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FACULTY OF ARTS
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST, GHANA

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INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF RESEARCH IN THE
HUMANITIES

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NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

Scholarly articles are invited from scholars in the Humanities on any subject that is adequately researched for publication. All articles are subjected to rigorous assessment before being accepted for publication. Contributors should adopt the APA or MLA documentation style. The manuscript should be typed using Times New Roman, Font size 12, and double-spaced. Each paper should be a minimum of ten pages and a maximum of twenty-five pages. Each paper should contain an abstract of not more than one hundred and fifty words accompanied by five keywords. Manuscripts should have a cover page indicating the title of the papers, author's name, address (postal, email, and telephone), biographical information, and institutional affiliation. The title of the abstract should appear on another page, and the main essay should start on the third page.

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EDITORIAL

Drumspeak continues to contribute to the epistemological advances of our time through quality research papers that extend the frontiers of scholarship in the arts and humanities. The evolution of society and its complexities and tensions continue to put pressure on academics to produce and disseminate research endeavours that keep pace with human and social developments, feeding the philosophical, theoretical and methodological foundations of the various fields of study. In Africa, the primary duty of academia remains to focus research theoretically and empirically on its utilities to a continent that continues to require paradigms and epistemologies of practical applications that can engender redemption from socioeconomic, political, cultural and scientific misfortunes. Thus, this current edition of the journal continues to dig deep and entrench inquiry into life and existence in the arts and social sciences. The concentration has the potential to aggregate theorising in the fields covered by the journal.

The edition brings together seven contributions straddling linguistics and rhetoric, sociology, business, and arts and culture. Together, they constitute an eclectic collection that contributes significantly to the literature and knowledge in those broad fields and provokes further inquiry.

The first paper by Kwabena Sarfo is a comparative linguistic analysis that investigates adverb and adjective intensifications in English language use in Ghanaian and British parliaments. The highly sophisticated corpus-based analysis highlights some insightful findings and conclusions that have implications for 2nd language teaching and learning in schools in Ghana and similar geo-polities. Importantly, the paper makes a good case for theorising nativisation in L2 environments, which should interest researchers in that area.

Next in line is Adebayo and Victor's "Communal Solidarity and the Challenge of Intergenerational Punitive System in Africa: The Yoruba Experience". This sociology-inclined study presents interesting Western and African perspectives on punitive systems. Using a critical reconstructive method, this well-researched paper discusses a "clash of cultures" between Africa (represented in the Yoruba culture) and the West concerning the application of appropriate punitive measures in the two societies. The study argues that Africa adopts punitive epistemologies and practices that speak to the continent's cultural realities, which may be found in the communal solidarity systems that underlie traditional African societies. That way, the study adopts a critical approach aimed at deconstructing Western hegemonic imperatives of punishment that have largely reflected existing post-colonial punitive systems on the continent.

Then, from a sociological perspective, Bismark writes about the environmental health quality of older people in Ghana. In this well-researched and articulated study, the author problematises the cultural, psychological and environmental health issues of our time and implicates the quality of life of the aged in the northern part of Ghana. The study's conclusions and recommendations emphasise the place of family in the life of the African as it recognises family members as the backbone and fortress for the vulnerable and aged in our society.

Kweku Rockson delves into the business world in a rare effort by interrogating International Framework Agreements in subsidiary companies of multinational enterprises, focusing on AngloGold Ashanti in Ghana. The study interrogates the effectiveness of the agreements and the extent to which the business world in Ghana, especially key stakeholders of AngloGold Ashanti, is aware of these agreements. The research explores interesting perspectives with remarkable findings that demand further empirical studies about the implications of adhering or not adhering to international business agreements in Ghana and beyond. This qualitatively focused analysis demonstrates rich knowledge of literature with a robust analysis that definitely adds to knowledge and the literature in the field.

The next research by William and Eugene frames counselling studies within psycholinguistics and rhetorical analysis. The paper, titled "Use of Rhetorical Strategies in Counselling at the Counselling Centre, University of Cape Coast, Ghana (UCC)," provides an insight into how counselling services at UCC benefits from consciously applied rhetorical strategies to enhance the service. Importantly, this study has pragmatic implications for counselling services beyond academic institutions to society at large.

In "Ethnographic and Functional Perspectives of Tilapia Names among the Eʋe of Ghana," Vincent and Gladys have produced an amazing linguistic study on tilapia names in Eʋe (also written as Ewe) language. Eʋe is a language spoken by a people of the south-eastern part of the Volta Region in Ghana. The analysis comes with remarkable findings, establishing inter-alia, a linguistic typology and association between the nature of the fish and the Eʋe name. The well-referenced work, thus, makes an important contribution to cultural studies from the linguistic perspective.

The last paper on the block by Xornam and Promise is metaphorically titled "Murdering our Promising Babies: The Pan-African Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFEST) Factor." In a historical narrative, the authors present a historiography of challenges and cultural implications of Ghana's Pan Africa Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFEST). This yearly festival has shone a light on Ghana from the 1990s to 2010. Importantly, this study rekindles a conversation around a cultural revival in Ghana amid the paucity of such works in the literature.

These fleeting summaries are just snapshots of the scholarly experience and insights in store for readers. The collections contribute to knowledge and scholarship in their respective fields and continue to nourish academic discourse in the unending effort to better understand our society to solve its challenges. Therefore, all shades of academics, researchers and students are encouraged to read the articles and participate in the edition's intellectual discourse. *Drumspeak* continues to offer an open call for papers, so we urge the academic and research community to submit their research papers for consideration and possible publication.

Modestus Fosu (PhD)
Editor

NATIVE AND NON-NATIVE VARIATION IN ADVERBIAL AND ADJECTIVAL INTENSIFICATION: A CORPUS-BASED STUDY OF UK AND GHANAIAN PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

Kwabena Sarfo-Kantankah[1]

Department of English
Faculty of Arts
College of Humanities and
Legal Studies
University of Cape Coast

Abstract

Studies on the use of adverbs and adjectives by non-native speakers of English have largely focused on learner corpus. Using Hansards of British and Ghanaian parliamentary debates as data, this paper attempts to partly fill this gap by comparatively examining the use of adverbs and adjectives as intensifiers by British parliamentarians as first/native speakers of English and Ghanaian parliamentarians as a second language/non-native speakers of English. Parliamentarians' use of adverbial and adjectival intensification is consequent on parliamentary debates being truth and validity judgement, which includes speaker involvement and commitment. While both groups of MPs employ intensifiers to strengthen their convictions and arguments, it leads to exaggeration. However, British parliamentarians use more complex adverbs and adjectives than their Ghanaian counterparts, who use simpler forms. The paper has implications for second language teaching and learning, the theory of nativisation and the characterisation of Ghanaian English.

Keywords: Keywords: Intensification, parliamentary debates, Ghanaian English, native speakers, non-native speakers

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[1] Kwabena Sarfo Sarfo-Kantankah is Associate Professor of English language in the Department of English, University of Cape Coast, Ghana. He obtained his PhD from the School of English, University of Leeds, UK, where he studied on Leeds International Research Scholarship. His PhD research focused on UK and Ghanaian parliamentary discourse. His research interests include corpus linguistics, discourse analysis, political discourse, parliamentary discourse and pragmatics. He has previously published in journals such as *Language, Discourse & Society*; *African Nebula*; *Legon Journal of the Humanities*; *Corpora*; *Word*; and *Journal of Pragmatics*.

Introduction

This paper examines adverbial and adjectival intensification in British (native) and Ghanaian (non-native) varieties of English. The aim is to contribute to the ongoing debate about the extent to which the Ghanaian variety of English varies from the British variety by examining adverbial and adjectival intensification in UK and Ghanaian parliamentary debates. By comparing the two datasets, the paper attempts to throw light on whether there is some "Ghanaian-ness" (Dolphyne, 1997, p.6) in the use of adverbial and adjectival intensification in the English spoken in Ghana.

The global spread of English has led to the emergence of a diverse range of postcolonial varieties of English (Schneider, 2007), sometimes referred to as World Englishes. Kachru (1986, 1992) represents the varieties of English in three concentric circles, which "are defined with reference to the historical, sociolinguistic and literary contexts" (Kachru, 1992, p.3). The three circles are:

1. the Inner Circle, representing "the traditional bases of English, dominated by the 'mother tongue' varieties", including countries such as Britain, the United States and Australia. These countries are believed to be the norm setters for education, law, administration, and media, among others.

2. the Outer Circle, representing "institutionalised" varieties of English. They somehow correspond to the traditional English as a second language (ESL) situations, for example, in Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Singapore and Malaysia. These are countries which are former British colonies. They use English for official and national purposes, including education, the courts, the media, parliament and social discourse. English in these countries is considered as a lingua franca. The speakers of English in this circle are said to have developed some emotional attachment to the English language, creating new norms and claiming ownership of English, even though they are largely norm dependent on the inner circle speakers.

3. the Expanding Circle, which embodies countries such as China, La Cote D'Ivoire, France and Russia. Such countries use English only for international trade and communication purposes. They are traditionally referred to as English as foreign language (EFL) countries.

Schneider (2003, pp. 243-256) has examined the processes through which postcolonial Englishes develop, namely:

1.   Foundation: a transplantation stage where, through colonial expansion, trade, military outposts and missionary activities, English speakers settle in the new country, where contact situations occur, local languages are predominantly used, and "toponymic borrowing" occurs and "cross-cultural communication is achieved by just a limited few" (Schneider, 2003, p. 244, 255).

2.   Exonormative stabilisation: a stage whereas a "stable colonial status", English gains some prominence through colloquialism at individual levels. British English is considered the norm but with some borrowings of local terms and vocabulary. Few bilingual elites are created through education and contact with settlers.

3.   Nativisation: Schneider (2003, p. 247) considers this phase as "the most important, the most vibrant one, the central phase of both cultural and linguistic transformation". It is the stage at which the country gains political independence from the colonial master. There are "widespread and regular contacts" leading to accommodation and stabilisation of English, characterised by "heavy lexical borrowing", but the external norm is heavily depended on (Schneider, 2003, p. 255).

4.   Endonormative stabilisation: this is a post-independence stage "marked by the gradual adoption and acceptance of an indigenous linguistic [English] norm, supported by a new, locally rooted linguistic self-confidence" (p. 249). In other words, a local variety of English is developed, accepted and used to express indigenous culture, with a strong emotional attachment to the local variety.

5.   Differentiation: At this stage of development, a new nation is born, "the emergence of a new variety of English trails off", and the country achieves political, cultural and linguistic independence, having warded off all external domination and influence and become self-reliant, where a "stable young nation" is born, "with no need to be compared to others. As a reflection of this new identity, a new language variety has emerged" (p.253, 255).

Kachru's (1992) and Schneider's (2003) frameworks provide a sense of the nature, state and essential properties of Ghanaian English, presenting a strong justification for comparing

features of British and Ghanaian English. There is some consensus that "English, as used in Ghana, is characterised by the persistence of peculiar forms and usage that can be found at all levels" (Gyasi, 1990, p. 27). Ghanaian English is now said to fall "between the Nativisation Phase and the Endonormative Stabilization Phase" (Huber, 2012, p. 218), where the acceptance of Ghanaian English as being distinctive is under serious consideration.

Ghanaian English

Writings from scholars such as Brown and Scragg (1948), Criper (1971), Sey (1973), Gyasi (1990) and Ahulu (1994) sparked scholarly debates about whether or not there was/is a distinctive variety of Ghanaian English. In fact, Sey (1973, p.9) spoke against discovering and popularising an all-purpose Ghanaian variety of English. Since then, attention has been devoted to trying to describe, define and accept Ghanaian English as a distinctive variety of English. Ghanaian English has gone from being described as a deviant variety with "inter-language difficulties or deviant language usage, deficiencies and fossilised errors" (Ngula & Nartey, 2014, p. 87), that is a negative attitude (see Ahulu, 1994; Gyasi, 1990; Sey, 1973; Tingley, 1981), to being considered as a nativised variety, a positive attitude (Anderson, 2009; Dako, 2001, 2002; Dolphyne, 1997; Owusu-Ansah, 1992, 1997), with distinctive features (Adika, 2012; Bobda, 2000; Huber & Dako, 2008; Koranteng, 2006). According to Koranteng (2006, p.1),

> the model of English taught, learnt, and used in all teaching and learning
> situations in Ghana is not RP [Received Pronunciation], but a form one might
> readily describe as Ghanaian English, though there is yet no official recognition
> of any such model because it is not codified.

Whereas it is agreed that the English spoken in Ghana has some distinctiveness that characterises it and, therefore, could be called Ghanaian English (GhE), the level of acceptance and recognition of such a label has been low. As Anderson (2009, p.28) states:

> [a]lthough attitudes to studies on variation in the English language spoken in
> Ghana are changing, we cannot say that "Ghanaian English" is a recognised

variety of English in Ghana or that it has been pushed to its rightful place among the "New Englishes" that are used all over the world.

Ngula and Nartey (2014, p. 80) reiterate this point; thus, "one of the major obstacles of GhE is its lack of proper recognition and acceptance in the country". There is now some conscious attempt to drive home the need to recognise Ghanaian English as such, codify it and develop its standards for different functionalities in the Ghanaian socio-political space.

Thus, attempts have been made to study aspects of Ghanaian English over the years. These include pronunciation (Adjaye, 1987; Bobda, 2000; Huber, 2004; Koranteng, 2006; Ofori, Duah & Mintah, 2014); morphology and syntax, including the use of articles, prepositions, mass nouns, adjectives, relative pronouns and issues of concord (Brown & Scragg, 1948; Huber & Dako, 2008; Sey, 1973; Tingley, 1981); and vocabulary (Ngula, 2014). Criper (cited in Anderson, 2009, p.25) looked at and classified the variety of English spoken in Ghana based on "context, lexis, phonology and phonetics and comes up with four classes, namely: higher educated variety, middle educated variety, lower educated variety and a final variety she labels as 'sub'". In fact, today, some have called for the development of Ghanaian English corpora which can form the basis for studying the various aspects of Ghanaian English on a larger scale since "large-scale corpus projects can serve a good starting point towards enhanced linguistic descriptions into GhE for its proper recognition as a variety of English within Kachru's (1986) *Outer Circle* of World Englishes" (Ngula & Nartey, 2014, p.80). This is necessary since, as Ngula and Nartey argue, GhE suffers from the problem of recognition because the features of GhE studied by various scholars lack sufficient representativeness because of the use of small datasets.

Perhaps, one way to look at the issue of representativeness of datasets is to consider corpora from specific domains of use, such as parliamentary discourse, which is what this paper does. Also, comparing English language use in similar domains of use within Inner Circle and Outer Circle contexts will help throw some light on the distinctiveness of GhE. This paper compares the use of adverbs and adjectives as intensifiers in about 616,000-word corpus of

Ghanaian parliamentary debates[2] with about one-million-word corpus of UK parliamentary debates (see section 4). It, thus, contributes to the debate about whether there is some "Ghanaian-ness" (Dolphyne, 1997, p.6) in the English spoken in Ghana and for which reason it could be recognised as Ghanaian English.

Adverbial and adjectival intensification

According to Lorenz (2002, p.144), "[i] ntensification is a lexico-grammatical category that is mainly employed to achieve expressivity". It is a kind of grading, a cline, that indicates degrees (e.g., attenuation, medium and high intensification) of attributes or qualities of people, things or entities (Downing & Locke, 2006). It communicates speaker involvement and signals the extent to which the speaker is committed to his/her statement about people, objects and events, including the qualities attached to them (Lorenz, 1999). Intensification can be achieved through lexical items such as adverbs and adjectives, which are the focus of this study.

Intensifying adverbs

Adverbs modify verbs, adjectives, other adverbs, prepositional phrases and noun phrases, and they can function as adverbials in sentences or clauses (Downing & Locke, 2006, p. 503; Greenbaum, 1996, p. 615; Quirk & Greenbaum, 1973, pp. 125-132). Adverbs can be classified in several ways: formally/structurally, position in the clause and semantically. While such classifications appear straightforward, they can be quite complex. Depending on their interest and focus, scholars have categorised adverbs differently, including the following.

Semantically, Downing and Lock (2006, pp.505-507) categorise adverbs into stance (e.g. *certainly*, *definitely*, *actually*), degree or focus (including intensification, e.g. *quite*, *pretty*; attenuation, e.g. *kind of*) and focusing adverbs (e.g. *merely*, *just*, *hardly*, *only*), among others.

Quirk and Greenbaum (1973, p. 207; see also Greenbaum 1996, pp. 146-152) functionally/semantically classify adverbs into adjuncts (which are integral parts of clauses), disjuncts (which are usually attitudinal and "provide comments on the units in which they

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[2] We do not review literature on parliamentary debates, because parliamentary debates are used in the study only as a source of data. Our focus is to fill a gap in Ghanaian English and adverbial and adjectival intensification, and not in parliamentary debate studies.

stand" (Greenbaum, 1996, p. 146) and conjuncts (which have connective functions). Adjuncts are further classified into viewpoint, focusing, process, subject, place, intensifiers, etc. Intensifiers indicate a place on an intensity scale which may be high or low (Greenbaum, 1996; Quirk & Greenbaum, 1973). Intensifiers are grouped into:

1.   Emphasisers, which "have a general heightening effect" (e.g., *definitely, certainly, actually, clearly, indeed, plainly, really, surely, frankly, honestly*).

2.   Amplifiers, which "scale upwards from an assumed norm"; they are divided into maximisers – indicate upper extreme end of the scale (e.g., *completely, absolutely, entirely, fully, quite, thoroughly, utterly*), and boosters – indicate a high point on the scale (e.g. *very much, deeply, heartily, violently, well, a great deal*).

3.   Downtoners, with "a lowering effect, usually scaling downwards from an assumed norm"; and can be grouped into compromisers – with a slight lowering effect (*kind of, sort of, quite, rather, more or less*); diminishers (e.g. *partly, slightly, somewhat, to some extent, a little*); minimisers (e.g. *hardly, scarcely, a bit, barely, little, scarcely*) and approximators – express an approximation to the force of the verb (e.g. *almost, nearly, as good as, all but*) (Quirk & Greenbaum, 1973, pp.214-219).

Adverbs can also be classified as adverbs of affirmation (e.g., *absolutely*, *certainly*), doubts (e.g., *roughly*, *apparently*), strong intensifying (e.g., *exceedingly*, *extremely*), weak intensifying (e.g., *barely*, *slightly*) and negation/minimisers (e.g., *hardly*) (Benamara, Cesarano, Picariello, Recupero & Subrahmanian, 2007, p. 2). The foregoing demonstrates the complexity of classifying adverbs.

The use of adverbs has been studied variously, especially among ESL learners and speakers in comparison with native speakers, including the misuse, overuse, and underuse of connective adverbs and positioning (Bolton, Nelson & Hung, 2003; Milton & Tsang, 1993; Rutledge & Fitton, 2015). Intensifiers are said to be a feature of spoken and conversational discourse, including amplifiers such as *highly* and emphatics such as *exact* and *total* (Hinkel, 2005, p. 30). Hinkel (2005, p. 34) states that intensification and amplification are a marked feature of L2 writing and that compared to L1 academic writing, for example, L2 academic essays contain "a prevalence of conversational intensifiers and overstatements that are

ubiquitous in informal speech but are rare in formal written prose" (p. 29). Lorenz (cited in Hinkel, 2005, p. 34) attributes the over-use of intensifiers by L2 writers to cross-cultural functions of hyperboles and "over-zealousness" and an attempt to emphasise the importance of their claims to impress, which can be damaging, however, as it makes them sound unnatural in their communication.

In the Ghanaian context, few studies on adverb usage can be found, two of which are Gogovi (1997) and Quansah and Tetteh (2017). The latter study the placement of adverbs and adverbial clauses in junior high school students' writing and conclude that the students place adverbs correctly in sentences. Gogovi's (1997) work is more relevant to the current study. He studies the knowledge levels of adverb-verb collocative restrictions among post-diploma students at the University College of Education, Winneba, Ghana. Using an elicitation method, he asked the students to complete the following four "structures adapted from GCE (Quirk et al. 1972:448)", namely:

1.   They greatly …   2. I badly …   3. I entirely …   4. My friend completely …

These are intensifying adverbs. Gogovi finds that students' knowledge of adverb-verb restriction is far below the competence level expected of the students, as they mostly filled the slots with incorrect verbs. He concludes that "there appears enough evidence that our post-diploma students' grasp of Intensifier + Verb collocation is weak" (p.51). Even though the study appears dated (20 years old), it gives us some knowledge about and exemplifies the use of adverbial intensifiers among students in Ghana.

Intensifying adjectives

Adjectives typically modify nouns to indicate qualities or characteristics of those nouns (Greenbaum, 1996, p.134). The majority of adjectives are gradable and can be used to compare two (using comparative forms – e.g., *larger*) or more things (using superlative forms – e.g., *largest*) (Greenbaum, 1996, p. 140). Said to be the most intensified words in language (Bäcklund, 1973), adjectives "have a heightening or lowering effect on the nouns they modify" (Quirk & Greenbaum, 1973, p. 121). They act as emphasisers, which have a general heightening effect (e.g., *certain*, *outright*, *real*, *pure*), and amplifiers, which "scale upwards

from an assumed norm, denoting the upper extreme of the scale or a high point on the scale" (e.g., *complete*, *strong*, *great*, *entire*) (Quirk & Greenbaum, 1973, p.121). Limiter adjectives also particularise the references of the nouns they modify (e.g., *only*, *main*, *precise*).

Biber, Johnsson, Leech, and Finegan (1999, pp.508-509) semantically classify adjectives into two: descriptors (denoting such features as colour, size, weight, emotions, and evaluation) and classifiers (which delimit or restrict a noun's referent – including relational/classificational/ restrictive, affiliative, topical). The following are the relevant ones for our purpose in this paper.

Descriptors (these are usually gradable and, therefore, have intensification functions): (i) Size/quantity/extent: denoting size, weight, extent: *big, deep, heavy, huge, long, large, little*; (ii) Time: denoting chronology, age, frequency: *annual, daily, early, late, new, old, recent, young*; (iii) Evaluative/emotive: denoting judgements, affect, emphasis: *bad, beautiful, best, fine, good, great, lovely, poor*; (iv) Miscellaneous *descriptive*: *appropriate, cold, complex, dead, empty, free, hard, hot, positive,* etc.

Classifiers (which are typically non-gradable) and include relational/classificational/ restrictive adjectives, which delimit the referent of a noun, particularly in relation to other referents, for example, *additional, average, chief; complete, different, direct, entire, external, final, general, internal, left, maximum, necessary,* etc.

The use of adjective intensification between native and non-native speakers of English has been studied in diverse ways. Dunn (2009, p.1) has found that native speakers use "more precise, contextually specific evaluative adjectives such as *crappy, retarded*" than their non-native counterparts who use "more generic adjectives such as *happy, nice*". Dunn (2009, p.1) states that:

> The generalized nature of these adjectives, as well as the smaller number of
> lexemes at the non-native speakers' disposal, may account for the increased rate
> of intensification shown by the non-native speakers. Specifically, the depth and
> complexity of meaning required for conversational interaction is more often
> handled by native speakers via a variety of specialized adjectives, while non-
> native speakers must rely more on adjective intensification in order to convey
> subtle differences in meaning.

This statement is significant since both adverbial and adjectival intensification in the current study show similar trends. Hyland and Milton (1997, p. 183) have indicated that L2 writers rely "on a more limited range of items, offering stronger commitments, and exhibiting greater problems in conveying a precise degree of certainty".

The foregoing indicates the heterogeneity of adverbs and adjectives, making their uses and classification quite complex. Describing and comparing their uses in different contexts, especially between native and non-native speakers, can be challenging. Thus, this paper offers further evidence of the ostensible differences in the use of intensifying adverbs and adjectives between native and non-native (especially ESL) speakers of English. Most of the studies on intensification between native and non-native varieties have been based on learner corpora (e.g., Gogovi, 1997; Hinkel, 2003; Hyland & Milton, 1997; Lorenz, 1999; Milton & Tsang, 1993; Pérez-Parades & Díez-Bedmar, 2012; Rutledge & Fitton, 2015) and in academic writing (e.g., Heidler, 2011; Hinkel, 2005; Ngula, 2015). Comparative studies of adverbial and adjectival use between native and non-native speakers have hardly considered other institutional contexts, such as the court and parliamentary interactions, which makes this study significant.

Using parliamentary data to examine similarities and differences in the use of English between British and Ghanaian English is highly significant. This is because ever since the introduction of English as an official language in the law courts and parliament in the middle of the 14 Century in Britain (around 1362) (Davis, 2010, p.24-25; Fisher, 1992, p.1169), one of the bases for labelling one (variety of) English as official or standard is its use in parliamentary business, among other institutionalised settings such as schools, law courts and the church (see Greenbaum, 1996, pp.5-6, 14). Thus, if the standards of Ghanaian English have to be codified, the variety of English spoken in the Ghanaian Parliament will be one of the standard varieties. The Ghanaian parliamentary variety would be considered "an educated variety" (Kachru, 1992, p.4), even though there are some Ghanaian MPs whose English language proficiency levels have been questioned in recent times as they are unable to sufficiently express themselves in English (Gyamfi, 2014; Ibrahim, 2017). Intensification contains an "emotional involvement of the speaker" (Beltrama, 2014, p. 29), and arguably, there is no institutional interaction that involves emotions more than parliamentary debates because of the argumentation and

contestation of policy positions between government and opposition MPs. Thus, another good reason for studying intensification in parliamentary debates is their emotional nature. Yet, intensification in parliamentary debates has hardly been studied at the level of comparing native and non-native varieties of English.

Data and method

This paper is based on about one million word corpus of the UK Queen's address debates (UK QADs – obtained from the UK Parliament website: www.parliament.uk) and about 616,000-word corpus of Ghanaian State of the Nation Address debate (GH SONADs – obtained from the Hansards department of the Ghanaian parliament). The datasets were Hansards of the debates covering different governmental administrations, as indicated in Table 1. The UK QADs are House of Commons debates on the Queen's Speech [3], which outlines the government's legislative agenda and proposes policies for the coming parliamentary session (Priddy, 2014). The GH SONADs, on the other hand, are debates on the Ghanaian State of the Nation Address, an address delivered by the president of the Republic of Ghana in accordance with Article 67 of the Ghanaian constitution, which enjoins the president "to deliver to parliament a message on the state of the nation" at the beginning of each parliamentary session and before a dissolution of Parliament. After the president has delivered the address, Parliament debates its content in terms of whether or not the address reflects the state of the nation and to thank the president for the address. It is the Hansards of the debates of 2005, 2006, 2008 (from the J.A. Kufour administration) and 2009 to 2013 and 2015 (from the J.E.A. Mills/John Mahama administration) that form the dataset for the GH SONADs for this study (see Table 1). The Hansards were in their soft copy form. They were cleaned to remove all unwanted texts, such as headers and time. They were then processed into text documents (without grammatical tagging or annotation[4]) for the use of the *Wordsmith Tools*. Each text was identified by its date.

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[3] The Queen's Speech is written by the government but delivered by the Queen to mark the formal beginning of the parliamentary year.

[4] Tagging or annotation is the process of marking up words in a corpus and indicating their parts of speech or grammatical category.

Table 1: UK QADs and GH SONADs corpus sizes

UK QADs

Blair 2006	Brown 2009	Cameron 2013	**Total word count**
347,000	338,000	327,000	**1,012,000**

GH SONADs

Kufuor	Mills/Mahama		
152,000	464,000	………..	**616,000**

The difference between the datasets of Kufuor's (25%) and Mills/Mahama's administrations (75%) arises from the fact that they were the only available data. It does not, however, affect the analysis because I do not compare and contrast the two administrations. Since the UK QADs data and the GH SONADs data are of different sizes, we normalise the frequencies of the intensifying adverbs and adjectives to a common base of 1,000 (see Tables 2, 3 and 4) to make them comparable (see McEnery, Xiao & Tono, 2006, p.52-53). Thus, the difference between the UK QADs and GH SONADs does not affect the analysis negatively.

The study employs a corpus approach in its analysis, using keyword analysis through *Wordsmith Tools* (Scott, 2012). A keyword analysis identifies words that occur with unusual frequency in a given text compared to a reference corpus (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Scott, 1997). Keyword analyses are useful in identifying salient language differences and lexical differences between texts (Baker, 2006). This means that *Wordsmith* allows for comparing the frequencies of one wordlist with another. For example, assuming that we have texts (wordlists) A and B, we can use *Wordsmith* to compare text A against text B to identify which words are more statistically frequent in text A and vice-versa. *Wordsmith* can calculate the keyness value of each word in the two corpora.

The study makes use of two reference corpora – the British National Corpus (BNC) and the International Corpus of English (ICE)-Ghana (a component of ICE relating to Ghanaian English, ICE-GHA for short). These corpora serve as the standard for calculating and

measuring keywords in the study corpora – the UK QADs and the GH SONADs. The BNC is a 100-million-word corpus of written and spoken British English extracted from newspapers, academic books, popular fiction, and conversations from formal business or government meetings, informal social gatherings, and radio talk shows. Created as part of the ICE project, ICE-GHA is a corpus of written and spoken Ghanaian English of about one-million words. The study compares the UK QADs corpus with the BNC, while it compares the GH SONADs corpus with the ICE-GHA corpus to identify the keywords in each study corpus. For instance, Figure 1 below represents the first 20 keywords in the GH SONADs compared to the ICE-GHA corpus (note that I have used only the GH SONADs for illustration to save space). The first column (N) represents the keywords in order of strength, whereas the second column lists words. The third column represents the frequency of each keyword as it appeared in the GH SONADs. The fourth column indicates the percentage of each keyword over the total number of words in the GH SONADs. Columns six and seven show the frequencies and percentages of the keywords in the reference corpus (RC). The percentages give a more accurate comparison than the raw frequencies. Column eight represents the keyness value of each word in the GH SONADs: the higher the value, the stronger the keyness of the word.

