

Revue Africaine de Sociologie

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en Sciences Sociales en Afrique (CODESRIA)
(Incorporant le South African Sociological Review)

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en Sciences Sociales en Afrique

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EDITORIAL:

The Peer Review and Stewardship

Current issue of the journal has less articles than the usual number of articles per issue. This has nothing to do with dearth of submission of papers nor quality of submission. Rather, it is a peer reviews issue. Academic Journals employ a rigorous peer review system and the *African Sociological Review* is not different. The review process is an important aspect of the publication process of any submitted article. It enables authors to improve their manuscripts and aids editors in making decision on manuscripts. As such, academic journals serve as permanent and transparent forums for the presentation, scrutiny, and discussion of research. The peer review process at ASR is robust; those we call upon for this task are specialists on African society based mostly in Europe, UK, US and Canada. Their reviews point out gaps in a paper that require more explanation or additional data collections. In the end, they help improve the manuscripts they review making them easier to read and more useful to others in the field. These peer reviewers are experts who volunteer their time and this seems to be the challenge for those we call upon who are based in African institutions. They hardly have time to review papers. We would not say much about this other than it holds back manuscripts and builds up a backlog of papers waiting to be reviewed. To deal with this problem, the ASR decided on having to accept two reviewers' reports per submitted paper rather than three. There has been success in this regard but we are still faced with the same problem especially when one of the two is a reviewer based in an African institution. We are therefore appealing to colleagues to make time available to review papers when invited for such purpose; it keeps the wheel of academia moving.

On a personal note, I want to seize this opportunity to make known my intention to step down as the Editor-in-Chief of ASR. This will be soon and quite frankly, 15 years as the Editor-in-Chief is more than long enough to now step down. It has been a very enjoyable and frustrating period of 'labour of love'. Prior to taking the responsibility, I was Deputy Editor and Editor of the old *Society in Transition*, the journal of the South African Sociological Association, which was renamed *South African Sociological Review* for a combined 5 years which gives me a 20-year experience in academic journal editing. I marked this experience in a paper titled "Shifting Boundaries: The Academic Journal as a Technology of Transformation" published in *Method(e)s African Review of Social Science Methodology*, 1, 2021. In this paper, I anchored the academic journal in



Africa in the wider discourse of knowledge production, dissemination and “Who speaks for Africa?” For the record, I want to express my sincerest gratitude to the South African sociologist, Fred Hendericks, a friend since the 1980s when we were both doctoral students at Uppsala University where I moved to after my studies in London and Essex.

Editors-in-Chief have wide ranging responsibilities but mine are even far more and weighed heavily on me to the extent that my academic production was affected; yet, I shouldered on, committing myself actively to ensure and increase the journal’s visibility and impact within scholarly circles. The wide readership internationally bears this out. Published papers in the journal in the past 15 years show topical and geographic diversity, work from established and emerging scholars and continued bilingual initiative with increased number of papers in French in each issue. Initial effort to publish papers in Portuguese faltered after a few papers within a year of my stewardship. Assistance in this regard was not forthcoming from those associated with the journal who were very proficient in the language. This was exceedingly disappointing and added to my frustration. The frustration was immense. Single headedly scouting for reviewers across the Globe was no small affair. Having to deal with the technical aspects of the journal was similarly tasking. It is my hope that whoever takes over will have a dedicated editorial team to further build and develop the journal just as I was able to stand on the shoulders of Fred Hendericks who entrusted me with taking the journal to where it is currently.

Olajide Oloyede
Editor-in-Chief
African Sociological Review

ÉDITORIAL:

L'examen par les pairs et l'intendance

Le numéro actuel de la revue contient moins d'articles que le nombre habituel d'articles par numéro. Cela n'a rien à voir avec le manque de soumission d'articles ni la qualité de la soumission. Il s'agit plutôt d'un problème d'examen par les pairs. Les revues académiques utilisent un système rigoureux d'examen par les pairs et *l'African Sociological Review* n'est pas différent. Le processus de révision est un aspect important du processus de publication de tout article soumis. Il permet aux auteurs d'améliorer leurs manuscrits et aide les éditeurs à prendre des décisions sur les manuscrits. En tant que telles, les revues académiques servent de forums permanents et transparents pour la présentation, l'examen et la discussion de la recherche. Le processus d'examen par les pairs chez ASR est solide ; ceux auxquels nous faisons allusion pour cette tâche sont des spécialistes de la société africaine basés principalement en Europe, au Royaume-Uni, aux États-Unis et au Canada. Leurs critiques soulignent les lacunes d'un document qui nécessitent plus d'explications ou des collectes de données supplémentaires. En fin de compte, ils aident à améliorer les manuscrits qu'ils révisent en les rendant plus faciles à lire et plus utiles aux autres dans le domaine. Ces pairs examinateurs sont des experts qui donnent de leur temps et cela semble être le défi pour ceux à qui nous faisons allusion et qui sont basés dans des institutions africaines. C'est à peine s'ils se souviennent qu'ils ont le temps de revoir les papiers. Nous ne dirions pas grand-chose à ce sujet si ce n'est que cela qui retient les manuscrits et constitue un arriéré d'articles en attente d'être examinés. Pour faire face à ce problème, l'ASR a décidé d'accepter deux rapports d'examineurs par article soumis au lieu de trois. Il y a eu du succès à cet égard, mais nous sommes toujours confrontés au même problème, surtout lorsque l'un des deux est un examinateur basé dans une institution africaine. Nous en appelons, donc, à la conscience de nos collègues de consacrer du temps à l'examen des articles lorsqu'ils sont invités à cette fin ; il maintient la roue du milieu universitaire en mouvement.

Sur une note personnelle, je veux saisir cette occasion pour faire part de mon intention de quitter mon poste de rédacteur en chef d'ASR. Ce sera bientôt et très franchement, 15 ans que le rédacteur en chef est plus qu'assez long pour maintenant démissionner. Ce fut une période très agréable et frustrante de «travail d'amour». Avant d'assumer cette responsabilité, j'étais rédacteur en chef adjoint et rédacteur en chef de l'ancienne *Society in Transition*, la revue de la South African Sociological Association, qui a été rebaptisée *South African Sociological Review* pendant 5 ans d'affilée, ce qui me donne une expérience de 20 ans dans le domaine universitaire, rédaction de revues pour ainsi dire.



J'ai fait preuve de cette expérience dans un article intitulé «Shifting Boundaries: The Academic Journal as a Technology of Transformation» publié dans *Method(e)s African Review of Social Science Methodology*, 1, 2021. Dans cet article, j'ai articulé la revue académique en Afrique dans le discours plus large de la production et de la diffusion des connaissances et « Qui parle pour l'Afrique ? » Pour cause, je tiens à exprimer ma plus sincère gratitude au sociologue sud-africain, Fred Hendericks, un ami depuis les années 1980 lorsque nous étions tous deux doctorants à l'Université d'Uppsala où j'ai quitté après mes études à Londres et dans l'Essex.

Les rédacteurs en chef exercent des responsabilités très diverses mais les miennes sont encore bien plus nombreuses et me pesaient lourdement dans la mesure où ma production académique en était affectée ; pourtant, j'ai continué, m'engageant activement à assurer et à accroître la visibilité et l'impact de la revue dans les milieux universitaires. Le large lectorat international le confirme. Les articles publiés dans la revue au cours des 15 dernières années montrent une diversité thématique et géographique, des travaux de chercheurs établis et émergents et une initiative bilingue continuent avec un nombre accru d'articles en français dans chaque numéro. L'effort initial pour publier des articles en portugais a échoué après quelques articles moins d'un an après ma direction. L'aide à cet égard n'a pas été fournie par les personnes associées à la revue qui maîtrisaient très bien la langue. C'était extrêmement décevant et ajouter à cela ma frustration. La frustration était immense. La recherche de critiques à travers le monde n'était pas une mince affaire. Devoir s'occuper des aspects techniques de la revue était une tâche similaire. J'espère que celui qui prendra la relève disposera d'une équipe éditoriale dévouée pour construire et développer davantage la revue, tout comme j'ai pu m'appuyer sur les épaules de Fred Hendericks qui m'a confié la tâche de mener la revue dans son état actuel.

Olajide Oloyede

Éditeur en chef

Revue Sociologique Africaine

Autoethnography, Reflexivity, and Insider Researcher Dynamics: Reflections on Investigating Violence against Men in Intimate Relationships

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Abstract

Autoethnography is a qualitative research method for relating lived-through personal experiences to a range of existing social representations. It is regarded as self-representation in examining and critiquing dominant representations. While the researcher's subjectivities are restricted within the ethnographic qualitative framework, autoethnography emphasises this foundation as essential to data collection, interpretation, and analysis in the research process. In this paper, I discuss how my lived-through personal experience of abuse influenced how/why I conceptualised, investigated, and represented the lived experiences of several abused male victims of intimate partner violence in Johannesburg, which are typically ignored in gender-based violence literature. The paper comments on tactics used to negotiate ethical dilemmas as part of a conceptual examination of the benefits of reflexivity and insider positionality to reinforce the self-reflective autoethnography as a valuable qualitative method.

Keywords: *Autoethnography, Reflexivity, Positionality, Investigating abused men.*

Résumé

L'autoethnographie est une méthode de recherche qualitative pour relier des expériences personnelles vécues à une gamme de représentations sociales existantes. Elle est considérée comme une représentation de soi dans l'examen et la critique des représentations dominantes. Alors que les subjectivités du chercheur sont limitées dans le cadre qualitatif ethnographique, l'autoethnographie met l'accent sur ce fondement comme essentiel à la collecte, à l'interprétation et à l'analyse des données dans le processus de recherche. Dans cet article, je discute de la manière dont mon expérience personnelle vécue de la violence a influencé comment / pourquoi j'ai conceptualisé, enquêté et représenté les expériences vécues de plusieurs hommes victimes de violence conjugale à Johannesburg, qui sont généralement ignorées dans la violence sexiste. Littérature. L'article commente les tactiques utilisées pour négocier les dilemmes éthiques dans

le cadre d'un examen conceptuel des avantages de la réflexivité et de la position d'initié pour renforcer l'autoethnographie autoréflexive en tant que méthode qualitative précieuse.

Mots clés : *Autoethnographie, Réflexivité, Positionnalité, Enquête sur les hommes maltraités.*

Introduction

Where there is a dearth of guidelines to help researchers engage reflexivity more robustly in pursuit of knowledge construction, on the one hand there is an overabundance of concern for reflexivity and positionality to establish ethical rigor in the qualitative-interpretive method (Koopman, Watling and LaDonna 2020; Pensoneau-Conway, Adams and Bolen, 2017; Berger 2013). On the other hand, criticism of research for sustaining dominance representation, sexist prejudices, and purportedly speaking to discourage achievements gained in the fights against men's oppression of women has generated resistance to engage with qualitative experiences of abuse men (Ratele et al. 2016; Seidler 2006). This is a significant concern, as writing as an insider or outsider is becoming a struggle for researchers working with participants who share similar representation with men (Medzani 2021). Yet there is still a need to redress essentialisms and differences in representation in gender-based violence research. This paper demonstrates how an autoethnographic approach can help achieve richer reflexivity, negotiate ethical concerns, and provide a voice and representation of men's experiences of abuse. This group has been routinely marginalised, silent, or ignored in gender-based violence literature (Adams, Jones and Ellis 2015; Anderson 2006). The article draws on how the researcher's autoethnographic experiences and fieldwork experience contribute in many ways to telling the stories of some men's experiences of being violated by their female partners in Johannesburg.

Qualitative researchers have become more aware of their role in knowledge-generating dynamics (Robben and Sluka 2007), allowing them to be more reflexive and critical in managing their influence in fieldwork, particularly if they are insider researchers (Gray 2014; Creswell 2013; Yin 2009; Moss 2002). Reflexivity entails a continuous self-evaluation of the researcher's prejudices, representations, and personal backgrounds such as culture, gender, and race, as well as a critical examination of the researcher's positionality urging researchers to recognize their unique privileges in relation to the study context or participants and, through reflexivity, take responsibility for their subjective lenses during the research process (Mason-Bish 2019; Gabriel 2015; Berger 2013). According to Wiederhold (2015:606), the insider researcher is a "researcher at home" who has excellent control over the process since they are familiar with or have prior knowledge of their subjects and their environments. Thus, reflexivity "involves honesty and openness" and places the researcher in a position of relative objectivity (Gray 2014:606). The researcher's candour about himself adds to the method's

credibility and makes his work more appealing to readers (Creswell 2009). However, Song and Parker (1995) note that most researchers struggle with understanding their positionality as insiders or outsiders in relation to their experiences and complexities with the phenomenon under examination. Thus, Koopman, Watling and LaDonna (2020) point out that the many sorts of commitment to openness and pathways to richer reflexivity that the insider researcher must maintain are not explicit. They argue that self-reflective autoethnographic practice is an innovation for achieving broader reflexivity because it puts the researcher's lived-through experiences front and centre as an integral component of the knowledge-making process.

Autoethnography methods provide opportunities to tell stories about personal lived experiences and to capture the experiences of others in the process of knowledge building. The terms "auto" and "ethno" allude to the subjective *self* and *cultural* milieu representing personal experiences in a social context (Reed-Danahay 2006). The lynchpin ontological viewpoint of autoethnography aims to justify how the researcher's lived experiences interact with the meanings and realities of wider social life in the knowledge-making process (Ellis 2004). From the constructionists' standpoint, autoethnographic knowledge building is coproduced in a unique, frequently fitting, power-laden, and intensely context-dependent connection between the researcher and interview participants (Gray 2014; Ellingson and Ellis 2008). Thus the critical realist position of autoethnography acknowledges that social knowledge and truth can be linked to the researcher's lived experiences, thoughts, feelings, and observations as a means of comprehending the issue and social situation under investigation, rather than being limited to objective scientific procedures (Adams, Jones and Ellis 2015; Babbie and Mouton 2011; Ellingson and Ellis 2008). Scholars are debating whether evocative or analytical features of autoethnography procedures are appropriate. The former is a narrative portrayal of the researcher's subjectivities to spotlight the experiences of society's hidden others (Bochner and Ellis 2016). In the research process, the latter explore theoretical understandings of social phenomena through meticulous, analytical reflexivity beyond the researcher's self (Anderson 2006). Despite the method's ethical shortcomings, self-reflection in autoethnographic practice has been demonstrated to benefit the researcher by increasing self-awareness on representation and positionality and providing a new and viable methodology for engaging reflexivity in the qualitative research process (Chatham-Carpenter 2010; Koopman, Watling and LaDonna 2020).

This paper shows how embracing autoethnography helped the researcher to generate new knowledge with men who had been the victims of intimate partner abuse. It emphasises the researcher's subjectivities related to reflexivity, positionality, and representation ethics. The remainder of this paper demonstrates how the researcher's autobiographical account stimulates the conceptualisation of his research and reflects the researcher's self-reflexive practice in negotiating ethical concerns in exploring men's experiences of intimate partner violence. It also highlights some of the abused men's experiences.

Conceiving the project: The mirror effect

I have been interested in gender-based violence for quite a long time, particularly violence against women. This has positioned me as a defender of women's rights who wants to see justice in any case of abuse against women. However, the cultural and masculine understanding that men are protectors of women and can bear whatever a woman throws at them left me experiencing many years of abuse from my partner. These experiences of abuse essentially informed the choice of the topic "Intimate partner violence and shifting masculinities".

