Cameroun) : Ex parti unique créé et présidé par l'ex président de la république Ahmadou ADHIJO

⁴ RDPC : Rassemblement Démocratique du Peuple Camerounais.

⁵ M. Abel est le neveu de l'Individu 1, il bénéficie de la confiance de son oncle. Il est l'un des comptables que comptent les entreprises de son père. Il est témoin des événements qu'a subit son père au lendemain de l'avènement du multipartisme au Cameroun. Cette déclaration a été tirée de Cameroun news TV du 29/05/2008 alors que M. Abel faisait l'éloge et le parcours glorieux de son oncle.

INDIVIDU 2

Milliardaire, il est le promoteur de nombreuses entreprises : Safca, Pilcam, Ibis Douala, Unalor, Fabasem, Femenvam, Sopral. Ou encore Cbc-Bank, premier établissement indépendant mis sur pied avec l'appui technique du Crédit commercial de France. Il est entré dans le RDPC en 1985. En 1990, il fut désigné comme membre du comité central jusqu'à nos jours. Il est aussi maire de sa communauté depuis 1996 et exerce une grande influence dans toute l'administration à Bandjoun.

L'expérience de ces deux hommes d'affaires cités témoigne de l'intérêt que les hommes d'affaires portent à la politique. Ils sont pour la plupart des militants situationnels de passage. Dans le cas de L'individu 1, le militantisme dans le RDPC lui permet de faire face aux pressions fiscales, aux menaces dans ses affaires et aux surtaxes. Chez l'individu 2, son militantisme lui donne une aura et un pouvoir qu'il exerce de manière à contrôler tous les secteurs des affaires dans sa commune, la politique lui donne d'avoir de l'influence sur certaines administrations.

2.2- Expérience des petits entrepreneurs commerçants de la ville de Dschang

M E1 en 2005, est propriétaire d'une boutique dans le marché A de la ville de Dschang, depuis 10 ans, rien n'a changé dans son entreprise. Aucune innovation n'a été faite. Sur le plan personnel, M E1 n'a reçu aucune possibilité de formation liée à son travail, encore moins une opportunité d'extension de son réseau de la clientèle

Je n'ai pas le désir d'étendre mes affaires. Ce manque de désir est dû à certaines choses que vous ne pouvez pas comprendre. Je suis fatigué des intrigues, des brimades et des intimidations, je suis fatigué du favoritisme et des aléas de la vie. J'ai donc décidé de vivre avec ce que j'ai. Je ne galère pas. Je préfère rester comme ça, si pour évoluer dans les affaires il faut absolument être dans un parti politique. J'ai fait des demandes de subventions partout et même dans des banques sans suite. Mais autour de moi, il y a des gens, parce qu'ils sont membres du RDPC, ils sont parrainés par leurs camarades qui sont des titulaires des comptes. Ils bénéficient des avantages dans les crédits, dans des petites formations sponsorisées par l'Etat et même ils ont des facilités dans beaucoup d'information. Parce qu'ils sont dans le parti au pouvoir, ils sont souvent vite servis dans des administrations publiques⁶

A l'opposé de M.E1, M.E2 quant à lui en l'espace de 02 ans de création de son entreprise est déjà à plus du double de son chiffre d'affaire.

Au départ, je n'avais que quelques marchandises dans ma boutique, mais aujourd'hui, j'ai plus de 08 boutiques, dans la seule ville de Dschang.

⁶ M.E 1 a été interviewé le 12 décembre 2014 devant sa boutique.

J'ai le désir d'ouvrir une autre boutique l'année prochaine si Dieu le veut. Je me bats pour cela et je crois que j'irai jusqu'à Bafoussam avec mes affaires.⁷

M. E 3 est quant à lui propriétaire d'un dépôt de débit de boisson dans le marché B de la ville de Dschang. Membre influent du principal parti d'opposition SDF, lui aussi a vu ses affaires évoluer ces deux dernières années. Au départ propriétaire d'un débit de boisson, il est propriétaire aujourd'hui d'un dépôt de boisson et principal distributeur dans plusieurs autres débits de boisson de la ville.