State of the Nation Address Debates_files_lst.kws

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N	Key word	Freq.	%	Texts	RC. Freq.	RC. %	Keyness	P	Lemmas	Set
1	SPEAKER	11,970	1.91	37	127		39,635.33	0.0000000000		
2	THE	39,531	6.31	37	47,872	1.70	34,742.74	0.0000000000		
3	MR	11,019	1.76	37	399	0.01	34,421.60	0.0000000000		
4	THAT	15,886	2.54	37	11,505	0.41	21,741.85	0.0000000000		
5	TO	19,372	3.09	37	22,986	0.82	17,126.46	0.0000000000		
6	HON	4,616	0.74	37	22		15,493.65	0.0000000000		
7	IS	13,432	2.14	37	12,333	0.44	15,221.61	0.0000000000		
8	PRESIDENT	4,957	0.79	37	370	0.01	14,391.18	0.0000000000		
9	OF	16,482	2.63	37	22,207	0.79	12,495.82	0.0000000000		
10	MADAM	3,802	0.61	24	154		11,740.02	0.0000000000		
11	THIS	6,798	1.09	37	4,840	0.17	9,358.15	0.0000000000		
12	AND	14,177	2.26	37	21,464	0.76	9,155.55	0.0000000000		
13	WE	7,037	1.12	37	5,498	0.20	9,053.42	0.0000000000		
14	HE	6,096	0.97	37	4,348	0.15	8,377.20	0.0000000000		
15	NOT	6,084	0.97	37	4,626	0.16	7,983.31	0.0000000000		
16	COL	2,133	0.34	37	4		7,220.88	0.0000000000		
17	IN	9,926	1.58	37	14,075	0.50	6,998.01	0.0000000000		
18	MEMBER	2,291	0.37	37	138		6,812.71	0.0000000000		
19	IT	7,185	1.15	37	8,623	0.31	6,208.73	0.0000000000		
20	ON	5,183	0.83	37	5,076	0.18	5,507.62	0.0000000000		

KWs plot links clusters filenames source text notes

500 entries   Row 1   T S   SPEAKER

Figure 1: First 20 keywords in the GH SONADs

The last column gives the p-value of each keyword, which is set at 0.00000, indicating that the probability that the keyness of a word is due to chance is zero. This denotes that "the keyness value gives a more gradable account of the strength of each [given] word" (Baker, 2006, p.3). This study examines adverbs and adjectives of intensification that appeared in the first 500, that is, the first five (5) per cent, keywords in each of the UK QADs and the GH SONADs. It includes adverbs such as *particularly*, *clearly*, *simply*, *absolutely*, *extremely,* and adjectives such as *greater*, *huge*, *massive*, *good*, *clear* and *large*.

Analysis and discussion

This section analyses and discusses the use of adverbs and adjectives as intensifiers in parliamentary debates. In parliamentary debates, MPs discuss and evaluate government policies; they make truth and value judgements and express their commitments towards such judgements. They take and defend their positions against possible positions from their opponents. To strongly make their arguments and judgements sound convincing, MPs use intensification. Thus, the analysis of adverbial and adjectival intensification is based on the assumption that MPs use adverbs and adjectives to intensify their viewpoints.

Adverbial intensification

As noted earlier, adverbs perform various functions, such as modifying verbs, adjectives, and other adverbs (Downing & Locke, 2006; Greenbaum, 1996; Quirk & Greenbaum, 1973). Consider the following examples (1-3), where *extremely* modifies 'concerned', *absolutely* modifies 'fair' and *entirely* modifies 'new':

(1)   My constituents are *extremely* concerned about its £34 million debt.

[16/11/06:Col.223][5]

(2)   […] we need to be *absolutely* fair and deal with people in a proper and timely manner

[09/05/13:Col.217]

(3)   What Britain needs is an *entirely* new fiscal regime, with an independent office…

[26/11/09:Col.708]

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[5] This is the file name that identifies the date of the debate and the column at which it appears in the Hansards.

The adverb *extremely* marks and amplifies the constituents' concern while *absolutely* amplifies fairness in dealing with the people and *entirely* intensifies "new" – they indicate the certainty of the MPs' assertions (see Biber et al., 1999). The assumption is that to intensify/emphasise their views, during debates, about government policies and their effectiveness, MPs use evaluative/intensifying adverbs/adverbials. MPs use these adverbs to either positively or negatively express their personal views and to indicate that the situations in which people find themselves are beyond the ordinary. According to Lorenz (1999, p. 24), "intensification expresses an 'interpersonal' message in what might otherwise be taken to be a purely 'ideational' statement. It signals personal commitment as well as truth and value judgements". Such judgements form a continuum. For example, when David Cameron, the opposition leader, says that the Gracious Speech offers *absolutely nothing* to young people (Hansards: UK 8 May 13/col. 14) or when an MP says people are *absolutely frustrated* (see Table 2), it "denote[s] the upper extreme of the scale" of non-opportunities for young people or frustration (Pérez-Parades & Díez-Bedmar, 2012, p.106). In that way, there is an attempt by the MPs to impress, persuade and generally influence the people's reception of their arguments (Pérez-Parades & Díez-Bedmar, 2012), as it portrays them as being empathetic to the people. Showing empathy with people is important because both the UK Queen's Address debates (UK QADs) and the Ghanaian State of the Nation Address debates (GH SONADs) largely concentrate on the people's concerns. In other words, the parliamentary debates are about people (Sarfo-Kantankah, 2018, in press).

A keyword analysis of the GH SONADs and UK QADs indicates that whereas the UK MPs use a wider variety of adverbs than their Ghanaian counterparts, the Ghanaian MPs have a higher concentration of use of intensifying adverbs. While the UK MPs have an average of 0.20 adverbs per 1000 words, the Ghanaian MPs have an average of 0.92/1000 words, a phenomenon which may mean that the Ghanaian MPs compensate for their seeming lack of variety of adverbs by intensifying more frequently (see Dunn, 2009). The higher concentration of adverbs in the GH SONADs may also reflect Hyland and Milton's (1997, p. 183) view that L2 writers rely "on a more limited range of items" of intensification. There were 12 and five (5) of such adverbs among the first five per cent (that is, first 500) keywords in the UK QADs and the GH SONADs, respectively. Tables 2 and 3 represent the adverbs in order of magnitude.

Note that the adverbs considered here (including the adjectives discussed later) are those that occurred in the top five per cent (that is, the first 500 keywords).

Table 2: Intensifying and stance adverbs in the UK QADs

Adverb	(Freq.)	/1000 words	Frequency in QADs	BNC	Example
Intensifiers					
Particularly	(421)	0.41	0.04	0.02	These subjects are *particularly* important as we approach the Copenhagen summit. [24/11/09:Col.479]
Simply	(358)	0.35	0.03	0.02	What the British people *simply* want is sound, competent government… [23/11/06:Col.726]
Absolutely	(303)	0.30	0.03	-	That is what people face, and they are *absolutely* frustrated. [24/11/09:Col.460]
Certainly	(290)	0.29	0.03	-	It is important to note that that almost *certainly* represents a degree of support for what I would call soft sharia. [15/11/06:Col.116]
Extremely	(173)	0.17	0.02	-	…nearly 50% of people were *extremely* concerned about their ability to make ends meet… [14/05/13:Col.577]
Entirely	(140)	0.14	0.01	-	That is *entirely* understandable and a civilised reflex. [23/11/09:Col.312]
Surely	(129)	0.13	0.01	-	*Surely* the people of this country deserve that… [23/11/09:Col.324]
Nearly	(121)	0.12	0.01	-	…*nearly* 50% of people were extremely concerned about their ability to make ends meet… [14/05/13:Col.577]

Desperately (67)	0.07	-	-	…create apprenticeships for young people who *desperately* want a future… [15/05/13:Col.728]
Hugely	(44)	0.06	-	-	Interest rates are very low, and that is *hugely* important for people with mortgages and businesses borrowing. [08/05/13:Col.80] **Stance**
Rightly	(113)	0.13	0.01	-	… we have an increasingly demoralised NHS work force—people who were, *rightly*, encouraged by the Government to train for and to join the NHS. [16/11/06: Col.185]

Table 3: Intensifying adverbs in the GH SONADs

Adverb (Freq.)	/1000 words	Frequency in SONADs	ICE	Example
Very	(1,668) 2.67	0.27	0.06	It makes things *very* expensive and people just cannot afford to purchase things from the market. [01/03/12:Col.1985]
Today	(487) 0.79	0.08	0.01	*Today* the people of Gusheigu are now sleeping freely… [01/03/11/Col.1774]
Indeed	(381) 0.61	0.06	-	Mr Speaker, *indeed*, poverty alleviation requires the infusion of resources not only to broad sectors but [...] [02/03/10:Col.1466]
Clearly	(173) 0.30	0.03	-	Today, we have four, *clearly* indicating that the people in this country are getting better each day… [21/02/12/Col.1154]
Particularly (117)	0.23	0.02	-	that will help give access to resources to people in this sector, *particularly* of the small-scale farmers, women processors…[08/02/05:Col.362]

In the UK QADs, 10 of the adverbs (*particularly*, *simply*, *absolutely*, *certainly*, *extremely*, *entirely*, *surely*, *nearly*, *desperately*, *hugely*) are emphatic adverbs (see Quirk & Greenbaum, 1973, pp.214-219) and one (*rightly*) is a stance adverb, which indicates speaker attitude (Finegan, 2010, p.74; Biber & Finegan, 1988, p.1). Emphatic adverbs are "adverbs that merely add emphasis to some aspect of content but do not otherwise add content itself" (Finegan, 2010, pp.73-74). They mark definite conviction. For example, that the "people were *extremely* concerned" means the MP is clearly convinced that the people were concerned, or that "the British people *simply* want sound, competent government" indicates that the MP knows/believes beyond doubt what exactly the people want (Table 2). All the five (5) in the GH SONADs were emphatics (*very*, *today*, *indeed*, *clearly*, *particularly*). For example, *indeed* emphasises the claim that "poverty alleviation requires infusion of resources" while *clearly* emphasises the indication that people are getting better (Table 3). It must be recognised that the lack of a wide range of adverbs does not mean that the Ghanaian MPs cannot communicate well in English, for Schmitt (2010, p. 7) suggests that "second language learners do not need to achieve native-like vocabulary sizes in order to use English well".

It must be acknowledged that the classification of adverbs can be quite problematic, as they can perform different communicative functions in different contexts. For instance, Biber and Finegan (1988, pp.33-34) categorise *simply*, *certainly* and *surely* as stance adverbs. Biber and Finegan (1988, p.26) state that some stance adverbs, what they call *actually*-adverbials (e.g. *actually*, *really*), perform "general emphatic stance". They think that "[a]lthough at first sight *surely*-adverbials [including *surely*, *certainly*, *clearly*] appear to mark emphatic conviction, that is not their primary function" (Biber & Finegan, 1988, p.33). I think that the classification of these adverbs depends largely on the context of their use. Thus, I adopt Finegan's (2010, pp.73-76) classification since MPs use such adverbs to either validate or deny the efficacy of government policies or the state of people's concerns, thereby making the emphatic aspect more prominent. The emphatic aspect is more significant in the context of parliamentary debates because, as noted by Long and Christensen (cited in Finegan, 2010, p.76), the use of "intensifiers is associated with losing arguments", and parliamentary debates are arguments about the right course of action concerning policymaking and implementation. It must be noted that I have not examined all the specific instances of the use of these adverbs in the debates,

and, therefore, the frequencies provided are only indicative. These adverbs are comparatively more frequent in the UK QADs than in the BNC. A similar trend is found between the GH SONADs and the ICE-GHA data. This points to the noteworthiness of their use in parliamentary debates.

Apart from containing a wider variety of adverbs, the UK data show higher intensification/amplification and more complex, multisyllabic adverbs than the Ghanaian ones. It indicates a greater lexical complexity and demonstrates the desire of the UK MPs to rhetorically "exploit hyperbole" or exaggeration (Partington, cited in Pérez-Parades & Díez-Bedmar, 2012, p.105) and show strong emotional attachment to their expositions: "the importance and personal involvement they assign to value judgements and their own propositions" (Lorenz, 1999, p.24). The relatively infrequent use of complex intensifying adverbs among the Ghanaian MPs could be a second language limitation, as the use of "intensifying adverbs" is said to be problematic for learners of English": while "elementary forms such as *quite*, *very* and *really* are over-used, … their corresponding lexical adverbs (such as *highly*, *closely* and *deeply*) are relatively rare in learner data" (Philip, 2008, p.1302). Although the GH SONADs corpus is not a learner corpus, Philip's statement offers us relevant information about non-native varieties of English generally, making the statement significant for our discussion, especially when our findings follow a similar trend. The rate of occurrence of *quite*, *very*, *really* and *highly*, *closely*, *deeply* in the GH SONADs clearly corroborates Philip's assertion (note that apart from *very,* these adverbs are not given in the above tables because they did not appear in the first five per cent keywords):

Elementary adverbs	Lexical adverbs
quite – 72; 0.16/1000 words	*highly* – 38; 0.10/1000 words
really – 192; 0.31/1000 words	*closely* – 07; 0.05/1000 words
very – 1668; 2.67/1000 words	*deeply* – 04; 0.08/1000 words

It is clear from the figures that elementary adverbs occur more frequently than lexical ones, as posited by Philip (2008). *Very* is the most frequent adverb (see Table 3) among all the intensifying adverbs in both the UK and Ghanaian datasets, registering 2.67/1000 words in the Ghanaian data. In the UK data, the frequency of *very* is 1.50/1000 words, even though it does

not appear in the first five per cent of the keywords. In a study that sought to examine the scalar values of *very* as an intensifier, Long and Christensen (cited in Finegan, 2010, p.76) report that a reading experiment indicated that readers who read a sentence that referred "to a *very* tall student judged the student to be about 25 per cent taller than a tall one and a *very* smart lecturer about 25 per cent smarter than a smart one". Consequently, we can say that "It makes things *very* expensive" (Table 3) means that things become about 25% more expensive than usual. Thus, the high percentage of *very* in the GH SONADs implies that Ghanaian MPs appear to intensify their claims more frequently than their UK counterparts.

One key thing about the use of *very* among the Ghanaian MPs is the duplicative use of *very* (as in *very, very* clear/serious) for heightening the intensification. There were 107 of such uses in the Ghanaian data, while there were only three (3) in the UK data (as in *very, very* clear/full/foolish). This adds to our position that Ghanaian MPs have access to only a small variety of intensifiers, which often leads to them overusing the same intensifiers, hence the high percentage of the occurrence of *very* in the Ghanaian data, which re-iterates the earlier point about second language limitation. *Very* is a "high intensification" term (Downing & Locke, 2006, p.488), which means *very, very* implies higher, if not highest, intensification. On a scale of high, higher and highest intensification, *very, very* will be an upper extreme intensification, as represented in Figure 2.

High	**higher**	**highest**
←——————————————————————————————→		
	very frustrated	*very, very* frustrated (GH)
	very frustrated	*very, very* frustrated (UK)
Quite frustrated	*very* frustrated	*absolutely* frustrated (UK)
	very frustrated	*extremely* frustrated (UK)

Figure 2: Equivalence of very, very as an intensifier

From Figure 2, we can say that a Ghanaian MP's use of "*very, very* frustrated" is equivalent to a UK MP's "*absolutely/extremely* frustrated", which implies that the Ghanaian MPs also exploit

hyperbole for emotional effect. Exploiting hyperbole can, therefore, be said to be a parliamentary discourse feature, which allows MPs to appeal to people's emotions.

According to Long and Christensen (cited in Finegan, 2010, pp.76-77): "if isolated from other forms of powerless speech, or if used in simultaneous comparison with a phrase omitting the intensifier, [intensifiers] actually do what intensifiers seem meant to do—they intensify". What makes the intensifying adverbs significantly emphatic in their use in the Ghanaian and UK parliamentary debates is the fact that MPs almost always do compare and contrast, as they either validate or deny the efficacy of government policies in meeting people's needs. Finegan (2010, p.76) states that, in judges' judicial briefs, another adversarial setting, "decisions that were not unanimous prompted high rates of intensifiers". Similarly, as government and opposition MPs share differing views during debates, they are more likely to deploy intensifying adverbs to emphasise their views, leading to "exaggerating the actual state of affairs, reinforcing the truth value of the proposition, or emphasising a part of or the entirety of a claim" (Hinkel, 2005, p.30). On an attenuated-medium-high intensification scale (Downing & Locke, 2006, p.488), the above-mentioned adverbs are "high", occupying the upper-extreme end of the scale. Thus, we can say that the prominent use of intensifying adverbs points to the nature of parliamentary debates as one-upmanship, with high levels of adversariality, as Miliband demonstrates:

> The Conservatives cannot *simply* keep going round promising things that they
> do not have a clue how they are going to pay for… They have *absolutely* no
> idea how they are going to pay for that policy [...]

> (UK Hansard: 24 Nov 09/Col 414)

Miliband's assertion that the Conservatives have "absolutely no idea" indicates that he has complete conviction. The use of intensifiers is significant in the sense that "particular language choices influence a story and presumably the perception of facts behind the story" (Finegan, 2010, p.77). When MPs use emphatics, they demonstrate that their information and assessments are without dispute. Apart from adverbs, MPs deploy adjectives for intensification purposes, as discussed below.

Adjectival intensification

Adjectives are associated with subjectivity (Beltrama, 2017), and intensification involves a judgement by the speaker (Wouden & Foolen, 2017). MPs also use adjectives for judgement and emphasis (Biber et al., 1999). Adjectives that appeared in the top five percent of the keywords include UK: *great*, *clear*, *real*, *little*, *difficult* (Table 4); GH: *good*, *more*, *only*, *better* (Table 5). I have classified them according to complex, comparative and base forms and in order of magnitude within each category. Surprisingly, there were no superlative forms among the first five per cent of the keywords.

Table 4: Intensifying adjectives in the UK QADs

Adj.	(Freq.)	/1000 words	Frequency in QADs	BNC	Example
Complex forms					
Difficult	(365)	0.36	0.04	0.01	…it is *difficult* for young people to get a foot on the housing ladder. [16/11/06:Col.179]
Likely	(173)	0.17	0.02	-	The borrowing forecast in the previous Budget was £175 billion- 12.5 per cent of GDP. That is now *likely* to go up to £200 billion and beyond. [26/11/09:Col.740]
Minimum	(155)	0.17	0.02	-	… people on the *minimum* wage are paying half the income tax that they paid before… [10/05/13:Col.262]
Excellent	(150)	0.15	0.01	-	It has an *excellent* record of getting people off drugs and turning their lives around… [25/11/09:Col.633]
Essential	130)	0.13	0.01	-	For many people, it is *essential* if they are to have a full life… [13/05/13:Col.418]

Massive	(127)	0.12	0.01	-	There are *massive* movements of people in terms of both the qualitative make-up of… [27/11/06:Col.875]
Considerable	(89)	0.09	-	-	… which could also save the *considerable* costs of people being in hospital. [13/05/13:Col.403]
Terrible	(61)	0.06	-	-	…I welcome that Bill, if it will give some comfort to those people who suffer from that terrible disease. [19/11/09:Col.214]

Comparative

Less	(363)	0.36	0.04	0.01	… *less* older people receiving the support they need. [13/05/13:Col.419]
Greater	(308)	0.30	0.03	-	This Bill aims to give people much *greater* control over the services that … help them. [09/05/13:Col.169]
Larger	(233)	0.23	0.02	-	As transport has improved, *larger* numbers people are choosing to live in my constituency but work in London. [20/11/06:Col.357]
Worse	(166)	0.16	0.02	-	People will be *worse* off under this Government in 2015. [14/05/13:Col.561]
Wider	(120)	0.12	0.01	-	The issue of housing is important … because of its *wider* effect on people. [18/11/09:Col.92]

Base/positive forms

Great	(657)	0.64	0.06	0.01	It is doing *great* things to train young people… [10/05/13:Col.297]
Clear	(572)	0.56	0.06	0.03	… it gives people a *clear* understanding of who is responsible for what… [20/11/06:Col.277]
Real	(526)	0.52	0.05	0.01	National Energy Action believes that today, 2.8 million people face *real* fuel poverty. [27/11/06:Col.910]

Little	(390)	0.38	0.04	0.01	Most people have … *little* contact with the legal profession. [15/11/06:Col.82]
Small	(344)	0.34	0.03	0.01	There are regulations covering vulnerable persons, but they help only a *small* number of people. [20/11/06:Col.343]
Huge	(287)	0.28	0.03	-	Elderly and disabled people are facing *huge* increases in home care charges… [13/05/13:Col.446]
Hard	(284)	0.28	0.03	-	People who work hard for a living were hit with high income taxes… [15/05/13:Col.711]
Large	(236)	0.23	0.02	-	The issues that unite *large* numbers of people in our society, particularly young… [23/11/09:Col.333]
Extra	(159)	0.16	0.02	-	… these steps will mean that … an *extra* 100,000 young people will have benefited. [18/11/09:Col.27]

Table 5: Intensifying adjectives in the GH SONADs

Adj.	(Freq.)	/1000 words	Frequency in SONADs ICE		Example
Complex forms					
Serious	(185)	0.31	0.03	-	… it is a very *serious* issue that young people between the ages of 20 and 35 form the vast majority of our people. Their biggest problem is unemployment. [07/03/12:Col.2155]
Particular	(184)	0.31	0.03	-	… it is a fact, because it is meant for a *particular* group of people… [04/03/10:Col.1679]

Comparative

More	(639)	1.02	0.10	0.0	… they will employ a lot *more* people and the Government would be able to get a lot *more* taxes out of them for development. [09/02/05:Col.409]
Better	(353)	0.56	0.06	-	Today, we have four, clearly indicating that the people in this country are getting *better* each day… [21/02/12:Col.1154]

Base forms

Good	(687)	1.10	0.11	0.03	Mr Speaker, they have a bounding duty to the *good* people of this country and to their constituents … to discharge their … duties [...] [27/02/13:Col.1143]
Only	(627)	1.00	0.10	0.03	Trades, repairs of vehicles and households which absorb many of the young people also grew at *only* 2 per cent [...] [02/03/12:Col.2095]
High	(224)	0.36	0.04	0.01	… we are faced with the problem of people taking high rent advances which are alien to our law. [26/02/13:Col.967]
Clear	(197)	0.33	0.03	-	It is very *clear* to our good people in the North that SADA [Savana Accelerated Development Authority] is seriously anaemic – There is no money… [25/02/11:Col.1713]
Wrong	(162)	0.28	0.03	-	… to say that empirically, it was 7.7 per cent, he is totally *wrong* and misleading the good people of this country. [07/03/12:Col.2144]

Once again, the figures in the tables show that UK MPs employ more complex and varied forms of adjectives (e.g., *difficult*, *likely*, *excellent*, *essential*, *massive*, *considerable* and

terrible) than their Ghanaian counterparts, from whom only two complex forms were found (e.g. *serious*, *particular*). This could be attributed to the second language or non-native speakers' "relative lack of adjectives" (Dunn, 2009, p. 29). Dunn (2009, p.1) has said that, generally, "non-native speakers have access to a smaller set of adjectives than native speakers". It could be said, therefore, that the Ghanaian MPs' access to a smaller set of adjectives results in the overuse of such simple adjectives as *good* (occurring 1.10/1000 words), *only* (1.00/1000 words) and *more* (1.02/1000 words), compared with the most frequent adjectives in the UK data, *great*, occurring 0.64/1000 words (see Tables 4 and 5). This may imply a lack of "the subtlety and complexity that comes with a larger vocabulary" (Dunn, 2009, p. 29).

The adjective *good* requires a special mention. It is sometimes used to directly modify *people*, as in *the good people of Ghana/this country*, 41 of which were found in the Ghanaian data but none in the UK data. Government MPs used it 27 (66%) and the opposition 14 (34%) times. It constructs a direct attachment to *people*. It presents the people as virtuous and the fact that MPs hold them in high esteem, justifying the need for governments to "discharge their … duties" to them (Table 5).

Conclusion

This paper sought to examine the use of adverbial and adjectival intensification in UK and Ghanaian parliamentary discourse to contribute to the debate about differences in features of native and non-native English varieties. The study of adverbial and adjectival intensification was based on the assumption that, in their debates, members of parliament (MPs) evaluate and judge government policies and take positions and arguments to convince their opponents and fellow MPs to accept certain positions relative to other positions. In doing so, MPs use adverbial and adjectival intensification to strengthen their convictions and arguments. MPs validate or deny the effectiveness of government policies. Intensification characterises the emotive nature of parliamentary discourse, where position and opposition MPs try to outmanoeuvre each other. The analysis appears to reiterate the fact that, in discourse, intensifiers function mainly as "exaggeratives and create hyperbole to avoid referring to the actual truth, except to highlight the fact that the described object or number is large or important in the perception of the speaker" (Hinkel, 2005, p. 31). The use of intensifiers

"foregrounds" (Lorenz, 1999, p. 26) the attention MPs attach to their statements. Perhaps, when subjectivity is high, it calls for strong(er) intensification, argument and judgement in order to sound persuasive. However, because of the subjectivity involved in intensification (Wouden & Foolen, 2017), the use of intensifiers allows MPs to be imprecise in their statements and can lead to "a distortion of the truth" (Leech, 1983, p. 148) for political purposes and may reflect the adversarial nature of parliamentary debates (Harris, 2001; Ilie, 2006). This may not be surprising, considering that parliamentary debates are highly emotional, but the significant aspect of the study rests on the variation in terms of the use of intensifying adverbs and adjectives between the UK and Ghanaian MPs. Comparatively, the UK MPs use more complex and varied forms of adverbs and adjectives than the Ghanaian MPs, which could be attributed to Ghanaian MPs' access to limited sets of adverbs and adjectives. Due to the limited number of adverbs and adjectives available to the Ghanaian MPs, there is a higher frequency of the use of such adverbs and adjectives as *very*, *only*, *good*, *more* and *less*. It implies a high concentration or saturated use of those adverbs and adjectives among the Ghanaian MPs. This suggests that the Ghanaian MPs may lack the intricacies, subtleties and precision of descriptions required for complex interactions such as legislative constructions and discussions as compared with their UK counterparts. However, to the extent that the Ghanaian MPs can use these forms to perform very serious communicative load and functions such as legislation, the use of adverbial and adjectival intensification by the Ghanaian MPs, compared with the UK MPs, should be considered as variational rather than deficient. This has implications for English language teaching and learning in Ghana, the theory of nativisation and the description of Ghanaian English.

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COMMUNAL SOLIDARITY AND THE CHALLENGE OF INTERGENERATIONAL PUNITIVE SYSTEM IN AFRICA: THE YORUBA EXPERIENCE

Adebayo A. Aina[1]
Department of Philosophy
Olabisi Onabanjo University
Ago-Iwoye, Nigeria
adebayoaina@oouagoiwoye.
edu.ng
&
Victor O. Adefarasin[2]
Department of Philosophy
Olabisi Onabanjo University
Ago-Iwoye, Nigeria
adefarasinvo@oouagoiwoye.
edu.ng

Abstract

The transference of qualitative punitive system in Africa to the next generations is challenged by the hegemonic situations created by the Western colonial 'theory-maker'. The reality of this formal structure promotes individual character of the law which undermines the transformative cultural principles for intergenerational legal justice in Africa. This paper, therefore, examines the communal solidarity system within the Yoruba culture in order to arrive at the socio-legal sustainability discourse for the next generations. The study employs the conceptual, critical and reconstructive methods of philosophy with a view to sustaining communal solidarity for intergenerational punitive system. The findings show that communal solidarity in Yoruba culture goes beyond the formal Eurocentric principles that celebrate individualistic for a coherent interconnection among social structure, law and belief system towards the certitude and trust making for harmonious human well-being and future generations. Also, it promotes a restitutive principle whereby the offender is reconciled to himself, the victim and the community at large, which seals generational bond not only within the family but

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[1] Adebayo A. Aina (PhD) is a Reader in the Department of Philosophy Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago-Iwoye, Nigeria. He has been a visiting scholar to Lagos State University, Ojo, Nigeria. He has published several articles in both local and International learned journals with specialization in punitive African Jurisprudence and ethics. He authored 'Crime, Punishment and the proportionality Factor in Contemporary Society' in Philosophia Africana, (2016), 18(1): 9-20.

[2] Victor Olusegun Adefarasin (PhD) is a Senior lecturer in the Department of Philosophy, Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago-Iwoye Nigeria. He specializes in Socio-Political Philosophy. He has widely published in local and international journals, among which include 'Folklore, Moral Development and Language Preservation in Modern Africa' in Journal of Black and African Arts and Civilisation (JBAAC), Lagos, 5(1): 7-18, 2011. He is currently working on 'Feminist epistemology'.

the community at large. More so, the notion advances a creative and flexible human activity, whereby human beings are amenable to change and deserve integration into the community with the saying that *bi a ba fi owo otun na omo eni, a fi t'osi fa'a mora* (when a man beats his child with his right hand, he should draw him to himself with his left hand). Therefore, the study constructively addresses the dispensation of justice with legal certainty, legal diversity and social order for a maximally advanced and sustained future.