Internal dialogue of the researcher

*Am I still a man? I have lost touch with my inner self. Is this my fault?
Can I come out of this cage? But real men do persist. What will people
say? Do I have options? Maybe this is my destiny* (The researcher)

My personal experience with emotional Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) hurt my psychosocial well-being and masculine identity. I've also seen and heard firsthand accounts of other men being assaulted by their female partners. Nonetheless, the prevailing depiction of women as victims of IPV, as proved statistically worldwide (WHO 2013), continues to obscure the experiences of some men who have also been victims of such violence. Thus, I chose this focus to make a case for men whose plight has been constantly ignored by society and its systems. From a self-reflective autoethnography standpoint, my specific concern was to undertake an in-depth inquiry into understanding men's gendered psychosocial identities in the context of IPV victimisation. This endeavour highlighted the malleable and precarious nature of masculinities interfacing with the concept of power and control discourses among heterosexual communities. I did this to give a voice and representation to a group of men whose lived experiences of abuse are frequently ignored (Adams, Jones and Ellis 2015). As the researcher, and in consideration of my perception of gendered representations in the country of my birth, my lived experiences of IPV motivated me to seek further to comprehend the nuances involved in trans-African men's realisation of their masculine identities, especially in contexts of changing gender relations and their susceptibility to IPV within the Johannesburg space in South Africa.

Gender equality discourses, for example, appear to have changed the power balance between men and women in intimate places (Barkhuizen 2015; Robins 2008). However, according to statistics given by the South African Police Services and Stats SA in 2018 and 2019, there were 2.01 million crimes recorded in South Africa in 2018, with an average of 58 murders each day. A woman is slain every three hours, and a woman is sexually

assaulted every 36 seconds. Estimation shows that acquaintances and intimate partners were responsible for 72 percent of all assault instances reported (Stats SA 2019; SAPS Crime Annual Stats 2019). As a result, these large-scale IPV events and gender relations dynamics provided a conducive environment for conducting this study, revealing African men's experiences of IPV in Johannesburg and the broader South African space.

Methods

Due to the delicate nature of the subject and the cultural stigma associated with male IPV victims (Randle and Graham 2011; Wassenaar 2006), I obtained permission to perform this study from two separate research ethics committees (Braun and Clarke 2013). The first was provided by the University of Johannesburg's Faculty of Humanities, while the second was from the Johannesburg Health District's District Research Committee. These clearances also permitted me to visit the RHF Hillbrow H.E.L.P. centre where the fieldwork took place. This clinic provides 24-hour health care services to sexual assault survivors and domestic violence victims and provides medical evidence to the South African criminal justice system during court hearings of cases from patients bringing accusations against accused abusers. I went into the research sites with a pre-planned convenience sampling recruiting technique to recruit abused men who visited, so I volunteered as a worker without pay, offering guidance and referral services to victims and survivors of abuse who visited the facility while also observing and gathering information in relation to answering the research question.

While doing the study, I had to think about ethics in three separate ways:

1. ethical considerations when researching groups with comparable ostensible representations, and the need to be aware of current representations. I was concerned about giving a heterodox position since the prevalent image of intimate partner violence has been male authority and control over women, which is a social threat.
2. ethical consideration when researching traumatised participants. I struggled with the problem of re-enforcing their traumatised condition, given that most of these men were interviewed when they visited the facility after bouts of abuse.
3. ethical considerations as an insider of the area being researched. Being a volunteer worker in the centre, my relationship with the interviewees raises questions about power relationships. As a result, engaging the participants and ensuring their rights and self-determination were a bit of a challenge for me.

I interviewed 25 African men from countries such as South Africa in Southern Africa, the DRC Congo in East Africa, and Nigeria in West Africa, and five key informant interviewees (nurses and police officers) over the course of five months. The interviewed men where in a relationship ranged from eight months to ten years. Four of the men interviewed were in a marital relationship, 14 were in a cohabiting relationship and seven were in a dating relationship.

These men, who live in the Johannesburg Metropolitan area, were aged 23 to 58. Despite the fact that they were “lower-class” men, their socioeconomic situation was relatively solid in comparison to their female partners, the majority of whom relied on these men for their economic sustenance. The men were involved in various sorts of profitable economic activities, with the majority being self-employed and a minority working as workers in various organisations. A large percentage of these men went on to earn a higher education qualification, while others finished high school. The majority of these men’s partners were unemployed and lacked formal schooling. Seventeen of these men’s partners were from South Africa, and six were from Zimbabwe. With respect to the key informants, these had extensive experience in their fields and were personally responsible for handling and resolving domestic violence-related matters at the RHF and police stations. One of the medical doctors in the study had been practicing clinical forensic medicine for 31 years, and the police captain had been a member of the SAPS for 20 years; at the time of the current study, she was the social crime coordinator at the police station, dealing with issues of abuse, including IPV.

Each interview with participants and informants was tape-recorded and lasted around 30 minutes to 1 hour and 30 minutes, with enough responses to answer the research topic. Participants and informants were allowed to ask questions and express any concerns at the end of each interview session. The interviews were transcribed and thematised personally, naming themes as evocative and informative and presenting them logically, with each team building on previously mentioned themes (Bochner and Ellis 2016; Braun and Clarke 2006). I kept going back to my observation protocols and juxtaposing aspects with key informants’ interviews with research participants, going through the meaning of each theme that arose and the extracts that followed with great care (Yin 2009). Participants’ verbatim quotes were incorporated into the document to offer them a voice in the final product to capture the cadence of their modes and feelings and ensure credibility and transparency. By connecting themes that captured the overall stories of the data and juxtaposing these findings against relevant existing literature on IPV and masculinity, my goal was to tell a parallel narrative that represented how individual men explain the impact of IPV on their masculine identities.

As a volunteer worker at the facility, I participate in every activity at the site, from being present at the RHF staff meetings to partaking in the centre’s community awareness campaigns, attending conferences with staff members, and pieces of training. I reported for service at the facility by 9 am and left at 3 pm. My role as a worker at the

facility facilitated my positioning as a researcher to gain insider views and subjective data (Creswell 2013). I became a participant-observer fully integrated into the activities of the site. To ensure credibility and rigor for the study's trustworthiness, I safely kept detailed records on the research process, including the field notes and audio records, which can easily be recalled. The audit trail of the data analysis process is also available; hence this further demonstrates the consistency, authenticity, and transparency of the entire research process (Creswell 2013; Babbie and Mouton 2011). I made dedicated efforts to ensure that an accurate account of the men's narratives of their lived IPV experiences, and how they impacted their masculinities, was presented without bias.

Autoethnography and reflexivity strategy

In terms of representations and my apprehension about taking a heterodox stance on gender-based violence discourses, I struggled to strike a balance between delivering a balanced story and telling a story that could be used against women as evidence of their positionalities as perpetrators. To address this, I accept the autobiographical account of my lived experience and that anecdotal reports of men being beaten by women are true. I was fully committed to offering an empirical representation of abused men, appreciating the theoretical dynamics of what leads to these men's abused experiences, and foregrounding the roles both intimate partners play in heightening tension and conflicts in their relationships, having been explicit about my intention to contribute a nuanced dimension to the literature.

In the most common sociological definition, IPV is a structural and systemic interpersonal form of domestic violence in which one partner employs damaging patterns of behaviour and aggressive tactics to force and dominate the other partner (WHO 2013; Lawson 2012; Heise 2011; Dienne and Gbeneol 2009). However, from a feminist representation, the commonly acknowledged direction recognises IPV as a gendered phenomenon founded in patriarchal expressions of dominance and continuous oppression of women by males inside intimate relationships (Anderson 2005). This is considered a spillover of patriarchal values and attitudes into the home, reinforcing women's subordination and causing social inequality. Thus power imbalance between intimate partners, with males assuming social advantage and enacting masculinities, is intimately tied to IPV outcomes (Mathew 2010; Dobash and Dobash 1979). This is adequately reflected in the vast majority of research suggesting that women make up the large majority of IPV victims, especially in more severe and lengthy forms, and men make up the vast majority of perpetrators (WHO 2013; Dragiewicz 2008), yet additional scholarly contributions highlight important nuances in the literature (Buiten and Naidoo 2020; Adebayo 2014).

Even though research into male abuse is likely still in its early phases, there appears to be a scarcity of literature in the South and plenty of documentation and knowledge sources in the North that investigate male vulnerability and vulnerabilities to IPV (Entilli and Cipolletta 2016; Costa et al. 2015; Adebayo 2014; George 1994; Costa et al. 2015; George 1994). It became necessary to explore how men operationalised themselves as risk and vulnerability elements in intimate relationships to document and treat men's susceptibility to IPV, particularly heterosexual men's reality in the South. My autobiography, on which the research is based, grew in importance.

Although I only endured emotional abuse and have been through professional therapy since 2007, my experience has left an indelible mark on me. While it is ethically appropriate not to share my experiences with abuse in detail, it illustrates how different people experience abuse in different ways. What appears to some to be innocuous can lead to suicidal thoughts. My well-being suffered as a result, and my productivity also was affected. I was mentally jumbled. A man who once felt he could take the world by storm now appears minor and confined in his own eyes. My experience hampered my thinking ability, and my masculine orientation became immutable. It was impossible to flee. However, it was vital to maintain emotional stoicism and demonstrate to others that you are still the man they believed, felt, and always confirmed you were. The game's object was to stand up for others while dying on the inside. As a result, resiliency becomes a viable option. The coping approach was perseverance. The male element that remained to be upheld was endurance. Unless you modify your environment, shame is emasculating for life. Even so, you have the impression that everyone knows. You can't tell your family since they're looking for success tales.

Being aware of my personal experience and representations, I conducted semi-structured, one-on-one in-depth interviews with the participants, leaving them considerable time to build their own descriptions of their experiences. Hence men like Mandla emphasised the different forms and severity of violence he suffered in the hands of his partner:

Firstly, she bites me here, secondly, she stabbed me with a knife at home, my landlord called ambulance they brought me here. Last two weeks she beat me with a bottle [...], yesterday she beat me again with a bottle, and bit me here, even here is the mark of last week's bite. It's like four time's serious inquiry but abusing me emotionally is many, many times even today.

Another participant, Misa, who suffered superficial burns when his partner scalded him with boiling water, described how emotional abuse may quickly escalate into more serious physical abuse:

Yes, she does use her mouth to abuse me, and it's too much. She doesn't want me to go anywhere, even if I miss her calls if I try to calling back, she will start shouting at me, she is trying to control me. Even now am supposed to go play soccer she said don't go and we start to fight.

Several men's comments reflect a habit of financial abuse leading to physical and emotional hostility. For example, Thokozani stated:

Financial abuse is there, if I say there is no money for this and that she slaps me and calls me "kwerekwere" (foreigner).

These comments were crucial in understanding the men's lived experiences with IPV. Other guided unstructured open-ended questions followed, allowing participants to contextualise their abuse experiences into physical, emotional, economic, and sexual IPV.

Furthermore I probed the sources of tensions, how tensions appeared in their relationships, and whether they were directly abused by their female partners. This probing helped to uncover the direct, indirect, and contributing elements and sources of conflict in the relationships of these African men. These elements included coming home late at night and cover-up tactics, jealousy responses, explosive anger responses, lack of conflict management, excessive alcohol consumption, low socio-economic status of the female partners, lovelessness, superiority complex and control, gender equality mores, ignorance of the relevant laws and the attitudes of police. For instance, Thabiso's case describes how some of the men's partners use violence to avoid answering questions about their whereabouts:

Yesterday we were together, and we drank, and today when I got home, I found that she was not there, and I left my things and went out, and later I went back home, and I found that she was still not home, and then when she got back late, I asked her where were you, that's where it all started, that why am I asking her that.

Although these factors earlier mentioned overlap or intersect, they emerged as the most important feature of being subjected to violent abuse from the perspective of the African men. Overall, semi-structured and unstructured in-depth interviews are

particularly effective in exploratory research to obtain extensive explanations from research participants (Bless et al. 2013).

Autoethnography helped me structure my research and informed how I progressed through the stages from a reflexivity perspective. Given the political and epistemological ethical considerations that must be adhered to in the qualitative process to assure impartiality, I recognised that I must act professionally and objectively throughout the research process (Creswell 2009; Yin 2009). I was aware of my reasons for conducting research and the meanings I placed on the process (Gabriel 2015; Berger 2013). Reflexivity became a critical ethical and strategic need to shield the participants' images of themselves as victims of abuse from my own experience because these might incidences might have occurred in different contexts. This is in the sense that there is no single "reality"; instead, the reality is contextual and layered and can be accessed through study participants' positions and inputs (Braun and Clarke 2013). I also recognised that I needed to tell a balanced story, acknowledging that more males are perpetrators of IPV (WHO 2013), but I also needed to elucidate what is real for these men, as well as the inner meanings these heterosexual men attach to their lived realities of IPV on their perceived masculinities. Thus, my autobiographical tale provided a chance to illustrate the relevance of reflexivity in relaying the participants' stories. It warranted a more in-depth examination of my behaviours, emotions, prejudices, and foreknowledge as I interacted with the participant's accounts (Koopman, Watling and LaDonna 2020; Pensoneau-Conway, Adams and Bolen 2017).

Traumatised selves and ethical strategies

The research on traumatised participants was another ethical concern. I recognised that turning off my previous trauma experiences and truly immersing myself in being a traumatised men researcher would be extremely difficult. While my own experience depicts characteristics that may make it challenging to be open to diverse points of view, it is not surprising that the same features are also present in the lives of my participants. Although I appreciate how this complexity can impede objective methodological research, nothing in autoethnographic knowledge building is coproduced in a unique context-dependent link between the researcher and the participants (Gray 2014; Ellingson and Ellis 2008). Indeed, the truth I sought was intertwined with my personal experiences and feelings (Adams, Jones and Ellis 2015; Babbie and Mouton 2011; Ellingson and Ellis 2008).

A crucial reflexive question that sprang to mind was the impact of the interview procedure on not just my participants' emotional selves but also the trigger effect this may have had on me. Hearing these men's abuse stories did, in some circumstances, evoke emotional flashbacks of my own IPV experiences. Interacting with social workers at the

general unit of the health facility regularly and participating in the briefing sessions offered by the RHF centre were valuable strategies in maintaining my mental stability.

During the interviews, ethical concerns about the participants' trauma developed. Studies have shown that male IPV survivors are likely to develop post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms (Hines and Douglas 2010). A lot of the participants were considered traumatised. This was because most of those interviewed were in victimised situations, displaying anxiety, physical pain, and discomfort (Leedy and Ormrod 2001). I ended the session and attended to the participant's immediate needs in such circumstances. Those who required psychosocial assistance were promptly referred to the facility's social workers, while those who required medical attention were referred to the medical officers. This was done in compliance with the WHO's (2010) ethical guideline, which states that participants should be provided with appropriate support services. Participants who had previously received medical assistance were free to return home if they did not want to participate in trauma counselling. They were encouraged to seek sources of support, such as family and friends' homes, to avoid future confrontations with their partners and emotionally distance themselves from the scenes of the abuse events, which exacerbated their trauma (WHO 2010). In addition, as part of my obligations as a volunteer worker at the RHF, I provided participants with follow-ups to track their emotional progress.