En deux ans, mes affaires ont tellement évolué et je rends grâce à Dieu. Au départ c'était du n'importe quoi, j'ai galéré pendant plus de 15 ans dans mon premier débit de boisson. Surtout que j'étais membre du parti d'opposition. Ce n'était pas facile avec moi, mais depuis environ deux ans, les choses ont changé et je bénéficie des avantages à tous les niveaux. J'ai régulièrement des informations de l'Etat et du gouvernement, je bénéficie également et souvent de formation sur les opportunités d'affaires.⁸

De ces discours émerge un constat : Le premier c'est que M.E1 ne milite dans aucun parti politique, il n'a aucune vision d'extension de son réseau d'affaire. Et pour cause, aucune possibilité de formation et aucune information sur le monde des affaires. Quant à M.E 2, membre du parti au pouvoir, il a des facilités dans les affaires, et entend utiliser sa position de membre de section RDPC pour contourner certaines taxes et améliorer ses affaires. M.E3 a vu ses affaires émerger en deux ans seulement, avec pour cause non seulement son aptitude personnelle, mais également et surtout les avantages de militer dans un parti qui se rapproche de plus en plus du parti « organisateur » le RDPC.

2.3-Analyse comparative des expériences

Au regard du constat issu des discours des petits commerçants interviewés, il ressort qu'au niveau de la vision entrepreneuriale et des projets entrepreneuriaux, ceux qui ne militent dans aucun parti politique ont certes envie d'étendre leurs structures, mais se trouvent bloqués du fait qu'ils ne peuvent bénéficier des formations et des avantages qu'ils auraient pu avoir s'ils étaient membres du parti au pouvoir. Ils ne trouvent aucune envie d'étendre leurs commerces. Ceux qui militent dans un parti politique ont plus ou moins une envie de faire progresser leurs entreprises, voire d'aller au-delà de leurs activités actuelles. Mais ils ont le désir de réussir tout d'abord sur le plan politique. Leur réussite entrepreneuriale dépend de leur aptitude politique. Dès lors et d'après eux, la réussite politique conditionne leur émergence entrepreneuriale.

⁷ Interview de M. E 2 réalisée le 03 Janvier 2015

⁸ Interview réalisée le 03 Janvier 2015

-Que ce soient ceux qui ne sont dans aucun parti politique ou ceux qui militent dans les partis politiques, tous évoquent l'enjeu du pouvoir ou du militantisme dans l'acte entrepreneurial. La situation politique actuelle ne leur faciliterait pas la tâche, car tout est décidé par le haut et seulement ceux qui sont en haut ou ont un réseau en haut émergent plus facilement.

Deux catégories d'entrepreneurs se dégagent : d'une part un groupe de petits entrepreneurs qui n'ont aucune vision entrepreneuriale. D'autres part un groupe de petits entrepreneurs qui émergent, qui ont pour projet de développer leurs structures et qui bénéficient d'une facilité dans les affaires. Certains de ces petits entrepreneurs qui ont de la compétence dans les affaires ont souvent été intimidés, voire menacés par les autorités en charge de la promotion entrepreneuriale avec pour motif, la non possession de carte de membre ou le manque de soutien au financement du « grand parti ».

3. RELATIONS DE DEPENDANCE ENTREPRENEURIAT – MILIEU POLITIQUE

Au regard de l'analyse des informations recueillies auprès des entrepreneurs interviewés, 03 raisons expliquent une forte implication des entrepreneurs camerounais dans le champ politique et par là même la dépendance entre le militantisme politique et le développement entrepreneurial : le besoin d'information, le besoin de protéger les affaires, le besoin de générer des capitaux.

3.1-Milieu politique comme réseaux d'information

De nombreux travaux en entrepreneuriat, fondés pour l'essentiel sur une approche exploratoire, reconnaissent que le réseau relationnel de l'entrepreneurial (RRE) est un important pourvoyeur de ressources utiles à la création et au développement des entreprises. Dans ce sillage, nous pouvons citer Julien (2000) qui dans ces travaux parvient à la conclusion selon laquelle les relations personnelles de l'entrepreneur pourront lui fournir des informations précieuses pouvant déboucher sur des idées d'innovation dans une activité donnée.

Dans le cas de la reprise d'une entreprise, « les relations personnelles sont un moyen essentiel pour le repreneur potentiel de repérer une cible intéressante, sur un marché largement opaque », Deschamps (2000 : 306-311). Le cas de certains entrepreneurs camerounais s'inscrit dans cette logique, le milieu politique est un vaste champ relationnel. Ces relations politiques leur permet d'être informés à temps et à contre temps sur les projets rentables, sur les mesures d'accompagnement entrepreneurial et sur les opportunités d'affaires. Les réseaux de l'administration sont utilisés pour accéder

à des facilités économiques.⁹ Cette stratégie n'est pas nouvelle au Cameroun lorsque l'on sait que dès l'indépendance du Cameroun en 1960 et notamment sous le régime Ahidjo, une bourgeoisie bamiléké et Foulbé s'était développée et avait fait main basse sur d'importants secteurs de l'économie nationale grâce à une certaine complicité avec l'administration et de services d'impôts et de douanes, Ateba Yene (1988) ; Bayart (1993) ; Mbembe 1993).¹⁰ L'entrepreneur E2 membre influent du RDPC principal parti au pouvoir au Cameroun fait partir de ces entrepreneurs qui ont « réussi » grâce à l'accumulation des richesses par l'exploitation des circuits du commerce licite et illicite (contrebande).