Keywords: Communal solidarity, intergenerational and punitive justice, post-colonialism, sustainability, Yoruba legal culture

Introduction

The paper attempts to address the sustainability of punitive justice obligations to future generations in Africa, with a view to maintaining conditions of both well-being and moral values across intra-and inter-generations through the agent of communal solidarity in Yoruba culture. It is observed that punitive legal systems have been overwhelmed with cobwebs which need to be cleared for the sake of peace and justice for posterity. Thus, the present generations are at an advantage and vulnerable to corruption by virtue of 'our asymmetric causal power and time-dependent interests' (Gardiner, 2003: 494). We need to tinker with whether there is truly a sustainable punitive system to be vouchsafed for the next generation in Africa. On this note, it is imperative to assess the punitive legal system now to determine its sustainability in the future. Regarding structure, the paper continues with a conceptual clarification of intergenerational justice and punitive justice, a discussion of the Yoruba communal solidarity system, and the theoretical framework. The discussion will continue with the challenges of post-colonial generational rigid punitive justice and, finally, the prospect of communal solidarity for intergenerational punitive justice and sustainability.

Conceptual Clarification of Intergenerational Justice and Punitive Justice
Intergenerational Justice

Intergenerational justice revolves around the relationship with respect to duties and obligations which the present generation owes to the next and unborn generation. It strictly concerns the

justice between the present, with special consideration for corrective and sustainability, if any, of the predecessor and future generations. According to Janna Thompson, this conception is divided into synchronic and diachronic justices. She contends that:

> Synchronic justice is justice between contemporaries or between those contemporaries who are full participants in the political relationships of their society. Diachronic justice has to do with the relationship between these contemporaries and future citizens (Thompson, 2009: 2)

Thompson emphasises more on the present and future justices. Putting the past into the picture is merely toward filling the historical obligations of commitment to the deeds of re-compensating the predecessors' gaps. Thus, it is advisable to transfer qualitative dispositions to the next generation if and only if the present is much better than the past. Axel Gosseries argued that 'we should transfer to the next generation at least as much as we inherited from the previous one' (Gosseries, 2008: 447). It implies that our activities can hinder the future of the next generation if lofty policies are not only constantly reviewed but also sustained. This 'life-time transcending interest' (Thompson, 2009: 5) will undoubtedly impact synchronic justice as a basis for practices and the demand for diachronic justice to succeed in the polity. However, the moral bargaining trend between synchronic and diachronic should be apparent to the extent that justice to the present generation is transferred to the people of the future. Nevertheless, the sustainability challenges under this framework detail the non-diminishing mode of transference from generation to generation. Though the overlapping strategy may sustain the trend, conflict of interest could deplete the yearning for its development. Bryan Norton aptly itemises these challenges in Gardiner's work as not monolithic but rather a cluster of veils which may include:

> (1) The distance problem- how far into the future do our moral obligations extend?... (2) the ignorance problem-who will future people be, and how can we identify them? And, how can we know what they will want or need or what rights they will insist on? and (3) the typology of effects problems- how can we determine which of our actions truly have moral implications for the future? (Gardiner, 2003:495)

To this end, it is morally important that sustainability be adequately guided for not only human well-being but also the more distant future be considered despite the 'veil of ignorance'.

Punitive Justice

Punitive justice is engendered by the severance of a cooperative endeavour secured by rules and regulations. These obliged rules, and regulations are enforced when the general demand for conformity is insistent and social pressure is brought to bear on any individual who deviates or threatens to deviate from the agreed status quo. Thus, individuals who constitute a society enjoy a number of benefits and share burdens available only because of the cooperation of their fellows. The social order, then, enables people to work together for common purposes and to pursue, in peace, their private interests. This is possible when everyone helps to maintain this order. As a result, only those who enjoy the benefits and burdens of society owe their cooperation and rights to the other members of society. But where an individual or group refuses to partake in these acts of cooperation, such a personality has taken an unfair advantage of others. Hence, punitive justice must be enforced on such a recalcitrant person as a means of addressing this contractual agreement. It implies that punitive justice is significant for the maintenance of this social cohesion. It also institutes social protection and does not impose an unjustified burden on individuals who commit crimes (Alexander, 1986:78).

Historically, the philosophical discourses on punitive justice have been grounded on two competing theories: utilitarian and retributive. The utilitarian is of the view that only future consequences are important to present decisions through the means of incapacitation, deterring and reforming the potential offender. It provokes the argument that the offender's punitive sanctions can be cancelled on the premise that the rights of a greater number of people claim so. Its shortcoming stems from the way it attempts to solve the problem of consequences based on suffering at the expense of a conception of right (i.e., its failure to take account of the relevance of the injustice of certain punitive sanctions when determining whether they are permissible or even obligatory). Hence, the utility of punitive justice is the only morally relevant consideration.

Retributive attempts to fill the gap with its claim that the guilty deserves to be punished and no moral consideration relevant to punitive sanction outweighs the offender's criminal

desert. Thus, any wrongdoer gets no more than what is proportionate or just to their crimes. However, the cutting edge is the implication of the principle of proportionality. Justice requires that any principle of desert must be evaluated in terms of a condition whereby, in committing an offence, the offender is meted with the degree of sanction commensurable to the gravity of the offence committed. It is not impossible that retributive justice may be lured by any form of *lex talionis* (revenge). In essence, there are some problems with the particularity of the distribution of burdens and benefits of punitive justice.

By and large, an overview of the two concepts denotes an irreconcilable punitive system which often met brick walls. This hinders intergenerational punitive systems from getting off the ground. Intergenerational punitive justice, in this context, nurtures the transference of ideal synchronic justice elements, such as truth, fairness and equity, to the diachronic realm of the next generation. However, this is accessible in the Yoruba communal solidarity system, our theoretical framework, wherein the principle of 'otherness' is conscientiously prided towards the common good of all in the dispensation of justice.

Theoretical Framework: Communal Solidarity in Yoruba Thought System

The Yoruba constitute one of the major tribes in contemporary Nigeria. They occupied the South-western geo-political zone of the country (Atanda, 1990: 1). This homeland further spans other West African countries of Benin Republic, Togo and Ghana. About forty million people are estimated to live in the South-western parts of Nigeria, with two million Yoruba in Benin Republic, which borders Nigeria to the west. The belief in Ile-Ife as the cradle of life is one key element of Yoruba culture in Africa and the Diaspora.

However, the communal solidarity system in Yoruba thought revolves around harmonious cooperation grounded on the humanistic basis of the people's moral value. We may tarry a while to discuss the meaning of moral value to boost the understanding of its humanistic orientation. According to Gyekye (1996:55), moral values involve:

> A set of social rules and norms intended to guide the conduct of people in a
> society. The rules and norms emerge from … people's beliefs about right and
> wrong conduct and good and bad character. Morality is intrinsically social,
> arising out of the relations between individuals; if there were no such a thing as

human society, there would be no such thing as morality. And, because morality is essentially a social phenomenon … consideration for the interests of others and, hence a sense of duty to others are intrinsic to the meaning and practice of morality.

This viewpoint on moral values draws attention to two implications: the descriptive and normative ethical reinforcement mechanism for moral obligation in the community. Descriptive signifies an individual's moral behavioural status, which transcends being virtuous. It focuses on issues of cooperation, actions, attitudes, emotion and character. Man, thus, is expected to maintain an interactive course of duty where the above social elements are not only generated but also equitably distributed in the community (Bewaji, 2004: 397). The normative sense emphasises an objectified standard for all to emulate against good and bad behaviour in the community. It supports social morality, which re-echoes an individual's conduct of good character in the community. It is to showcase the fact that a human being, in the Yoruba thought system, is part of a social whole. This social practice that an individual does not and cannot exist alone except corporately is illustrated by Gbadegesin (1991: 61-62) thus:

The new baby arrives into the waiting hands of the elders of the household. Experienced elderly wives in the household serve as mid-wives, they see that the new baby is delivered safely and the mother is in no danger after delivery. They introduce the baby into the family with cheerfulness, joy and prayer: "Ayo abara tintin" [This is a little thing of joy]. From then on, the new mother may not touch the child except for breastfeeding. The baby is safe in the hands of others: Co-wives, husband's mother and step-mothers and a whole lot of others, including senior sisters, nieces and cousins. On the seventh or eighth day, the baby gets his/her names, a ceremony performed by the adult members of the household …. The meaning of this is that child, as an extension of the family tree, should be given a name that reflects his/her membership therein, and it is expected that the name so given will guide and control the child by being a constant reminder for him/her of his/her membership in the family and the circumstance of his/her birth.

The above excerpt implies that an individual cannot run adrift from the community that nurtures him/her. Rather, the individual, through socialisation and the love and concern that the community extended to him/her, cannot now see himself/herself as an isolated being. This social character is intrinsic to the notion of morality in Yoruba culture. This is grounded in human experiences of living together. The Yoruba maxim in support of this position is *Ká rìn ká pò, yíye ló n ye ni* (which literally means walking together is always suitable) (Bello-Olowookere, 2004:18). In addition, wisdom is not limited to a given class of people in traditional Yoruba society. Rather, it recognises the contribution of every rational being, old and young, towards the betterment of the whole community. The point here is that every person should have a chance to contribute to the development of the society. This implies that no point of view should be suppressed in the process of deliberation, and no arbitrary exercise of power should be allowed. The importance of cross-fertilisation of ideas in decision-making is germane in any society. Hence, man owes his existence to other people, including those of past generations and his contemporaries. Whatever happens to the individual is believed to happen to the whole group, and whatever happens to the whole group is the responsibility of the individuals.

It shows that in realising this objective of communalism, 'every …child is given moral instruction during the process of socialisation to inculcate a sense of community' (Gyekye, 1987:46). Hence, the saying by John Mbiti, 'I am because we are, and since we are, therefore I am' (Mbiti, 1982: 106). But this Mbiti's epithet is wrongly interpreted by Nyasani to merely be the frustration of an individual's creativity and ability to innovate by the communal dictatorship as 'relatively unilinear, uncritical, lacking in initiative and therefore "encapsulated"' (Lassiter, 1999). Lassiter further adds that,

> [W]hat we experience in the practical life of an African is the apparent stagnation or stalement in his social as well as economic evolution.... It is quite evident that the social consequences of this unfortunate social impasse (encapsulation) can be very grave especially where the process of acculturation and indeterminate enculturation is taking place at an uncontrollable pace.... By and large, it can safely be affirmed that social encapsulation in Africa works both positively and negatively. It is positive in as far as it guarantees a modicum

of social cohesion, social harmony and social mutual concern. However, in as far as it does not promote fully the exercise of personal initiative and incentive, it can be regarded as negative (Lassiter, 1999).

Nyasani missed the point here. 'Personal initiative and incentives' are encouraged in this thought system. This will unfold during the analysis. A Yoruba man has an obligation to maintain a harmonious relationship among all the members of the community and to do what is necessary to correct every breach of harmony and to strengthen community bonds, especially through the principle of justice. The Yoruba belief system strongly upholds the principle of justice, as its absence may efface communal living. This is because justice involves some aspects of punishment, as reflected in the Yoruba maxim *Ìka tí ó se ni oba ńgé* (literally means: It is the finger that offends that the king cuts) (Ajibola, 1977:21 and 79). Communal solidarity emphasises the notion that an individual's image will depend rather crucially upon the extent to which his or her actions benefit himself/herself first but also satisfy the interest of others which is not, of course, by accident or coincidence but by design. It is important for a man to see to his ambitions, desires and actions but not to the detriment of the needs and interests of others. In another sense, human conduct in Yoruba culture demands absolute behaviours grounded in personal and social well-being.

Akiwowo (1983), from a sociological viewpoint, comments on this tensed relationship between communal existence and individual interests in the community. The author contends that a human being is an *asuwa* (a physiological organism) which is enhanced to form and evolve into *asuwada* (social organism) (Akiwowo, 1983:12). According to the author, *asuwada* is the basis of a conscious network of human beings in the society. Thus:

> The *isesi* (pattern of doing things) of an individual is directed toward other individuals to a group of individuals who act in the same manner in concert or under a given rule or set of standards. An initiator of an *isesi* is, in turn, the object toward whom other individual's *isesi* are directed. The result is, among human beings, a complex network of *isesi* bond which unites every man, woman, or child with another (Akiwowo, 1983:13).

Having clarified this, Akiwowo proceeds to explain that human conduct in traditional Yoruba culture translates into the practice of *alajobi* (ties of consanguinity). *Alajobi* signifies the common ties of lineal and collateral relationship (Akiwowo, 1983: 18). *Ajobi* then means a family or a group of related families co-habiting the same compound, units in a village and town. Genealogically, all mankind belongs to this tree of *alajobi* because we all share in the *homo sapiens* traits. This, however, cannot hold sway anymore due to the complex nature of man, such as culture, colour, race, religious affiliation, etc. Nevertheless, the *alajobi* bond counts whenever the cord of unity is threatened. There and then, the Yoruba says, 'I beg you in the name of *alajobi*'. But the incursion of Western individualism has crippled the sustainability of *alajobi* in place for *alajogbe* (the co-relationship). The main thrust of this collapse is the unbridled lust for material wealth where the successful ones among blood relations acquired more money and bought new things while the less successful ones were gingered into competition or envy (Akiwowo, 1983: 19). This constitutes another aspect of the challenges in intergenerational discourse. Thus, we shall briefly discuss some of the challenges with post-colonial formalistic punitive justice.

The Challenges with Post-Colonial Rigid Generational Punitive Justice

It is unfortunate to note that the post-colonial punitive legal experience truncated the flourished practice of communal solidarity in the Yoruba thought system to dispute resolution wherein the offender is reconciled to himself, the victim and the community at large. This rigid threshold provokes a form of detachment to the locals' orientation of accessing punitive justice. It distorts or altercates the natives' understanding of how the problems of punitive justice are to be solved, who will solve them and what will be the outcome. Most recently, there has been widespread dissatisfaction with the court system largely due to how results are achieved through the procedural laws of imposed culture. Indeed, these challenges informed the entire court system to lose touch with its goals of dispensing justice. Russell Fox extensively discussed these challenges within the following gauge: truth, delay, cost and complexity (Fox, 2000: 9-79).

Truth, from the legal perspective, constitutes an objective reality of what happened and what is happening in respect of the codified law of the state. Thus, the adjudicatory procedure in adversary systems is aimed at the determination of truth from the submission of both plaintiff

and defendant. However, the challenge of truth in the court system borders on its conflict with justice. Truth is being subordinated to justice despite the extent of evidence presented at trial before the presiding judge. In Nigeria, since the return to democratic practice in 1999, most cases referred to the election petition tribunals were disqualified on the ground of insufficient evidence. This shows that courts, in many instances, cannot determine the truth. Even prosecuting officers, like the Nigeria Police, could not help matters. They often mislead the court proceedings due to their abusive nature, which consequently provokes improper prosecution of cases and unwarranted convictions. Besides, a witness to a case could honestly observe differently and remember differently, but his submission could be heard and interpreted differently by the court. There are situations where the counsels coach the witness on what to say, which swings recollection away from the whole truth to favour the party offering the testimony, and this gives too little weight to the fundamental goal of reliable fact-finding. Judge Frankel corroborated this stance with the comment that "the search for truth fails too much of the time and that the advocate's prime loyalty is to his client, not to truth as such" rather "the process often achieves truth only as a convenience, a by-product or an accidental approximation" (Frankel, 1995: 1031-59). These odd practices distort adjudicatory procedure as the court is handicapped to enter an investigation of its own.

Delay is another challenge confronting adjudicatory procedure in the adversary court system. Its association with litigation, civil and criminal, is, in general, excessively unbearably. Sometimes, the public sees delay as a lesser evil which is painstakingly necessary to reach the root of the problem, as a means of achieving perfect justice. But the ills of delay are too overwhelming, making hearings at court sittings more of a historical inquiry, with a consequent loss of reality. Agbakoba (Agbakoba, 2001: 19), former Nigeria Bar Association chairman, comments that;

> Decline in the administration of justice manifests itself through unprecedented delays in case processing (which) increased backlogs…The failure of courts to resolve cases in timely manner has tended to diminish the citizens' willingness and ability to access justice. The public perceives that the time required for a civil case in court is excessive.

The above stance makes facts gathering difficult to establish because memories can fade with time, and witnesses' statements can be unreliable. More so, the attitude of legal counsels to delay is alarming. They abusively apply for interlocutory injunction and contest jurisdictions of cases with a view to organising affairs according to their own preparation and advantages. Sometimes, a wealthy client influences his counsel(s) to unnecessarily delay the case and increase the cost along the way in order to frustrate a weaker party to hand off a case. The derogatory aspect of this postponement is when both the defendant and plaintiff's counsels agree to delay without any objection on the ground that either may need a similar obligation in the future. A judge's decision to keep hearing short and precise is often frustrating as the parties to a case may challenge him to it for excluding the matter upon which a party wishes to rely or, in the case of cross-examination, unfairly limiting a line of questioning. Sometimes, a trial judge may simply reserve judgement indefinitely simply because the judgement is expected to deal more fully and precisely with the evidence that has been carefully and exhaustively expressed. So, the trial judge is in his/her world, and he/she will need court time as well to act accordingly. Even after the pronouncement, the time taken to institute an appeal to its final determination may take more years beyond imagination.

The cost of litigation is another hindrance that contorts the face of justice. This has become excessive to the point where the citizens cannot afford the service of solicitors for litigation, talk less of being in court to seek redress. Turning to the court, in most developing countries, has reduced drastically as the cost of litigation often exceeds the value of claim. The reasons for this are not far-fetched. In Nigeria, the legal practitioners placed too high a value on their services. Senior advocates prime themselves for high-profile cases in order to charge high fees, which wealthy clients are ready to comply with. The lawyers often lay claim to the expensive system of procedure operating in an unnecessarily complex state of the law. This expensive system includes where there is a conflict of experts' evidence which is not uncommon; the appellate court starts procedures all over again on the grounds of unfair procedure at the lower court (the appellate court should not regard itself as free to re-examine inferences drawn by the trial judge). By and large, the lengthy case engendered by the adjudicatory procedure means the greater cost is to the clients and solicitors.

Apart from the high cost and its implication on litigation, the complexity of the nature of law constitutes a serious threat to punitive justice today. The ubiquitous nature of law includes court pronouncements, its many refinements and the multiplicity of its sources. These pronouncements make it difficult for a solicitor to give a definite view on the law or even express a probability as to how the law affects one particular case at hand. Indeed, the solicitor advises temporarily, bristling with possible and probable, and plenty of qualifications about the uncertainties of litigation. Also, courts constantly make new procedural rules, issue new practice notes and develop new practices. Now, these multiplicities of sources are fashionable in developing countries, like Nigeria, where her constitution was drawn by a handful of military juntas to satisfy their self-centeredness. This provokes constant nullification of vital aspects of the constitution through rules of courts and legislative bodies such as the National Assembly (in relation to regulation), the local council (in relation to by-laws) and other bodies saddled with the delegated powers. Unfortunately, most of these laws relate to technical aspects of the system's development, which hinders actual governance in the nascent democratic practice (Aina, 2018: 121-124).

Having briefly highlighted the challenges with the intergenerational punitive system, it is imperative to draw attention to the impacts of communal solidarity in the Yoruba thought system with a view to sustaining the trend for the future.

Discussion: Communal Solidarity for Sustainable Intergenerational Punitive Justice

From our submission above, the sustainability discourses of trial by independency and facilitation are out of place in the contemporary African punitive justice system. The trial by independency is provoked by the formal colonial structure, which, over the years, beclouds the traditional penal system to destroy and undervalue ways of dispensing justice in Africa. Also, facilitating a sound justice system can only be produced and reproduced within both human relationships and with natives other than the Eurocentric 'gaped' justice system. This universalised principle merely engendered individualistic and atomised elements to promote weak sustainability in intergenerational concerns. Hence, it is imperative to advocate strong sustainability in communal solidarity for punitive justice where the life opportunities of future

generations cannot only be secured with environmental quality but also be fortified specifically with conserved elements for their benefit (Howarth, 1997:571).

Thus, punitive justice in Yoruba communal solidarity is rather quick and informal. It is quick in the sense of being inclusive in nature. The system embraces the victim, offender, their families and the general community involved in defining the forms of punitive sanction and reconciliation. It exhaustively addresses the interests of all parties to the conflict. This 'openness' involves a social solidarity system where no family or group would allow its members to be unjustly punished or subjected to inhumane treatment with impunity. It is also a system which restrains individuals on certain reciprocal obligations as the mutual interest of the group (Deng, 2004:501-2). This humane people-centeredness is reflected in the treatment of offenders. Offenders are encouraged to understand and accept responsibility for their actions. The offender is expected to accept accountability with discomfort but not so harshly as to degenerate into further antagonism and animosity, thereby alienating the offender. Strenuous efforts follow chastisement to integrate the offender back into the community. The institutions of social control are formal agents of re-socialization, hence, providing offenders support through teaching and healing. Teaching and healing are meant to address the reasons for inculcation in the offender's traditional institutions of the punitive justice system and the implications of flouting them. The above goal is realised through an informal court system. In the trial, both the accused and the accuser were physically present. The accuser would charge the accused in person, and the accused would be allowed to state his own defence. In addition, members of the native court's jury would subject both parties to examination. Witnesses would be requested. After a serious deliberation on the case, the *Oba* (king) would sum up the decisions. Besides the court type, disputes could also be given instant adjudication when they happen in a public place. Such instant adjudication is referred to as "street ad hoc court". The mediating elder(s) might or might not be known to the parties involved in the quarrel beforehand. This thorough airing of complaints 'facilitates gaining of insight into and the unlearning of idiosyncratic behaviour which is socially disruptive' (Gibbs, 1973:374). Participants, in this sense, are free to express their feelings in an environment devoid of power. If people involved in a conflict participate and are part of the decision-making process, then they are more likely to accept and abide by the resolution. This puts on hold conflicts in as

much as it provides opportunities for stakeholders to examine and bring about changes to the society's social, institutional and economic structure.

More so, communal solidarity for intergenerational justice in Yoruba culture further prevents greater conflict and revenge in contemporary society. It implicitly emphasises the fact that genuine reconciliation demands peace as the foundation for humanity to realise its highest essence, for it is the basis of advances in knowledge, culture, prosperity, mutual relations and development as a whole. All this is realised through the practice of inherent natural morality in the dispensation of justice. For the Yoruba, the concept of punitive justice means the upholding of the principle of natural rightness or wrongness on the assumption that morality is a natural property inherent in humankind, an instinctual kind of impulse which creates feelings of acceptance or rejection of what is either good or bad. What it means is that law becomes unenforceable and meaningless when its moral import is jettisoned. In another sense, law receives its moral sense of obligation when rendered and evaluated in a moral sense rather than what the reparability thesis claims in Western penology. This is an issue whose discussion falls outside the scope of this study.

To this end, the system conveys genuine reconciliation, which transcends established normative rules, institutions and formal procedures, which are inadequate to resolve conflicts, to enact a creative and flexible human activity that is undertaken for the sake of humanity as a shared community. Individuals in such cultures are enjoined to think in terms of what society can gain from them so that all can prosper rather than chasing the shadow of self-aggrandisement. In other words, it involves the principle of adjustment of personal interests to the interests of others, even at the possible cost of some self-denial. It provokes the acceptance of responsibility, as alluded to earlier, to the point of willingness to be part of the search for a solution. In fact, it is not an alternative to conflict but a transformation of the conflict. Both parties to a conflict would be able to define the stakes involved and relate them for the sake of the wider community as well as for the future of the next generation.

Conclusion

The study has shown the short-sighted nature of punitive justice in the contemporary generation, which could negatively impact our concern for the future generation if not

addressed in time. A strong sustainability principle germinates in an enabling environment where the culture of the people concerned is not muscled. This should be imposed prior to the maximisation of punitive justice between present and future generations. Thus, communal solidarity in Yoruba culture would provide for a coherent interconnection among social structure, law and belief systems towards certitude and trust, making for harmonious human well-being and future generations. Also, it will transcend the abusive nature of court proceedings where judgements are unnecessarily delayed, costs of prosecution and defence are beyond the ordinary, truth-telling is prohibited for circumstantial evidence, and complexity of facts gives way to distortion of justice. Rather, punitive justice in a sustainable communal solidarity system would reconcile the offender with the victim and the community at large. Justice is also dispensed within a timeframe against the prolonged abuse of court proceedings. This facilitates a creative and flexible human activity whereby human beings are amenable to change and deserve integration into the community.

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ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH QUALITY OF LIFE OF THE AGED WITH DISABILITY IN SELECTED DISTRICTS IN THE UPPER WEST REGION OF GHANA

Bismark Nantomah[1]
Department of Population and Reproductive Health
School of Public Health
University for Development Studies
Tamale, Ghana.

Abstract

A substantial proportion of the aged population will have to face frailty and dependency. As a result, environmental health care for the aged with disability has become a public health concern. Therefore, the study examined the environmental Health Quality of Life (QOL) of the aged with disability in selected districts in the Upper West Region of Ghana. The study employed a census survey and questionnaires to collect data from 810 aged with disability. Independent-samples t-test and one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) statistical tools were used. The analysis revealed a significant difference [F (807) = 22.318 value, p = 0.000] in environmental health QOL across age of the respondents, such that those aged 60-69 years had the highest mean score and those 80 years and older with lowest mean score. Further, mean scores were higher for those with physical disability than those with visual disability with a significant difference [t (808) = 4.085, p = 0.000] in environmental health QOL between type of disability. The study revealed the important role played by the background characteristics of the aged with disability in influencing their environmental health QOL. The study recommends that family members and governmental agencies continue to assist in the provision of environmental needs of the aged with disability.

Keywords: Ageing and disability, aged and environmental health, quality of life, Ghana, Upper West

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[1] Bismark Nantomah (PhD) is a Lecturer in the University for Development Studies, School of Public Health, Department of Population and Reproductive Health, Tamale, Ghana. His research interest is on issues of population, development, and health, particularly, social gerontology.

Introduction

One of the factors which have brought about the growing ageing population in Ghana is increasing life expectancy (Ghana Statistical Service [GSS], 2012). Life expectancy at birth is reported to have increased from an estimated 45.5 years in 1960 to 52.7 years in 1984 and further to 60.2 and 63.4 years for males and females, respectively, in 2010 (GSS, 2013a; Kwankye, 2013). People can now live longer because of improved nutrition, sanitation, medical advances, health care, education and economic well-being (United Nations Population Fund & HelpAge International, 2012). As people grow old, disability and frailty create special needs for them, but a responsively built environment can possibly reduce the impact of their ailing conditions (Gobbens & van Assen, 2018). Age-friendly environments play important roles in impacting the environmental health and quality of life (QOL) among the aged (Tiraphat, Peltzer, Thamma-Aphiphol & Suthisukon, 2017).

Globally, it has been observed that ageing exposes individuals to a higher risk of disability (Kwankye, 2013; World Health Organization [WHO], 2011). This is because the aged experience an accumulation of health challenges throughout their lives, which result in disability (WHO, 2014). Disability is described as a limitation of an individual in performing specific tasks at expected levels considered normal (Mann, 2004; WHO, 2002a). In Ghana, for instance, the aged are affected by many types of disabilities, including visual, physical, speech, emotional and hearing (GSS, 2013a; GSS, 2013b). These disabilities often lead to loss of independence among the aged and, hence, diminishes their QOL (WHO, 2014). QOL is conceived as an overall sense of well-being, including physical, mental and environmental health (Schalock *et al.*, 2002; Tripathi, 2012). However, it is argued that the environmental health QOL of the aged with a disability is more likely to decline due to the absence of a disabled-friendly environment (Ahmmad & Islam, 2014). Going outdoors is often challenging for the aged with disability due to environmental barriers (Sugiyama & Thompson, 2006).

Disabled-friendly environmental conditions are deficient in most public places in Ghana. For instance, there are very few geriatric wards and professionals to serve the aged with disability professionally in many hospitals (HelpAge International, 2008; Kwankye, 2013; Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, 2010). Besides, Danso, Ayarkwa and Dansoh (2011) researched the state of accessibility for the disabled in selected monumental public buildings in Accra and found that in all the buildings, facilities such as car parks, main entrances,

ramps, staircases and corridors are not readily accessible to Persons with Disability (PWD). Again, it has been revealed that there are major inadequacies in access to improved water sources and sanitation in Ghana, with sanitation being the bigger problem in rural areas where most older people live (WHO, 2014). Additionally, the aged are particularly vulnerable to food insecurity due to their reduced income and physical capabilities (Steiner-Asiedu, Pelenah, Bediako-Amoa, & Danquah, 2010). Research aimed at understanding the QOL of the aged with disability in Ghana is woefully limited. Particularly, scanty research has been conducted on environmental health QOL of the aged with disability in Ghana.

Therefore, this study examines the environmental health QOL of the aged with disability in selected districts in the Upper West Region of Ghana (Wa Municipality, Nadowli-Kaleo, Jirapa and Wa East Districts). The study is one of the few studies to have used the WHOQOL-BREF questionnaire in examining the environmental health QOL of the aged with disability in Ghana. The outcome of this inquiry should inform policy formulation on the environmental health needs of the aged with a disability which has been undermined.

Literature Review

Health and social service systems are purported to provide services without any sort of discrimination relating to the age of individuals (WHO, 2002b). Therefore, environmental health care for the aged with a disability is considered a joint responsibility of both formal and informal institutions to leverage individuals to age with dignity and respect (United Nations, 1991; Walker, 2002). For instance, the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) of Ghana, in which the vulnerable, including people with disability and the aged who are 70 years and older, are freely subscribed, serves as a basic health insurance system which enhances the QOL of the aged with disability (Boon, 2007; WHO, 2014).