In my autoethnographic opinion, participants who were emotionally capable of continuing the interviews and did not desire to stop right away were encouraged to speak up if they felt overburdened or strained throughout the interview. Before referrals, the interview sessions became one method of assisting male IPV victims. These sessions provided an excellent opportunity for these individuals to ventilate, a crucial therapeutic step in treating traumatised clients (Brown et al. 2014; Griffin et al. 2003). However, researchers have noted that third-party responses might inadvertently produce secondary victimisation (Hines and Douglas, 2010), thus during the interviews I made every effort to demonstrate good communication and interpersonal skills, emotional maturity and empathy and to be non-judgmental (Babbie and Mouton 2011).

As I sat face-to-face with the men, empathy and rapport building were at the forefront of my mind. Elemenky (2005) argues that empathy is essential for obtaining detailed information from depressed and disempowered interviewees. I opened each interview by empathising with the participants' situation, telling them that they were not being condemned as victims of women-inflicted violence and encouraged them to speak up. Another method that helped create a conducive discursive environment between myself and the participants was to establish rapport. Establishing a good connection with sensitive individuals who share traumatic experiences, according to Donalek and Soldwisch (2004), may equip them emotionally and cognitively to offer meaningful narratives of their lived experiences. Building rapport with the respondent began with greetings, followed by an introduction, reiteration of the research goal, and assurance of confidentiality. Following that, participants' demographic information was collected,

including their source of income, age, as well as their partners' socioeconomic statuses. As the participants felt more at ease, I began to engage them in more serious conversations that addressed the research question and objectives that I set out to achieve. In the end, all participants stated that the interview sessions were incredibly beneficial, relieving psychological tensions, and did not worsen their traumatic situations.

Although my findings do not include accessing traumatised individuals' reactions to research participation, they confirmed the conclusions of a body of evidence that contradicts notions about the risk of involving traumatic participants in the research process. For example, Griffin et al. (2003) identified no possible danger or harm associated with 430 domestic abuse victims, rape survivors, and physical assault survivors participating in a trauma-focused study. Rape survivors agreed to participate in face-to-face interviews, according to Campbell and Adams (2009), to aid themselves and other possible survivors. Brown et al. (2014) discovered a favourable risk-benefit ratio while researching traumatised populations.

Even though participants in these studies were not involved in the aftermath of traumatic events, I did not notice the overall risk of increased traumatic stress associated with research participants among the majority of participants in my study who were in the midst of their traumatic state. My study participants stated that the interview sessions were valuable and did not find them distressing.

Positionality and insider ethics

Beyond my representation of African men being victims of IPV, there were insider ethics I had to grapple with. As an African man, a victim of abuse, and a volunteer worker (insider) at the facility where fieldwork was undertaken. I was aware of how my professional and personal experiences affected how I view women who perpetrate violence against men (Koopman, Watling and LaDonna 2020; Mason-Bish 2019; Gabriel 2015). I knew I needed to recognise and accept that I am emotionally and experientially related to the problem (Medzani 2021). I used to believe that state protection of women and societal stereotypes against men who experience IPV influenced women's use of violence and men's silence in victimisation; however, as I navigated through the research process the lens of autoethnography and reflexivity came to the fore and my conceptions were controlled (Koopman, Watling and LaDonna 2020).

Throughout the research process, I kept reminding myself that the goal of this study was not to demonise women but to raise awareness of men's experiences with violence and the impact it has on their lives, thereby asking for gender justice. While I was conscious that my gender played an essential role in the research reflexivity process (Wiederhold 2015), I found that being a man looking into the victimisation experiences of other men made my talks with these men easier. Many wanted to talk to someone

who understood or was willing to comprehend their situation without passing judgment. There were times when some men expected me to understand and agree with them on issues that they brought up during interviews. While this made me uneasy, I nodded as if in agreement and swiftly turned and deflected such inquiries with a new query. Despite my gender and status as a researcher, these men were willing to talk about the study's research question. Thus, in probing the question of masculine shifts because of IPV experiences, I was conscious of my preconceptions about what a change in masculinity means for them and me as I investigated the subject of masculine alterations resulting from IPV experiences. Despite being assaulted by their female spouse, a couple of the men continued to give narratives of embodying hyper-masculinities and active agency. For instance, men like Chucks affirmed his masculinity by saying:

What we know we men to do is to forget things and move forward. Men use to endure things. That is what they know a real man use to do. That is why I endure everything.

This seemed counterintuitive because my autoethnographic experience had taught me that a man's agency is frequently depleted in such situations. However, reflexivity allowed me to separate my personal experiences from the perspectives and experiences of the interviewees (Gray 2014; Anderson 2006). Reflexivity made me aware of my subjective ideas and position in the research process and the effects this had on the objective outcome, and this aided me considerably in gathering data that was otherwise lacking. The data has a broader base because it highlights also the narratives of other men who describe IPV as having pathological, emasculatory, and shifting impacts on their sense of self. Bafana stated how his partner's practice of control and harassment has conditioned him into a powerless position in the relationship, and how this has profoundly affected his image of manhood:

Yah, it has changed it. I don't still see myself as a man, I feel like I'm powerless now. For example, when she talks, I have to keep quiet. I don't want to argue with her, when she starts her fighting, I leave the house and come back later maybe after two hours.

Another man, Andile, felt the contestations in his relationship had "made me less of a man". Their verbal presentations were helpful in understanding their ideas about masculinity, gendered expectations, and shifting gendered relationships. For example, the study revealed that most males still maintain traditional ideas on topics like provider, financial control, decision-making, housekeeping, and sexual intercourse, while others developed more progressive views on the same issues. These men were frequently interested in these discussions because they want to prove how egalitarian or traditionally conformist they were.

As a volunteer worker at the RHF facility, I grappled with an ethical quandary. In connection with the participants' positions, I was continuously aware of my position as a volunteer worker in the institution. I recognise that my position as a worker gave me an advantage and created a power disparity between the participants and me (Berger 2013). With this in mind, I was careful not to exploit the participants; instead, I negotiated, solicited, and explained the research objective to them, giving them the research information sheets to read and making sure they signed the consent form before the interviews (Creswell 2013). To mitigate the power imbalance between me as a volunteer worker and the participants as clients, I made sure the in-depth interviews were as conversational as possible, neither commandeering nor pushing out comments from the participants (Mason-Bish 2019). I was both involved and disengaged. While I tried to understand their psychological reality, I allowed participants to freely express themselves and create meaning of their IPV experiences.

Furthermore, IPV is a touchy subject (Watts and Zimmermann 2002), as men find it difficult to describe their victimisation experiences; this was especially true of some males from South Africa and Nigeria. They kept trying to keep their experiences from being revealed explicitly. However, I obtained material essential to addressing the study question by careful involvement, presenting myself as a non-judgmental and interested party.

Insider advantages: “Dialogue sessions”

Between October 2018 and April 2019 I worked as a volunteer without pay, providing counselling and referral services to victims and survivors of abuse who visited the facility while also observing and collecting data to meet the research objectives. According to Gobo and Molle (2017), an excellent qualitative strategy is for the researcher to create direct contact with the participants by immersing himself in their surroundings to observe, participate, and characterise their behaviour over time. Thus, the character and procedures of the qualitative dialogue between the researcher and the participants are central to a modern qualitative method (Tedlock 1991, cited in Sluka and Robben 2007). In this way, providing assistance and communicating with all domestic abuse victims becomes a creative qualitative process of fusing with victims' actual experiences and acquiring a better knowledge of their position. At the same time, the goal is to procure data. My volunteering as a worker demonstrates a commitment to reciprocity - giving something helpful back to study participants in exchange for their time and effort. According to Robben and Sluka (2007), this is a new method of qualitative fieldwork in which, in my opinion, supporting the local community and gathering research data are both equally vital.

As a volunteer worker at the facility, I was involved in all aspects of the operation, from attending RHF staff meetings to participating in community awareness campaigns

and attending staff meetings and pieces of training. I arrived at the facility at 9 am for service and would leave at 3 pm as a worker. My ability to gather an insider's perspective and subjective data (Creswell 2013) evolved into a participant-observer who was fully immersed in the site's activities. I began by observing the site's more extensive details before focusing on difficulties related to my study's questions and objectives (Creswell 2013). The facility's physical environment, organisational documents, activities and talks of staff members, contacts between participants and staff members, and bodily injury and behaviour during visits, for example, were all recorded. I also kept track of my personal experiences, hunches, responses, and casual chats and exchanges with the study's informants and participants. I observed and took notes on the attitudes of some individuals in waiting lines, for example. Approximately five people in the queue expressed their dissatisfaction with the delay. One of the study's informants, a nurse at the facility, saw this and said that patients are seen on a first-come, first-served basis, save in emergencies.

Working at the facility allowed me to interact with the participants, in this case, clients, listen to them, and provide support. These client sessions aided in developing a better grasp of the dynamics and settings of victims' experiences. During these sessions, participants and other male clients discussed the character of their relationships and the sources of tensions and problems. These were brief sessions highly focused on obtaining information about their situation to provide survivors with informed guidance and referrals.

These survivors must be followed up to assess their progress and provide more instruction and direction. In the case of male clients, if they are still in a relationship, an invitation to talk in a "dialogue session" was issued to the alleged abusive partner. The dialogue sessions were usually more engaging and less emotional because, at this time, the clients were refreshed and revived. In total, nine (9) heterosexual intimate partners used dialogue sessions during fieldwork, two of whom were participants in the current study. For example, one Congolese participant named 'Lukah,' who claimed that his South African girlfriend used her son and brothers to inflict harm on him, came to the following conversation session with his partner. After hearing his partner's version of the tale, this session highlighted how Lukah's drinking was a component in his being assaulted, which he never revealed to me during our interview session. She told me that Lukah drinks and creates a quarrel at home, something he couldn't refuse. During the dialogue session, another participant, Kgaogelo, pledged to avenge his injury. All attempts to persuade him and his partner to overcome their disagreements failed, and even his partner's pleadings failed to persuade him to change his mind. However, a few weeks later it was revealed that they had reconciled, and Kgaogelo's partner expressed her gratitude for the intervention. Although the atmosphere during discourse sessions can be compared to that of a focus group (Creswell 2009), the discussions were not audiotaped, but I collected descriptive observational notes afterward, interpreting my observations regarding the current study's goal. The decision to withdraw as a volunteer

worker was made later because it was essential to engineer a critical and objective distance because the researcher's emotions were beginning to be weighed heavily by the very intimate connection with the participants. I was urged to conclude my volunteer work at the RHF respectfully.

Conclusion

The autoethnography approach is reinforced in this paper as a powerful qualitative method for drawing attention to our understanding of social issues otherwise ignored by mainstream research. The article displays the researcher's self-reflexive practice concerning ethical consequences in his work and the realities of the benefits of autoethnography, reflexivity, and insider researcher dynamics in researching sensitive themes. The researcher's autobiographical stories and how they led to the conception of the research and the tactics used to address methodological ethics problems are unique and novel models that future researchers may consider. The article also reflects on the narratives of the men, thus generating empirical knowledge of the abuse experienced by men from their female partners and how these impact masculine self-perceptions.

The use of dialogue sessions with some of the participants was an innovative qualitative method of gathering real-life data that allowed the researcher to observe and interact with participants who had been involved in recent instances of abuse with the alleged abusive partners present in the same room. The researcher undertook participatory fieldwork and displayed reciprocity by volunteering to aid and support IPV victims at the referral health centre and serving the local community, while simultaneously collecting research data that benefited both the community and the field of academic research. These are unique methodological techniques and innovations to improve research quality and practice.

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Household welfare perspective of family planning utilization in Uganda

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Abstract

The rationale for FP use has changed over time to progressively emphasize poverty reduction and welfare improvements. However, literature hasn't largely matched this change. This study, therefore, sought to contribute to this knowledge gap by exploring the impact of FP on household welfare using consumption per adult equivalent as the measure of household welfare. Data from the Uganda National Panel Survey 2018/19 and 2019/20 waves was used, and the analysis was done using pooled ordinary least squares. Results revealed that fewer male headed households and more of the women not using FP were poor as compared to their counterparts. Results also indicated FP use to increase household welfare by 6.4% among all households. This increase is however more significant for rural women. The results thus indicate the potential of using FP to bridge the rural-urban divide.

Keywords: *Family planning; Household welfare; Uganda, Rural livelihoods*

Résumé

La justification de l'utilisation de la PF a changé au fil du temps pour mettre progressivement l'accent sur la réduction de la pauvreté et l'amélioration du bien-être. Cependant, la littérature n'a pas largement correspondu à ce changement. Cette étude a donc cherché à contribuer à ce manque de connaissances en explorant l'impact de la PF sur le bien-être des ménages en utilisant la consommation par équivalent adulte comme mesure du bien-être des ménages. Les données des vagues 2018/19 et 2019/20 de l'Enquête nationale par panel de l'Ouganda ont été utilisées, et l'analyse a été effectuée à l'aide des moindres carrés ordinaires regroupés. Les

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résultats ont révélé que moins de ménages dirigés par des hommes et plus de femmes n'utilisant pas la PF étaient pauvres par rapport à leurs homologues. Les résultats ont également indiqué que l'utilisation de la PF augmentait le bien-être des ménages de 6,4 % parmi tous les ménages. Cette augmentation est cependant plus importante pour les femmes rurales. Les résultats indiquent ainsi le potentiel de l'utilisation de la PF pour combler le fossé rural-urbain.

Mots clés : *Planification familiale ; Bien-être des ménages ; Ouganda, Modes de vie ruraux*

Introduction

The 2030 Agenda reiterates that utilization of Family Planning (FP) advances the human right of individuals and households to control family size and attain the preferred birth spacing (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs - UNDESA, 2020; World Health Organization - WHO, 2020a). Given that FP matters in lowering population growth by reducing family size, the use of FP could, therefore, lead to sustainable economic growth and development of any country as well as an increase in households' per capita incomes, consequently improving household welfare (Bailey et al., 2014). Globally, the utilization of FP has been increasing and in 2020, approximately 49% of all the women in the reproductive age of 15 to 49 years were reported to have ever used FP. This however has not been the case for the Sub-Saharan African (SSA) region with only 27.8% of the women in their reproductive age using FP (UNDESA, 2020). A similar situation prevails in Uganda where the use of FP still remains low (39% among women in the reproductive age of 15 to 49 years) and this greatly impedes the country as well as households from achieving full benefits in terms of sustained economic development and welfare improvements respectively (Uganda Bureau of Statistics - UBOS, 2018).

Besides, it is worth noting that households that report deterioration in welfare are more likely to report low or non-utilization of FP, high incidences of illnesses (morbidity), severe illnesses, lack or low levels of education, low incomes, unemployment, and large family sizes (UBOS & ICF, 2018; UBOS, 2018). Therefore, reducing the number of children is very essential in relieving pressure on household resources and this explains why the use of FP is crucial in improving household welfare. This is due to the fact that with the utilization of FP leading to reduced family sizes, consequently, households are able to allocate fewer resources to healthcare services, and at the same time, women are more likely to participate in the labour market, therefore, increasing households' incomes (Babiarz et al., 2017).

Despite the Government's endeavors to improve households' welfare through development programs as well as fertility rate reduction initiatives such as FP utilization, Uganda is still struggling to improve households' welfare which instead has been declining with two in every ten households reported to be living in absolute poverty.

At the same time, Uganda's CPR remains low while the fertility rate of 5.4 children per woman is one of the highest in the world. The low CPR indicates low utilization of FP and is a huge problem that needs urgent intervention in order to realize the welfare effects of FP utilization on households (UBOS & ICF, 2018; UBOS, 2018; Babiarz et al., 2017).