3.2-Militantisme politique gage de la protection des affaires

Le réseau politique est ainsi vu comme un mode de coordination et de protection des activités individuelles. Être impliqué dans les milieux politiques c'est se faire un nom dans le système politique. Être un membre du comité central c'est être exempt de plusieurs taxes, c'est être constamment dans la sphère de décision. Être dans les instances décisionnelles est un bon moyen de mieux protéger ses affaires, de bénéficier parfois même hors des lois en vigueur des circonstances favorables à ses affaires. La politique est analysée ici comme un outil de contrôle et de protection des affaires. C'est également un outil de surveillance visant à étouffer les menaces éventuelles des investissements. Cette voie est utilisée en vue du maintien et de la domination dans le monde des affaires.

Plusieurs entrepreneurs font des grosses dépenses pour se positionner dans le visage politique avec pour finalité la promotion et la protection de leurs affaires. Le cas de E4, propriétaire d'un grand magasin de parfumerie dans la ville de Dschang en est une illustration. Au départ, il n'était impliqué dans aucun parti politique, mais les fortes taxes à lui imposées par le système en place ne lui ont pas permis d'innover dans son entreprise. Mais depuis qu'il est membre du comité central et Maire dans sa localité, il est peut avoir l'esprit tranquille, toquer à toutes les portes etc.

C'est vrai que j'ai de la compétence, mais cette compétence se développe parce que j'ai des réseaux au sein des autorités administratives. Je paie les impôts, mais les autorités sont indulgentes envers moi lorsque je ne peux payer. La chèvre ne peut brouter que là où elle est attachée¹¹ (E.4, propriétaire d'une parfumerie)

Dans le cas de E8 entrepreneurs commerçants, propriétaires d'une grande boutique de Chaussures dans la ville de Dschang, il a échappé selon ses déclarations à un emprisonnement grâce à son dynamisme politique au sein du RDPC.

En effet j'ai eu à châtier de manière brutale une de mes employées qui a par la suite porté plainte contre moi. En effet, grâce à ma position de Conseiller municipal dans ma commune, la plainte de cette dame a été interceptée

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10 Voir les travaux de Ateba Yene (1988 : 152) ; Bayart (1993 :335-343) ; Mbembe 1993 :345-374)

11 E. 4 Membre du RDPC. Nous l'avons interviewé le 10 Janvier 2015 devant sa parfumerie

par un juge qui a tout fait pour que le problème soit arrangé, je serais en prison que mes affaires auraient pris une autre trajectoire

L'analyse de ces propos laisse ressortir le rôle important du militantisme politique dans la protection des affaires. Le succès entrepreneurial dans ce cas est conditionné par le succès politique. Cette situation est à même de créer dans l'esprit des entrepreneurs hors des activités politiques une résignation, une frustration, les reléguant au rang de « pseudo entrepreneurs ».

Moi je vis avec ce que Dieu me donne. Mon grand frère a essayé un jour de développer son magasin, mais a été stoppé net par des surtaxes. C'est que quelqu'un lui a fait un message anonyme que s'il n'entre pas dans le parti au pouvoir, il ne pourra émerger sur les affaires. Cela m'a découragé et j'ai décidé de faire avec ce que j'ai. Voilà pourquoi depuis je suis au même niveau¹²

Une lecture sociologique de ce discours permet de constater qu'il y a un sentiment de dépendance absolue en entrepreneuriat. Les libertés sont liées, les libertés politiques conditionnent les libertés entrepreneuriales.

3.3-Militantisme politique comme générateurs des capitaux.

Le réseau politique est considéré comme un moyen d'accéder à des ressources utiles à l'action individuelle ou collective. Les ressources donnent un certain pouvoir financier. Les pouvoirs financiers des entrepreneurs alimentent le pouvoir politique et leur militantisme politique encadre leurs affaires. Cette dépendance est qualifiée de « lien circulaire » dans la théorie marxiste¹³. Les capitaux sont générés pour entretenir le pouvoir et le pouvoir pour protéger et entretenir les capitaux. L'attribution des marchés, les éventuels réseaux de financements d'affaire alternent entre les gens issus du parti au pouvoir et alliés. On maquille la pratique en bouchant quelques trous avec des noms empruntés à d'autres partis politiques pour se faire bonne conscience et donner l'impression d'un semblant d'objectivité et de transparence. Dès l'ors se forme une sorte de « tribalisme politico économique » Armid Durein (2012 : 21).