Besides, physical environmental factors that are age-friendly can make the difference between independence and dependence of older people in their daily activities (United Nations, 1991; WHO, 2002b). For example, the presence of sidewalks, parks and lifts in storey buildings will make the aged with disability independent in terms of their mobility (Tesch-Roemer, 2012). Also, accessible and affordable public transportation services will enhance older peoples' mobility in their bid to access health care, shopping and participation in family and community activities (WHO, 2002b). Particularly, the Persons with Disability (PWD) Act of Ghana, Act 715

of 2006, advances and protects the rights and interests of PWDs in their mode of transportation (Asante & Sasu, 2015; Ghana Centre for Democratic Development, 2006). This Act indicates that commercial buses are supposed to reserve at least two seats for PWDs which will only be used when the bus is full without the reserved seats having been occupied by PWDs (Ghana Federation of the Disabled [GFD], 2006). Also, the PWD Act mandates motorists to stop for a PWD to cross the road either at the pedestrian crossing or at an appropriately designated point for crossing if the PWD intends to cross (GFD, 2006; Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, 2010).

The environmental health of individuals is grounded in theory. For instance, the modernisation theory of ageing argues that the total transformation of societies from a relatively rural way of life toward a predominantly urban way of life contributes significantly to the diminishing status of older people in society (Choi, 1996; Cowgill & Holmes, 1972). This underscores the reason why modernisation makes extended family systems less attractive but rather promotes nuclear family living arrangements, which is detrimental to the aged, especially those with disability (Kamo & Zhou, 1994; Weeks, 1999).

Also, the political economy theory of ageing teaches that the interaction of economic and political environmental factors determines the unequal allocation of resources, thereby shaping the experience of ageing that results in older persons' loss of power, autonomy and influence (Putney, Alley & Bengtson, 2005). This theory sees the primary determinant of poor health outcomes among the aged with a disability as a socially and politically mediated exclusion from material resources (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). It has been stressed that political power differentials translate into structural influences that determine resource allocation and public policy for older people, thereby affecting how ageing is interpreted and experienced by individuals (Murphy, O'Shea, Cooney & Casey, 2007).
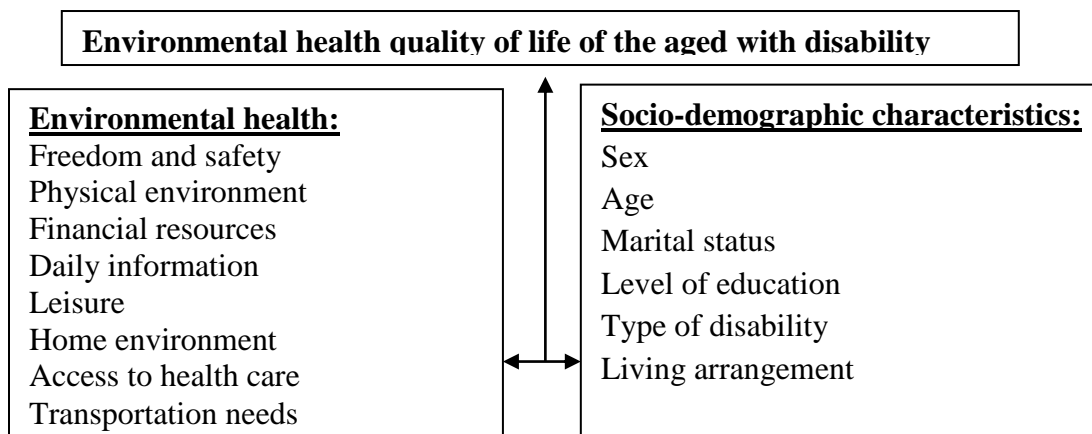
Further, the social model of disability is of the view that the social environment determines the extent to which impairment results in incapacity from mainstream social processes rather than merely the impairment itself (Schriner & Scotch, 2001). For instance, poor architectural planning creates physical obstacles for people who use wheelchairs, those who cannot climb stairs and other people who cannot open doors. All these, in effect, exclude them from participating in major aspects of life in their societies (Wendell, 1996). It is disturbing to

note that disabled people are disadvantaged by society's failure to accommodate everyone's abilities (Rowlingson & Berthoud, 1996; Waddell & Aylward, 2010).

In this discourse, environmental health QOL is the perception individuals have about their environment, including physical environment, financial resources, home environment, access to health care and transportation needs (WHO, 1996, 2001). In this regard, the study does not provide the basis for measuring the symptoms or conditions of diseases of the aged with a disability but rather the effects of environmental factors on their environmental health QOL (Amao, 2014; World Health Organization Quality of Life [WHOQOL] Group, 1997). Environmental factors are among the main components of the International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (ICF) model, which determines the functioning and disability of individuals (WHO, 1996, 2001). The other components of the ICF model are body functions and structures, activity, participation and personal factors. Particularly, environmental factors consist of the physical, social and attitudinal environment in which individuals live (WHO 2001). Environmental factors, particularly better access to services, contribute to higher QOL for persons with disabilities (Grabowska, Antczak, Zwierzchowski & Panek, 2021).

Drawing from the literature, the interaction between the determinants of environmental health QOL framework (Figure 1) is used to guide this paper. This framework is adapted from the ICF model and the WHO determinants of QOL (WHO, 1996, 2001). From Figure 1, the environmental health QOL of the aged with a disability is determined by the interaction of environmental health and socio-demographic characteristics domains (WHO, 1996). Each of these two domains has other subcomponents which interact in an intra- and inter-symbiotic manner to determine the environmental health QOL of the aged with disability (WHO, 1996).

Figure 1: **Interaction between the Determinants of Environmental Health QOL Framework** Source: WHO (1996); WHO (2001).

Environmental health quality of life of the aged with disability

Environmental health:
Freedom and safety
Physical environment
Financial resources
Daily information
Leisure
Home environment
Access to health care
Transportation needs

Socio-demographic characteristics:
Sex
Age
Marital status
Level of education
Type of disability
Living arrangement

Study area

This study was carried out in the Upper West Region of Ghana. The region shares borders to the north with Burkina Faso, to the east with the Upper East Region, to the south with the Northern Region and with Côte d'Ivoire to the west (GSS, 2013c). The region is in the Guinea Savannah belt and covers a geographical area of 18,476 square kilometres (GSS, 2013c). The entire region has a single rainy season from April to September, with an average annual rainfall of about 115cm (GSS, 2013c). After the rainy season, a prolonged dry season sets in, characterised by harmattan with its cold and hazy weather from early November to March (GSS, 2013c). Figure 2 shows the map of the Upper West Region showing the study districts.

Figure 2: **Map of the Upper West Region showing study Districts**
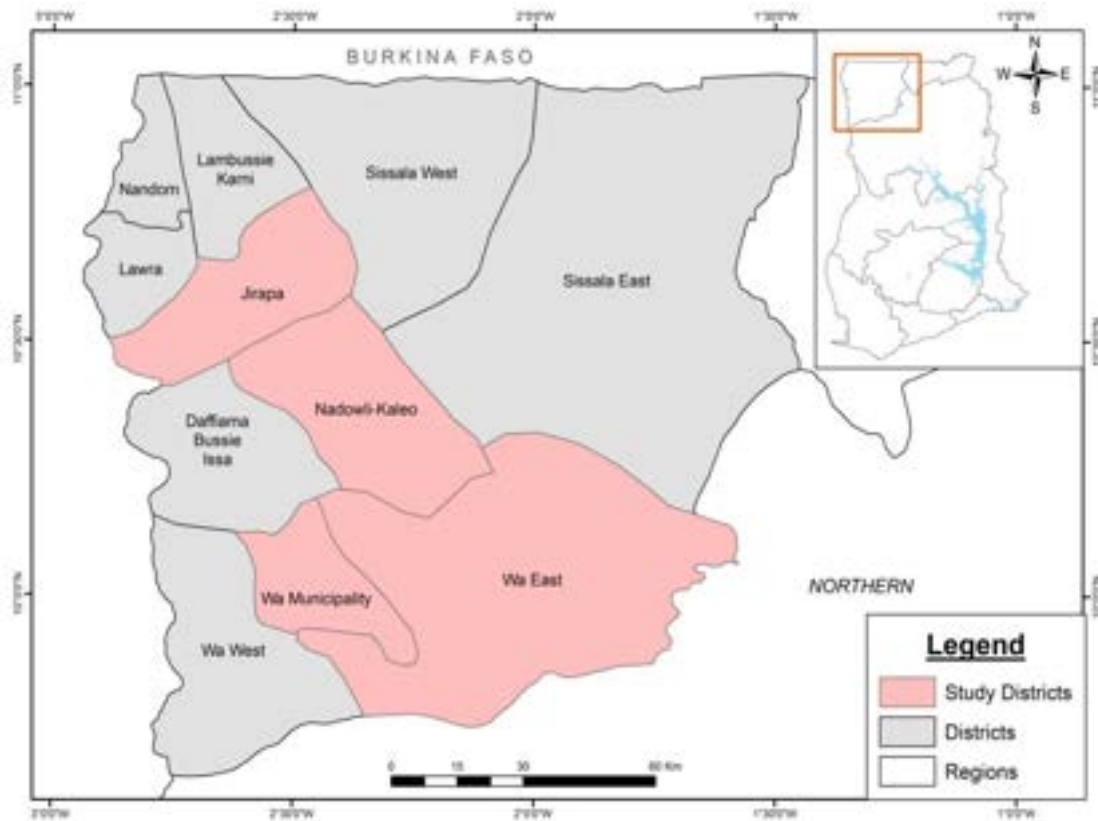
Source: Cartography and Remote Sensing Unit of the Department of Geography and Regional Planning, University of Cape Coast (September, 2016).

The Upper West Region was chosen because it has 3.7% of its population with some form of disability which is more than the national average of 3.0 per cent (GSS, 2012). Again, the region

had the highest incidence of poverty (70.7%) amongst the then ten administrative regions of Ghana compared with five in every ten in the Northern Region (50.4%) and four in every ten persons (44.4%) in the Upper East Region (GSS, 2014; Osei, 2011). Mont (2007) argues that disability and poverty are interconnected. Poverty can cause disability among individuals with its associated malnutrition, poor health services and unsafe living conditions (Mont, 2007; WHO, 2011). In the same way, the presence of a disability makes people poor because of the barriers disabled people face in taking part in many socio-economic activities that affect their lives (Kwankye, 2013; Mont, 2007).

Consequently, the Wa Municipality, Nadowli-Kaleo, Jirapa and Wa East districts of the Upper West Region were specifically chosen for the study (Figure 2). The basis for this choice was that these districts had available data on people living with a disability. Besides, the choice of these districts was to have many respondents and enough data set so as to maximise the quality of the results.

Research Methods

The study used a census survey design to assess the environmental health QOL of the aged with disability in selected districts in the Upper West Region of Ghana (see Figure 2). The census survey design allowed for the collection of data from many respondents within a short period of time (Creswell, 2012). Moreover, this design permitted the respondents to be interviewed only once (Creswell, 2003).

The study population comprised the aged with a visual and physical disability. In this study, visual disability is a limitation in the performance of an individual's sight due to loss of function of the eye (s) as a result of impairment or malformation (GSS, 2012; WHO, 2011). On the other hand, physical disability is a limitation in the performance of an individual's motor skills due to loss of function of either/or the neck, hand, arm, waist, leg and knee as a result of impairment, malformation or accident (Castañer, Torrents, Anguera, Dinušová & Jonsson, 2009; GSS, 2012). The motor skills of an individual are actions that involve movements of his or her arms, legs, feet or entire body (Castañer et al., 2009).

Among the aged with a disability, the study targeted those who were 60 years and older. With respect to this study, aged with disability are those with a visual and physical disability. In Ghana, among the population with disability by type, the most common disability is visual or

sight impairment (29.0%), followed by physical challenges with 18.4 per cent (GSS, 2013b). The aged with disability population in the Wa Municipality was 350, Nadowli- Kaleo District was 216, Jirapa District was 200, and that of the Wa East District was 184, and their total number was 950, which constituted the target population (Jirapa District Assembly, 2015; Nadowli-Kaleo District Assembly, 2015; Wa East District Assembly, 2015; Wa Municipal Assembly, 2015). The 950 aged with disability population was obtained from lists of PWDs from the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development in each of the study districts. A census survey was conducted on the 950 aged with disability. This was based on the central limit theorem that a large sample size is more likely to generate a normal distribution in a data set than a smaller sample size (Barnett, 1989; Islam, 2018).

Data Collection Instrument

The study used an interviewer-administered questionnaire to collect the data. This questionnaire was adapted from the WHOQOL-BREF questionnaire (WHO, 1996, 2004). The WHOQOL-BREF questionnaire contains three sections. The first section captures socio-demographic characteristics, but for the purpose of this study, they were adapted from the questionnaire of the 2010 Population and Housing Census of Ghana (GSS, 2010). The socio-demographic characteristics consist of gender, age, ethnic group, religious affiliation, marital status, level of education, employment status (Private / Self-employment), type of disability, own biological children, surviving children and living arrangement (GSS, 2010). The adaptation of the socio-demographic characteristics of this questionnaire was to make it suitable in the Ghanaian context. Besides, this adaptation did not alter the consistency and reliability of the instrument in measuring the environmental health QOL of individuals. The second section of the questionnaire covers the overall QOL and general health (WHO, 1996). Further, the third section has physical health, psychological health, social relations and environmental health QOL domains containing 24 facets (WHO, 1996). However, with respect to this study, the environmental QOL domain was adapted and used. It directly indicates the determinants of the environmental QOL of individuals. This domain has eight facets, including freedom and safety, physical environment, financial resources, daily information, leisure, home environment, access to health care and transportation needs (Gholami et al., 2016; WHO, 1996). The responses to each of the questions of the facets in this domain were constructed on a 5-point Likert scale (WHO, 1996). For

example: 1 = "Not at all"; 2 = "A little"; 3 = "A moderate amount"; 4 = "Very much" and 5 = "Extremely". Before the commencement of the actual data collection, the instruments were pre-tested in the Lawra District, which has similar socio-demographic characteristics as the study areas.

Data Collection Procedures

All community entry protocols were done before the data collection. The research team first introduced themselves to officials of the various municipal and district assemblies and assembly members. Assembly members in the study communities led the research team to the chiefs for permission before the commencement of data collection. During the data collection, the research team used the home addresses provided on the lists of PWDs to identify the target respondents in each of the study communities. Within a household, the research team first contacted and introduced themselves to the household heads of the aged with disability. Second, the household heads then assisted the research team in seeking the consent of the respondents before the questionnaires were administered. To promote understanding and accurate responses, the questions in the instrument (which were worded in the English Language) were translated by the research team into Wali, Dagaare or Sissali, which were the major languages spoken by the respondents. The respondents then provided their responses for the research team to record on the questionnaires. Translation of the questionnaires was deemed necessary because most of the respondents could not read and write in the English Language due to illiteracy or the effects of their disability. Besides, any respondent who decided not to participate in the study did so without coercion of any kind. Due to the death of some of the respondents, incomplete responses and other ethical reasons, 810 of the questionnaires were processed.

Ethical Issues

The University of Cape Coast Institutional Review Board (with Ethical Clearance ID No: UCCIRB/CHLS/2016/12) gave approval for the research to be conducted. Also, approval was given by the WHO on the adaptation of the WHOQOL-BREF questionnaire (WHO, 1996). Again, the appropriate authorities of the various municipal and district assemblies, including chiefs and queen mothers, were consulted for permission for the study. In line with the principles of confidentiality and anonymity (Berg, 2001), respondents' names were not written on the

questionnaires and respondents were assured that their names would not be used in the discussion of the findings.

Data Processing and Analysis

Questionnaires were edited and numbered serially. The International Business Machines (IBM) Corporation Statistical Product and Service Solutions (SPSS) version 20 (International Business Machines Corporation, 2011) was used for data entry and analysis. Independent variables considered were sex, age, marital status, level of education, type of disability and living arrangement. Sex was male and female. Age was captured in absolute years but was re-coded into three age groups: 60 – 69 years, 70 – 79 years, and 80 years and older. Marital status was grouped as never married, married, separated/ divorced, widowed and other (Specify). Type of disability was visual disability and physical disability. Level of education was captured as none, primary, JHS/Middle school, SHS/Vocational/Technical, Post-Secondary/Tertiary and other (Specify). However, the level of education was collapsed into two broad groups: illiterate and literate. Further, the living arrangement was categorised as alone, nuclear family, extended family and other (Specify) but was collapsed into nuclear and extended families. However, the dependent variable was environmental health QOL. The scores in the environmental health QOL domain were transformed to a scale ranging from 0 to 100 to enable comparisons between different domains consisting of unequal numbers of items (Cao et al., 2016; WHO, 1996). In the 5-point Likert scale data, the scores of 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 were transformed into 20, 40, 60, 80 and 100, respectively (WHO, 1996). Scores in this domain were computed by finding the average of all the responses of the facets under it. A lower score indicated a lower QOL and a higher score indicated a higher QOL (Khan, Mondal, Hoque, Islam & Shahiduzzaman, 2014; WHO, 1996).

Moreover, means, independent-samples t-test, and one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) statistical tools were used to analyse and present the findings. These tools were based on the conditions of a normal distribution and equal variance assumed (Pallant, 2005). The independent-sample t-test was used to compare two categorical variables in relation to the mean score of continuous variables (Cohen, 1988; Pallant, 2005). It provided the basis for independent variables such as gender, level of education, and type of disability to be compared to the mean scores of the environmental health QOL. Again, ANOVA was used because it compares three or more independent variables in relation to the mean scores of continuous variables (Cohen, 1988;

Pallant, 2005). Besides, independent variables, including age and marital status, were compared based on the mean scores of the environmental health QOL. In these analyses, the effect size was considered. The effect size is the strength of the difference between groups (Cohen, 1988; Pallant, 2005). Further, in the interpretation of the effect size, Cohen's (1988) classification was used, where 0.2 is considered a small effect, 0.5 medium and 0.8 large. In conclusion, data for this study were extracted from a much wider research project conducted in the Upper West Region of Ghana (Nantomah, 2019).

Results

Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Aged with Disability by Sex

Table 1 shows the percentage distribution of the socio-demographic characteristics of the aged with disability by sex. The results depicted that most of the aged with disability were aged 60 – 69 years (73.8%), with more females (74.3%) than males (73.2%). The majority of the respondents were married (50.9%). However, 55.2 per cent of females, as compared to 25.3 per cent of the males, were widowed. Over two-thirds of the respondents were illiterate (68.6%). More of the females (69.6%) than the males (67.4%) were illiterate. Most of the aged with disability were unemployed (66.7%). More than half of the respondents had a visual disability (52.0%). Many of the respondents lived in extended families (57.0%).

Table 1: *Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Aged with Disability by Sex*

Socio-demographic characteristics	Males (n = 359)	Females (n = 451)	Total (n = 810)
Age			
60 – 69	73.2	74.3	73.8
70 – 79	24.0	22.8	23.4
80+	2.8	2.9	2.8
Marital status			
Married	65.5	39.2	50.9
Separated/Divorced	9.2	5.6	7.1
Widowed	25.3	55.2	42.0
Level of education			
Illiterate	67.4	69.6	68.6
Literate	32.6	30.4	31.4

Employment status

Self employed	3.6	4.7	4.2
Unemployed	69.1	64.7	66.7
Other	27.3	30.6	29.1

Type of disability

Visual disability	54.0	50.3	52.0
Physical disability	46.0	49.7	48.0

Living arrangement

Nuclear family	42.3	43.5	43.0
Extended family	57.7	56.5	57.0

Environmental Health Quality of Life of the Aged with Disability

The socio-demographic characteristics by environmental health QOL of the aged with disability are presented in Table 2. The mean score in environmental health QOL was highest among those who were aged 60-69 years (38.4) and lowest among those who were aged 80 years and older (32.2). A one-way ANOVA was performed to compare the effect of three different age groupings on environmental health QOL.

Table 2: Socio-demographic characteristics by environmental health QOL

Socio-demographic characteristics	N	Facets of environmental health QOL								
		Freedom and safety	Physical environment	Financial resources	Daily information	Leisure	Home environment	Access to health care	Transportation needs	Overall environmental health QOL
		Mean score	Mean score	Mean score	Mean score	Mean score	Mean score	Mean score	Mean score	Mean score
Sex										
Male	359	38.0	35.9	37.7	37.2	37.5	37.5	38.2	38.3	37.5
Female	451	37.7	37.0	38.0	38.2	38.5	38.1	37.8	38.1	37.9
t-value		0.255	1.043	0.366	1.061	1.021	0.593	0.369	0.154	1.055
P-value		0.797	0.300	0.713	0.292	0.307	0.555	0.713	0.878	0.294
Age										
60 – 69	598	38.3	36.9	39.0	38.2	38.7	38.2	38.9	39.2	38.4
70 – 79	189	36.8	35.7	35.0	37.1	36.8	37.5	35.5	36.5	36.4
80+	23	33.9	32.1	33.9	32.1	33.9	30.4	33.9	27.8	32.2
F-value		1.688	1.671	6.372	2.300	2.265	3.503	5.944	10.121	22.318
P-value		0.185	0.189	0.002**	0.101	0.104	0.031*	0.003**	0.000**	0.000**
Marital status										
Married	412	39.3	38.2	39.9	39.8	39.3	39.6	38.7	40.1	39.4
Separated/ Divorced	58	35.8	34.1	36.2	33.7	36.9	36.2	39.3	36.5	36.0
Widowed	340	36.5	34.9	35.7	36.0	36.8	36.0	36.8	36.2	36.1
F-value		3.978	6.064	8.352	9.216	2.957	6.457	2.218	8.456	36.680
P-value		0.019**	0.002**	0.000**	0.000**	0.053*	0.002**	0.110	0.000**	0.000**
Type of disability										
Visual disability	421	36.7	36.0	37.5	36.8	36.7	37.9	36.9	37.4	37.0
Physical disability	389	39.1	37.1	38.3	38.8	39.5	37.8	39.1	39.0	38.6
t-value		2.281	1.068	0.808	1.968	2.830	0.070	2.382	1.680	4.085
P-value		0.023*	0.286	0.419	0.049*	0.005**	0.944	0.017**	0.094	0.000**

t = Student's t-test and F=ANOVA

* Significant at 5 % level (P<0.05); ** Significant at 1 % level (P<0.01)

The analysis revealed that a significant difference [F (807) = 22.318 value, p = 0.000] was observed in environmental health QOL across the age of the respondents, such that those aged 60-69 years had a mean score (M = 38.4; SD = 5.00), 70-79 years (M = 36.4; SD = 6.55) and 80 years and older (M = 32.2; SD = 7.15). Besides, the effect size was small (eta sq = 0.05) between the age groupings.

Table 2 highlights that those who were married (39.4) had the highest mean score in environmental health QOL, and the lowest was among those who were separated/divorced (36.0). To further understand the impact of marital status on environmental health QOL of the aged with a disability, a one-way ANOVA was carried out. The analysis showed that a significant difference [F (807) = 36.680 value, p = 0.000] was observed in environmental health QOL across the marital status of the respondents, such that those married had a mean score (M = 39.4; SD = 4.14), separated/divorced (M = 36.0; SD = 5.13) and widowed (M = 36.1; SD = 6.61). Even though a significant difference was observed between their marital status (Table 4), the effect size was medium (eta sq = 0.08).

In relation to the type of disability, the mean score in environmental health QOL was higher for those with a physical disability (38.6) than those with a visual disability (37.0). An independent-samples t-test further established a significant difference [t (808) = 4.085, p = 0.000] in environmental health QOL between types of disability, such that those with a physical disability had a mean score (M = 38.6; SD = 5.48) and those with a visual disability (M = 37.0; SD = 5.62). The magnitude of the differences in the means between those with physical disability and visual disability was small (eta sq = 0.02).

Discussion of Results

This study examined the environmental health QOL of the aged with disability in selected districts in the Upper West Region of Ghana (Wa Municipality, Nadowli-Kaleo, Jirapa and Wa East Districts). The findings of this study revealed that the mean score in environmental health QOL was highest among those who were aged 60-69 years and lowest among those who were aged 80 years and older. It could be deduced from these results that as the age of the respondents increased, their environmental health QOL declined. As emphasised in previous studies, age is a major determinant of environmental health QOL of the aged (Fernández-

Ballesteros, 2001). The results further give credence to the existing literature that people within the oldest age group are most vulnerable to barriers imposed by environmental factors, and in effect, they have the lowest environmental health QOL (Sugiyama & Thompson, 2006). That is why there is a high prevalence of care needs among older people in Ghana, particularly assistance in their daily activities (Awuviry-Newton et al., 2022).

In the analysis, it was observed that those who were married had the highest mean score in environmental health QOL, and the lowest was among those who were separated/divorced. Similarly, Khan et al. (2014) found that the aged who were married had a higher mean score in environmental health QOL than those without partners. It is possible in this study that those who were married had the highest environmental health QOL because their spouses provided them with safety, financial resources, transportation needs and good health care. The opportunity of the aged to get help from other people in everyday functioning has a positive impact on their environmental QOL (Ćwirlej-Sozańska, Wiśniowska-Szurlej, Wilmowska-Pietruszyńska & Sozański, 2020).

The results showed that mean scores in environmental health QOL were higher for those with physical disability than those with visual disability. These findings mean that the aged with a physical disability had higher environmental health QOL than those with a visual disability. Perhaps, the reason why the aged with a physical disability had a higher environmental health QOL could be that because they had no problem with their sight, they were able to assess their environmental health QOL better than those with visual disability. These findings corroborate the existing literature that the type of disability of individuals is a key determinant of their environmental health QOL (WHO, 1996, 2001).

Conclusions and Implications

The study concludes that the aged with a disability who were aged 60-69 years had the highest environmental health QOL, and it was lowest among those who were aged 80 years and older. It was found that those who were married had the highest environmental health QOL and the lowest was among those who were separated/divorced. The study observed that those with physical disability had higher environmental health QOL than those with visual disability. The findings of this study highlight how the background characteristics of the aged with disability

influenced their environmental health QOL as envisaged in the conceptual framework (Figure 1).

The study suggests that the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development of the metropolitan, municipal and district assemblies in Ghana, including families, benevolent individuals and organisations, should provide support such as financial resources, daily information, recreational activities, health care, transportation and safety needs to the aged with a disability, particularly those aged 80 years and older, the separated/divorced, and those with visual disability. One key contribution of this study is that it is among the first to have used the WHOQOL-BREF questionnaire in examining the environmental health QOL of the aged with disability in the Ghanaian context. Notwithstanding, it is important to state that this study was limited to some selected districts in the Upper West Region; hence, the findings cannot be generalised for the entire country. Also, the study was restricted to only the aged with disability. The study proposes that future academic inquisitions on environmental health QOL should be a comparative study between the aged with disability and those without disability.

Acknowledgements

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HOW EFFECTIVE ARE INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK AGREEMENTS IN SUBSIDIARY COMPANIES OF MULTINATIONAL ENTERPRISES? A CASE STUDY OF THE INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT OF ANGLOGOLD ASHANTI, GHANA

Kweku Rockson[1]

krockson@wiuc-ghana.edu.gh
pc_qbr_rockson@yahoo.com

Abstract

This paper investigates issues relating to the two International Framework Agreements (IFA) of 2002 and 2009 of AngloGold Ashanti (AGA). IFAs have emerged as a necessary and innovative instrument of global industrial governance (Hammer, 2005) and the globalisation of business activities, and they influence financial direct investments and multinational corporations. The study investigated the effectiveness of IFA in the operations of AGA, focusing on stakeholders' awareness/knowledge and appreciation of IFAs and the relevance and functionality of the IFA in the operations of AGA. The study occurred within the theoretical framework of sociology of law/legal sociology, which stipulates that an agreement is effective if it ensures designated effects and shapes social behaviour in a predetermined and socially appropriate manner. The methodology was qualitative with a case study design entailing data from desk research and interviews among selected mining stakeholder groups of national and local

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[1] Dr. Kweku Rockson has academic interests in international framework agreements (IFA), corporate social responsibility (CSR), media ethics, political cartoons, critical discourse analysis (CDA), rhetorical analysis, public relations, etc. He has published in reputable local and international journals and contributed chapters in books. Dr. Rockson lectured for about thirty years at the Ghana Institute of Journalism (GIJ), where he became the first Rector, then later, Head, Public Relations Department, University of Professional Studies, and Dean, Centre for International Education and Collaboration (CIEC).

unions, AngloGold staff, government agencies, academics/researchers, other professionals and NGOs. The results showed that there was little or no awareness/knowledge of IFAs and, therefore, there was virtually no appreciation of the relevance and appreciation of these global agreements. Although AngloGold was purported to be an IFA signatory in all industrial relations literature as it deals with such framework agreements, there was no functioning IFA at AngloGold. While such agreements within the world of industrial relations are very relevant and functional especially outside Africa, this research has shown that local and national unions should be assisted by their global counterparts to deal with the challenges of international labour standards to make such IFAs very relevant and functional in Africa.