Our study thus contributes to the existing body of knowledge in three ways. First, although FP has been used to successfully limit population growth and family sizes, the rationale for utilizing FP has evolved over time to rivet poverty reduction and household welfare improvements (Barbarez et al., 2017; Glasier et al., 2006). Nevertheless, the empirical literature on FP utilization has not largely matched this change, with a bulk of empirical literature on FP utilization mostly focusing on its effect on fertility rate, women and children health, and only a handful focus on the effects of FP utilization on household welfare such as Kumara and Samaratunge (2017), Hoque et al. (2015), and Kwesiga et al. (2015). Secondly, most of the studies that relate FP utilization and household welfare use income measures either income, poverty, and wealth index to proxy household welfare. Owing to the fact that income varies over time, the essay deviates from these studies by employing consumption measures specifically, the consumption per adult equivalent, to proxy household welfare. Unlike the income measures, the consumption measures are stable over time. Furthermore, studies conducted in Uganda analyze utilization of FP such as Nuwasiima et al. (2019), Tibaijuka et al. (2017), and Nanvubya et al. (2015), while others focus on the determinants of household welfare such as Khan and Morrissey (2019), Frempongy and Stadelmann (2017), Kwesiga et al. (2015) and Guloba (2014). These studies incoherently associated FP utilization and household welfare. Therefore, none of these studies tried to relate FP utilization and household welfare in Uganda. On the one hand however, with the high population growth rates of 3.26 percent annually in Uganda, coupled with large family sizes, this situation needs to be checked (UNFPA, 2017b). This is because the large family sizes and high population growth will make it harder for the government and households respectively to reduce poverty and improve household welfare. On the other hand, FP remains vital in reducing family sizes, fertility rate and improving household welfare. This study fills a void in literature by riveting FP utilization on household welfare. This study therefore aims to establish the effect of FP utilization on household welfare in Uganda.

Literature

The review of the empirical literature is based on four main factors that influence household welfare namely: family planning factors, fertility factors, household income, and socio-demographic factors. Regarding family planning factors, Joshi & Schultz

(2007) conducted an impact evaluation study to examine the effect of FP interventions on household welfare outcomes in Matlab, Bangladesh using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) and Generalized least Squares. The results indicated that household welfare in the treatment group improved considerably compared to the control group. This was because the treatment group reported reduced fertility, smaller family sizes, higher incomes, higher asset and wealth accumulation relative to the control group. Similar results are also reported by Lekobane & Seleka (2017) for Botswana. In addition, Bailey et al. (2017) suggest that utilization of FP affects household welfare through two main channels: the first channel being that the use of FP leads to lower family sizes that reduce household expenditures. The second channel then occurs when the use of FP leads to the desired birth spacing that in turn gives parents ample time to participate in the labor market hence increasing household income.

As regards the association of fertility factors (including factors that relate to maternal and child health status such as the type of illness, frequency of hospital admission, and morbidity) with household welfare, Booker et al. (2020) using panel data from 2009 to 2016 found that type of illness had no significant effect on household welfare in the United Kingdom. Kumara and Samaratunge (2017) however found that, in Sri Lanka, the type of illness and frequency of hospitalization imposes a severe burden on household resources, and in most cases, households are forced to forgo food consumption hence reducing household welfare. Also, Hoque et al. (2015) argue that coping strategies adopted by households due to various types of illnesses and increased frequency of hospitalization result in welfare losses.

Several studies such as Achida et al. (2018), Biyase and Zwane (2018), and Mansour (2012) have documented the relationship between household income and household welfare using real per capita income, happiness (measured through social indicators), and per capita income respectively, as the measure of welfare. Their results reveal that there is a positive relationship between income and household welfare. Additionally, studies that relate household income and welfare in Uganda include Tesfaye and Tirivayi (2020), Fiala and He (2016), Ssewanyana and Kasirye (2012), as well as Asimwe and Mpuga (2007). The studies point to the fact that income increases household consumption expenditure on education, children's clothing, food, and shelter that result in overall welfare improvements.

Regarding the association of socio-demographic factors with household welfare, a number of empirical studies have revealed that socio-demographic factors including characteristics such as marital status (Anyanwu, 2014), age (Sekhampu, 2013; Litchfield & McGregor, 2008), education level (Nguyen & Nguyen, 2019; Gounder, 2012), ethnicity (Nguyen & Nguyen, 2019), occupation (Lekobane & Seleka, 2017) and years of marriage as well as household characteristics such as household/family size (Ssewanyana & Kasirye, 2012; Akerele & Adewuyi, 2011) have an association with household welfare. Studies find that increasing household size negatively affects household welfare

as reported in Tanzania (Litchfield & McGregor, 2008), Nigeria (Akerle & Adewuyi, 2011), and Fiji (Gounder, 2012), owing to reduction in resources needed to satisfy the needs of every household member. Anyanwu (2014) on the other hand examined the effect of marital status on poverty and household welfare in Nigeria. The study revealed that marriage brings a number of economic and welfare benefits to the household by adding a prospective earner to the household. Ogundari & Aromolaran (2014) for Nigeria, used the double hurdle model to assess the effects of education on household welfare and observed a positive relationship. Similar results are reported for Tanzania (Litchfield & McGregor, 2008), Fiji (Gounder, 2012), Ghana, and Uganda (Khan & Morrissey, 2019; Frempongy & Stadelmann, 2017), and Vietnam (Nguyen & Nguyen, 2019). In summary, a conceptual framework reflecting the relationships analyzed in this study based on the review of the empirical literature is presented in Figure 1.

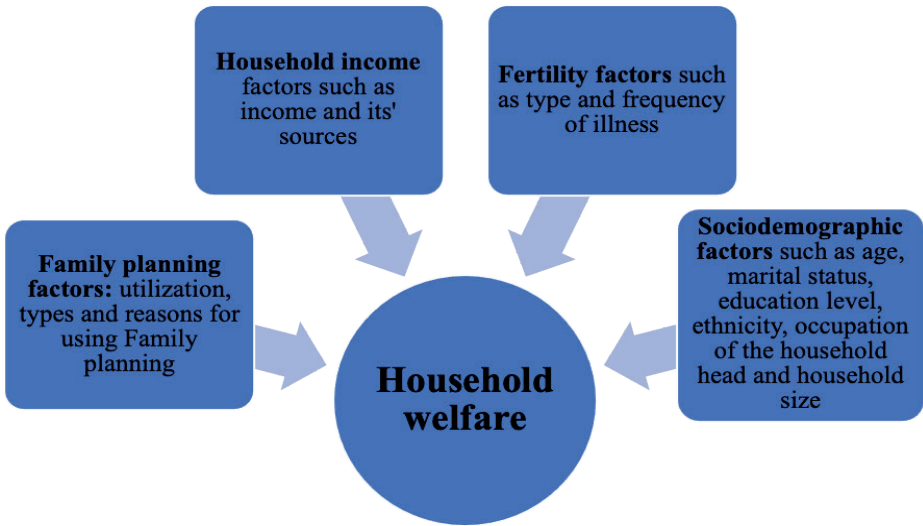


Figure 1: Conceptual framework

Materials and methods

Framework of the study

This study was based on the utility maximization theory where the welfare function takes the form of a utility function as;

$$\omega_i = f(x_i, y_i) \quad \omega_i = f(x_i, y_i) \dots \dots \dots (3.1)$$

Where, x_i is a vector of consumption goods and y_i a vector for household welfare indicators including income and demographic factors.

According to Jehle and Reny (2011), x_i is obtained by maximizing the utility function

$$\omega_i = f(x_i, y_i) \quad \omega_i = f(x_i, y_i) \quad \text{subject to the budget constraint} \quad P_x x_i = m$$

$$P_x x_i = m \quad \text{which when solved yields;} \quad x_i = x(P_x, m, y_i) \quad x_i = x(P_x, m, y_i) \dots \dots \dots (3.2)$$

Inverting the function gives, $m = m(u, P_x, y_i) \quad m = m(u, P_x, y_i)$ where m is the household consumption per adult equivalent, a proxy for household welfare, and y_i includes all factors including FP utilization.

In addition to the foregoing, as part of the household, children are believed to take a small proportion or consume less of the total expenditures and are therefore considered as fractions of adults (Appleton, 2001). The adult equivalent scale system thus allocates weights to the different household members by age and the scale ranges from zero to one. Under this system, children will be given smaller weights than adults. The sum of weights is then used to divide household consumption expenditures to arrive at a measure of welfare.

Data source

This study used nationally representative data from the 2018/19 and 2019/20 Uganda National Panel Survey (UNPS) waves which are generated as part of the World Bank Living Standards Measurement Study (LSMS-ISA) initiative. The two waves were implemented among 3100 households in 2018/19 and approximately 3000 households in 2019/20. The surveys comprise of the household questionnaire, woman questionnaire, agriculture and livestock questionnaire, as well as the community questionnaire. For the purpose of our study, we used the household and woman questionnaires as they capture households' information on age, fertility, education levels, occupation status, household incomes, and sources, marital status, household welfare, FP utilization, welfare, and

household consumption expenditures. The 2018/19 and 2019/20 UNPS datasets can be obtained online through the World Bank microdata webpage (<https://microdata.worldbank.org/index.php/catalog/>).

Study variables

The outcome variable of this study was household welfare, captured as a continuous variable. Owing to the multidimensional characteristic of household welfare, this study restricts itself to a money-metric measure to proxy household welfare which is consumption per adult equivalent (Guloba, 2014; Moratti & Natali, 2012).

The main independent variable was the women's family planning method utilization measured as a dummy variable with "1" representing their use of any form/ method of family planning to avoid or delay pregnancy and "0" otherwise.

Model

The choice of empirical model was based on panel data regression analysis and therefore specified as follows (in equation 1);

$$\boxed{hhd\ welfare = f(\text{family planning factors, sociodemographic variables, fertility factors, household income factors}) + \text{error term}} \dots (1)$$

Sociodemographic variables include age, marital status, education level, occupation, household size and years of marriage, while fertility factors are factors that relate to maternal and child health status such as the type of illness, frequency of hospital admission and that of morbidity). Household income factors include average monthly household income and the major source of income.

Decomposing equation 1 into specific variables used in this study led to the following:

$$\boxed{hhd\ welfare = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Age_{it} + \beta_2 M_status_{it} + \beta_3 Edu_{it} + \beta_4 HHsize_{it} + \beta_5 Freq_{it} + \beta_6 Income_source_{it} + \beta_7 Resd_{it} + \beta_8 GenderHH_{it} + \beta_9 FP_{it} + \varepsilon_{it}}$$

..... (2)

Where Age, M_status, and Edu, denote the woman's age, marital status, and education level, respectively while Hhsize represents the household size, Freq represents the frequency of hospital admission/morbidity, Income_source represents the women's income sources. Resd represents the place of residence, GenderHH represents the gender of the household head, and FP represents FP utilization.

Diagnostic tests

Model Selection Test

The Hausman test and Breusch-Pagan Lagrange multiplier (LM) test are used to ascertain the suitable model among Random Effects (RE), Fixed Effects (FE), and Pooled Ordinary Least Squares (POLS). The findings from the Hausman test in Table A1 reveal that the p-value is 0.1458 (which is greater than 0.05), therefore, we fail to reject the null hypothesis and confidently state that RE is the most suitable model. Having opted for the RE model, the LM test was then used to decide whether to use POLS or RE, and the results for the test are presented in Table A2. With $\text{Prob} > \chi^2 = 1.0000$ which is above 0.05, we fail to reject the null hypothesis at a 5 percent level of significance and conclude that POLS is the most preferred model.

Multicollinearity test

Severe multicollinearity causes high standard errors and unexpected signs for the coefficients. To ascertain whether there is presence of multicollinearity, a Pearson correlation matrix and Variance Inflation Factors (VIF) were used. The results in Table A3 show that the mean VIF is 1.56 which is way below the cut-off point of 10, therefore, we confidently conclude that multicollinearity is not a problem for the study results.

Heteroskedasticity test

Heteroscedasticity leads to less efficient estimates. Therefore, Breusch-Pagan/Cook-Weisberg test was carried out to test for heteroskedasticity and presented in Table A4. The results reveal that $\text{Prob} > \chi^2$ is 0.3709, which is greater than 0.05 (at a 5 percent level of significance). Therefore, we fail to reject the null hypothesis and conclude that heteroscedasticity is not present.

Model specification test

In order to check if the model is correctly specified, two tests were carried out namely; the Link test and Ramsey RESET test, and the results presented in Tables A5 and A6 respectively. The null hypothesis for the two tests states that the model is correctly specified. In addition, the link test generates two variables ($_hat$ and $_hatsq$) whose probability values must be above 5 percent for the model to be correctly specified. From Table A5, it can be observed that the p-values for $_hat$ and $_hatsq$ are 0.334 and 0.904

which are above 0.05 therefore we conclude that the model is correctly specified. On the other hand, the Prob>F is 0.9205 in Table A6 which is above 0.05 thus we fail to reject the null hypothesis and conclude that the model is correctly specified.

Test for Normality

One of the key assumptions for Ordinary Least Squares is that the data must be normally distributed. To test whether the data is normally distributed or not, we used the Jarque-Bera (JB) test on the predicted residuals. The results from the JB test are presented in Table A7. Table A7 shows that the probability value is 0.8022 (at a 5 percent level of significance), therefore, we fail to reject the null hypothesis for normality and conclude that the data is normally distributed.

Statistical analysis

Our empirical investigation focused on establishing the impact of FPM utilization on household welfare. We first conducted descriptive statistics, then the diagnostic tests including the model selection tests, model specification test, multicollinearity test, heteroskedasticity test as well as the test for normality, and finally adopted the pooled OLS to regress FPM use on household welfare.

Results

Summary statistics

In Table 1, the share of households living in poverty is approximately 18 percent. Additionally, women on average live in households comprising of about 5.8 members with a minimum of 1 member and a maximum of 18 members. Approximately 25 percent of the women reside in urban households while the majority of their counterparts (that is 75 percent) live in rural areas. This concurs with the national statistics that report Uganda's population to be majorly rural with over 76 percent of the total population living in the rural areas (UBOS, 2020a). As regards household headship, the results reveal that the households are predominantly headed by males (68 percent) while only 32 percent of the households are female-headed. The average age of the women is about 32 years. In addition, the majority of the women are married (67 percent) and about 21 percent have never been married, while 9 percent and 3 percent are divorced and widowed correspondingly.

Table 1: Summary statistics for the overall sample

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Household Characteristics					
Household Welfare (log)	4072	11.255	0.755	8.426	14.492
Poverty status	4072	0.18	0.384	0	1
Household Size	4072	5.791	2.585	1	18
Location (urban)	4072	0.25	0.433	0	1
Gender of the household head	4071	0.683	0.465	0	1
Women Characteristics					
Age	4072	31.647	9.724	15	49
FP utilization	3578	0.368	0.482	0	1
Employment status	4072	0.127	0.333	0	1
Farming	4072	0.489	0.5	0	1
Property	4072	0.014	0.116	0	1
Transfers	4072	0.002	0.041	0	1
Wage	4072	0.213	0.41	0	1
Non-agricultural earnings	4072	0.236	0.425	0	1
Other Income sources	4072	0.046	0.21	0	1
No formal education	4072	0.098	0.297	0	1
Primary	4072	0.631	0.482	0	1
Secondary	4072	0.215	0.411	0	1
Post-secondary and Tertiary	4072	0.055	0.229	0	1
Never married	4072	0.212	0.409	0	1
Married	4072	0.667	0.471	0	1
Divorced	4072	0.086	0.28	0	1
Widowed	4072	0.035	0.185	0	1

Source: Author's computation based on the 2018/19 and 2019/20 panels

Consumption expenditure per adult equivalent among users and non-users of FPM

Table 2 provides insights into the distribution of income at national level, among users of FP and non-users of FP between the survey periods for the years 2018/19 and 2019/20. In Table 2 the welfare level based on consumption per adult equivalent at the median and other deciles is presented. The results show that welfare increases at all deciles at national level and among users of FP. However, among the non-users, we note a negative change in welfare at the 9th decile (the lower bounds of the 10 percent relatively rich Ugandans) of about 1.6 percent. Nonetheless, Results also indicate an exceptional increase in welfare in 2019/20 from 2018/19 by the category of FP utilization with a strong increase among users in the 7th and 8th deciles compared to non-users, while the non-users had a strong increase for the 1st and 3rd decile compared to the users of FP. Generally, the pattern for users of FP is close to that of the country as a whole than that for non-users where the picture is a little bit different.