Le tribalisme politico économique est la priorité économique, les privilèges socioéconomiques accordés à une catégorie d'entrepreneurs au détriment d'une ou de plus d'une autre. Le tribalisme sur le plan entrepreneurial est une cause de repli et de renfermement de ceux des entrepreneurs n'appartenant à aucun parti politique et par conséquent, ne pouvant bénéficier du même traitement que ceux qui s'engagent résolument sur le chemin de la politique. Ce qui est selon **I. Kpotufe (2004)** une source de conflit social. Le tribalisme politico économique est certes légitime, mais « engendre des abus allant des privilèges au mépris » C.R. Dimi (2007 :197).

Ce tribalisme constaté dans le processus entrepreneurial est également observé au sein de plusieurs organisations camerounaises. Le recrutement se fait sous la base

¹² M. E 5 est responsable d'un dépôt de produits céréaliers. L'exemple de son frère ne lui donne pas une vision d'extension de son entreprise. Nous l'avons rencontré le 10 Janvier 2015 à son domicile

d'appartenance ethnique. Le promoteur, homme politique, veut s'entourer du personnel de sa région ou de son village ; ces derniers constituant un véritable électorat et les principaux organes de relais dans le village pendant les périodes électorales E. Kamdem (2002).

Quelle politique pour un développement harmonieux de l'entrepreneuriat au Cameroun à partir de l'expérience de notre analyse ?

La promotion de l'esprit d'entreprise privée au Cameroun relève plus de discours que de la réalité et ceux qui bénéficient de certaines mesures d'accompagnement sont recensés dans la catégorie des élites politiques. Dans ce cas, il y a au Cameroun une planification économique de l'état et non du privé. Pour une véritable initiative entrepreneuriale, plusieurs possibilités peuvent être exploitées. Outre les mesures d'accompagnement des initiatives entrepreneuriales qui émanent de l'état et de ses institutions, une véritable culture entrepreneuriale au Cameroun passera par une renaissance démocratique. Cette renaissance inclut la facilitation des initiatives privées, la liberté et la réforme démocratique, l'exclusion du tribalisme politique.

Si le moteur du développement est la capacité à percevoir des opportunités économiques et à les saisir, cela invite la liberté de les saisir. Sans liberté, il devient difficile pour la population de bénéficier des talents de leurs concitoyens. Une croissance économique plus élevée a plus de chances de se concrétiser dans des sociétés où les gens ont la possibilité de participer librement aux marchés, où ils peuvent exploiter au mieux leurs talents pour améliorer leur bien-être matériel. Cela exige que les règles du jeu soient favorables. De même que la démocratie camerounaise vise à mettre sur pied une organisation assise, de même, la démocratie économique vise à consolider cette organisation, une pseudo participation égalitaire dans l'acte entrepreneurial et impliquant en filigrane le bien-être de tous.

Dans un contexte marqué par la mondialisation de l'économie, la montée du système capitaliste, la promotion de l'entrepreneuriat et la culture entrepreneuriale constituent un axe central pour favoriser la croissance économique et l'édification d'un tissu économique viable. Cette culture n'est possible qu'avec une réappropriation de la démocratie par le peuple. La liberté de réfléchir, de penser, d'initier et de décider.

CONCLUSION

Le développement du secteur privé africain et camerounais en particulier accuse un retard considérable et tarde à décoller. Pourtant l'intensification des efforts de facilitation de l'initiative privée mènera celle-ci à jouer un rôle primordial dans le développement du pays. L'expansion du secteur privé, notamment des micros entreprises et des petites et moyennes entreprises est un puissant moteur de croissance économique et la principale source de création d'emplois et de la lutte contre la pauvreté. Or, la plupart des hommes

d'affaires émergents sont constitués essentiellement des élites politiques garantes de la pensée du parti au pouvoir. L'environnement institutionnel anti-investissement et anti-épargne explique en partie pourquoi le potentiel entrepreneurial camerounais ne se concrétise pas dans les faits. L'enjeu est mis sur des réformes politiques. Lesquelles n'intègrent selon C.R Dimi (2007) aucune véritable économie fiable. C'est certainement pour faire face à ces difficultés et maintenir leur légitimité dans les réseaux d'affaires que les entrepreneurs camerounais accroissent leurs participations dans les réseaux de pouvoir politique. Certes le militantisme politique ne donne pas la compétence dans l'acte entrepreneuriale, mais la position d'un entrepreneur dans les réseaux politiques lui procure des facilités considérables dans le développement de ses compétences.

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