Keywords: International Framework Agreements, multinational enterprises, national and global union federations, AngloGold Ashanti, Ghana

Introduction

International Framework Agreements (IFA), sometimes called global framework agreements (GFA) or transnational framework agreements (TFA), are expected to generate respect for labour and human rights, and conform with national, legal and industry laws and guidelines. IFAs are intended to ensure core labour rights across the supply chain of a multinational enterprise (MNE), global union federations (GUF) and other international, regional and national unions. IFAs are tools created by GUFs in particular sectors to utilise negotiations and agreements with multinationals to actualise industrial relations. IFAs can also be seen in social human rights, which can be found in the core labour standards (CLS).

The main factor behind the increase in IFAs appears to be the globalisation of business activities which have an impact on financial direct investments (FDI) and multinational corporations. IFAs have emerged as a necessary and innovative instrument of global industrial governance (Hammer, 2005). Labour unions at the global level from the 1990s changed the international social dialogue narrative by entrenching themselves within the corporate social responsibility (CSR) world. This occurred, firstly, through the involvement of CSR in the creation of corporate codes of conduct (CCC), especially the promotion of core labour rights (Hammar, 2005), and secondly, these global unions set up councils and networks in MNEs,

laying the foundation for international union cooperation and, finally, engineering the birth of IFAs (Hammar, 2005).

Various studies have examined the global occurrence of IFAs and their significance to the world of business and work, generally. Platzer and Rub (2014) studied the global distribution of IFAs according to data from the headquarters of the parent company. The authors identified the following pattern by 2012: Germany (24), France (13), Sweden (10), Netherlands (9), Norway (5), USA (4), Spain (4), Italy (4), Denmark (4), Brazil (4), South Africa (3), Switzerland (2), Russia (1), Portugal (1), New Zealand (1), Malaysia (1), Canada (1), Japan (1) and Indonesia (1). In an extensive study that reviews over 29 IFA case studies, Hadwiger (2016) provides an insightful analysis of IFAs concerning the global supply chains and representatives of 54 companies, including AngloGold Ashanti, cutting across 22 industries and global union federations including IndustriALL, UNI, BWI, IUF, IndustriALL/PSI and BWI/IndustriALL.

Yet, despite the crucial role IFAs are supposed to play in the operations and international transactions of AGA, not much literature exists regarding the extent to which the IFAs are known and being effectively applied. Thus, this study sought to investigate issues relating to the effectiveness of IFA in the operations of AGA in Ghana. The study particularly focuses on stakeholders' awareness/knowledge and appreciation of IFAs and the relevance and functionality of the IFA in the operations of AGA. Thus, this study specifically addresses three objectives:

- To discover the extent to which the AGA IFA is being enforced and the ramifications thereof.
- To find out whether key stakeholders in the AGA IR sector are aware of the existence of the IFA and the contents of the agreement.
- Overall, to find out the effectiveness of IFAs in the operations of a subsidiary multinational company like AGA and the implications for international best practices for the mining sector in Africa.

The significance of this study lies in its attempt to fill the gap in the literature on IFAs. This paper intends to contribute to expanding the knowledge of IFAs, especially outside Europe, as

they relate to Africa. Also, the article intends to add to the academic and policy debate on the utilitarian value of IFAs in Africa and, perhaps, other emerging economies.

Operationalisation of Effectiveness of IFAs

Effective, as a key word in determining the functionality of the IFA in this study, can be explained, firstly, from the theoretical perspective within the theory of sociology of law/legal sociology. The sociology of law standpoint explains that any context of a social norm must include its 'social practicability' (effectiveness), and also, the issue of how a norm is received in the social sphere is important to how its effectiveness is evaluated (Bourque et al., 2018).

However, from the perspective of the world of work, the issue of the effectiveness of an IFA at the international and national levels can best be elucidated from some of the positions of Niforou (2014). This political economist believes that the effectiveness of an IFA can be determined by "four core democratic principles", which are: legitimacy, representation, transparency and accountability. First, representation deals with the need to ensure that real decision-making is undertaken by the governed, which, in this case, will entail the interests of the unions and those in the supply chain, which are catered for by the MNE and the GUFs. Representation in this situation dovetails into legitimacy, where GUFs are now seen as equals by the MNE. Governance becomes legitimate if it is hinged on "shared expectations". Transparency is also key in this discussion since it is about "openness and disclosure", where information is accessible, the system is responsive to queries and the fact that unsolicited information is even provided. Invariably, transparency becomes a stepping stone towards accounting. Accountability is positioned as consisting of the "market" type (accountable to investors and consumers) and the "reputational", which occurs through negative publicity, like the "naming and shaming" campaigns of NGOs and GUFs (Niforou, 2014). Still on the issue of accountability, Papadakis (2008) perceives these agreements as "soft accountability mechanisms" within CSR, which are associated with three issues: coercive, anticipatory and civil pressure. They provide the potential for global industrial relations by showing GUFs as bargaining partners who go beyond the CCC. Burkett (2014) takes the position that IFAs now include monitoring and enforcement mechanisms and the dissemination of the tenets of such agreements across an entity's operations and that committees should be established to consist of

the two stakeholders to oversee how this agreement is implemented. There are other dimensions like the role of structural (corporate governance etc.), institutional (IR traditions, union legacies etc.) and subjective (culture, interests etc.) influences in determining the strategic choices of actors about the implementation of the democratic arrangements.

Specifically, however, effectiveness will be measured by awareness and knowledge of IFA, engagement with all stakeholders, and the dissemination of the tenets of such agreements across an entity's operations and monitoring and evaluation. These elements, therefore, can assist in answering questions about how effective an IFA is.

Origins and Practices of International Framework Agreements

IFAs originated in the 1960s by three GUFs (then International Trade Secretariats) in response to the growing impact of MNEs on IR, especially at the level of the nation-state (Gallin, 2008). The first IFA was signed by the then French MNE, BSN, now Danone, in 1988, titled "Common Viewpoint IUF/BSN" to promote initiatives in the group. According to Gallin (2008), the Danone agreement, including the subsidiary agreements, was the "most far-reaching IFA to this day and has set the pattern to further the International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Association (IUF) agreements with TNCs". IFAs are expected to offer guidelines for the "minimum labour standards" related to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) core labour standards (CLS) and, in some cases, including health and safety at the workplace, capacity development, wages and also working time. These days, provision is made for IFA implementation at the subcontractor and supplier sites.

IFAs, for this study, called for some critical engagement because of what they are and whether AngloGold Ashanti could be described as an IFA signatory. Another paper which deals with IFAs within the context of the "democratic deficit of global labour governance" (Niforou, 2014) looks at the actors, processes and instruments in contention. They are seen as a response to this deficit, especially created by the emergence of economic globalisation, in order to ensure "global labour democratisation" within the scholarly context of "workplace democracy" (Niforou, 2014). Here, market governance has facilitative (banking and commercial policies), regulatory (labour law) and compensatory (welfare systems) dimensions. Within these larger

contexts, governance deficits generate some social response which could be public (CLS, etc.), private (Corporate Code of Conduct [CCC]) or joint responses from the public and the private sector (UN Global Compact).

IFAs were expected to reduce the pressure from (ethical) investors who had been viewing the activities of multinationals within the broader framework of environmental or social impacts. Some of them saw IFAs as instruments for managing risk so that the headquarters could manage, communicate and control the standards in a more effective manner at the subsidiary level. IFAs, for some of them, could assist in monitoring and surveillance purposes so that the appropriate correctional methods could be taken at the lower levels. These use notwithstanding, MNEs did not see such global agreements as the solution to these challenges at the global industrial relations level.

The first signatory for an IFA was the then BSN, a French MNE, now Danone and IUF, in August 1988. In that agreement, the two parties decided to promote, among other objectives, schemes which improve skills training to reduce the impact of "corporate restructuring", share information within the operations on social and economic issues; ensure gender equality and implement the ILO convention on "freedom of association", "collective bargaining" and unions. Such agreements, which have variants like the Transnational Framework Agreements (TFA) and the European Framework Agreements (EFA), offer an understanding of labour standards in multinationals.

One study which provided some useful perspectives on IFAs, especially as they relate to sub-contracting and labour standards, was undertaken in South Africa (Williams et al., 2013). Its relevance to this study was due to it being conducted in South Africa, and although in the construction industry, it offers some insights into how an IFA can be connected to the strategy of the company and the labour unions. The real link is in the role of the unions in the operations of an IFA signatory. IFAs are expected to have an impact on how unions intervene within the workplace. Williams et al. (2013) believe that IFAs commit MNCs to ILO's CLS, but since enforcement relies on national jurisdiction, the effectiveness of the IFA may be questionable in cases where the country has not ratified the appropriate ILO conventions. As Williams et al. (2013) and Telljohann et al. (2009), among other authors, have noted, these agreements serve as a precursor to the globalisation of collective bargaining.

The Lafarge case study concluded that the focus on freedom to organise and also for representation was a marked distinction between IFAs and the CCC and that IFAs had the potential to strengthen the capacity of the labour unions on a sustainable basis. It provided a profile of South Africa as a nation with labour laws which were "progressive", a conducive environment for industrial relations and a politically and industrially strong union sector (Williams et al., 2013).

Another group of authors ascribe CSR posturing motivations to the signing of IFAs. For instance, Fichter et al. (2011a) believe that IFAs are now a way of showcasing MNEs as CSR compliant and for evolving and sustaining a favourable corporate brand, especially for self-serving purposes. Their position is that such activities can be discerned by the fervent attempts made by such organisations to prevent the emergence and/or escalating campaigns by adversarial NGOs or reduce the capabilities of the organisation to access capital markets or, in some cases, prevent consumer boycott of their goods and services.

Stevis (2010) described IFAs as a new type of transnational social dialogue and explained their European origin and Euro-centredness but explained that there are variants. Telljohann et al. (2009). in a project which deals with codes of conduct, framework agreements and CSR broadly and specifically European and IFAs, examine the increase in the number of TFAs at both the global and European levels. This report scrutinises TFA tactics used by employers and unions and looks at TFAs' contribution to the globalisation of the IR. Basically, IFAs are more global, while the EFAs deal with the regional dimension and are handled by the European Industry Federations (EIFs) and/or unions at the national level and management. Most of the IFAs focus on the basic social rights/CLS in the ILO's 1998 "Declaration on the Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work". The EFAs deal with more issues in terms of their subject matter and the procedure than the IFAs, covering restructuring, social dialogue, health and safety, human resource management, and data protection.

Burkett (2014) believes that the future of IFAs appears to be a focal point in discussions on international IR. IFAs are seen by the labour movement as a means by which definite dispute resolutions and implementing structures in such agreements can be ensured. This, it is expected, will be a stepping stone to an improved industrial relations system at the global level. For some GUFs, new agreements should assist in the process of unionisation. It is believed that

some of these expectations have led to a decline in the number of new IFAs. He concludes that the tactics of the MNE and the union will not be reconciled. Another issue which raises some eyebrows is first the linkage with the participants within the supply chain or third parties. There are various positions on this, and it is believed that only a few ensure that the applications of the principles embodied in the document cover the whole supply chain of the multinational.

Burkett (2014) further explains that IFAs now incorporate monitoring and enforcement structures and insist on the dissemination of the tenets of such agreements across an MNE's operations and that committees should be set up consisting of the two stakeholders to oversee how the framework agreement is implemented. This has led to the creation of stronger mechanisms for implementing the agreement. In recent times, IFAs have produced "World Works Council", a combined platform for engagement across the global operation on issues related to workplace issues and for monitoring and the working of the agreement. Another trend is the practice of mediation to handle any disagreements emanating from the implementation of the IFA, particularly a requirement that a meeting be organised at least two times annually to dilate any discordant positions related to the framework agreement. A recent development is also the practice of IFAs facilitating the organising by unions rather than just tolerating them. All these are gradually emerging within the IFA sphere.

It is also important to mention that these IFAs are mainly located in Germany, France, Netherlands and Sweden, while outside Western Europe, the following are the headquarters of such multinationals: South Africa, Malaysia, Indonesia, UK, Brazil, Russia, New Zealand, Australia, Japan, Canada and the United States of America. For the long term, the sustainability of these agreements will be based on the increase in the numbers of IFAs for multinationals outside Europe, which, it is expected, can motivate MNEs generally to sign up for such agreements and also facilitate the development of national or even international policy initiatives to avoid any major gap in international labour relations. AngloGold offers some insight into the rationale for signing such an agreement. First, there was the role of the then CEO, Bobby Godsell, and his relatively "progressive" positions on labour and corporate governance and, second, the need to promote the good links with NUM and to acknowledge the then GUF, ICEM, as a global partner (Papadakis, 2009). The new face of the IFA can be discerned from a specific development which is related to the supply chain, the Bangladesh

Accord ("Accord on Fire and Safety in Bangladesh"), following a tragic incident in April 2013 at the Rana Plaza garment manufacturing facility in Bangladesh. This is an accord between the companies and UNI Global Union and Industrial which expected signatories to strive to implement and also maintain safety standards in the workplace of the suppliers in Bangladesh. This covers inspections, reporting and actions related to "remediation and training" to ensure adherence to acceptable safety standards.

AngloGold Ashanti (AGA)

AGA, with its headquarters in Johannesburg, South Africa, has operations in Africa, Australia, and North and South America and is the third-highest producer of gold. The countries which are in the African continent apart from South Africa are the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Ghana, Mali, Namibia and Tanzania. AGA is global with operations and projects and operates across the mining value chain. The firm is listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) for the primary listing on the Ghana, Australia, London and the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE) and also the bourses of Paris and Brussels. The AngloGold journey started in South Africa in May of 1998 when the gold and uranium mining interests of the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa were consolidated. In August 1998, AngloGold became the first South African company to list on the NYSE. AngloGold Limited was founded in June 1998 with the consolidation of the gold mining interests of Anglo American. The company, AngloGold Ashanti as it is now, was formed in April 2004 following the business combination of AngloGold Limited (AngloGold) with Ashanti Goldfields Company Limited (Ashanti).

Anglo-American started reducing its stake in AGA in April 2006 through equity placement. Thereafter, Anglo-American continued to implement small sales of its remaining interest in AGA via the market and, in March 2009, sold its remaining interest. AGA remains an independent gold producer, with no dominant investor and a diverse spread of shareholders which count among the world's largest mining companies.

The Ghana operations under AGA Ghana are in the Ashanti and Western Regions. The Iduapriem concession (Western Region) consists of the Iduapriem and Teberebiem, a 110 km concession, and an open-pit mine, with processing facilities which include a carbon-in-pulp (CIP) plant. The Obuasi operations (Ashanti Region) are largely underground to a depth of 1.5

km, with some amount of surface mining which is an open pit with tailings reclamation. The mineral resource is 38.44 ounces, which is equivalent to 16.6 per cent for group resources.

Theoretical Framework

The major issue in this study, which is the effectiveness of IFAs, can be understood under the theoretical framework of the sociology of law or legal sociology. The sociological perspective of law explains that any context of a social norm must incorporate the issue of its "social practicability" (effectiveness), and also the issue of how a norm is received in the social sphere is important to how effectiveness is evaluated (Bourque et al., 2018). There is a major difference between procedural and normative effectiveness, with the procedural type dealing with compliance by the signatory groupings and with the procedures for implementing and monitoring the agreements (Niforou, 2014). Meanwhile, normative effectiveness refers to the respect for the principles and rights of workers in such IFAs. Within the realm of the sociology of law, effectiveness is determined by the legal instrument to ensure particular effects (Carbonnier, 1972). Normally, a social norm or instrument is effective only if it shapes social behaviour (Auvergnon, 2008).

The issue of the theoretical research orientation of this study evolves around the extent to which the fundamental question of the effectiveness of an IFA in a subsidiary company of a multinational enterprise can be determined through the theory of sociology of law. While the study, which is qualitative in nature, is expected to throw some light on effectiveness under these circumstances, the linkage between societal good and expectation can be used to explain how a particular agreement within the world of labour can be described as effective. In fact, such agreements are expected to set a standard for global best practices within the mining sector. An IFA is expected to raise the bar when it comes to the rights of workers. It is within this broad context that the sociology of law has been used to underpin the theoretical foundation of the study.

Methodology

Various data gathering methods and theoretical approaches assisted in collecting and analysing data. The study was both exploratory and descriptive through the single case study, and the

method was qualitative. The case study research design has been successfully used in various studies on mining trade unions, IR, IFSs, and HR, among others (Almond et al., 2005; Cotton & Royle, 2014; Herrnstadt, 2013; Niforou, 2012, 2014). Data were generated through in-depth interviews of representatives of identified groups as participants from the Ghana Mine Workers Union (GMWU); local union; GMWU national union; AngloGold staff (both senior and junior); professionals (lawyers, journalists, public relations [PR] practitioners); civil/public servants from the relevant ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs), namely Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations, Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources, Minerals Commission (MC), Ghana Standards Authority (GSA); Ghana Chamber of Mines (GCM); academics and researchers; and NGOs/Activists. In all, the sample size for the study for interviews was completed was 30. The study respected the dictates of participants to keep their personal identities anonymised in the report.

Table 1: Participants for the study and their reference number, group and sample

EF	Identifiable Group	Sample Size
1	GMWU, National and Local	4
2	Union Activists and Union Executives	2
03	AngloGold Staff (Senior and Junior)	4
5	Ghana Chamber of Mines	2
6	Civil/Public Servants from MDAs	4
7	Academics and Researchers	3
8	Mining-related NGOs Activists	3
9	Professionals (Lawyers, Journalists, Public Relations Practitioners, HR Executives and Mining Specialists)	8
	TOTAL	**30**

Data collection was guided by an interview guide[2] with questions that elicited data for the analysis in line with the research objectives.

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[2] The interview guide is attached as an Appendix.

Findings

The data gathering instrument had three sections: the awareness and understanding of the key concepts; AngloGold and the various concepts, agreements, and so on; and finally, the two synthesised sections of the GFA. The first sets of questions were under the title of 'Understanding of Key Concepts, Issues, Agreements and Associations'. The first question, under section I, dealt with the International Labour Organisation's (ILO) Core Labour Standards.

The respondents all indicated that they know and are aware of the CLS.

> *'Yes, I have a good idea about the CLS of the International Labour Organisation'. (07, Academic.* **See Table 1***)*
>
> *'I have a good idea about what these labour standards are'. (09, Journalist.* **See Table 1***)*
>
> *'The labour standards are the general guidelines for industrial relations and the basis for unionism for anybody in this business'. (01, GMWU, National.* **See Table 1***)*
>
> *'The core labour standards are basic to appreciating industrial relations from the perspective of the worker generally and a bit of an understanding of HR which is a subject area that I believe unions and workers should know'. (Academic)*
>
> *'CLS is the basic foundation of union and management relations. It is incumbent on all those in the labour industry to study it.' (Researcher)*
>
> *'Of course, I have a good knowledge of these standards. That is our advocacy area.' (NGO Activist)*

For the second section, which also dealt with issues under the first objective, the findings indicated that respondents lacked an understanding of IFA. Apart from two respondents who said they had heard about it but did not know the details, neither did they have any understanding of such agreements, none of the respondents had any knowledge of the framework, as captured by the data as follows:

'I don't have any idea about this type of agreement'. (Trade Unionist)

'What type of agreement is that? I don't know anything about the IFA'.
(AGA, Ghana Employee)'

'I think I have heard about this, but unfortunately, I can't lay any claim to appreciating what such International Framework Agreements are about'.
(GMWA, National)

'I read about this sometime ago, but at the moment I can't make any intelligent intervention on this issue.' (Trade Union Activist)

'What is this agreement about? I really don't have any idea. After this interview I will google this.' (Ghana Chamber of Mines Representative)

'Do such agreements exist in Africa, or is it something that can be associated with unionism in Europe? If it will be of any benefit to workers, then we need to be given some training on such agreements.' (GMWU Local Union)

As far as Global Union Federations (GUFs) are concerned, some respondents indicated that they know about them, while others said they did not have any idea about such federations.

'Yes, such GUFs are expected to assist national and local unions: I am aware of their existence'. (GMWU, National Union).

'No, I have not heard of them'. (AGA, Ghana Employee).

'We need a lot of capacity building so that we can understand all these issues like IFAs and GUFs.' (GMWU, Local Union)

In the case of IndustriALL, not many people outside academia or research can explain what IndustriALL represents.

'Yes, they are related to specific industries at the global level'. (Academic)

'They are one of the leading global industry giants in the international work space'. (Researcher)

'No idea.' (GMWU, Local)

'I have not heard about this'. (AGA, Ghana Employee).

> *'You appear to be opening my eyes towards understanding what industrial relations is all about. I have been challenged to read some more in this subject area.' (Academic)*

The second set of questions revolved around AGA and International Agreements and Associations, Issues and Concepts related to IFAs/GFA's Labour Practices. The earlier responses where the persons interviewed indicated that they did not know about these issues and concepts provided a pathway for the answers provided.

> *'AGA and such international agreements and associations? I have no idea.' (Journalist)*
> *'I don't know anything about issues related to IFAs or GFAs.' (Journalist)*
> *'Such international agreements are really new to me. Perhaps you can explain all these to me.' (Public Servant)*
> *'My brother, this is real Advanced Industrial Relations. It is not for Industrial Relations, Level 100 people like myself who do not have a good understanding of these areas of specialisation within the wider area of Industrial Relations, as I said earlier.' (Mining Specialist)*
> *'What you are asking me is way above my head. Don't forget that I am an HR professional.' (HR Executive)*
> *'These concepts you are talking about are not areas I can speak intelligently about.' (Researcher)*

The third set of questions which dealt with 'Fundamental Principles and Values' and 'Implementation' for the ICEM-AngloGold Global Framework Agreements, were not answered because of the ignorance about these agreements among the respondents.

> *'No idea. I cannot say anything.' (Journalist)*
> *'I have nothing to say about the fundamental principles and values.' (HR Executive)*
> *'No, I do not know anything about the ICEM-AngloGold Global Framework Agreements.' (Public Servant)*

'I can't say anything about the principles and values you are asking me about.'
(Union Activist)

The other objective, which was expected to evolve around the effectiveness of the AGA IFA, could not elicit the appropriate responses because of the ignorance of virtually all the respondents on the subject matter of how effective these agreements are with the focus on AGA, Ghana.

'I can't tell.' (Journalist)

'I don't know how effective the agreement is.' (Lawyer)

'I don't have anything to say as far as the matter of effectiveness is concerned.'
(Public Servant)

'I neither know what the agreements are nor their effectiveness.' (AngloGold Staff)

'I can't answer this question appropriately.' (Public Servant).

The third objective, which investigates the effectiveness of such agreements in the operations of a subsidiary and the implications for international best practices for the sector in Africa, also elicited responses which showed that there was little appreciation for what such agreements can assist in terms of best practices for the African continent.

'Taking what I know about such agreements within the context of CSR or Sustainability in the industrial relations sector, it is my considered position that, if such agreements are well managed, they can be effective in improving the conditions of the African worker.' (GMWA, National)

'IFAs, where they exist, are expected to provide an enabling environment for improved worker welfare. The challenge is whether African Trade Unions understand fully what they are about.' (NGO Activist)

'You know that I have gone through these issues with you, I can say that I have a fair picture of the potential of such agreements. I believe if they are well understood, this will lead to a new dawn for African companies.' (PR Practitioner)

'I believe strongly that with the implementation of such agreements, there will
be great benefits for the labour unions.' (GMWU Local)
'I believe this will augur well for the African worker.' (HR Practitioner)

AngloGold Ashanti (AGA) has always been positioned as the only mining company in Africa which is an International Framework Agreements (IFA) signatory when it comes to any scholarly discussion of IFAs at the global level. This is even more significant because not many agreements of this nature have been signed outside Europe. The descriptive study of the process of the signing of the two agreements—2002 (AngloGold and IFA) and in 2009 International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mines and General Workers Union (ICEM), (ICEM-AngloGold Global Framework Agreement) as noted in the three case studies in South Africa, Russia and Japan by Papadakis (2009)—has assisted in creating the myth of an agreement which was in operation. As Niforou (2012) states, the literature on IFAs can be categorised into two compacts: the group which explains the "potential impact of IFAs" and the second, which examines their real impact, the few empirical studies and their implementation. Niforou (2012) further explains that the IFAs in the first grouping examined their "content and relevance", "motives behind their adoption", IFAs and other union strategies, comparisons with codes of conduct, and "potential contribution to the internalisation of industrial relations." The real challenge is in the description of the second group, which encompasses the "handful of empirical in-depth studies on implementation" (Niforou, 2012). There are only a few studies which have been conducted outside Europe, with a small number in Latin America, especially within the mining sector. The Latin America case study examines how the tenets of the IFAs are reflected in practice. At least, they offer an understanding of how IFAs can strengthen social protection. For IFAs, in general, there are fundamental questions about how they have emerged, their operations and how compliance is determined.

IFAs have not had any real success in the African labour environment in terms of spread, whether in the mining sector or in other industrial sectors. Whatever gains were made at AngloGold could be ascribed to the "enlightened leader" Bobby Godsell's personal efforts. The challenges and other obstacles put in his way were from both some of the subsidiaries (Australia and Latin America) and also from the Chamber of Mines (Goldfields and DeBeers). As Papadakis (2009) explained, while Godsell presented the IFA "as a code of good

governance", their counterparts in other operations saw this agreement as a "real collective agreement" outside the law for such states, with a potential for creating some problems for such foreign subsidiaries.

The last issue here, which is the most critical objective and encapsulates the issue of the effectiveness of IFAs in the operations of this subsidiary multinational company like AGA and the implications for international best practices for the mining sector in Africa, clearly shows the potential of IFAs as we look into the future. There appears to be a quite optimism about such agreements and what they can do for the African worker. This author shares in such subdued optimism and calls for a strengthened engagement regime between the national and local unions.

Discussions

This study provided fresh insights into the feasibility of IFAs outside Europe, especially in Africa. From the empirical perspective, it explained the major components of the updated ICEM-AngloGold GFA document by examining the "Fundamental Principles and Values" and the monitoring of the "Implementation" phase. The most significant response, which served as a basis for understanding what the respondents know about IFAs, was very revealing in that they did not know about IFAs. In fact, the answers given by the interviewees resonate with the views of some "key informants" and the unions in the study on "Subcontracting and Labour Standards", which was conducted in the South Africa Lafarge operations (Williams et al., 2013). Their framework agreement was described as "invisible" in the South Africa affiliate's Annual Report on the website of the parent company or the South Africa subsidiary.

Within the framework of effectiveness, which was the key question of this study, the results were further synthesised along the earlier elements identified: awareness and knowledge of IFAs; engagement with all stakeholders; and the dissemination of the tenets of such agreements across an entity's operations and monitoring and evaluation. One of the ways in which the effectiveness of an IFA is determined is the circumstances under which international union alliances (IUAs) make their impact felt in the process of the implementation of the agreement (Bourque et al., 2018). A review of three studies on IFAs by three different MNEs showed that there was a limited spread of information on such GFAs to their subsidiary

managers, and the limited resources available to such GUFs and their local unions for monitoring such agreements affected their effectiveness (Niforou, 2014).

The implementation phase, as far as this other important component of the GFA was concerned, also showed a vacuum. It followed that where respondents were generally unable to explain the requirements of the "Fundamental Principles and Values", they were not likely to appreciate the component of "Implementation" and its significance. The major imperative of meeting annually to discuss the terms of the agreement, share information and deal with the administration of the agreement was lost on the respondents. AngloGold's IFA might have been done largely with the interests of the workers at heart, but the policies and practices of the company under this "negotiated agreements" regime showed clearly that the company was more committed to "management initiatives", in this case, the CCC as shown in their publications and in the designated sections of its website. The very actions of this entity depicted an inclination to focus more on promoting the interests of the shareholders.

Even before IFAs became institutionalised, international capital had been very sceptical about engaging international unions. Nestle, in the 1970s, had refused to engage with the unions, and its relations became frosty with the IUF, with the situation improving in 1989 when the then President for both the IUF and the German Food and Allied Workers Union NGG, Gunter Doding, met Helmut Mancher, the CEO of Nestle, over dinner and agreed that Nestle would accept the IUF as an international social partner. The deal was struck because Gunter Doding had known the Nestle, Germany director! This led to the resumption of annual meetings between the newly constituted IUF Nestle Council and Nestle management, only at the European level (Gallin, 2008). Despite these developments, at least by 2008, Nestle had refused to sign an IFA with the IUF! In 1998, Nestle adopted "Corporate Business Principles". As Gallin (2008) noted, there were no IFAs in the 1960s and 1970s, and the few like BAT Philips and Nestle, which decided to meet with international union delegations to discuss IR issues, withdrew when they realised that these global unions expected more in terms of binding commitments and drastic changes in management practice.

Apart from the individual roles these CEOs played when it came to the issue of IFAs and the upholding of worker interests by only these few persons, there is another event which

showed the reluctance of AngloGold to implement the IFA within its set-up even after the first and second agreements had been signed.

A further critical engagement of the IFA phenomenon also entailed the examination of other studies. Taking IFAs and IR governance as they relate to "global rhetoric versus local realities", Niforou (2012) examined two Spanish MNEs with a strong presence in Latin America, namely Telefonica and Endesa. While Telefonica's IFA was described as one of the first in the telecommunications sector, it was seen as a genuine IFA according to the "model agreements" of GUFs and fell in the "middle of the IFA spectrum". Endesa, on the other hand, which was in the energy sector, had an IFA which was described as a "failure" or "deviant" example (Niforou, 2012). The author explained that it was the only agreement which was cancelled a year after it came into force, but in union websites and academic literature around the world, it was described as an existing IFA!

Using these case studies, the authors offered the "IFA policy cycle", which consisted of the following: "identification of the problems", formulation and adoption, "process of implementation", "monitoring of compliance", and "review and evaluation". The observations made offered guideposts for analysing IFAs at the global level. For instance, despite the important roles of local unions in such engagements, such unions have been ineffective in spreading, implementing and monitoring such agreements.