Table 2: Consumption expenditure per adult equivalent among users and non-users of FPM

	2018/19	2019/20	%_change
National			
Decile 1	23,211	27,255	17.4
Decile 2	35,735	42,070	17.7
Decile 3	43,520	50,953	17.1
Decile 4	51,638	59,169	14.6
Decile 5	60,721	68,885	13.4
Decile 6	71,614	81,947	14.4
Decile 7	87,632	98,778	12.7
Decile 8	111,279	123,181	10.7
Decile 9	158,873	173,299	9.1
Using FPM			
Decile 1	26,661	31,191	17.0
Decile 2	38,554	45,681	18.5
Decile 3	46,285	54,395	17.5
Decile 4	54,402	62,910	15.6
Decile 5	63,286	72,777	15.0
Decile 6	75,123	86,152	14.5
Decile 7	90,837	102,922	13.3
Decile 8	113,687	127,138	11.8
Decile 9	156,040	170,329	9.2

Not Using FPM

Decile 1	20,443	24,859	21.6
Decile 2	32,505	38,190	17.5
Decile 3	40,388	47,949	18.7
Decile 4	47,894	55,215	15.3
Decile 5	57,610	63,327	9.9
Decile 6	67,761	74,680	10.2
Decile 7	83,119	89,949	8.2
Decile 8	107,345	113,020	5.3
Decile 9	163,201	160,511	-1.6

Source: Author's computation based on the 2018/19 and 2019/20 panels

Poverty status by gender of the household head and by residence

Comparative statistics of poverty status by gender of the household head, area of residence, and FP use are presented in Table 3. The proportion of poor households reduced from 21.9 percent in 2018/19 to 14.1 percent in 2019/20. Other differences in poverty status by gender of household head, area of residence, and FP use can be observed in Table 3. This supports evidence that overall 8 percent of households had moved out of poverty in 2018/19, although, the government of Uganda expects an increase in the poverty numbers due to COVID-19 effects (UBOS, 2020b). In addition, the percentage decline in the proportion of poor households was higher among the users of FP compared to those not using FP with 42.3 percent decline among users compared to the 29.6 percent $\left[\frac{(8.1 - 11.5)}{11.5} * 100\right]$ decline among non-users.

Table 3: Poverty status by gender of household head and residence (% of total)

	2018/19			2019/20		
	Poor	Non-Poor	All	Poor	Non-Poor	All
Gender of Household head						
Female	7.5	23.6	31.1	5.0	27.4	32.4
Male	14.4	54.5	68.9	9.1	58.5	67.6
Area of residence						
Rural	19.5	55.4	74.9	12.6	62.7	75.3
Urban	2.4	22.7	25.1	1.5	23.2	24.7
Any FP use						
No	11.5	32.8	44.3	8.1	32.5	40.6
Yes	10.4	45.3	55.7	6.0	53.4	59.4
All	21.9	78.1	100	14.1	85.9	100

Source: Author's computation based on the 2018/19 and 2019/20 panels

Poverty status by socio-demographic characteristics

Table 4 is a continuation of Table 3 with the overall comparative statistics of poverty status by the socio-demographic characteristics in both panel years (that is with 2018/19 and 2019/20 combined). Table 4 reveals that less male headed households are poor compared to their female counterparts. From Table 4, it is also revealed that 19 percent of the male headed households are poor compared to 21 percent of their female counterparts. It is important to note that poverty deprives households and individuals of the most basic human needs like food, clothing, shelter, and this, in turn, reduces their welfare. However, in most cases males unlike females are well-endowed with resources, while also some women are still faced with gender discrimination that has been identified as one of the key obstacles to overall welfare improvement and poverty alleviation (Shackleton et al., 2011). It is against this backdrop, that we partly attribute the finding that the welfare of the male headed households is slightly better than that of their female counterparts.

Concerning FP utilization, it is evidenced that the majority of the households that report not to use any FPM are poor (23 percent) relative to their counterparts using FP (15 percent). This observation resonates well with the argument by Hakizimana and Odjidja (2021) that low utilization of FP leads to large family sizes that exert a lot of pressure on household resources in terms of educating and feeding so many children and thus leading to high poverty incidences and reduced welfare. Considering the location of the household, fewer urban households were poor (8 percent) relative to rural households (23 percent). This finding is supported by the arguments by Sen et al. (2021) and Bloom et al. (2008) that reveal that urban households unlike their rural counterparts engage in well-paying industrial and non-farm employment opportunities. This, therefore, brings about the association of urban households with higher incomes, higher consumptions per capita, and are thus less likely to be poor as compared to rural households. In addition, it is evidenced that the majority of the women with no formal education are reported to be poor (50 percent) while the least had completed post-secondary and tertiary education (1 percent). In other words, poverty status declines with the education level from 50 percent (no formal education) to 1 percent (completed post-secondary and tertiary education). This is partly attributable to the fact that education provides individuals with better employment opportunities and in turn, they are in a position to secure well-paying jobs (International Labour Organization [ILO], 2020).

Table 4: Poverty status by socio-demographic characteristics

	Household's			Household's	
	Poverty Status			Poverty Status	
	Poor (%)	Non-Poor (%)		Poor (%)	Non-Poor (%)
Gender of the household head			Employment Status		
Male	19	81	Employed	20	80
Female	21	79	Otherwise	20	80
Area of residence			Education Level		
Urban	8	92	No Formal Education	50	50
Rural	23	77	Completed Primary	20	80
FP Utilization			Completed Secondary	7	93
Yes	15	85	Completed Post- Secondary and Tertiary	1	99
No	23	77	Income Sources		
Marital Status			Farming	19	81
Never Married	19	81	Property	3	97
Married	20	80	Transfers	0	100
Divorced	12	88	Wages	15	85
Widowed	28	72	Non-Agricultural Enterprises	17	83

Source: Author's computation based on the 2018/19 and 2019/20 panels

Income distribution by household size, FP use, gender of the household head, and poverty status

Figure 1 shows the distribution of income (consumption expenditure is used as a proxy for permanent income) by household size, FP use, gender of the household head, and poverty status. Particularly, Figure 1a illustrates the distribution of income by household size for 2018/19 and 2019/20. The distribution indicates an increase in household size between the survey periods. Households with larger numbers of people have low incomes. With regard to income distribution by FP use, Figure 1b indicates that households in which women were not using FPM, had relatively low income (many with less than Ushs.500,000 per month) compared to the households where women were using FPM. On the other hand, as shown in Figure 1c female headed households had relatively low income compared to male headed households, which actually shows the relative vulnerability of these female headed households. Figure 1d also provides insights into the distribution of income by household size and poverty status. The results reveal that the poor have a relatively high number of household members but with an extremely low income below Ushs.100,000 compared to the non-poor households.

Figure 3.2a

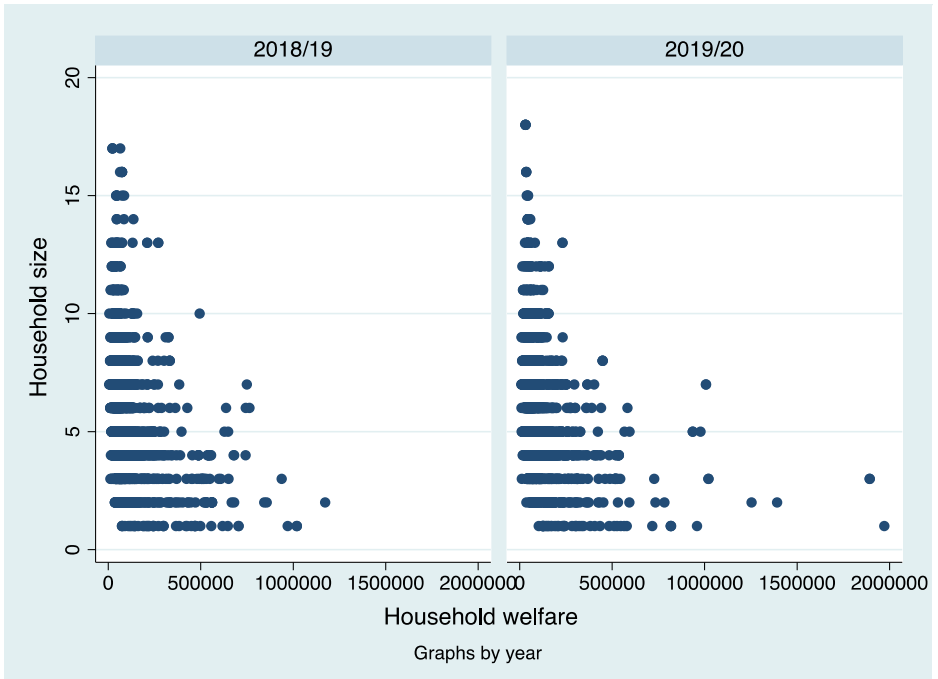


Figure 3.2b

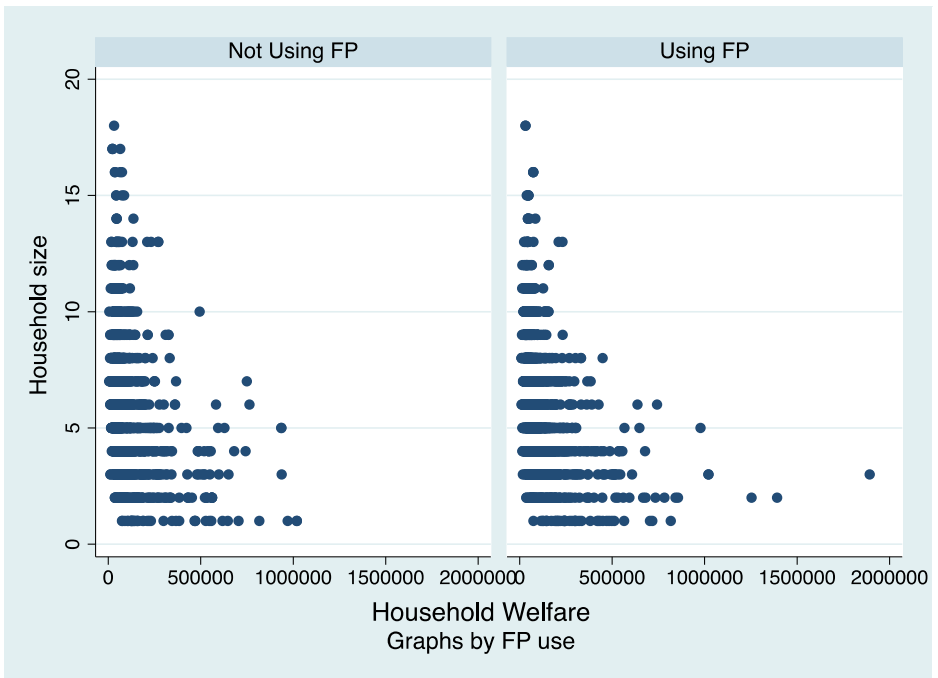


Figure 3.2c

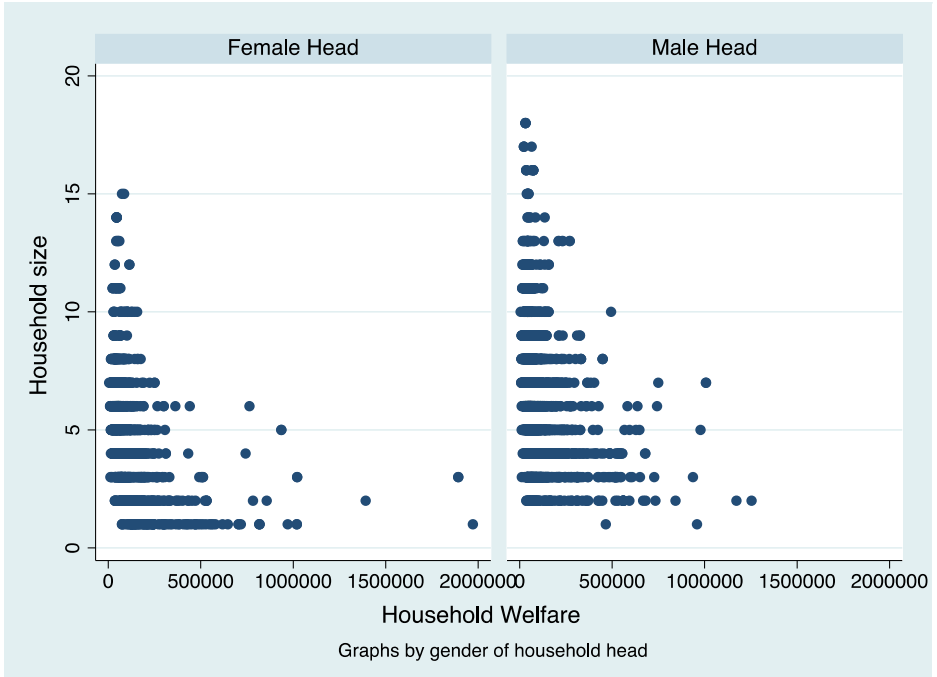
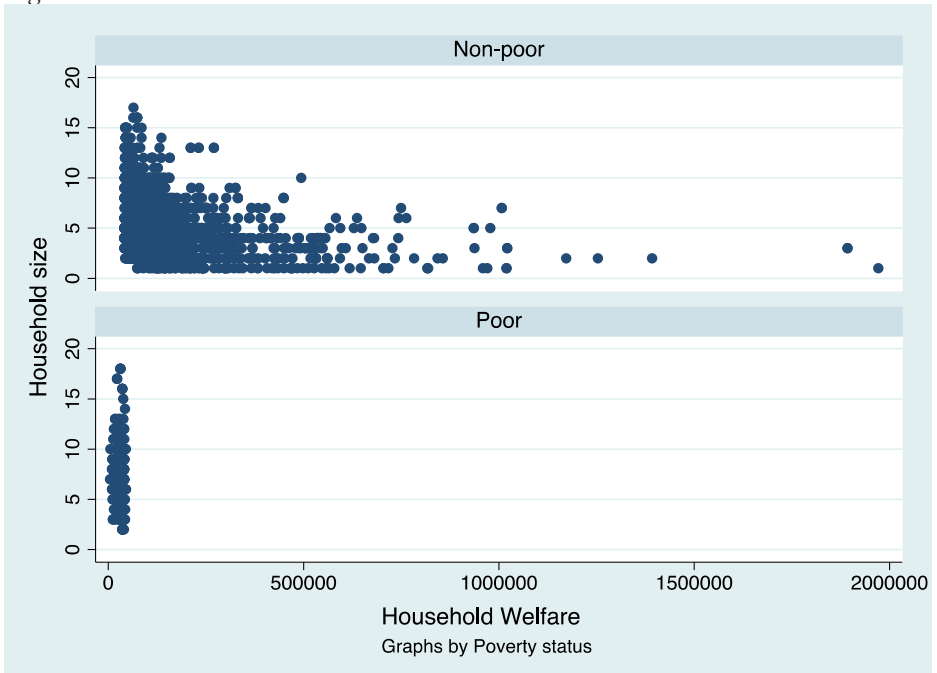


Figure 3.2d



Source: Author's computation based on the 2018/19 and 2019/20 panels

Figure 2: Income distribution (Ushs) by household size, FP use, gender of household head, and poverty status

Results from the pooled OLS

In Table 5 we regress the log of welfare on FP use in order to examine whether there FP on its own plays a part in improving household welfare, keeping other factors constant. The results in Table 5 reveal that on its own, FP utilization does not influence household welfare. Therefore, even with the improvements in welfare being greater among FP users as shown in Table 3 and Table 4, we cannot confidently conclude that these improvements in welfare are attributed to FP utilization by itself.