Another IFA study which threw some light on such agreements was "Corporate Social Responsibility, International Framework Agreements and Changing Corporate Behaviour in the Global Workplace" (Herrnstradt, 2013). The author stated that such agreements call for strong home country unions with good working relationships with the MNE and also a global network or GUF. Finally, it should involve MNEs which were interested in engaging with designated labour organisations. This explains why, in his opinion, most IFAs are based in Europe. Following these observations, he offered the four essential elements of a successful agreement. The elements were: "content (including standards)", "coverage", "implementation", and enforcement.

Management of AngloGold Ashanti's lack of commitment to the IFA they had signed twice, and the lack of enthusiasm of the GUF, IndustriALL to play a more forceful role in seeing to the implementation of the agreement at the level of the subsidiaries all compounded

the issue. The few efforts at organising various press conferences on "precarious work"; "World Day for Decent Work", among other activities, only displayed some concerns. However, for AngloGold Ashanti, the issue of the IFA and its lack of implementation has not been resolved and may never be resolved.

Conclusion

IFAs are expected to link MNEs with well-known credentials of greater commitment to ensuring labour rights with their subsidiaries where there is less enforcement of such social human rights (Evans, 2014). They are also expected to be instruments for promoting the social regulation of such corporations. Bourque et al. (2018) have maintained that such agreements are expected to have three ingredients: commitment by the MNE to adhere to the 1998 Declaration at the international level; monitoring processes for handling disputes arising; the scope of the agreement in relation to the MNEs activities covering subsidiaries and partners. Indeed, Fichter et al. (2013) indicate that the effectiveness of an IFA is dependent on appropriately engaging the unions associated with the GUFs in producing IFAs and involving such worker unions in monitoring.

IFAs are expected to create the context for applying social and labour standards and ensure that these policies are felt at the subsidiary level. At the global level, there are examples of such agreements across sectors, but the challenge has been the extent of their effectiveness at the subsidiary level. The global picture has shown advances at the MNE level across political and legal lines, but these social human rights and the influence of such GUFs and IUAs, and the advancement of global union government has not been felt at the level of the national and local unions. MNEs commit their organisations to comply with the implementation of these standards at the head office and the subsidiary level; they also incorporate procedural guidelines for monitoring and oversight and mediating conflicts when they arise (Platzer & Rub, 2014). The question is the extent to which all such MNEs are really committed to seeing to its implementation across the whole supply chain from subsidiaries to sub-contractors!

A real commitment of an MNE to the production and implementation of an IFA should be clearly reflected in their involving the global unions in the activities of the MNE across their borders, thereby extending their implementation across the global supply chain. They should

combine multilateral worker union policies with MNE-targeted negotiations in order to extend such rights to the subsidiary. A strong commitment and capable national union are expected to meet the demands of the details and nuances of such agreements. The case of AGA, Ghana, shows that the national and local unions will need a further and better appreciation of IFAs if they are to benefit from an IFA.

It is within this framework that the GUFs were expected to offer assistance. While such global unions were able to assist in partially meeting the needs of unions, their efforts have been circumscribed by the inherent difficulties within the "emerging economy" context. Although a lot of feats have been chalked at the global level in any assessment of issues related to worker welfare, these have not been translated into any successes outside Europe. IFAs have been more of a "passing European phenomenon" than an "emerging international regulatory approach" (Burkett, 2014), a position which we share. Even issues of some of the successes essentially driven by GUFs like "labour transnationalism", "union coalitions", "field-enlarging strategies", "network-based cooperation", "principle of solidarity", and "educational project activity" have not been recorded in Africa.

The role of IFAs for this study is related to the profile of AngloGold as the only mining sector signatory to the IFA. This study reviewed various positions on IFAs, case studies, and successes and failures in implementation. Even though AngloGold had signed on to this agreement in 2002 and 2009, there was no attempt on the part of the management to see to its actualisation and implementation. Whether they are described in terms of policy cycles (Niforou, 2012) or from Herrnstadt's (2013) perspective, context, implementation and enforcement, the Ghana case study shows that AngloGold is not a "working" signatory to the IFA. AngloGold's corporate commitment to a CCC showed the HR strategy it adopted after signing two framework agreements. The IFA is not mentioned in the operations, is not known to the internal and external stakeholders, and does not exist on any corporate material and the website.

Finally, based on the minimum attributes of an IFA (Hammer, 2008a, 2005b; Herrstadt, 2013; Niforou, 2012, 2014; Williams et al., 2013), ranging from signing the agreements, the IFA policy cycle, essential elements of a successful framework of minimum labour standards and monitoring and evaluation, the AGA, Ghana, IFA was not effective. While such

agreements within the world of industrial relations are very relevant and also functional especially outside Africa, this research has shown that local and national unions should be assisted by their global counterparts to deal with the challenges of international labour standards in order to make such IFAs very relevant and functional in Africa.

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USE OF RHETORICAL STRATEGIES IN COUNSELLING AT THE COUNSELLING CENTRE, UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST, GHANA

William Kodom Gyasi[1]

Faculty of Arts
University of Cape Coast
            &
Eugene Kwarteng-Nantwi[2]
Counselling Center
University of Cape Coast

Abstract

The study explored the rhetorical strategies used by counsellors during counselling sessions. The idea was to discover what rhetorical strategies are employed by counselors to elicit relevant information from their counsellees and how effective the use of these rhetorical strategies are in communication between counsellors and their counsellees. Using Aristotle's theory of rhetoric and a qualitative approach, the researchers studied selected counsellors and counsellees at the University of Cape Coast. The data were gathered through interviews and observation. The data were analysed thematically, and the results showed that assurance of confidentiality is a strong rhetorical strategy used during counselling. Other rhetorical strategies such as giving counsellees unconditional positive comments and empathy are very essential for a successful counselling process. Regarding the benefits of rhetorical strategies, the results indicated that counsellors' use of rhetorical strategies helps counsellees to disclose sensitive information. Also, rhetorical strategies help counsellors determine if counsellees are benefitting from the counselling interaction. These strategies include observation, learning situation, follow-up and evaluation during counseling process. Based on the findings, the researcher recommended that counsellors at the

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[1] William Kodom Gyasi is Associate Professor in the Department of Communication Studies, University of Cape Coast. He obtained a Bachelor of Education (Arts) from the University of Cape Coast in 2001 and an MPhil and PHD in English Language from the same University. He is an associate professor of Language and Communication. His research areas are text readability and family communication.

[2] Eugene Kwarteng-Nantwi is a lecturer and a Counselling Psychologist in the Counselling Center of the University of Cape Coast. He had his PhD, M.Ed and B.Ed (Psychology) in 2019, 2012 and 2001 respectively all at the University of Cape Coast. Both PhD and masters are in Guidance and Counselling. His areas of research include stress management and adjustment needs of international students.

Counselling Centre of the University of Cape Coast should attach more relevance to the rhetorical strategies they use in communicating with their counsellees.

Keywords: Counselling, Counsellees, Counsellors, Rhetorical strategies, University of Cape Coast.

Introduction

Rhetorical strategies or devices are words or phrases used to express meaning, elicit a response from a listener or reader, and help persuade during communication (Simanullang, 2018). Rhetorical strategies can be used in writing, in conversation (counselling), or in a speech. In business environments, rhetorical strategies are significant in making messages clear and persuasive to customers (Scaraboto, Rossi, & Costa, 2012). Politicians also rely on rhetorical strategies to defend, explain, and present policies to their constituents (Scaraboto, Rossi, & Costa, 2012).

Some rhetorical strategies, which could also be called figures of speech in literature, include hyperbole, oxymoron, simile, and paraphrasing. Scaraboto, Rossi, and Costa (2012) posit that consumers rely on rhetorical strategies: setting expectations, prescribing, and celebrating acquiescence to appraise goods and services. These strategies, when used effectively, can elicit trust, confidence, harmony, and persuasion between the speaker and listener. Rhetorical strategies can, thus, be effectively used in counselling sessions as well. Counselling entails the provision of professional assistance and guidance in resolving personal or psychological problems (Fathoni et al., 2021). In effect, rhetorical strategies are emphasised in counselling. According to Hearne and Galvin (2015), school administrators have the responsibility to develop collaborative initiatives to ensure that students feel comfortable when they attend counselling sessions.

To Aristotle, rhetoric is a speaker's ability to determine what resources are available to persuade a given audience (Maccormack, 2014). In this situation, the speaker considers how and in what ways his/her credibility to a given audience can be applied to derive the desired changes in the perception of the audience. According to Aristotle, some components are used to make a speech persuasive. These components are ethos, pathos, and logos. The ethos deals

with how to build credibility and trust, the pathos also involves ways of creating an emotional appeal, while the logos also provides logic and reasoning, which helps to evoke strong feelings in the pathos stage (Maccormack, 2014).

Also, counsellors use silence as a technique in counselling sessions (Sue, 2021). In counselling, silence enables counsellees to speak freely about their problems. Silence also provides the counsellee with the opportunity to analyse their ideas and feelings without being interrupted. This allows them to obtain insight into the issues they are dealing with and examine options for moving forward. Silence is intentionally used to enhance the counsellee's confidence and composure.

Furthermore, Zimmermann et al. (2021) add that the use of purposeful silence enables the counsellee to "bear the burden" of the discourse. Silence allows the counsellor to gather his or her ideas. Silence can be used to build connections, as well as to wait for ideas or thoughts to appear. It is a haven in which feelings can be nourished and developed and a place where the counsellee can recover from present-moment emotions. It is a method of eliciting a reaction from the counsellor, including fulfilling a demand for approval or guidance. Silence is used by the counsellor to allow the counsellee to gather her or his ideas. Silence can create a safe environment in which sentiments can be nourished and developed. The counsellee moves from stiffness to flexibility as a result of assimilating their information. The information being delivered may be emotionally heavy, causing the person to cry as they feel the anguish, which had previously been suppressed but is now felt in its full intensity. Silence provides the necessary space for such feelings to be properly felt and processed.

Confronting strategy is also used by counsellors (Chigbu et al., 2021). When the counsellor notices confused messages or inconsistencies in the counsellee's speech, behaviour, feelings, or ideas, confrontation is frequently used. This can only be used when the counsellee and counsellor have established rapport. Confrontation improves the counsellor's understanding while also aiding the counsellee in developing a more rational view of contradictory perceptions.

Paraphrasing is another strategy used by counsellors (Chigbu et al., 2021). When a counsellor paraphrases what a counsellee has just started, the counsellor uses fewer words while maintaining the essence of what the counsellee said. The counsellor seeks feedback on

the substance of what the individual has just said when using this skill. This ability comes in handy when the counsellor wants to acknowledge that he or she is listening and comprehending what the counsellee is saying, explain any ambiguous content, emphasise issues by articulating them more succinctly, and double-check the accuracy of one's observations as a counsellor.

Counsellors rely on some factors to determine whether counsellees are responding negatively or positively. The underlying emotional condition of an individual is conveyed through their bodies. We communicate with one another through body language, voice inflexion, eye movements, posture, motions, and head nods. Most of these motions may be minor or transient, but they are more frequently than not recorded in the intensified environment of one-on-one counselling. Counsellors are mindful of body language: their own and that of the counsellee. As a facilitator, their bodies must display facilitative behaviour. Non-facilitative behaviour is referred to as an adverse stimulus in psychology. This happens when a counsellor has an unfavourable attitude toward a counsellee. Counsellors may show evidence of being uninterested, for example, by sighing, fidgeting, or engaging in distractive behaviour.

Thus, rhetorical strategies, when used effectively, have the potential to create amicable bonds between counsellors and counsellees (Jones, 2008). From the foregoing, rhetorical strategies are useful. However, they are fraught with challenges in their usage. As a result of the challenges that people face in using rhetorical strategies, this study sought to assess how counsellors use rhetorical strategies in dealing with students in counselling to mitigate the challenges that counsellors face in using rhetorical strategies in counselling.

O'Keeffe (2013) studied the place of academic counselling services in enhancing students' sense of belongingness. O'Keeffe opines that the key to student counselling benefit lies in the warm, unthreatening, and trust-worthy rapport clients share with their counsellors at school. The author found that such a positive relationship tremendously increased students' academic confidence to propel their institutional adjustment and ultimate academic attainment. O'Keeffe concluded that students' increased self-confidence and institutional sense of belonging equally fortify their determination to succeed at university. Therefore, counselling is a vital component of a student's academic achievement.

To know the qualities of effective counsellors, Knox (2008) studied counsellors and described effective counsellors as real, accepting, and holding. He argued that effective counsellors could contribute to a meaningful overall college experience for students (Knox, 2008). Counselling, in effect, provides all-around motivation, clear academic focus, resilience, and meaningful use of responsible behaviours for an overall worthwhile college experience among students (O'Keeffe, 2013).

Apaak and Osei Sarpong (2015) studied how counselling services could aid in improving the academic performance of athletes in Ghanaian tertiary institutions. Apaak and Osei Sarpong collected data through interviews and discovered that university student-athletes restored their academic self-confidence using counselling services. Moreover, Apaak and Osei Sarpong found that some of the athletes could not access counselling services because they could not balance their well-acclaimed celebrity statuses and time for extracurricular activities.

Ocansey and Gyimah (2016) explored the counselling needs of special needs students in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana. Purposefully sampling 80 special needs students from two special needs schools, namely, New Horizon Dzorwulu Special School and the State School for the Deaf, the researchers collected data from the respondents using a questionnaire and personal observation. They discovered that special students require social and emotional needs because they suffer rejection, isolation, and teasing from colleagues. The researchers concluded that workshops are required to equip staff and students of such schools with the required relationship skills to make the education environment conducive for special needs students.

Ocansey (2013) studied the causes of anxiety among tertiary students at the University of Cape Coast. The author used a descriptive design to study 376 students in the Faculty of Education. Ocansey gathered data for the study using a questionnaire and focus group discussion. The author discovered that fear of failure, lack of preparation for the examination, and the rigid grading system of the university were factors accounting for anxiety during the examination. Ocansey concluded that counsellors could step in to offer students counselling services on positive study habits and the need to stay prepared from the beginning till the end of the semester.

Ocansey (2018) conducted a phenomenological multiple case study to ascertain the experiences of students with university counselling services in three public universities in

Ghana. With a sample size of 13 students and focused group discussion and interviews as data collection instruments, the researcher discovered that inadequate institutional and physical facilities, poor publicity, and unprofessional behaviours of some counsellors had hindered students' patronage of counselling services in the institutions. Ocansey recommended that coherent and strategic advertising is needed to increase patronage of counselling services by students.

The Objective of the Study

Counselling is one of the support services much needed to assist students in achieving their academic goals. Ocansey (2018) observed that counselling aids students in coping with rigorous academic work. Even though counselling has been researched, our knowledge of the specific rhetorical strategies used by counsellors to elicit sensitive and relevant information from counsellees is limited. The objective of the study was to explore the rhetorical strategies in counselling as used by counsellors at the University of Cape Coast.

Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following questions:

1.   What rhetorical strategies do counsellors at the University of Cape Coast Counselling Centre use to draw out counsellees to disclose sensitive information to them during the counselling session?

2.   What counsellee-based rhetorical manifestations do counsellors use to determine whether counsellees are responding to the counselling process?

Methodology

The qualitative approach was recommended in this study because it allowed for an inductive study of the rhetorical strategies of the University counsellors (Edmonds & Kennedy, 2017). Inductive research begins from specific observations or experiences and then forms a conclusion from these (Walliman, 2018). The qualitative approach was used because it allows multiple realities and gives opportunities for study participants to contribute to knowledge. Hence, the researchers collected data on the self-reported experiences of counsellors and then

drew up a belief or theory of how they go about their work using patterns and categories generated from the data (Edmonds & Kennedy, 2017).

Sample and Sampling Procedure

The present study used purposive sampling in selecting the participants of the study. Purposive sampling was deemed appropriate for the study, specifically, the maximum-variation purposive sampling. A key advantage of using maximum-variation purposive sampling is that "any common patterns that emerge from great variation are of particular interest and value in capturing the core experiences and central, shared dimensions of a setting or phenomenon" (Patton, 2015, p. 283). Hence, the researchers endeavoured to include in the sample counsellors of both genders and counsellors of varied work experience.

Six counsellors were interviewed in this study. Normally, there are no exact stipulations of sample size in qualitative research (Patton, 2015). Therefore, the main reason for selecting six counsellors was that the supposed number of respondents would satisfy the researchers' requirement for maximum variation in our sample. The participants were contacted through written letters and emails to seek their consent for them to participate in the study.

Instrumentation

Interviews were conducted with the sampled counsellors to gather information about the research questions. An open interview technique described by Beuving and de Vries (2015) and based on Merton and Kendall (1946) was used. According to this technique, four interview principles were followed: non-direction, specificity, range, and depth. In terms of non-direction and specificity, a semi-structured interview guide was used in close relationship with the research objectives. In terms of range and depth, six counsellors, per the description of the work as stated above, were interviewed while also using follow-up questions to go deeper into their experiences. Interview sessions lasted an average of 15 minutes. With the permission of each participant, an audio recording of the interview was made of each session.

Audio files were manually transcribed. Thereafter, content and thematic analyses were used to identify the rhetorical strategies and other relevant data that answered the second

research question. Coding, categorisation, and thematic organisations were aided by Baguette, a Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS).

Ethical considerations

Ethical clearance was sought from the Institutional Review Board of the University of Cape Coast. Full attention was given in respect of respondents' rights: confidentiality and anonymity, informed consent, full disclosure, comprehension, and voluntariness. Potential respondents were sent consent notices and confidentiality statements via electronic means (email, WhatsApp, etc.). The document included issues on which conversations would be recorded and that audio files were to be transcribed personally. Participants were advised to try not to bring up personally identifying information unless such is necessary to a narrative. There was an assurance that explicitly identifying information found in the transcripts will be discussed with the respective participant and redacted if necessary. Participants were requested to indicate their agreement to be interviewed and to acknowledge the consent and confidentiality terms via an explicit written message of the same electronic means by which the documents reached them.

Results

1. **Research Question 1: What rhetorical strategies do counsellors at the University of Cape Coast Counselling Centre use to draw out counsellees to disclose sensitive information to them during the counselling session?**

    To obtain the answers to Research Question One, the data from the interview were discussed and analysed by looking at the kind of strategies counsellors use to divulge sensitive information to their counsellees. In response to an interview question on this objective, a respondent stated that getting counsellees to open up and also disclose certain sensitive information to them is not a challenge. She says as follows:

    > *People usually open up. They come to tell you what is bothering them. I would not say it is a challenge. Assuring the counsellee that whatever they say stays here or within us. You need to assure them of **confidentiality.** Once they are assured of confidentiality, it encourages them to open up. So if you think that a counsellee is holding on to some sensitive information, you just want to remind*

*the person that whatever we say stays here, and you would let the person know that you can only work with the information you have. So if you choose to keep some part of the information, I can only help you to the extent of the information you are giving me. I cannot tell because I do not know more. So we try to **encourage and also reassure.** But the issue is that sometimes, people hold on to information not just because they do not want to talk but because they are just not ready to. So sometimes, you would want to give them some time.*

This is a clear indication that when a counsellor can assure his or her counsellee of confidentiality, then both parties will feel the urge and liberty to disclose secret information to each other. The level of trust and encouragement will motivate the counsellee to unveil any information that needs to be heard. Again, this will assist the counsellor in determining whether or not to disclose certain sensitive issues. How you communicate with the counsellee will determine their level of trust. The assurance of confidentiality boosts the credibility of the counsellor, and this affirms Aristotle's argument that effective communication goes beyond the message to include the speaker's character.

During our interviews, it was examined that **'silent listening'** is another strategy that allows for a brief silence in counselling for the counsellee to **think or pause**. From the interview, it is evident that to make counsellees feel at ease, you would have to listen silently to whatever your counsellee has to say. This affirms Sue's (2021) theory that makes it clear that in counselling, silence enables the counsellee to speak freely about their problems. Silence also provides the counsellee with an opportunity to analyse their feelings without being interrupted. As a result, the analysis indicated that pausing and listening to a counsellee in a counselling session is essential. The respondent **emphasised that every counsellor must have active listening and silent listening abilities.** Active listening solicits feedback, whereas silent listening is when there are brief moments of silence during counselling. With silent listening, the counsellee is allowed to go through that phase to gain more time to decide whether to continue or to change the subject.

This creates an atmosphere where a counsellor can divulge any sensitive information to their counsellees without panic. Here, the counsellees are encouraged to share what is going on

in their lives, and if they do not want to, the counsellor reiterates that they must not be forced. The analysis and data gathered depicted that people who go for counselling should be given assurance and must feel free to always express themselves.

Another respondent also disclosed that one way he uses to divulge sensitive information from counsellees is through positive word affirmation. He disclosed that the use of strategies such as empathy enables counsellees to know that they are with them in whatever situation they find themselves in. According to Aristotle's theory of persuasion, the use of ethos, which is essential to one's credibility, is vital since it makes counsellees trust one's credibility and can disclose sensitive information to counsellors. In an interview with one of the counsellors, he said:

> *"In counselling psychology, we have confrontation and clarification. You have to confront the person positively. We do that a lot so that the counsellee will know that his conclusions are wrong or 'perhaps he is having a prejudice so you will try and modify to explain it better; that's why we use confrontation."*

During the interview, he explained the primary strategies which are mostly used by counsellors to get them to come out with any information during the session and the reasons for using those strategies. This also affirms Chigbu et al.'s (2021) theory which further explains that, with the confronting strategy, when the counsellors notice inconsistencies or confusion in the counsellees' speech, behaviour, feelings, or ideas, confrontation is frequently used, and it can only be used when the counsellee and counsellor have established rapport which also aids the counsellee in developing a more rational view of contradictory perceptions. Another counsellor also disclosed in the interview that when it comes to children, she normally employs physical antics to get them to voice out sensitive information since they are most of the time unwilling or scared to open up:

> *"Most of the time, children who come for counselling at the hospital are unwilling to speak, so I normally sit close to them, get them to watch cartoons, look them in the eyes and even hold their hands just to get them to talk".*

Another rhetorical approach used by counsellors to divulge sensitive information from counsellees is the reflection of feelings approach. This approach is used by counsellors to identify themselves with the issues of their counsellees. This approach is similar to empathy. In an interview with another counsellor, he revealed the relevance of this approach in his submission:

> *"We have what we call a **reflection of feelings**. It is a skill used in counselling to, as it were, mirror the feelings of your counsellee. If you can do that, then they know that you understand what they are going through. Once a counsellee feels that you understand them, then the person is in a position to open up or tell you sensitive information."*

From the above excerpts, it is evident that rhetorical strategies like confrontation and clarification, assurance of confidentiality, and reflection of counsellees' feelings are vital and often used as ways counsellors employ to divulge sensitive information from their counsellees.

Research Question 2: What counsellee-based rhetorical manifestations do counsellors use to determine whether counsellees are responding to the counselling process?

In counselling, there is a need for counsellees to benefit from the counselling process. This is possible when counsellors are able to determine whether the counsellees are responding to the counselling process. The response to the counselling process could be both immediate and delayed. The immediate response to the counselling process involves the psychological and emotional relief that counsellees receive from the counsellor. The immediate response could also be counsellees' readiness to disclose relevant information that is keeping them in bondage and hurting them inwardly or even outwardly. The immediate response could include counsellees' nonverbal communication cues, such as nodding in agreement, and smiling, among others or their verbal responses, such as *yes*, *no*, *it is true* among others in the counselling process (Apaak & Osei Sarpong, 2015). The delayed response, on the other hand, is the long-term emotional and physical restoration that makes the counsellee recover from whatever triggered the need for counselling. For instance, Apaak and Osei Sarpong (2015) found that

student-athletes recovered from poor academic performance through counselling. This is a delayed response.

In the present study, the data revealed that counsellors are able to determine the immediate response of counsellees to the counselling process through the use of **observations**. Observation involves physically perceiving the verbal and nonverbal responses of the counsellees in the counselling process. For instance, in an interview with a counsellor, the counsellor insisted that the counsellee could be assessed by a counsellor to see whether the counsellee is benefiting from the counselling process through observation of the facial expressions and mood of the counsellee. She reiterated that:

> *From **observation**, you can tell. Sometimes they would tell you what they have gotten from the session and let you know what they are going to do about their situations. You can also check the **facial expressions** to know that they are benefitting. Some would be generous enough to tell you what benefits the session has been to them. That makes it easy for you to know, otherwise, depending on the kind of problem the person brought, you can even tell from the **mood** the person came in with and how things have changed. For instance, I had a counsellee who came in, and immediately she sat down she was crying. She just cried for about two minutes. I just allowed her to cry, and when she told me about everything, in the end, she even laughed over the same issue. Just that tells you the person is relieved from whatever he/she was going through. Therefore, it is largely **observation**.*

In this excerpt, observation is a keyway to assessing the extent to which counsellees are responding to the counselling process. In the observation, however, there are several immediate cues that are observed. For instance, facial expressions such as smiling and grimacing, among others, could reveal the emotional state of the counsellee to the counsellor. The change in this facial expression is also a key sign that the counsellee is responding to the counselling. Moreover, observation could be focused on the mood of the counsellee. The mood could be gloomy, distressful, or a disappointment, but as the counselling process comes to an end, the counsellor could detect the change in mood as a sign of the success of the counselling process.

This is vital because, according to Seligman (1996), assessment should attempt to recognise the importance and uniqueness of the counsellee and so acknowledge the specific immediate responses to observe in measuring the immediate response of the counsellee to the counselling process. As already known, people seek a counsellor to help resolve concerns or problems that are interfering with their daily lives or causing them despair. The counsellor comes to the counselling session with the expectation to do something to ease or improve the counsellee's situation. For counsellors to know whether the counsellee benefits from the counseling process, the counsellor must attempt to assess the counsellee right from the beginning of their conversation, and this is done using observation of both the facial expression and mood of the counsellee.

Another way that counsellors determine the response of counsellees to the counseling situation is through learning situation/memory situation. According to the counsellors, counsellees should be given a situation that resembles the counsellees' situation and analysed it in such a way that the counsellee could make his or her own deductions and conclusion on the next plan of action to remedy his or her situation. In doing so, counsellors provide counsellees with a myriad of solutions that counsellees are at liberty to select from possible proposed solutions to remedy their problem. The use of learning situations to assess counsellees' response to a counselling process is reiterated by a counsellor as follows:

> *In counselling, you need to create a **memory situation** for your counsellee so that they just do not pick the content you give them. They should be in a position to break this information down, analyse it, and make a synthesis so that they can make some sense of the options you give them. Once that has been done, you also create that **learning situation** for your counsellee so that they can make meaning out of the things that you give them. Normally, learning does not take place when people do not understand the kind of things you have done with them, and they need to walk away and practice that. So it is important to give them that learning situation so that they decide and act on things that are expected of them. Quite apart from that, you are to help them **generate their alternatives** and plausible solutions to the situation they have brought so that they can make informed decisions and be responsible for the decision that they make.*

This shows that to determine whether a counsellee is benefiting from a counselling process, then they must be left alone to decide for themselves after the various forms of verbal and non-verbal communication between the counsellor and the counsellee, but normally, if you are to decide for them, that is where they walk away and begin to do the wrong things and do not heed to the things that you have discussed. Unlike observation, which is mostly measuring the immediate response of counsellees to a counselling process, learning situation is a strategy to ensure a delayed response of counsellees to the counselling process. The learning situation provides a counsellee sufficient information on the probable solution that could be implemented after the counselling session to get results and remedy the situation.

Another important strategy used by counsellors to determine whether counsellees benefited from the counselling process is follow-up. It is important to do what is known as a **follow-up** to see if, indeed, the decision they took they are implementing or not and also how they are faring after the counselling session. The respondent disclosed that she could detect if counsellees are responding to the counselling session based on the responses or feedback she gets from them. She notes:

> *"You can get to know based on the feedback you acquire from the questions and answers from your counsellees. In some cases, when counsellees remain silent throughout the counselling session, you can use non-verbal cues like nodding of heads, being too moody, frowning of face etc."*

While the counsellor expressed follow-up in terms of questioning or asking for feedback from the counsellee about the success of the counselling process, Ocansey (2018) considered follow-up in terms of reaching the counsellee after the counselling process to ascertain how they are faring. This could be through a phone call, visitation, or request for their academic performance script if the counselling was based on a poor academic situation. In such cases, the counsellor is able to determine the delayed response of counsellees to the counselling process after the counselling process is completed.

In addition to the foregoing, the use of evaluation is seen to be effective in assessing counsellees' responses to the counselling process. This involves asking respondents to recap their experiences during the counselling process as well as what they have benefited from the

counselling process. For instance, one respondent also asserted that one way he uses to determine whether counsellees are responding to the session is evaluation of the session by the counsellees. He further adds,

> *"I get to know if counsellees are responding to the counselling session by asking them to evaluate the session at the end. This enables me to figure out if they are responding or not."*

This is in line with Aristotle's theory of persuasion, which states that anyone seeking to persuade an audience must be able to prove his or her messages with facts as well as tap an emotional aspect and present moral standards. From the above interviews, it is obvious that counsellors do employ a lot of skills and techniques to assess their counsellees. This helps them to determine whether the counsellee is benefiting from the counselling process or otherwise. Assessment is done not to judge them but rather to seek clarification or progress. Thus, according to Seligman (1996), assessing the counsellee to ensure that they are benefiting from the counselling process enables counsellors to make an accurate diagnosis and also determine a person's suitability for a particular treatment plan.

Conclusion

In this study, the researchers have discovered the assurance of confidentiality, positive comments, and empathy as rhetorical strategies that are used in achieving an effective counselling process between counsellors and counsellees at the University of Cape Coast. Also, it was revealed in this study that the use of these rhetorical strategies aids counsellors to make counsellees disclose sensitive and relevant information that will make the counselling process fruitful.

The concept of counselling involves various strategies through which counsellors reach out to counsellees seeking their services. Some of these strategies are referred to as rhetoric. Without the use of rhetorical strategies, counsellors will not be able to give counsellees the maximum help they need. It is, therefore, important that the communication strategies of counselling be given enough priority at the Counselling Centre of the University of Cape Coast to ensure a smooth counselling process.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are made based on the findings of the study:

1. The researchers recommend that counsellors at the Counselling Centre of the University of Cape Coast be acquainted, equipped, and conscious of the various rhetorical strategies and use them appropriately in their counselling sessions.

2. It is recommended the counsellors of the Counselling Centre of the University of Cape Coast attach more relevance and publicity to the benefits of seeking counselling not only during the crisis/critical stages but also regularly to derive the full benefits of counselling.

3. It is recommended that counsellors engage in follow-up to ascertain whether their counsellees benefitted from the counselling process.

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ETHNOGRAPHIC AND FUNCTIONAL PERSPECTIVES OF TILAPIA NAMES AMONG THE EƲE OF GHANA

Vincent Erskine Aziaku[1]

Dept of Ghanaian Languages and Linguistics University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast

Vaziaku@ucc.edu.gh

&

Gladys Mansa Feddy Akyea[2]

Dept of Ghanaian Languages and Linguistics University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast

gfeddy-akyea@ucc.edu.gh

Abstract

Modern methods of rearing tilapia in recent years and the importation of same may have contributed to the increase in the consumption of tilapia in Ghana as a whole, particularly among the Eʋe. Most organisms, including animals and fish, are named but they may not respond to their names as humans do. Observation also shows that consumers of tilapia are mostly conversant with the generic name of the fish and less interested in particularising the different species with their names. This paper seeks to investigate the essence of animal names with particular reference to tilapia among the Eʋe of Ghana. The research questions that are germane to the study are the following: Does the composition of names of tilapia derive from their physical characteristics? What knowledge do the Eʋe have about the names of tilapia and how does their knowledge influence the production, marketing and consumption of tilapia. The paper adopts a descriptive design approach in data collection and

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[1] Vincent Erskine Aziaku is a Senior Lecturer at the Department of Ghanaian Languages and Linguistics, University of Cape Coast (UCC). He holds a PhD in African Linguistics from the University of Frankfurt, Germany. His fields of interest are language documentation, morphology, sociolinguistics, grammar and culture, and most of his publications are situated in sociolinguistics and the Ewe language where he strives to unearth indigenous knowledge.

[2] Gladys M. Y. Feddy Akyea is a Senior Lecturer affiliated to the Department of Ghanaian Languages and Linguistics, University of Cape Coast (UCC) where she taught and conducted research until her retirement. Currently, she engages in teaching and research activities on part-time basis. Her research areas include literary analysis of oral and written texts of the Ewe, gender in literary works, language and gender and ethnographic analysis of aspects of Eʋe culture. Her overall goal is to analyse and document engendered oral forms and cultural practices of the Eʋe.

analysis. It establishes that the idiosyncrasies and general physical features of tilapia reflect in their naming system. The analysis also reveals that the names are both free and bound morphemes. The data further shows that geographical location, vocation, sex and age dynamics affect knowledge of the names of tilapia. These, to some extent, influence the production, marketing and consumption of the fish. The paper, therefore, concludes that even though organisms may not respond to their names, the names of those organisms, such as tilapia, are relevant to the people who ascribe these names to them.

Keywords: Tilapia, production, marketing, consumption, lexemes and morphemes

Introduction

This study is conducted among the Eʋe people of Ghana who are found in the Volta Region of Ghana. Generally, the Eʋe-speaking people include people living in south-eastern Ghana, southern Benin and the southern half of Togo. The people speak various dialects of the Eʋe language, which belongs to the Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo family (Agbodeka, 1996). According to Gockel (2000), 75% of the Eʋe population engages in crop production, agro-processing, livestock production and fishing. He stated that the economic activities of the people are tied to the available natural resources, citing their access to the Volta Lake, the sea and other minor bodies of water, including individual ponds that abound with freshwater fish as examples. Gockel further informs that various types of fish, including tilapia, are caught and processed for both domestic and oversea markets. Fish farming, marketing and consumption have been reported as increasing in the region and tilapia rearing, in particular, seems to be a lucrative venture or vocation in recent times (https://globalseafood.org. Retrieved, *01/09/2022*). Growth and interest in tilapia farming have been attributed to various reasons such as the massive support from governments, conducive weather condition, the quality of the water bodies and the availability of market for the fish (https://pricesghana.com/. Retrieved, 01/09/2022). Global Seafood Alliance further notes that fish intake in Ghana constitutes about 6% of the total animal protein intake and that there is an increase in the development of fast-growing strains of tilapia in Ghana. WFA Report (2018) and FAO (2010) indicate that tilapia is a delicacy of the Ghanaian, and as a result, there is an increase in its production and marketing

(Myjoyonline.com. Retrieved October 2018). These reports suggest that domestic consumption of tilapia, in particular, is on the increase (Frimpong & Fynn, 2011). It is also noted that tilapia is highly patronised in the cuisines of hotels, restaurants and other eating places largely for its taste. It is no wonder that the fish has become an important mark of hospitality to the Ghanaians.

This notwithstanding, available literature on tilapia does not show if the preference for types of tilapia production, marketing and consumption is based on the various names of the fish. That is, there is no information on whether the names of the tilapia types influence its farming, which one people often buy and sell, and which one people consume at the various eateries. The present study, therefore, selected seven major locations that are involved in the production and marketing of tilapia, namely, Ho, Kpando, Kpeve, Sogakope, Sokpoe, Agbozume and Anloga in the Volta Region, to ascertain the etymology of the various tilapia names and whether there is any relationship between knowledge of the names and the production, marketing and consumption of the fish.

Naming practices

Generally, naming is critical to a people insofar as it expresses their views about their world. Therefore, the science of naming, describing and classifying organisms (taxonomy) is important to most cultures, including the Eʋe. It is also important to note that naming, as observed, involves taxonomic processes as well as morphological, behavioural, genetic and biochemical observation, in that the concept of classification and nomenclature basically determines the categorisation of organisms by their names (Berlin, 2008). That is, all identifiable groupings of organisms can be described with names. From a linguistic point of view, root names and derived names can be used to show distinctions and classes of animals. These lexemes are composed of endocentric and exocentric compounds typically based on permanent and non-permanent characteristics of the named (Aziaku, 2016; Berlin, 2008; Ellen, 1993).

The aim of this paper is, therefore, to establish the semantic values of tilapia names within the contexts of the economic and socio-cultural life of the Eʋe. To explain the relationship between people and their language, in this case, the Eʋe, a sociolinguistic approach has been adopted. In this respect, elements such as sex, education, occupation and social

network that reflect naming practices have been considered as the main variables for data collection and analysis (Agyekum, 2006).

Methodology

The study is mainly qualitative, aimed at assessing the knowledge of producers, marketers and consumers on tilapia names. The study also ascertained the relevance of the names to the people. As indicated earlier in the introductory part of the study, the Eʋe people can be found in almost all the administrative regions in Ghana, but Ho, Kpando, Kpeve, Sogakope, Sokpoe, Agbozume and Anloga were earmarked for the study. These sites were chosen due to the resources available for fish production as well as marketing. The researchers selected a total of 80 participants for the study since the research is largely qualitative. The breakdown was as follows: fishermen 20, fishmongers 20 and lay people 40. The population consists of men, women, boys and girls. The participants were in two categories: people whose vocations are related to fishing and marketing and people who are not directly involved in fishing and fishmongering. The respondents for the study were selected from the three major subgroups of Eʋe known for the production and marketing of fish, particularly tilapia. The selection of the respondents was based on their number of years in fish marketing and/or production, premised on the assumption that the longer the period in the business, the better and greater the experience and consequently the level of knowledge about fish in general and tilapia in particular. In addition to fishing hubs and marketing centres located in these towns, popular restaurants and food joints where tilapia is served were covered. Here, indigenous Eʋe people who regularly patronise these places were selected with the assistance of the food vendors. Due to the busy schedules of the respondents as well as the inability of most of them to read and write, a guided interview was conducted to collect the data. Osuala (2005) indicates that purposive sampling gives a high percentage assurance to the researcher of the number and competence of the respondents. Cohen and Crabtree (2006) stressed that criterion sampling, which is a type of purposive sampling, tends to provide large amounts of information; hence, it was considered an appropriate technique for this linguistic study.

Typology of Eʋe names

The language of a people, in general, and Eʋe, in particular, reflects their activities, vocations, livelihood and social status (Agbedor & Johnson, 2005; Agyekum, 2006). The environment or the 'natural world' and all its components (rivers, land etc.) that support the lives of the Eʋe, for example, are all relevant in the determination of the relationship between their language and naming practices. It is worth noting that the social ties between the Eʋe and people of different language backgrounds, cultural orientations and historical events in diverse ways also account for the different types of names that humans and other organisms bear.

Aziaku (2016), Stekauer (2016) and Atakpa (1997) have individually explained that naming is instinctively performed, and most names reveal the culture of a people, including their conception of the environment. The names and naming processes of the Eʋe are intrinsically linked to their worldview. Abadzivor (2007) identified the various categories of Eʋe names as including day names, circumstantial names, belief names and clan names of the individual. Atakpa (1997), in his explanation of naming practices of the Eʋe, indicated two major types: root names and derived names. He further categorised root names as primary names or arbitrary names. He explained that arbitrary names are free morphemes in the sense that their morphological composition does not depend on an existing name or word unlike their counterpart, the derived name. Aziaku (2016), whose work corroborated Atakpa's finding, posited that names that obliterate their word boundaries do not lend themselves to easy interpretation.

Egblewogbe (1977) also identified the following types of Eʋe personal names: *dzɔdzɔmeŋkɔwo* 'birthday names', *ŋkɔtsɔtsɔwo* 'names taken later in life', *ŋkɔnanawo*, 'other names given at birth and later' and *subɔsubɔŋkɔwo* 'religious names'. Agbedor and Johnson (2005) explained that African personal names possess an elaborate linguistic structure, complex semantic content and relate to African value systems. The implication is that Eʋe names have both socio-cultural denotations and connotations. Even though Atakpa (1997) emphasised the arbitrariness of root names, the author acknowledged that one needs to possess some knowledge the Eʋe naming system to enable the one to single out what the name means in order to use such names appropriately.

One could argue that Atakpa (1997) and Agbedor and Johnson (2005) agreed that Eʋe personal names in particular and by extension most African names are not arbitrary labels but socio-cultural tags that have sociocultural functions and meanings. Clearly, the understanding of African names and, for that matter, Eʋe names depends on one's knowledge of the African, their events and their environment, since these names have distinctive sociological, psychological as well as cultural elements or undertones. Generally, names serve as identity markers for the individuals who bear them (Agbedor & Johnson, 2005). Naming is, thus, a way of distinguishing one individual from the other.

Tilapia names may not be constructed based on all the factors that characterise human names among the Eʋe as explained above. For example, tilapia names cannot be derived from their birth days or bear any clan names nor religious names even though they may have religious relevance. What may be appropriate to the present study on the tilapia naming system among the Eʋe would be Aziaku's (2016) study on animal names, that indicates that animal names are constructed based on the habitation, appearance, nature of the animals, on one hand, and the worldview of a people, on the other hand.

Fish names among the Eʋe

In Aziaku's view, fish names are similarly constructed to reflect precincts, behaviour and worldview of a people. He based this argument on the Eʋe fish naming system. Among the Eʋe of Ghana, fish is generally known as *tɔmelã*. The word *tɔme* defines water body as a location and *lã* as a generic term that is used to describe any animal. Therefore, *tɔmelã* literally means *a river animal,* expressing the habitation of this category of animals. The name, as it stands, includes also marine mammals, and delineation of the marine mammals from fish becomes necessary only in specific situations. It is important to clarify that among the Eʋeme people (known as inland Eʋe) of Ghana, *akpa* is equivalent to fish (Ansre, *2000*). Tilapia, the focus of this study, is, however, nicknamed by a section of the Eʋeme people as *dzeanyikpla*, which connotes a heavy fall. This describes the wrangling of a suffocating fish at a landing site. The names as explained generally reveal certain descriptive features which are relevant in the determination and categorisation of the fish. This paper principally establishes the economic

and sociocultural values that come to play in naming the different tilapia species and their relevance in the production, marketing and consumption of tilapia.

Results and Discussion

The section analyses the economic and sociocultural values in respect of Eʋe tilapia names, morphological structure of the names as well as the knowledge level of fishers, sellers, lay people and members of their networks in naming the different tilapia species.

Sociolinguistic analysis of the names

This part of the paper focuses on the sociolinguistic factors that influence the origination and use of tilapia names. These include knowledge level of the respondents on tilapia names and the influence of tilapia names on its production, marketing and consumption. The last section of the discussion provides a linguistic insight on tilapia names.

The origination of tilapia names

Akpakpo (*longfin tilapia*) describes the stature of the fish. The name is a combination of the generic name, *akpa*, plus *kpo*, meaning short and thick. The name, *akpafiatsi* (*nile tilapia*) is constructed based on its movement in water. That is, *akpa*, generic name of tilapia plus *fia*, bubbles, *tsi*, water. The name translates "the fish that bubbles". The name *bɔyi* (*banded jewelfish*) can be analysed as *bɔ* plus *yi*. The fish *bɔyi* is likened to lobster which is also referred to as *bɔ. Yi* in *bɔyi* is, therefore, the corruption of *ɣi,* white. It is a common practice among the Eʋe to use some sounds interchangeably. For example, the word *ɣeyiɣi* (*period*) is pronounced as *ɣeyiyi.* Hence, *bɔɣi* describes the appearance of the banded jewelfish which has a whitish belly. *Logo-kpa*/*Akpaɣie/ Gbolonu* (*mango tilapia*). The name *logo-kpa* is an eponym where the tilapia is associated with logo a "common white grouper" as a result of its resemblance. The second name, *akpaɣie*, means white tilapia. It is descriptive of the appearance of the fish. *Gbolonu* associates the fish with prostitution due to its commonness. *Gbolo* in Eʋe signifies prostitution and the suffix *nu* is "thing". *Akpanɔe* (*blackchin tilapia*). The morpheme *nɔ* marks the female sex of the tilapia. Thus, the suffix *nɔ* and the diminutive marker *e* define the sex and

size of the fish. *Akpasila* (*tilapia busumana*) is a combination of *sila* and *akpa* which is the generic name for this type of tilapia. However, the source and meaning of *sila* remains unclear aside from speculation that the fish name is a corruption of its scientific name *Zilli*. *Akpaŋɔye* (*spotted tilapia*), conspicuously emanates from the name *akpa* 'generic name for tilapia' +ŋɔ[ŋɔ], 'spotted'+ ye, nominaliser. The name, therefore, translates as a "spotted tilapia". The modifier ŋɔ[ŋɔ]ye or ŋɔŋɔe "spotted" in English is clipped. Clipping is a productive word formation process in Eʋe naming practice (Agbedor & Johnson, 2005). The diagram below illustrates the knowledge levels of tilapia names.

### *Chart 1: Origin of the indigenous tilapia names*
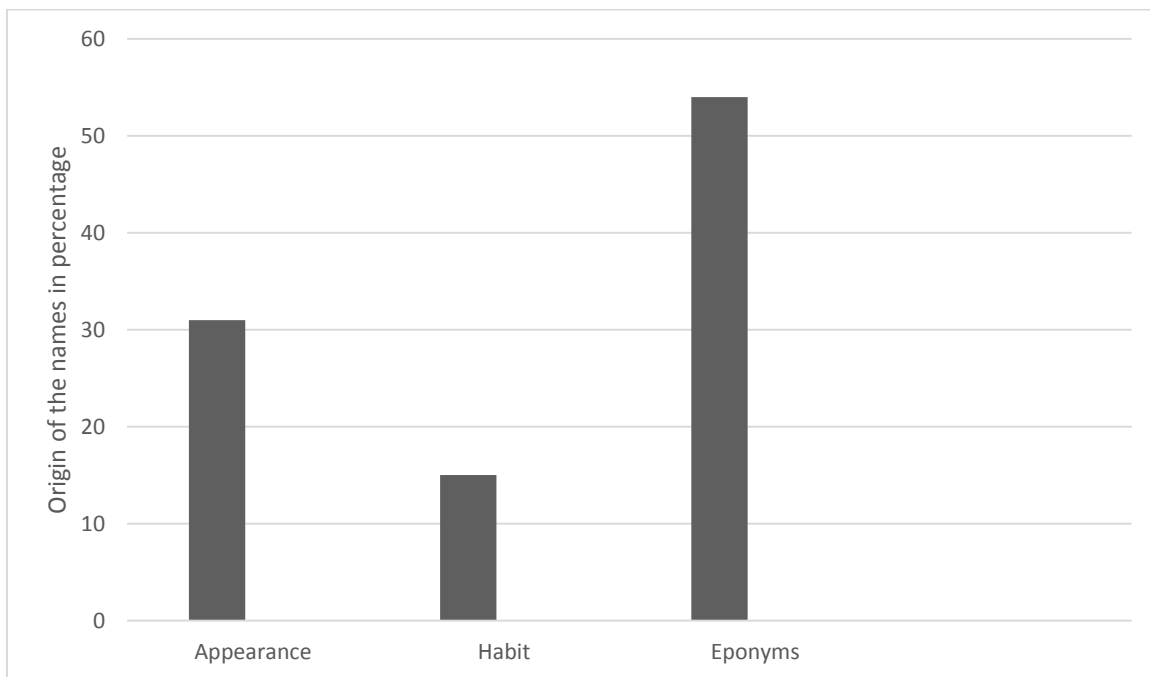
The names are derived mainly from eponyms, appearance and the habits of the fish. Eponymous derivations generally are linked to anthroponyms and toponyms. In cases where things are named after persons, these persons serve as the creator of those things (Trahair, 1990). For example, *akpasila*, obtained its name from its 'founder', Zilli, a German Scientist. This name is corrupted and became *sila,* hence, the fish's name, *akpasila.* Another eponymous tilapia name is *gbolonu.* A linguistic metaphor is evoked here to liken the commonality of the

fish to the traits of a prostitute known in Eʋe as *gbolo*. The percentage of eponyms on the chart implies things and other fish species serve as resources of eponyms. The chart shows that size and colour shades underlie names that are based on appearance of the fish. These are ingrained characteristics of the fish as observed by Ellen (1993). The habits or behavioural patterns of fish in their natural environment are also important in the Eʋe naming practice of tilapia. It is revealed that on the average, fifteen percent of the names were constructed from these behavioural patterns.

Distribution of knowledge levels of tilapia names

Fish and fishery products serve as a source of food to people worldwide and there is an increase in world per capita fish consumption (FAO, 2012 report, *https://thefishsite.com* Retrieved September, 2022). In Ghana, fishing and aquaculture have grown greatly and it appeared a lot more Ghanaians have been exposed to tilapia consumption (Frimpong & Fynn, 2011). It is, therefore, important that the paper assesses the knowledge levels of people who dwell both outside and inside fishing communities to ascertain their understanding and effective use of fish names. The histogram below shows the knowledge levels of respondents on tilapia names:

Chart 2: Knowledge levels in percentage
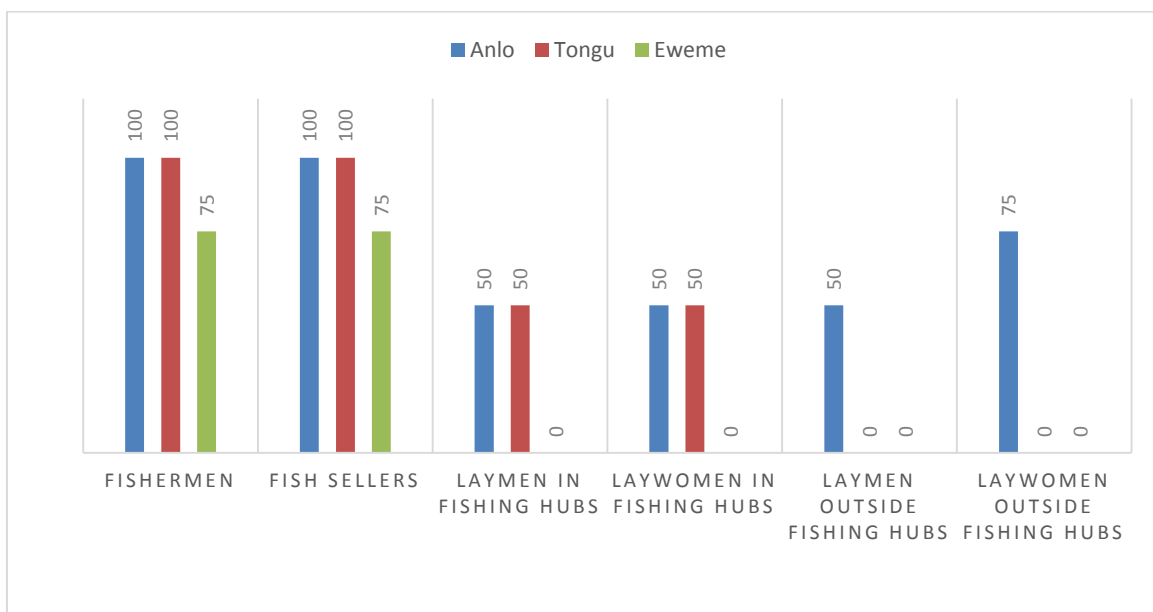
The graph shows that fishermen and fish sellers are more conversant with tilapia names than non-fisher folks who live in the same communities. As indicated, the Eʋeme people are more engaged in crop farming than fishing. This and the geographical location of the people may, therefore, explain the low score regarding knowledge of names of tilapia as compared to the scores of the Aŋlɔ and Tɔŋu. The low performance of Tɔŋu and Eʋeme men outside fishing hubs can be attributed to elements of the Eʋe socio-cultural system. Generally, the Eʋe culture frowns upon men buying fish directly from the market or engaging in culinary activities in the home; hence, they may not show interest in tilapia names. Indeed, research to determine the knowledge level between men and women on natural resources found that women in India, for example, possessed a wider range of knowledge about the use and conservation of natural resources than men (Huisinga et al., cited in Aziaku, 2016, p.154). This may also explain the reason lay women (non-fishmongers) hold an appreciably greater knowledge level of tilapia names than the laymen who are not fishermen.

Influence of tilapia names on its production, marketing, and consumption

A major quest of the research was to ascertain the impact that the knowledge of tilapia names of the Eʋe has on its production, marketing and consumption. The study revealed that an appreciable number of men and women in the tilapia business are knowledgeable on the morphological and genetic characteristics and names of tilapia. Respondents also emphasised that with the advancement in preservation technology of fish, in general, the issue of preservation of the fish may not be seriously relevant anymore; however, one cannot ignore its role in the marketing and consumption of the fish.

Production

Fish farming via cage farming in the Volta Lake and pond fish farming, as indicated previously, has increased in Ghana. Fish production in Ghana is supported by the government to purposely increase fish yield in the country. The question this research attempts to answer in respect of fish production is whether knowledge in tilapia names, particularly, play any role in the identification of tilapia species for production. Indeed, producers of tilapia fingerlings specify a particular species that can grow in the country, hence, the name. As pointed out earlier in this

paper, the name *gbolonu* signifies its availability in both large and small water bodies. Thus, it is known to survive and grow well in most water bodies in Ghana. Coincidentally, *gbolonu* is the preferred tilapia fingerlings and most farmers are au fait with its name, and the reason for the choice is its fast growth. The respondents were consistent that the name helps in identifying the various species.

Marketing

As indicated earlier, the study shows that many people in the business of tilapia are conversant with the morphological and genetic characteristics of the fish. Similarly, both fishermen and fishmongers possess an appreciable level of knowledge in fish names. Again, either the name or appearance is used to determine the fish that will last longer or stay fresh or longer outside water. Thus, they are very much aware that since the redbelly tilapia (*akpasila*) is "stronger" (it stays fresh outside its habitat longer) than the spotted tilapia (*akpaŋɔye*), it is more prudent to quickly offer the latter first for sale or preserve it more securely to prevent it from rotting/decay. The marketing strategies identified above do not seem to be relevant in the case of *akpatsu* and *akpanɔe*. This means that retailers do not worry about when to offer *akpatsu* for sale. In all, the Nile tilapia, *Blackchin* (*akpanɔe*) tilapia is best for grilling and the redbelly tilapia (*akpasila*) for processing into salted fish (*koobi*). Hence, the demand for the blackchin is higher. In places where the fish is not reared, the retailers have to make do with the available tilapia fish.

Consumption

As far as preference and consumption patterns are concerned, the study revealed that those in the fishing hub (fishermen and fishmongers) are selective of the type of tilapia they consume. Most consumers strongly agreed that some tilapia species are more luscious than others; thus, the consumption pattern and choice tilted towards these tilapia species. This explains the reason fishermen and fishmongers are selective of the type of tilapia they consume. Among the variety of tilapia that has been discussed, the Nile tilapia, *Blackchin* (*akpanɔe*) tilapia is the favourite in the cuisine of many people. Largely, the taste and how "meaty" the tilapia type is

determine the choice that many of the consumers make. In this case, knowledge of the fish name plays a less significant role.

Linguistic insight on tilapia names

The Eʋe tilapia names composed of free and derivational morphemes, categorized as simple, compound and complex lexemes. These names, in another way, can be categorised as endocentric, exocentric, copulative and appositional compounds having either left- or right-headedness**.**

Simple lexeme

The simple lexemes constitute semantically unanalysable lexemes. That is, the names are mainly formed from morphemes that are described as root names (Atakpa, 1997; Ofori, 2002). This formation consists of non-segmentable units. The simple lexeme defined in this paper is the generic name of tilapia, *akpa*. The name *akpa* falls within the category of root names or primary names (Agbedor & Johnson, 2005; Atakpa, 1997). According to Matthews (2012), root names belong to *lexeme a* category since they exist prior to any derivation.

Compound lexemes

These are analysable lexemes which, in this paper, refer to tilapia names that are constructed based on two existing words analysable into obvious segments of words as exemplified below:

gbolonu	→	$[gbolo]_{sub} + [nu]_{pro}$	Mango tilapia
bɔyi	→	$[bɔ]_{sub} + [yi]_{sub}$	Mango tilapia
logo	→	$[lo]_{sub} + [go]_{sub}$	Mango tilapia

It is observed that the compounds offered as examples in this section are a combination of substantives and their compositions fall within the category of exocentric compounds in that no aspect refers to the referent.

Complex lexemes

Generally, in this kind of formation, a stem that can be either the generic name and/or an eponym is affixed to a verb and its object or modifier. The generic name forms a recognisable constituent (Berlin, 2008). Atakpa (1997) and Berlin (2008) view the technique as a productive name formation process. The names underscore the lexeme *a* and *b* concept proposed by Matthews (2012). He observes that in compound word formations, a lexeme which he labeled as *lexeme a* synchronically exists before *lexeme b.* Lexeme *b* then is the output of lexeme *a* plus any morpheme. In the data on tilapia names, it is noted that a constituent which is the generic name *akpa* shows superordinate category of the fish and can be defined as lexeme *a*. These syntactic compounds have their syntactic heads and largely endocentric compounds that point to an expressed semantic head. The *lexeme b* category is rather a mix of substantives and other particles. These lexical derivations can be represented as follows:

$X_N \longrightarrow$ $[X_{sub} + X_{suffix}]$.

akpakpo $\longrightarrow$ $[akpa]_{sub} + [kpo]_{suffix}$ $\quad$ Longfin tilapia

$\quad$ (*Oreochromis macrochir*)

akpafiatsi $\longrightarrow$ $[akpa]_{sub} + [fia]_{verb} + [tsi]_{obj}/_{suffix}$ $\quad$ Nile tilapia

$\quad$ *Oreochromis niloticus niloticus*)

akpatsu $\longrightarrow$ $[akpa]_{sub} + [tsu]_{suffix}$ $\quad$ Guenther's Mouthbrooder

$\quad$ (*Pelmatochromis guentheri*)

akpasila $\longrightarrow$ $[akpa]_{sub} + [sila]_{sub}]_{suffix}$ $\quad$ Redbelly tilapia

$\quad$ (*Tilapia zilli*)

akpanɔe $\longrightarrow$ $[akpa]_{sub} + [nɔe]_{adj.Nom}/_{suffix}$ $\quad$ Blackchin tilapia

$\quad$ (*Sarotherodon melanotheron*)

akpaŋɔye $\longrightarrow$ $[akpa]_{sub} + [ŋɔye]_{adj.Nom}/_{suffix}$ $\quad$ Spotted tilapia

$\quad$ (*Tilapia mariae*)

akpaɣie $\longrightarrow$ $[akpa]_{sub} + [ɣie]_{adj}/_{suffix}$ $\quad$ Mango tilapia

$\quad$ (*Sarotherodon galilaeus*)

logokpa $\longrightarrow$ $[logo]_{prefix} + [[a]kpa]_{sub}$ $\quad$ Mango tilapia

$\quad$ (*Sarotherodon galilaeus*)

Conclusion

Names in Eʋe possess certain characteristics that are relevant in the determination and categorisation of the referent. However, Eʋe tilapia names are 54 percent eponymous, with about 32 percent of the names based on appearances. It is worth noting that this finding in respect of characteristics of Eʋe names slightly contrasts the finding of Aziaku (2016) that most animal names describe appearance, behaviour and habitat of the animals. In this paper, most of the names are linguistically associational, and in compound formation, the names are combined with the generic name of tilapia *akpa*. Hence, the names are largely endocentric compounds. The analysis reveals that both free and bound morphemes characterise forms of the names. The paper also determines the relevance of the naming concepts in the production, marketing and consumption of tilapia. It was revealed that the quality of each fish is known to the dealers and the tilapia names appear in their discourse. However, the size and colour of the fish are important in tilapia production, marketing and consumption more than the names. The study tested the knowledge level of the participants on tilapia names. Here, it is worth noting that the knowledge levels of the participants of tilapia names vary significantly; this is largely attributed to the geographical location, vocation and gender differentiation of the participants. In some way, the knowledge of the people about the fish influences production, methods of marketing and consumption of the tilapia fish. The paper corroborates the assertion that some organisms do not respond to their names; however, the names of those organisms including tilapia are useful to people in many ways.