Table 5: Pooled OLS results for the log of welfare and FP use.

Lnwelfare	Coef.	Std. Err	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Use	0.0189	0.0220	0.86	0.391	-0.0243	0.0621
_cons	11.2379	0.0204	551.68	0.000	11.1980	11.2778
sigma_u	0.6748					
sigma_e	0.3591					
Rho	0.7793				(fraction of variance due to u_i)	

Source: Author's computation based on the 2018/19 and 2019/20 panels

With the inclusion of other explanatory variables in the model for household welfare, the findings in Table 6 reveal that utilization of FP positively influences household welfare (6.4 percent welfare improvement). This is partly explained by the fact that the use of FP lowers the number of children that in turn frees up household resources for food and non-food consumption. Similarly, the use of FP results in the desired birth spacing that in turn gives parents ample time to participate in the labour market and earn income. These results are also reported in a similar study by Bailey et al. (2017) where the study found out that the use of FP freed up household resources and led to extra income due to increased labour market participation thereby improving household welfare. On the other hand, the results in Table 6 also reveal that FPM utilization is significant in explaining increases in household welfare only among women in rural households. This finding shows that FPM could be used to bridge the urban-rural divide in Uganda.

Table 6: Results for the Pooled OLS Model for the log of welfare

Lnwelfare	All (1)	Non-Poor (2)	Poor (3)	Urban (4)	Rural (5)
FPM Utilization	0.064*	0.065 (0.046)	-0.010 (0.033)	-0.022 (0.084)	0.079** (0.038)
Household size	-0.105***	-0.023*** (0.009)	-0.084*** (0.007)	-0.137*** (0.017)	-0.097*** (0.007)
Urban Location	0.266***	-0.028 (0.071)	0.268*** (0.038)		
Gender of the Household Head	0.050	-0.027 (0.056)	0.007 (0.040)	-0.023 (0.100)	0.068 (0.045)
Lnage	0.228***	0.160 (0.097)	0.172*** (0.063)	0.216 (0.173)	0.243*** (0.072)
Frequency of hospitalization	0.004**	0.001 (0.003)	0.005** (0.002)	-0.005 (0.006)	0.006** (0.002)
Educational attainment (No Education)					
Completed Primary	0.308***	0.199*** (0.054)	0.036 (0.059)	0.883*** (0.218)	0.261*** (0.054)
Completed Secondary	0.660***	0.389*** (0.092)	0.323*** (0.068)	1.245*** (0.223)	0.593*** (0.070)
Post-Secondary and Tertiary	1.130***	0.622** (0.309)	0.761*** (0.089)	1.786*** (0.244)	0.994*** (0.121)
Income source (Farming)					
Property	0.390**	-0.014 (0.306)	0.395*** (0.148)	0.403** (0.196)	
Transfers	0.377		0.262 (0.237)	0.384 (0.439)	0.427 (0.370)
Wage	-0.036	-0.087 (0.054)	-0.002 (0.041)	-0.030 (0.111)	-0.012 (0.047)
Non-agricultural earnings	0.118***	-0.082 (0.056)	0.124*** (0.040)	0.232** (0.108)	0.048 (0.046)
Other Income Sources	0.071	-0.172 (0.0180)	0.015 (0.064)	-0.105 (0.160)	0.133 (0.082)
Marital status (Married monogamously)					
Married Polygamous	-0.001	-0.085 (0.054)	0.048 (0.043)	0.146 (0.119)	-0.026 (0.047)
Divorced/ Separated	0.052	0.179* (0.097)	-0.030 (0.057)	0.053 (0.134)	0.046 (0.069)
Widowed	0.010	-0.071 (0.096)	0.080 (0.086)	0.383** (0.185)	-0.113 (0.096)
Never Married	0.147**	0.089 (0.088)	0.127** (0.058)	0.273* (0.143)	0.111 (0.068)

Note. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Source: Author's computation based on the 2018/19 and 2019/20 panels

From Table 6, it is revealed that household size has a negative implication on household welfare (about 10.5 percent welfare loss) among all women. The results also reveal that household size has a negative impact of 2 percent, 8 percent, 9 percent, and 14 percent, on household welfare among women living in non-poor, poor, rural, and urban households respectively. This observation is attributed to the fact that household size squeezes household resources that forces households to lower their consumption levels thus reducing household welfare. These results are in conformity to those reported by studies by Gounder (2012), Akerlele and Adewuyi (2011), as well as Litchfield and Mcgregor (2008). The authors consistently agreed that welfare deteriorates with an increase in household size. The authors further argued that an increase in household size significantly reduced resources needed to satisfy the needs of every household member thereby lowering household welfare.

The results also reveal that an increase in the frequency of hospital admissions leads to a welfare gain of about 0.4 percent. This is partly due to the fact that healthcare services serve as inputs to women's good health. Thus, frequent hospital admissions would increase utilization of healthcare services that in turn improve women's health and they thus are able to participate in the labour market and earn incomes. This in turn improves the individual and overall household welfare. These results are in line with Grossman (1972) who contended that individuals obtain utility (welfare) by demanding healthcare services. On the contrary, however, Kumara and Samaratunge (2017) found that, in Sri Lanka, frequency of hospitalization imposes a severe burden on household resources and in most cases, households are forced to forgo food consumption hence reducing household welfare. Regarding age and frequency of hospitalization in regressions 2, 3, 4, and 5, an increase in age and frequency of hospitalization is associated with an enhancement in household welfare of 17.2 percent and 0.05 percent respectively among the poor households and 24.3 percent and 0.06 percent respectively among urban households. Similar findings for age, are reported by Sekhampu (2013) and Litchfield and Mcgregor (2008).

Regarding education level, the results reveal that education positively affects welfare. Households whose women had completed primary education, secondary education, and tertiary education reported 30.8 percent, 66 percent, and 113 percent registered welfare gains relative to their counterparts without any formal education respectively. The magnitude of the coefficients as seen in Table 6 increases with the increase in education level for women living in the non-poor, poor, urban, and rural households as well. Similar findings of the increase in years of schooling enhancing household welfare are reported by Khan and Morrissey (2019), Nguyen and Nguyen (2019) as well as Frempongy and Stadelmann (2017).

Regarding income sources, income sources from property and non-agricultural earnings positively affect household welfare (welfare gains of 39 percent and 11.8 percent respectively) relative to income from farming. Incomes from property and non-agricultural earnings increases household consumption expenditure on education,

children clothing, food, and shelter that result in welfare improvements. Income sources from property and non-agricultural earnings among the poor positively affect household welfare (welfare gains of 39.5 percent and 12.4 percent respectively) relative to income from farming. Similarly, Nguyen and Nguyen (2019) found out that both agricultural/farm and non-farm income sources enhance household welfare. However, in their study, they report that farm income sources had a larger impact on household welfare relative to non-farm income sources (from formal and self-employment income) which is the opposite case with our findings. Also, income sources from property and non-agricultural earnings among the urban households positively affect household welfare (welfare gains of 40.3 percent and 23.2 percent respectively) relative to income from farming.

As regards marital status, although weakly significant, being a *non-poor* divorcee and being an *urban* never married is associated with a welfare improvement of 17.9 percent and 27.3 percent respectively compared to their married counterparts. Also, at the 5 percent level of significance, being a *poor* never married, and being an *urban* widow positively affects household welfare (welfare gains of 12.7 percent and 38.3 percent respectively) relative to their married counterparts. Lastly, being never married has a positive impact on household welfare (increases welfare by 15 percent) compared to being married among all women. This finding is supported by Akerele and Adewuyi (2011). This can be explained by the fact that, depending on the household earnings as well as the number of children, the marrieds have to cut the combined household income and benefits in order to cater for all household members. On the other hand, this finding contradicts with Lekobane and Seleka (2017) and Anyanwu (2014) who report that marriage is associated with better welfare outcomes as a result of wealth accumulation from both parties while Achida et al. (2018) and Ratcliffe et al. (2002) found no relationship.

Conclusions and policy recommendations.

Our study uses the Uganda National Panel Survey data for 2018/19 and 2019/20 to document the impact of FPM utilization on household welfare. Similarly, the socio-demographic characteristics that affect household welfare are explored. First, the study reveals that majority of the households where the women live are located in rural areas. At the same time, the results also reveal that fewer urban households are poor compared to rural households. The results also reveal that majority of the households are male headed, with fewer male headed households reported to be poor compared to the female headed households. In addition, the results also reveal that only a third of the women are using FPM, more of the women not using FP are poor, and more women with no education are poor. This implies that policies should be designed towards enhancing access to FPM and making them affordable especially to the women in rural areas. Similarly, the results reveal that the use of FPM use alone does not play a significant role in welfare improvement.

However, when modeled with other variables FPM use improves household welfare among all women but is more significant among rural women.

Also, regarding socio-demographics and other characteristics, living in the urban area, increases in age, being educated (completed primary, completed secondary, post-secondary, and tertiary education) as well as having property and non-agricultural enterprises improve household welfare. However, an increase in household size leads to a deterioration in household welfare. Therefore, policies that aim at improving educational attainment and improving accessibility and affordability of FPM, especially in the rural areas as well as programs geared towards wealth creation and gender-based poverty interventions are highly recommended especially among female headed households in Uganda. In the educational sector, the thinking and value system of both parents and their children need to be urgently reorientated through mass educational campaigns regarding the importance of education and the need for parents to insist on their children going to school at least up to their first degree. Also, FP programs should aim to improve not only knowledge but also acceptance and practice of FP.

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Appendices

Table A1: Results from the Hausman Test

b = Consistent under H0 and Ha; obtained from xtreg.

B = Inconsistent under Ha, efficient under H0; obtained from xtreg.

Test of H0: Difference in coefficients not systematic

$\text{Chi}^2(18) = (b-B)'[(V_b - V_B)^{-1}](b-B) = 25.63$

Prob > chi2 = 0.1076

Source: Author's computation based on the 2018/19 and 2019/20 panels

Table A2: Results from Breusch-Pagan Lagrange multiplier (LM) Test for Random Effects

Variable	Var	SD=sqrt (Var)
Lnwelfare	0.5203	0.7213
e	0.3075	0.5545
u	0.0000	0.0000

Test: Var(u) = 0

chibar2(01) = 0.00

Prob > chi2 = 1.0000

Source: Author's computation based on the 2018/19 and 2019/20 panels

Table A3: Results for the Variance Inflation Factors (VIF)

Variable	VIF	1/VIF
FP Utilization	1.15	0.866415
Primary	2.47	0.405093
Secondary	2.46	0.407112
Post-Secondary and Tertiary	1.50	0.664519
Married	2.71	0.368767
Divorced	2.07	0.482158
Widowed	1.83	0.546401
Age	1.68	0.595204
Household Size	1.17	0.854848
Gender of the Household Head	1.57	0.637338
Employment Status	1.21	0.829349
Location	1.28	0.781970
Non-Agricultural Enterprises	1.25	0.799886
Wages	1.33	0.749165
Property	1.10	0.910710
Others	1.18	0.846165
Transfers	1.02	0.978129
Frequency	1.03	0.970042
Mean VIF	1.56	

Source: Author's computation based on the 2018/19 and 2019/20 panels

Table A4: Results from Breusch–Pagan/Cook–Weisberg Test for Heteroskedasticity

Assumption: Normal error terms

Variable: Fitted values of Lnwelfare

H0: Constant variance

Chi2(1) = 0.80

Prob > chi2 = 0.3709

*Source: Author's computation based on the 2018/19 and 2019/20 panels***Table A5:** Result from the Link Test for model specification

Lnwelfare	Coefficient	Std. Err.	T	P>t	[95% Confidence Interval	
_hat	1.141	1.161	0.980	0.334	-1.231	3.512
_hatsq	-0.006	0.051	-0.120	0.904	-0.111	0.098
_cons	-0.791	6.560	-0.120	0.905	-14.188	12.606

*Source: Author's computation based on the 2018/19 and 2019/20 panels***Table A6:** Results from the Ramsey RESET Test for Omitted Variables

Omitted: Powers of fitted values of Lnwelfare

H0: Model has no omitted variables

F (3, 16) = 0.16

Prob > F= 0.9205

*Source: Author's computation based on the 2018/19 and 2019/20 panels***Table A7:** Pearson's Matrix of Correlations (For FPM utilization and Household Welfare)

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1. Household's Welfare	1.000										
2. Family Planning Utilization	0.110	1.000									
3. Marital Status	0.039	0.144	1.000								
4. Income Source	0.212	0.095	0.025	1.000							
5. Frequency	0.020	-0.044	0.087	-0.026	1.000						
6. Employment Status	0.034	-0.002	0.089	0.156	-0.040	1.000					
7. education Level	0.418	0.125	-0.169	0.179	-0.068	0.094	1.000				
8. Age	0.030	0.126	0.507	0.020	0.074	0.061	-0.177	1.000			
9. Gender of the Household Head	-0.095	0.032	-0.330	-0.200	0.027	-0.225	0.077	-0.135	1.000		
10. Household Size	-0.422	-0.074	-0.197	-0.151	0.007	-0.168	-0.019	-0.037	0.284	1.000	
11. Location	0.358	0.065	0.021	0.305	-0.016	0.057	0.292	-0.044	-0.084	-0.140	1.000

Source: Author's Computations based on the 2018/19 and 2019/20 panels

Lorsque le juge est une femme : une réflexion sur l'influence du sexe des juges sur le jugement à travers le cas de la succession des femmes au Burundi

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Résumé

La féminisation de la magistrature a suscité diverses réactions, tant du côté des chercheurs que des acteurs. Les premiers se sont interrogés notamment à l'influence du sexe des juges sur la façon de juger alors que les seconds se sont inquiétés d'une probable partialité des juges femmes à l'égard des intérêts des femmes surtout pour les affaires familiales opposant les hommes et les femmes. Prenant appui sur le cas de la succession au Burundi où des affaires opposant les femmes à leurs frères sont soumises aux tribunaux, cet article tente de répondre à la question de l'influence du sexe des juges sur le jugement. Les données à la base de l'analyse sont constituées de 16 entretiens avec les juges et de 214 jugements. Elles ont été collectées à l'occasion d'une recherche doctorale entre 2018 et 2020 dans deux Tribunaux de Résidence du Burundi à savoir Mutambu situé dans le milieu rural et Kamenge dans le milieu urbain de Bujumbura. L'analyse qualitative des données montre qu'à part quelques aspects, il n'existe pas de différence notable entre la façon de juger des juges de sexe masculin aussi bien que féminin.

Mots-clés : genre, jugement, juges, Tribunaux, Burundi

Abstract

The feminization of the judiciary has aroused various reactions, both from researchers and actors. The former wondered about the influence of the sex of the judges on the way of judging, while the latter worried about a probable bias of female judges regarding the interests of women, especially for family cases opposing men and women. Based on the case of succession in Burundi where cases opposing women to their brothers are submitted to the courts, this article

attempts to answer the question of the influence of the gender of judges on the judgment. The data on which the analysis is based consist of 16 interviews with judges and 214 judgements. They were collected during doctoral research between 2018 and 2020 in two Residence Courts in Burundi, namely Mutambu located in rural areas and Kamenge located in urban areas of Bujumbura. The qualitative analysis of the data shows that apart from a few aspects, there is no significant difference between the way of judging male and female judges.

Keywords: *gender, judgement, judges, courts, Burundi*

Introduction

Au Burundi, il n'existe pas de loi sur la succession. Celle-ci est réglémentée par la coutume qui consacre le privilège de la masculinité (Ndayiziga et Ngayimpenda, 2016). Selon les dispositions coutumières, la terre est un bien lignager qui doit rester au sein de la famille. C'est cela qui explique le refus de l'héritage aux femmes mariées qui risquent de transmettre la propriété foncière familiale à un autre lignage (Nzohabonayo et Ndikumana, 2020). Ainsi, lors du partage de la succession, celles-ci reçoivent l'Igiseke - une portion variable de la propriété foncière familiale mais inférieure à celle des enfants de sexe masculin-, qu'elles exploitent à titre d'usufruit à vie. Dans la dévolution successorale burundaise, il existe des successeurs réguliers et des successeurs irréguliers. Dans cet ordre, les femmes viennent en 5ème position dans la catégorie des « successeurs légitimes » et en deuxième position dans la catégorie des « successeurs illégitimes ». (Ncutinagara, 1980). Ce classement exclut presque totalement les femmes de la succession.

Au fil du temps cependant, cette situation révolte certaines femmes qui la trouvent injuste. Déjà, au cours des années 1950, sous la colonisation Belge, des femmes saisissent les instances judiciaires traditionnelles pour revendiquer leurs droits en matière de succession. Le recours à la justice qui ira en s'intensifiant avec le temps permettra une évolution de la jurisprudence à l'égard de certaines catégories de femmes. Ainsi par exemple, les femmes qui n'ont pas eu de frères héritent en entières de la propriété de leurs parents. Par ailleurs, les célibataires, les veuves et les divorcées domiciliées sur la propriété familiale héritent comme leurs frères dans certaines régions (Gatunange, 2004). Dans le milieu urbain, le partage équitable de la succession par les Tribunaux est devenu une pratique courante.

Au milieu des années 70, quelques femmes instruites de l'Union des femmes burundaises (UFB), la branche féminine du parti unique de l'époque, l'Union pour le Progrès National (UPRONA) amorcent un mouvement de revendication d'une loi sur la succession, les régimes matrimoniaux et les libéralités. Ce mouvement sera rejoint par de multiples acteurs issus de la société civile féminine burundaise ainsi que des ONG et Organisations internationales œuvrant dans le domaine du genre et des droits

de l'homme (Saiget, 2016). Bien que celui-ci ait réussi à plusieurs reprises à mettre sur l'agenda du problème de succession, il n'a pas conduit à une législation à cause d'une prise de position du Président de la République en 2011. Cet événement provoque le ralentissement, puis l'arrêt progressif des mobilisations (Ibidem).

Lors de la mobilisation, les acteurs ont souvent invoqué les avancées de la jurisprudence en matière de succession pour justifier la nécessité d'une loi. Ils ont même organisé des séminaires de formation à l'intention des magistrats des Tribunaux pour les sensibiliser à la cause de la succession.

Ainsi, Alphonsine Bigirimana, une des actrices clés du mouvement ayant été longtemps secrétaire exécutive de l'Association des femmes juristes du Burundi¹ (AFJB) a déclaré lors d'un entretien en mars 2018 : « Sauf dans les tribunaux de base, les Tribunaux de grande instance tranchent souvent en faveur de l'égalité. Le garçon reçoit comme la fille. Dans la ville c'est devenu évident. La jurisprudence a remorqué la coutume » (Entretien avec Alphonsine, Bujumbura, mars 2018). Dans une étude, Kazoviyo et Gahungu écrivent qu'en matière de succession, « les juges sont plus avancés que le législateur » (Kazoviyo et Gahungu, 2011 p. 9). Une étude menée par la Chaire UNESCO ira même jusqu'à conclure que : « les Cours et Tribunaux sont parmi les institutions les plus avant-gardistes sur la question des successions (...) ce sont les juridictions qui ont fait bouger les positions les plus conservateurs de la coutume vers les positions les plus médianes » (Chaire Unesco, 2014). Sans être très exhaustifs, on peut conclure à travers la lecture de ces études qu'il y a une certaine confiance des acteurs en la justice pour faire avancer les droits des femmes en matière de succession.

Cette situation soulève cependant une question relative au genre. En effet, des études ont montré que les hommes et les femmes burundais ne conçoivent pas de la même façon les dispositions coutumières en matière de succession. Selon une étude, 31,80% seulement de femmes les trouvent acceptables contre 95,30% d'hommes. D'un autre côté, seulement 3,8% des hommes rejettent cette situation contre 65,5% des femmes. (Ntagwirumugara, 2011, p. 21). Selon une autre étude, environ 70% des hommes et 55% des femmes trouvent que seuls les garçons ont le droit d'hériter alors que les filles n'ont aucun droit (Ndayiziga et Ngayimpenda, op. cit. p. 46). L'analyse de ces données montre que les femmes sont plus opposées que les hommes aux dispositions coutumières en matière de succession.

Devant cet écart de perceptions entre les hommes et les femmes en rapport avec la succession des femmes, il est légitime de questionner les effets des représentations des magistrats sur la façon de juger. Déjà, de manière globale, certains chercheurs s'interrogent sur les conséquences de l'absence d'une loi sur la façon de juger. Ainsi, Gahungu et Kazoviyo écrivent à ce sujet : « les jugements risquent de dépendre de la sensibilité des juges et non du droit » (Gahungu et Kazoviyo, op. cit., p. 10). Si les jugements risquent

1 L'AFJB a été le fer de lance du mouvement de revendication d'une loi sur la succession.

de dépendre de la sensibilité des juges, il n'est pas dépourvu de raison de s'interroger sur les écarts en matière de jugements qui pourraient résulter de la différence de perception de la question de la succession des femmes entre les juges de sexe masculin et les juges de sexe féminin. Autrement dit, si des études montrent qu'au sein de la population burundaise, les femmes sont plus opposées aux dispositions coutumières en matière de succession que les hommes, est-ce que ces tendances ne risquent pas de se retrouver parmi les juges et se répercuter sur les jugements rendus dans les tribunaux ? N'existe-t-il pas une probabilité que les femmes cherchent à faire évoluer les droits des femmes et que les juges hommes cherchent à maintenir le statu quo ?

Au niveau de la littérature scientifique, la question de l'influence du sexe des juges sur les jugements préoccupe les acteurs et les chercheurs, surtout dans le contexte de la féminisation de la magistrature. Cependant, des lacunes s'observent dans celle-ci : il s'agit de la rareté des études sur le sujet et leur concentration dans un seul espace géographique, du manque de consensus dans les conclusions et de la méthodologie utilisée.

Concernant la rareté des études, il convient de signaler que les recherches spécifiques à l'influence du sexe des juges sur les jugements sont très peu nombreuses. En effet, la plupart des études qui ont abordé cette question se trouvent dans le courant du Sentencing qui s'intéresse aux déterminants de la décision pénale. Or, dans les écrits relatifs à cette approche, la question de l'influence du sexe des juges n'est abordée que très sommairement dans la mesure où le sexe des juges n'est qu'une des caractéristiques du juge susceptible d'influencer le jugement rendu (Vanhamme et Beyens, 2007). Les travaux deviennent encore très rares lorsqu'on prend en considération des affaires autres que pénales, en l'occurrence les affaires familiales. En effet, peu de travaux abordent la question pour le cas des affaires civiles familiales (Bessière et Mille, 2013).

Par ailleurs, les recherches qui se sont intéressées ne fut-ce qu'à la variable sexe des juges sont essentiellement du côté des États-Unis. Elles ne peuvent pas ainsi servir à évaluer ce qui se fait dans d'autres pays, car comme le montrent Léonard et Soubiran, « les comparaisons internationales donnent parfois des résultats divergents d'un pays à un autre », d'où la nécessité de multiplier les terrains » (Léonard et Soubiran, 2011, p.1).

En second lieu, l'analyse de la littérature sur l'influence du sexe des juges sur les jugements montre que les chercheurs ont du mal à aboutir à un consensus. L'un des questionnements consiste à voir si les femmes peuvent apporter une voix différente dans les jugements. Il faudrait comprendre cette question dans le sens où les femmes pourraient se démarquer des hommes dans leur façon de juger. Une telle question n'est pas anodine dans un contexte de forte féminisation de la magistrature. En effet, d'une part, si les femmes sont susceptibles de juger différemment des hommes, en apportant des voies différentes, elles pourraient par exemple améliorer la façon de juger : « la dissidence fonctionne (...) comme une friction qui ouvre l'espace à de nouvelles façons de conceptualiser ou d'avancer sur la voie de la justice » (Belleau et Johnson, 2005, p. 39).

D'autre part, si les femmes peuvent juger différemment des hommes, par exemple pour les affaires familiales opposant les hommes et les femmes, elles pourraient constituer un danger pour les droits des hommes. (Bessière, Gollac et Mille, 2016, p. 175)

Selon certains auteurs, « les femmes seraient plus empathiques que les hommes face à une situation impliquant des femmes auteures de délits, elles jugeraient au contraire plus sévèrement les hommes, surtout lorsqu'ils commettent des violences contre les hommes » (Vuattoux, 2014, p. 128). Cette position est contrariée par d'autres chercheurs qui affirment que « les magistrats femmes ne font pas, de manière générale, preuve d'une quelconque préférence pour la cause des femmes » (Waquet, 2010, p. 71)

Sans remettre en question le fait que les femmes puissent apporter une différence, certains chercheurs avancent d'autres raisons. En effet, la raison pour laquelle les femmes puissent juger différemment est plus à chercher dans leur socialisation professionnelle que dans leur essence. Selon Bessière et al., le fait que les femmes puissent faire preuve de plus d'écoute et de bienveillance envers les justiciables est lié à leurs parcours et non à leur nature :

Ces différences de style ne sont pas mécaniquement liées au sexe des juges. C'est avant tout selon leur trajectoire (familiale, scolaire et professionnelle) que les magistrats et magistrates adoptent une conception et une pratique plutôt « féminines » ou « masculines » de leur métier. Il est donc bien ici question de genre et non de sexe (Bessière, Gollac et Mille, op. cit., p. 176).

Sur la même question, une étude quantitative basée sur l'analyse de la jurisprudence de la cour suprême au Canada a donné des résultats intéressants sur la question. Elle a analysé les cas de dissidence des juges en prenant en considération le critère de genre. Elle a abouti à la conclusion que 3 des femmes ont émis plus de décisions dissidentes que tous les hommes. (Belleau et Johnson, op. cit., p. 30) Cependant, à part cette caractéristique commune selon laquelle les femmes se sont montrées spécifiquement plus dissidentes, l'analyse a fait ressortir un fait intéressant : chacune des juges a exprimé des opinions dissidentes d'une façon différente. Cela a amené les auteurs à conclure que : « le sexe de la personne qui siège à un tribunal ne peut pas permettre de prédire le résultat auquel il arrivera, et que les femmes qui exercent cette fonction ne partagent pas nécessairement une idéologie commune ». (Idem, p. 33).

Cette recherche a également montré que malgré le fait que les juges hommes qui au départ se démarquaient par le nombre élevé d'opinions dissidentes, ont fini par se rallier progressivement à la majorité, les trois femmes ont maintenu la cadence et ont même augmenté le taux de dissidence. La question qui se pose est alors de savoir la raison qui pousse ces femmes, à émettre ces opinions dissidentes. Selon ces chercheurs,

l'hypothèse résiderait dans les expériences et les épreuves propres aux femmes (Idem : 34), ce qui revient à dire que les opinions dissidentes des femmes seraient plutôt liées à des éléments de socialisation et de parcours professionnels.

En dernier lieu, sur le plan méthodologique, deux approches sont utilisées pour appréhender le jugement. Celles qui se focalisent sur l'output, c'est-à-dire les résultats des décisions et les facteurs qui les ont produits. Elles sont souvent quantitatives car elles identifient préalablement des variables et par des analyses statistiques, essaient de déterminer dans quelle mesure ces variables influencent la décision du juge (Vanhamme et Beyens, 2007). Cependant, beaucoup de chercheurs trouvent cette approche lacunaire en ce sens qu'elle occulte d'une part le côté humain du jugement à savoir « le processus d'interprétation et de classification du décideur en tant qu'individu » et d'autre part « les contextes professionnel, organisationnel et sociétal dans lesquels la décision est prise » (Vanhamme et Beyens, op. cit., p. 202)

Pour remédier à cette situation, certains chercheurs préconisent d'appréhender le jugement comme une pratique sociale, où le magistrat est considéré comme un acteur social dont la pratique s'inscrit dans un espace collectif (Prates, 2011). D'autres qui s'inscrivent dans le courant du Gender and Judging, préconisent « qu'il ne suffit pas de s'intéresser quantitativement aux différentes décisions prises par les juges hommes et femmes, mais il faut considérer tout le processus qualitatif du jugement -la manière et les raisons avec et pour lesquelles les juges jugent » (Bessière et Mille, op. cit., p. 344). Ils préconisent ainsi des méthodes de collecte des données qualitatives à savoir l'observation et les entretiens pour appréhender ces dimensions (Prates, 2018).

Cette recherche vise à mettre à l'épreuve du terrain la question de l'influence du sexe des juges sur les jugements. Plus précisément, il s'agit de voir dans le cas précis de la succession au Burundi, si à l'instar de leurs congénères comme certaines études l'ont montré, les femmes juges auraient des représentations plus évolutives en matière de genre et si elles seraient capables d'apporter des changements dans la façon de juger les affaires de succession. L'hypothèse de cette recherche consiste à dire que les femmes juges seraient plus sensibles que les hommes à l'égard des droits des femmes et que cela devrait transparaître à travers les entretiens et l'analyse des jugements.

Méthodologie

Cette recherche s'appuie sur les données recueillies au cours d'une recherche doctorale sur la question de la succession au Burundi. Constituées de 16 entretiens avec les juges et de 214 jugements, elles ont été collectées entre 2018 et 2020 dans deux Tribunaux de résidence du Burundi, l'un du milieu rural (Mutambu) et l'autre du milieu urbain (Kamenge). La population d'enquête était de 20 personnes (16 femmes et 4 hommes) mais nous n'avons pu interviewer que 16 (12 femmes et 4 hommes), le reste n'ayant pas

pu être disponibles pour l'entretien. Le choix de ces tribunaux a été motivé par le fait que le partage de la succession ne se fait pas de la même manière dans le milieu urbain (où le partage est généralement équitable entre les héritiers de sexe masculin et les héritiers de sexe féminin) et dans le milieu rural (où certaines catégories de femmes restent privées du partage). La triangulation des données offre la possibilité de comparer les jugements rendus à la position des juges hommes et femmes sur l'égalité des genres et sur le partage de la succession entre les hommes et les femmes. Les jugements sélectionnés opposent pour la plupart une femme et un homme et couvrent une période de 10 ans, c'est-à-dire entre 2009 et 2018.