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MURDERING OUR PROMISING BABIES: THE PAN-AFRICAN HISTORICAL THEATRE FESTIVAL (PANAFEST) FACTOR

Xornam Atta Owusu[1]

xornam.owusu@ucc.edu.gh

and

Promise Nyatepeh Nyatuame[2]

promise.nyatuame@ucc.edu.gh

Department of Theatre and Film Studies**,** Faculty of Arts College of Humanities and Legal Studies University of Cape Coast Cape Coast, Ghana

Abstract

International cultural festivals have attracted researchers and tourists globally for their role in impacting understanding and appreciation of societies and cultures worldwide. Regardless of this recent emphasis, in Ghana, there is paucity of literature on one of the most historically celebrated international historical and cultural festivals of unique significance to the global Pan-African family, the Pan-African Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFEST). Yankah (2012) critiques the Ghanaian PANAFEST by examining the chequered history behind its evolution from a small-scale, culturally local vision to a grandiose event more appealing to tourists than to local citizens. So, deploying the interpretive paradigm and narrative design and with a SWOT analysis, we explored PANAFEST in perspective, seeking to critically examine its genesis, state of affairs for its prime periods, from 1990s to 2010,

[1] **Xornam Atta Owusu is a Senior Lecturer** in the Department of Theatre and Film Studies, University of Cape Coast, Ghana. He is a born performing artist with tremendous gifts in music, dance and drama. His areas of research include Theatre Arts, particularly Theatre Directing. He has published a few books and also published in local and international journals. He is a B. A. Theatre Arts and MFA Theatre Arts graduate of University of Ghana, Legon, Accra, Ghana. He is currently a PhD candidate of School of Creative Arts, University of Education, Winneba, Winneba, Ghana.

[2] **Promise Nyatepeh Nyatuame, PhD** is currently a Lecturer in the Department of Theatre and Film Studies, University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast, Ghana. He is a Fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) for the African Humanities Program (AHP). He is also a development communicator and member of the International Theatre Institute (ITI) in Ghana. His research interests include Theatre Education, Applied Theatre, and Theatre for Development. He has a few publications to his credit.

to expose challenges shackling its sustainability by the local citizens. The findings revealed that a lack of funding, mismanagement, negative perceptions and misgivings, poor planning and organisation, and partisan politics defeat the purpose for which PANAFEST was established. We opine that PANAFEST represents geopolitical, public memory, cultural space and theatrical event, and that it has come to stay and all governments, private individuals, tourists, African diasporans, Pan-Africanists, slave descendants and other corporate institutions should put their shoulders to the wheel in making it a monumental festival for generations yet unborn.

Key words: Culture, Cultural Festival, Historical Theatre, Panafest, Pan-Africanism

Introduction

International cultural festivals have attracted researchers and tourists globally for their role in impacting understanding and appreciation of societies and cultures worldwide. Regardless of this recent emphasis, in Ghana, there is paucity of literature on one of the most historically celebrated international historical and cultural festivals of unique significance to the global Pan-African family, the Pan-African Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFEST) (Osei-Tutu, 2009).

The Pan-African Historical Theatre Festival, as it was known at its inception, and now Pan-African Festival (PANAFEST), was established to promote African civilisation and culture as the running theme, the Re-emergence of African civilisation. The change that has taken place in the nomenclature of the name could be alluded to issues of time, context and focus of each festival edition. It is about three decades since the first edition of the festival was held in 1992 and it is possible that the demands of time and circumstances driving the focus and interest of PANAFEST have equally evolved, hence the evolution of the terminology to meet the desires and taste of the ever-changing dynamics within which the existence and sustainability of PANAFEST is set. There exist a number of publications on the various aspects of the festival (see Amemumey, 1998; Gibbs, 2012; Kerr, 2013; McMahon, 2014; Yankah, 2012). This paper has sought to examine the festival from its inception up to 2010. Yankah (2012) critiques the Ghanaian PANAFEST by examining the chequered history behind its evolution from a small-scale, culturally local vision to a grandiose event more appealing to tourists than to local citizens (Frömming, 2013; Gibbs, 2012; Kerr, 2013; McMahon, 2014).

Therefore, in this paper, we deployed the interpretive paradigm and descriptive design, with a SWOT analysis, to explore PANAFEST in perspective, seeking to critically examine its genesis, state of affairs for its prime periods, from 1990s to 2010, in order to identify factors mitigating against local sustainability of this international historical theatre festival rooted in African history (Gibbs, 2012). The two-decade period of scope is, perhaps, reflective of the evolutionary and transitional dynamics associated with PANAFEST, from 1992, the 20th century, to 2010, the 21st century, and more particularly, the new millennium.

Historical Context

The Pan-African Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFEST) is principally geared at championing the course of the PANAFEST movement – part of an attempt to link with and relocate brothers, sisters and people of African descent, who, for obvious reasons, have left or lost contact with the continent of Africa. The trailblazers of this movement date back to the pre-independence era (1940s), with renowned figures like Ghana's first president Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, Malcolm X, Marcus Garvey, W. E. B. Dubois and the likes.

Indeed, Ghana, the first black African country south of the Sahara to gain independence, became a beacon of hope for other African countries and Pan-Africans in the Diaspora. Such Pan-Africanists and or Diasporans wanted to look at the gains of Africa and feel attracted to their ancestral home. In turn, Africans saw an opportunity in such experiences to attract Diasporans and Pan-Africanists back to the African continent amidst the heritage politics (Schramm, 2004). This could be observed "in the pilgrimage tourism of African Americans to Ghana" (Reed, 2013, p. 524). Diasporan Africans sought the opportunity to tour Cape Coast and Elmina castles to catch a glimpse of one of Ghana's slavery heritage sites and museums in the forms of castles and forts. This goes a long way to promote heritage tourism in Ghana (Pierre, 2009). Evidently, PANAFEST is part of a major cultural festival fashioned to demonstrate such relationships to draw African American tourists to Ghana (Schramm, 2004). This was the time when the relationship between Ghana and African Americans grew and gained prominence. Very notable figures visited the country, and this raised the agitation to fight for equality of the black man. The then president of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, was very instrumental in the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), now the

African Union (AU). On the declaration of Ghana's independence, on March 06, 1957, he said categorically that "The Independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked with the total liberation of the African continent[3]".

The Concept of Pan-Africanism

The need to look at Pan-Africanism as far as Pan-African Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFFEST) is concerned is very significant for the purposes of this paper. Pan-Africanism is a philosophy based on the belief that Africans share common bonds and objectives, and therefore their unity as a people with a common destiny will go a long way to achieve those objectives. This concept initially developed outside Africa in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries with people like Harriet Tubman, Marcus M. Garvey, Martin Luther King Junior, W. E. B. Dubois, Malcolm X, Kwame Nkrumah, Edward Wilmot Blyden, Jomo Kenyatta and Haile Sellassie, emperor of Ethiopia. Its development was a reaction to the impact of European colonialism on Africa and its antecedent trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.

In the mid-twentieth century, activists in Africa adopted Pan-Africanism as a rallying cry for independence from colonial rule. Some African Pan-Africanists sought to unite the continent as one independent nation. This culminated into two basic forms of Pan-Africanism – continental Pan-Africanism which advocated the unity of states and peoples within Africa, either through political union or through international cooperation, and Diaspora Pan-Africanism, relating to solidarity among all black Africans and peoples of black African descent outside the African continent.

Within this development and interpretation by authors, activists and scholars around the world, Pan-Africanism continually stands as a significant force in global politics and thought. Modern resistance to colonialism, however, began with the development of a formal Pan-African movement at the dawn of the 20th century.

Pan-Africanism had a cultural idea and a political movement. Otto von Bismarck, then Chancellor of Germany, in 1884, summoned other European nations to a conference in Berlin, without any African representation. While sitting at a table, Africa was carved up among the fourteen European nations (including the United States of America), as if it were a 'Christmas

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[3] The independence speech by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the first President of Ghana at the old Polo grounds in Accra.

turkey.' Apart from France, Germany and Portugal who had their shares, England got the biggest pieces. King Leopold II of Belgium was given the Congo and its people to rule and exploit. The 'scramble for Africa', which we call the 'criminalisation of the states of Africa', began just after the meeting. African lands, minerals and other rich natural resources were taken and the people were forced to work for the 'colonial masters'.

It was generally accepted by many historians that the official beginning of the Pan-African movement started in 1883, because it was the year that saw a congress on Africa in Chicago. Blacks from all corners of the Diaspora, including notable figures like Bishops Henry McNeil and Alexander Crummel, discussed European Imperialism at that congress. The Diasporan Blacks expressed their anger over the continued partitioning of the African continent, and this gave food to a growing anti-colonial movement. In 1897, the African Association was formed with Henry Sylvester Williams as the key figure and leading spirit of the association.

Henry Sylvester Williams, a lawyer from the Caribbean Island of Trinidad, organised a Pan-African conference in London, in 1900, with the sole aim of giving black people the opportunity to discuss issues facing blacks around the world. The original political objective of the meeting, which attracted a small but significant representation of Africans, people of African descent from the Caribbean and the U.S.A as well as whites from Britain, was to protest the unequal treatment of blacks in British colonies as well as in Britain. The need to uphold the dignity of African people all the world over and to provide them with education became the topic for discussion at the meeting.

In addition, "speakers at the conference celebrated aspects of traditional African culture and pointed out great historical achievements of African people in the tradition of influential Pioneer Edward Wilmot Blyden, a Caribbean-born Liberian educator, who wrote extensively in the late 19th century about the positive accomplishments of Africans and may have coined the term 'Pan-Africanism[4]''.

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[4] http:/Encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_1741500827/pan-africanism.html

PANAFEST in Perspective

In the light of the foregoing, Theodora Efua Sutherland, at the University of Ghana's Institute of African Studies, a Ghanaian dramatist, lecturer and Pan-Africanist, wrote a "Proposal for a Historical Drama Festival in Cape Coast[5]". In October 1991, the Pan-African Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFEST) was officially launched, with its concept being a cultural event dedicated to the enhancement of the ideals of Pan-Africanism and the development of the African continent as a whole. The summary report of the first Pan African Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFEST '92) indicated the following:

> The first Pan-African Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFEST '92) was held in Cape Coast and Accra, Ghana, from December 12 to 19, 1992 under the theme, 'THE RE-EMERGENCE OF AFRICAN CIVILIZATION', with the under listed organisations and institutions:
>
> 1. The National Commission on Culture
> 2. The Tourism Development Scheme for the Central Region (TODSCER) Ghana
> 3. The International Theatre Institute (ITI) Ghana Centre
> 4. The University of Cape Coast (UCC), Ghana
> 5. OAU
> 6. UNESCO
> 7. COMMONWEALTH FOUNDATION[6]

PANAFEST aims at establishing the truth about the history of Africa and the experience of its people using the vehicle of art and culture, among other things. It also provides a forum to promote unity between Africans on the continent and in the Diaspora, and above all, affirming the common heritage of African people the world over, and defining Africa's contribution to civilisation.

Among its objectives are "to develop a framework for the identification and analysis of issues and needs central to Africa's development to the improvement of the quality of life of

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[5] Proposal for a Historical Drama Festival in Cape Coast Castle by Efua T. Sutherland, 1980

[6] Summary report of the first Pan African Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFEST '92)

her people. It also looks at the encouragement of regular views of Africa's developmental objectives, strategies, and policies, and to mobilize consensus on ends for the formulation of possible alternative options for development[7]".

PANAFEST '92 saw the participation of different national groups, independent theatre companies and musical groups from all walks of life, artistes, scholars of international repute, a host of cultural activities and tourists from different parts of the Pan African world and beyond. The government in power then, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), was the organiser, manager and financier of PANAFEST. This was placed solely under the aegis of the National Commission on Culture and under the chairmanship of Dr. Mohammed Ben-Abdallah.

It must be put on record that there had been other African theatre festivals before PANAFEST '92. 1966 saw the first World Black and African Festival of Arts and culture, dubbed "World Festival of Negro Arts,[8] in Dakar, Senegal. Nigeria was billed to hold the second edition in 1970, but internal wrangling including the Biafran war led to its demise. Though it was rescheduled for the end of 1975, it did not see the light of day, due to 'obvious difficulties in providing all necessary facilities".[9]

Fortunately, the Federal Government of Nigeria, in 1977, was able to hold the second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC '77), which earned scads of praises. This festival was more or less victory earned for the Pan-Africanist in a moral and spiritual sense. Maayang (1994) reiterates that "the festival brought renewed sense of hope to myriads of black folks worldwide".[10]   FESTAC '77, however, yielded to fifteen years of inaction. It was another attempt to revive the waning flame of the Black Arts theatre festivals that saw the advent of the first Pan African Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFEST) as a common denominator in highlighting the historical and spiritual ties which bind all blacks and Africans together in global multicultural understanding.

At a colloquium held at the University of Cape Coast auditorium, very eminent intellectuals from the black world brought their views, opinions and suggestions to bear on the festival. An intellectual stood among the audience and remarked that Ghana is noted for making

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[7] 'PANAFEST '94 Brochure'
[8] Uhuru magazine; vol, 6 No.11. 1994 p. 1
[9] ibid, p. 12
[10] ibid, p. 12

beautiful babies, but somehow, they turn their backs and in time, murder them. We do hope and pray that this historical theatre festival will withstand the test of time.

Our attention was not drawn very early to this remark which was 'loosely made'. Ten years after PANAFEST, we decided to take a critical look at the statement. In 1994, the second Pan-African Historical Theatre Festival was held, around the same time, with the same theme, but now, with a sub-theme, 'Uniting the African Family'. It had a wider outlook, having been held in sixteen major cities and towns countrywide, with over four thousand attendants coming from about thirty-two countries.

Challenges

Though participation was quite encouraging, PANAFEST '94 had teething problems. This was where the exigencies of theatre organisation, management and finance showed up. Programmes and performances were ongoing at these venues at the same time and participants were expected at these performances.

Secondly, funds for the programmes were released very late, and as a result, organisation was a big flop. Monies seemingly found their ways into other pockets other than what they were meant for. A seeming high level of corruption became the order of the day. As if that was not all, attention was focused on 'big personalities' attending the programmes, thus leaving the organisation in the hands of a few people.

According to Lena Slachmuijlder, in an interview with Akunu Darkeh, former executive secretary of PANAFEST, "….PANAFEST '94 was dogged with logistical hang ups, bad press coverage and left a sour taste in the mouths of many Ghanaian performers and audiences"[11]. 'Big name performers' were featured at the country's top venues, for a gate fee the average Ghanaian could not afford, resulting in many poorly attended events. Logistical problems frustrated Ghanaians and foreigners who arrived at venues, only to find performances cancelled or moved to a different location. On several occasions, even performers were unable to get to their performance venues when the official PANAFEST transport never showed up. "Exorbitant gate fees re-enforced the view that this is actually not a festival for Ghanaians; certainly, their pockets were not full enough to attend many of the most sought after

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performances. Financially, PANAFEST ended up with about One Million Dollars in debt, which had to be picked up by, perhaps, a very angry government".[12]

In October 1996, the government of the day, National Democratic Congress (NDC), one of the five principal organisers of the festival and the major force behind PANAFEST, pulled out stating that "for certain reasons the government cannot support PANAFEST'96."[13]

This was a big blow to the event organisers and people of African descent who probably had in mind that the festival had come to stay and would not end up in an abyss as did FESTAC. Ironically, the president in a sessional address to parliament in January 1995 stated, "that the objective of the government is to enhance creativity and pride of the Ghanaian through the exposure of history, arts and crafts. PANAFEST '94 was praised as being instructive and providing lessons"[14]. It then became a non-governmental organisation, dubbed PANAFEST FOUNDATION.

Re-awakening the festival in 1997, with the sub-theme "Uniting the African family for development" coincided with the Fetu Afahye festival of the chiefs and people of Cape Coast (Oguaa), from August 29 to September 7, 1997. Twenty-three out of thirty-eight expected countries participated in the event with the involvement of the community.

PANAFEST'99 came off in August of that year. This was to have coincided with Emancipation Day activities in Ghana, with the sub-theme, "Uniting the African family—Youth, the agenda for the new millennium". This theme was chosen "because of the challenges posed to the youth of Africa and African descent in the coming Millennium"[15].

PANAFEST 2001 was held from July 27th to August 3rd with the sub-theme, "Uniting the African Family—Bridging the Gap through Information Technology". The appropriateness of the theme was that it came at a time when the demand for Information Communication Technology (ICT) was on the ascendancy in Ghana and the world over. It was a very successful event both for politicians, businessmen and professionals in their various spheres of endeavour.

Then came inactivity for some time. In 2007, PANAFEST was 'resurrected' with the sub-theme, "Pan-Africanism in the context of Africa's political, socio-economic development".

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[12] Daily Graphic Oct, 1995

[13] ibid. October 28, 1995

[14] PANAFEST '99 Souvenir brochure

[15] Emancipation day, PANAFEST, and Joseph Project launch souvenir brochure

That was the very year which saw the inception of the "Joseph Project" which aimed at "a series of activities, actions and interactions spearheaded by Ghana to re-establish the African nation as a nation of all Africans, capable of delivering on the promise of God to Africa and the African people"[16].

This took place from July 19 to August 4, 2007. This particular festival, though successful, suffered a major setback in terms of sponsorship. Most of these sponsors were sponsoring Ghana at 50 and the inception of the Joseph Project had a negative influence on the programme.

SWOT Analysis of PANAFEST

Strengths

PANAFEST has a lot of following in the Diaspora and people of Africa of African descent. This has made it a household name. The fact that the festival in itself unites black people is a plus to the event. The formation of local (Ghanaian) and external (foreign) representation on boards attests to the strong resolve to unite the African people. Due to this, other countries have been trying to duplicate the event.

For an international festival of this kind to have been organised eight times is a hard-won reputation to the organisers and the foundation in its entirety. Furthermore, a lot of foreign cash found its way into the country by participating individuals, which went a long way to increase foreign exchange in the country's revenue base.

The acquisition of job and employment opportunities deserves a passing notice. The PANAFEST secretariat, hoteliers, artisans and restaurants provided jobs in one way or another to the community at large.

Weaknesses

Funding

There had not been enough funding for the event after government stepped aside from the organisation and its management. Part of the funding was from the sale of PANAFEST souvenirs, gate proceeds from programmes, registration fees of participants and contributions of

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private businesses and corporations. Most of the time, the secretariat was left in big debt without even paying some performers and people employed by the foundation. PANAFEST Foundation also took an autonomous position, not allowing government to be part of the event even when government wanted to. This culminated in poor marketing, advertisement and event management of PANAFEST in its entirety.

Sponsorship

Many corporate organisations expressed their interest in PANAFEST when government was in control. The story became different as soon as government withdrew itself from management and organisation: thus, these corporate bodies shifted/directed sponsorship to the ventures they deemed fit.

The lack of sponsorship might also be due to the growing conception of events in the Arts, all striving for sponsorship at the same time. Events like beauty pageants (Miss Ghana, Miss Malaika), Ghana Music Awards and the like possibly 'milked' sponsorship for PANAFEST.

Politics

One major effect of PANAFEST going down the drain is politics. This has affected the smooth running of the event. Subsequent Ministers of State posted to the Ministry of Tourism (which oversees the administration of PANAFEST) came with a different idea or sense of direction, thus, "muddying the waters" continuously. Critical studies of PANAFEST throughout the years shows how people "make beautiful babies," and then turn around to "murder" them.

The 'Operation Feed Yourself Programme' which came into being with the government of General Kutu Acheampong never saw its continuity after his overthrow in 1978. Ghana was then self-sufficient in food production and started exporting rice, yam, maize and other agricultural products to neighbouring countries. Now, it is the very opposite.

The Farmers' Services Company (FASCOM), another agriculture-based initiative by the erstwhile Acheampong regime, was also short-lived as a result of his overthrow. The Aveyime rice project at Afife in the Volta Region of Ghana, instituted by the Rawlings' regime in 2000, had to be abandoned because of politics.

Of significant importance is the theatrical/cultural drive by the PNDC/NDC regime in refurbishing all regional centres for national culture and thereafter rotating the National Festival of Arts and Culture (NAFAC). Just after the December 2000 elections, a lukewarm attitude towards the celebration was exhibited by the ruling government. Patronage of NAFAC from that time dwindled.

Opportunities

Established originally as a Pan-African historical cultural and theatre festival, PANAFEST has the potential to all intents and purposes, to be a success. This takes into consideration attendance and participation of distinguished personalities such as academicians, Pan-Africanists and artists, artistes, particularly, African Americans from the Diaspora. PANAFEST was introduced to commemorate and celebrate the slave trade heritage, preserve and promote African culture to offer Africans and African Americans in the Diaspora an opportunity in appreciating their African roots and heritage locally and globally. As ingrained in its aims and objectives, PANAFEST hopes to become a major occasion for appropriating the arts and culture of Africans to foster unity between Africans on the continent and those in the Diaspora to demonstrate their common heritage.

Also, state officials, including Ministers of State from participating countries on the African continent, mostly the West Africa sub-region, do attend and participate in the planned events and activities to make PANAFEST an impressive celebration. This opens opportunities for pledges to be made by some African American personalities and other influential partners who attend to support the festival in diverse ways to boost the Ghanaian economy locally and the African cultural space, in general. This promises socio-cultural, economic and political support and benefits to help the country.

PANAFEST is guided by African-oriented and diaspora-related principles of organisation. Its programme activities seek to harness the cultural, creative, artistic and cultural resources that abound in the African continent, Ghana and Central Region, in particular, towards the revitalisation of the cultural life of the African continent and Ghana as country. Ghana, thus, engages surrounding countries in managing and maximising the creative potentials of this international cultural festival. Issues about local and international tourism culture are

brought to bear to harness the socio-cultural, economic and political opportunities offered during PANAFEST celebrations.

Ghana, the home country for its origination, claims itself as one of the foremost, unique and rich performing arts communities in Africa and world-wide. Hence, PANAFEST celebrations and related activities engage participants from various countries to augment the human resource needs of Ghana's cultural space during the celebration. This is mostly seen in the creative and cultural industry sector of Ghana's economy. Creative theatre and film productions, seminars, symposia, local and international conferences, workshops and creative outputs of PANAFEST have sustained research in this space about cultural festivals, heritage politics and tourism heritage to boost cross-fertilisation of knowledge from the academic community to impact the African and global cultural space and society. As part of the practical cultural processes of the festival, PANAFEST has assumed a usual tradition of activities to include cultural celebrations as well as creative, theatre and film activities, where participants stage and screen several interesting performances and film shows that have strong socio-cultural and political intents.

Clearly, PANAFEST activities create many opportunities to boost the socio-cultural, economic, developmental and political image and potentials of the country. Key beneficiaries include all stakeholders involved in the planning and implementation activities, especially the hospitality and tourism sectors of Ghana's economy. Cape Coast, Elmina and Assin-Manso, the host venues for most of the celebration activities, all in the Central Region of Ghana, do benefit in various ways. Foreign visitors do attend due to various motivations. Participation from various personalities from key market segments such as the African, North American, Carribean and European (Amenumey, 1998) spaces have great potential to boost inflow of foreign capital into the country's economy. Local artisans, craftsmen and vendors from all walks of life do get the opportunity to cash in and boost the economic potentials of their works. As affirmed by the findings of Amenumey (1998) about a study in tourism special events, focusing particularly on PANAFEST '97 to assess perceptions of foreign visitors, PANAFEST has great potential to serve as a tool for the promotion of cultural tourism in Ghana and within the West-African sub-region. Per its original vision, PANAFEST promises to be a tool for accelerating tourism potential and development in Ghana. This is because it exposes

participants to the various tourist attraction sites in the country (Amenumey, 1998), Cape Coast, Elmina and Assin-Manso, Central Region, in particular. However, the realities of the emerging challenges bedevilling the sustainability of PANAFEST have raised issues concerning potential threats to the survival and sustenance of this cultural festival of international repute.

Threats

Poor economic standing and conditions of the country have led many to develop negative perceptions towards the vision for its conception and the present realities threatening the sustainability of the PANAFEST festival. Presently, it is not uncommon for some people to hold the perception that the festival cannot be sustained due to poor sponsorship from various stakeholders, the government, local and international partners. This raises the question: Do we make beautiful babies and then turn around to murder them?

Unnecessary bureaucratic processes and partisan politics seem to be posing another great danger to the survival and sustainability of this great cultural festival of global recognition. This has great premonition to negatively impact the smooth running of the event. As noted earlier, successive Ministers of State (for the Arts, Culture and Tourism sector) privileged to take the lead in the supervision and administration of planning and administration of events of PANAFEST appear not to have done as desired to improve the fortunes of this great festival.

As identified in the study of Amenumey (1998), poor planning and organisation of the festival appear to be posing a threat to the sustenance of PANAFEST. Also, overly concentrating on local cultural festivals like National Festival of Arts and Culture (NAFAC) has the possibility to negatively impact adequate sponsorship, survival and sustainability of PANAFEST celebrations. Sustainability of both local and international cultural festivals needs to be accorded the needed attention by all stakeholders. However, this needs to be done in a balanced way to prevent unhealthy competition to sustain the gains and potentials of all these cultural festivals for the benefit of all.

Besides, poor perceptions and misgivings raised by both local and international participants (Amenumey, 1998) have the likelihood to generate apathetic attitudes towards the planning, implementation and organisation of the festival. Hence, local and international

organisers, particularly, and key stakeholders need to be on top of their work in order to address emerging issues that are generating negative or poor perceptions toward PANAFEST. Again, systemic corruption, poor commitment and bad attitude exhibited by local organisers and participants, poor staffing and miserable funding and sponsorship, among others, equally threaten the survival and sustainability of PANAFEST as an international cultural festival.

The Way Forward

Though PANAFEST has been registered as a non-governmental organisation, it is recommended that any government in power should look beyond the idea of putting PANAFEST in private hands. It is a theatrical event that possibly earns the country a lot of foreign exchange, and booms the hotels, restaurants and tourist industries. Government should either take full control or enter into a joint partnership with the foundation. Ideally, a standing document to protect PANAFEST should be laid in event of change of government.

The PANAFEST secretariat is deplete of permanent staff. National service personnel are normally recruited and at the end of their service year, they leave, thus, incapacitating the secretariat from having permanent experienced staff to run the day-to-day activities of the foundation.

Seeking assistance from the African Union and other international corporate organisations to hold this biennial event is long overdue. This is because PANAFEST has an international outlook and has the growth and development of blacks at heart. Perhaps, consideration for introduction of a one-percent tax on tourism and culture as a law can go a long way to support and promote PANAFEST to a very large extent.

Partisan politics defeats the purpose for which PANAFEST was established. Using PANAFEST as a means or medium for championing the course of blacks and people of African descent should be the focus of every government in power.

Since PANAFEST is about inviting people from all walks of life, fees charged at the gates should be looked at carefully so that the average Ghanaian would also share his or her glory in being part and parcel of an international event, and not for a few who have the ability to pay.

Probity and accountability is very essential in any organisation, be it private or public. It is highly recommended that asset declaration and the financial position of the foundation before and after the festival be properly audited and made public.

To reduce monotony of the festival in its presentation of the same programmes, it is recommended that other events like showing movies on black resistance, other festivals and black personalities who made tremendous impact on the black race, be shown to participants.

Conclusion

In this paper, we explored PANAFEST in perspective, seeking to critically examine its genesis and state of affairs for its prime periods, from 1990s to 2010, to expose challenges shackling its sustainability by the local citizens. The findings revealed that different factors cutting across socio-cultural, political and economic reasons such as lack of funding, mismanagement and partisan politics challenge the sustainability of this international historical theatre festival by the local citizens. And this, by implication, defeats the purpose for which PANAFEST was established.

We opine that PANAFEST represents geopolitical, public memory, cultural space and theatrical event (Woodard, 2020) and that PANAFEST is about blacks and people of African descent all over the world. It has come to stay and all governments, private individuals, tourists, African diaspora, Pan-Africanists, slave descendants and other corporate institutions should put their shoulders on the wheel in making it a monumental festival for generations yet unborn.

On this note, we reaffirm the following words from Nelson Mandela: "…one thing is for sure, as long as black people around the world continue to face oppression and exploitation, the idea of Pan-Africanism will continue to exist- and the struggle will continue".

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