Résultats

Les jugements selon le sexe des membres du jury

L'analyse prend en considération l'issue de l'affaire selon le sexe des membres du jury. Il s'agit de compter le nombre d'affaires gagnées ou perdues par les femmes ou leurs représentants en cas de décès (généralement leurs enfants de sexe masculin ou féminin) selon que le jury est composé exclusivement d'hommes, ou de femmes ou selon qu'il est dominé par les hommes (2 membres du jury sur 3 sont des hommes) ou par les femmes (2 membres du jury sur 3 sont des femmes).

L'objectif de cette analyse est de comparer l'issue des jugements en tenant compte de la composition du jury selon le sexe des juges. Plus précisément, il s'agit de voir si les justiciables (généralement des femmes) gagnent plus les affaires lorsque les jurys sont constitués de femmes ou dominés par elles ou lorsque les jurys sont constitués uniquement d'hommes ou dominés par eux. Cette analyse est basée sur le principe selon lequel lors de la délibération, les jurys fonctionnent selon un principe démocratique. Ainsi, si deux juges sont d'accord sur une décision, le 3^{ème} doit se rallier à la décision de la majorité. Le nombre relativement peu élevé de cas sera compensé par les entretiens effectués avec les juges. Lors de l'analyse des jugements, il sera particulièrement fait attention à la justification des jugements par les juges pour saisir les représentations à la base des jugements rendus.

Les résultats montrent que les justiciables (généralement femmes) gagnent plus les affaires lorsque les jurys sont composés exclusivement de femmes ou dominés par elles que lorsque les jurys sont exclusivement composés d'hommes ou dominés par eux comme le montre le tableau suivant :

Tableau n°1 : Issue de l'affaire selon le sexe des membres du jury aux tribunaux de Kamenge et Mutambu

Tribunal	Composition du jury selon le sexe des juges								
	Composition	JCF		JCH		JDF		JDH	
Kamenge	Occurrences	40		12		29		27	
	Issue	AG	AP	AG	AP	AG	AP	AG	AP
	Effectifs	35	5	5	7	28	1	21	6
	%	87,5		41,66		96,55		77,77	
Mutambu	Occurrences	0		45		3		57	
	Issue	AG	AP	AG	AP	AG	AP	AG	AP
	Effectifs	0	0	35	10	2	1	48	9
	%	0	0	77,7		75	25	84,21	

Source : Tableau construit par nous-même à partir de l'analyse des jugements à Kamenge et à Mutambu

Légende :

JCF : Jury composé exclusivement de femmes

JCH : Jury composé exclusivement d'hommes

JDF : Jury dominé par les femmes

JDH : Jury dominé par les hommes

AG : Affaires gagnées

AP : Affaires perdues

Si l'on compare les jurys où les femmes et les hommes forment l'exclusivité, on obtient les résultats suivants : sur 12 affaires où les jurys sont composés exclusivement d'hommes, les femmes en ont gagné 5, soit 41,66% des cas alors que dans les 40 affaires où les femmes forment l'exclusivité des jurys, 35 ont été gagnées, soit 87,5%.

En ce qui concerne la comparaison de l'issue de l'affaire lorsque le jury est dominé par les femmes ou les hommes, dans 27 affaires où les jurys étaient dominés par les hommes, les femmes ont eu gain de cause dans 21 affaires soit 77,77%, alors que dans les 29 affaires où les femmes dominaient les jurys, dans 28 cas, les femmes ont gagné (96,55%)

Malheureusement, la composition des jurys au Tribunal de Mutambu ne permet pas de relever toutes ces configurations à cause de la présence de très peu de femmes dans les jurys... Cependant, pour les données disponibles, les tendances sont très proches de celles de Kamenge. Pour les 45 jurys composés exclusivement d'hommes, les femmes ont obtenu leurs droits dans 35 cas, soit 77,77% de cas alors que pour les 57 jurys mélangés mais où les hommes sont majoritaires, les femmes ont eu leurs droits dans 48 cas, soit 84,21%. En ce qui concerne les 3 jurys dominés par les femmes, les femmes ont eu leurs droits dans 2 affaires, soit 75% des cas.

La prise en compte de la temporalité dans l'analyse des jugements permet d'observer des variations dans la façon de juger à l'égard de certaines catégories de justiciables à plus de droits à leur égard. En effet, on observe qu'au Tribunal de Kamenge, entre 2009 et 2011, il y a eu un jugement défavorable aux femmes mariées (RCF 100/2010) et plusieurs jugements défavorables aux orphelins revendiquant la part de leurs mères décédées (RCF 077/2010 ; RCF 156/2011 ; RCF 174/2011 ; RCF 185/2011 et RCF 205/2011). Dans ces affaires, les juges ont refusé aux orphelins de mère (sexe masculin et féminin confondus) la part de succession revenant à leurs mères. Les justifications qui ont motivé ce refus sont : « Nta mwishwa atorana kwa Inarume » (un neveu ne partage pas la succession avec son oncle maternel) ; « Umwana atorana kwa se » (un enfant hérite uniquement de son père). Il convient de souligner que tous ces jugements ont été rendus par des jurys composés exclusivement d'hommes (2 jurys sur les 5) ou dominés par eux (3jurys).

Un changement s'opère cependant au cours des années suivantes (de 2012-2018) ou dans 8 affaires similaires à savoir les jugements RCF 309/2012 ; RCF 318/2012 ; RCF 489/2014 ; RCF 529/2014 ; RCF 536/2014 ; RCF 815/2017 ; RCF 883/2018 ; RCF 989/2018), les orphelins de mère ont été rétablis dans les biens revenant à leurs mères. La justification donnée est que les enfants sont rétablis dans les biens revenant à sa mère. Concernant la composition des jurys, on trouve que sur les 8 jurys ayant jugé ces affaires, 4 étaient composés exclusivement de femmes et 4 autres étaient dominés par elles (2 juges sur 3 étaient des femmes).

A Mutambu, la jurisprudence change pour certaines catégories de femmes à savoir les femmes mariées, les célibataires, veuves et divorcées domiciliées chez leurs parents. En effet, avant 2014, les femmes mariées reçoivent une part équitable à celle de leurs frères sur la propriété acquise (Itongo ry'Umuheto) et les célibataires, veuves et divorcées domiciliées chez leurs parents reçoivent une part de succession égale à ceux de leurs frères comme le montrent les jugements RC 1400/2009 ; RC 1423/2009 ; RC 1443/2009 ; RC 1611/2010 ; RC 2077/2013 ; RC 2289/2014 ; RC 2309/2014. Cependant, après 2015, toutes ces catégories de femmes commencent à recevoir indistinctement l'Igiseke, sans tenir compte de la catégorie à laquelle elles appartiennent ou au statut de la propriété (familiale ou acquise) comme le montrent les jugements RC 2363/2014 ; RC 2368/2015 ; RC 2421/2015 ; RC 2506/2015 ; RC 2518/2015 et RC 3119/2018. Dans les deux cas, les jurys sont composés exclusivement d'hommes ou dominés par eux. Dans le second cas, les juges justifient ce changement en disant que : « les propriétés acquises deviennent familiales lorsque leur acquéreur est décédé» (confer le jugement RC 2368/2015). On trouve que dans ce cas de figures, ces juges retirent à ces catégories de femmes un droit qui était devenu comme acquis.

Il est cependant important de dire un mot sur l'évolution des jurys selon le sexe des juges dans les deux tribunaux. Le tableau suivant en donne une idée :

Tableau n° 2 : Composition des jurys selon le sexe des juges aux tribunaux de Kamenge et Mutambu entre 2009 et 2018

Années	Tribunal de Kamenge					Tribunal de Mutambu				
	Tot.	Hommes seulement	Femmes seulement	Dominés par les hommes	Dominés par les femmes	Tot.	Hommes seulement	Femmes seulement	Dominés par les hommes	Dominés par les femmes
2009	2	1	0	1	0	14	2	0	12	0
2010	8	5	0	3	0	8	2	0	6	0
2011	16	7	2	5	2	7	1	0	6	0
2012	19	2	4	5	8	9	7	0	2	0
2013	11	0	2	3	6	12	12	0	0	0
2014	13	0	5	2	6	15	1	0	12	2
2015	4	0	1	0	3	11	6	0	5	0
2016	14	1	2	4	7	10	0	0	10	0
2017	14	0	10	1	3	7	4	0	3	0
2018	13	0	13	0	0	6	4	0	2	0
Total	1142	16	39	24	35	99	39	0	58	2

Source : Tableau construit par nous-même à partir de l'analyse des jugements à Kamenge et à Mutambu

La lecture de ce tableau montre qu'au tribunal de Kamenge, au cours des premières années (2009 et 2010), les jurys sont composés exclusivement d'hommes. Cependant, au cours des années suivantes, (à partir de 2012) le nombre de femmes dans les jurys ira en augmentant jusqu'à ce qu'elles forment l'exclusivité des jurys. Étant donné que la plupart des jugements défavorables aux femmes ont été rendus avant 2012 dans ce Tribunal, il est indubitable que cette situation ait joué sur les tendances des résultats qui comme nous l'avons vu montrent que les droits des femmes sont mieux défendus lorsque les jurys sont constitués uniquement de femmes ou dominés par eux que lorsqu'ils sont constitués uniquement d'hommes ou dominés par eux. Ainsi, sur les 26 jurys formés pour trancher les affaires de succession impliquant les femmes au cours de cette période, 14 sont constitués uniquement d'hommes, 8 jurys sont dominés par les hommes (2 juges sur 3 sont des hommes) tandis que 2 jurys sont composés uniquement de femmes et 2 autres sont dominés par elles. A Mutambu, les données montrent que les hommes ont toujours dominé dans le tribunal.

Cependant, comme on l'a dit dans l'introduction, il est très important de pratiquer une triangulation des données pour pouvoir tirer des conclusions sur l'influence du sexe des juges dans la détermination des jugements. Dans les points suivants, nous allons montrer comment les juges hommes et femmes se représentent l'égalité des genres dans le partage de la succession ainsi que leur position sur l'application du principe de l'égalité des genres défendu par le droit positif burundais dans la gestion des affaires de succession.

2 Il existe un jury où je n'ai pas pu trouver le sexe des membres du jury parce que la partie qui les spécifiait a été perdue, ce qui fait le nombre total de jury 114 au lieu des 115 affaires de Kamenge

Conception des rapports de genre des juges et partage de la succession

L'analyse des entretiens avec les juges sur leurs conceptions des rapports de genre et sur le partage de la succession met en évidence une contradiction. En effet, alors que la quasi-totalité des juges interviewés déclarent que les sexes sont égaux, la majorité d'entre eux ne croient pas que les hommes et les femmes soient égaux devant la succession. L'analyse des entretiens montre que la majorité des juges pensent que les hommes et les femmes sont égaux comme le montre le tableau suivant :

Tableau n°3: Représentations des juges sur les rapports de genre au Tribunal de Kamenge

Tribunal	Égalité des enfants			Pas d'égalité des enfants		
	Total	H	F	Total	H	F
Kamenge	11	0	9	11	0	2
Mutambu	4	3	1	4	0	0

La lecture de ce tableau montre que sur les 15 juges sur 16 qui ont accepté de se prononcer sur la question (Un juge de sexe masculin de Mutambu a voulu rester neutre), la majorité des juges, c'est-à-dire 13/15 dont 4 femmes de Kamenge et une de Mutambu ainsi que 3 hommes de Mutambu considèrent que les enfants sont égaux, sans distinction de sexe. Voici les réponses qui reviennent souvent dans les entretiens sur cette question :

« L'égalité entre les hommes et les femmes ? Réellement, tous les enfants sont égaux. En fait les hommes et les femmes sont égaux. » (Colette, 45 ans, juge, TR Kamenge).

Stéphanie va dans le même sens lorsqu'elle déclare que comme ils ont les mêmes parents, les enfants sont égaux: « Puisqu'ils ont les mêmes parents, je trouve que les enfants sont égaux, car ils sont issus du même sein. Je trouve que les enfants devraient être égaux devant leurs parents et devant la loi. (Stéphanie, 40ans, juge, TR Kamenge)

Même les juges qui ne reconnaissent pas l'égalité des enfants le font pour la peur de ce que l'égalité des enfants aurait comme conséquences dans la société : « Moi, je ne soutiens pas l'égalité des genres. Tu sais pourquoi ? Parce que cette égalité est source de beaucoup de problèmes ça crée l'inimitié entre les familles. (Josette, 39ans, juge, TR Kamenge)

Alors que la majorité des juges croient en l'égalité des sexes, très peu d'entre eux pensent que les hommes et les femmes doivent s'égaliser dans le partage de la succession. Sur 16 juges de Mutambu et de Kamenge, seulement 4 juges toutes femmes de Kamenge trouvent que les hommes et les femmes devraient être égaux devant la succession. 11 juges, dont 7 femmes de Kamenge, 3 hommes et une femme de Mutambu ne croient pas en l'égalité des genres en matière de succession.

Les entretiens montrent que les juges font la distinction entre le milieu urbain où le

partage de la succession se fait équitablement entre les enfants de sexe masculin et les enfants de sexe féminin et le milieu rural où le partage se fait de manière inégalitaire entre les hommes et les femmes :

Non, on ne peut pas égaliser les hommes et les femmes car il n'existe pas de cadre légal. Quel cadre normatif évoquerions-nous pour justifier l'égalité entre les hommes et les femmes ? Oui, devant la loi, les hommes les femmes sont égaux mais en ce qui concerne le partage de la succession, je n'ai vu nulle part où on dit que l'homme et la femme sont égaux en matière de succession. Dans des cas pareils, on utilise la coutume. (Aurore, 35 ans, juge, TR Mutambu)

Même les juges du milieu urbain font cette distinction entre le milieu urbain et le milieu rural comme le montre cet extrait d'entretien avec un juge de sexe féminin du milieu urbain :

Et il faut savoir que même si on se trouve dans le milieu urbain, il nous arrive de trancher des affaires qui comprennent à la fois des biens du milieu urbain et du milieu rural. Comme les tribunaux ne peuvent pas partager différemment les affaires de succession, le tribunal combine les biens des deux milieux. Dans le milieu urbain, nous procédons au partage équitable tandis que dans le milieu rural, nous attribuons aux filles l'Igiseke et à leurs frères des parts égales. (Denise, 45ans, juge, TR Kamenge)

Les juges, qu'ils soient du milieu urbain ou du milieu rural évoquent également la distinction entre les propriétés familiales et les propriétés acquises à titre onéreux comme le mentionne ce juge avec une longue expérience à la fois du milieu urbain et du milieu rural. Selon lui, il faut que le principe de l'Igiseke pour les femmes mariées dans le milieu rural soit respecté. Le juge devrait s'adapter au milieu, principe sur lequel la majorité des juges interviewés (13 juges sur 16) s'accordent :

Le principe c'est que l'Igiseke soit donné. Le reste dépend de l'appréciation des juges. Cela ne se fait pas partout de la même manière. Dans la mairie de Bujumbura, le principe est que le partage soit équitable mais dans le milieu rural, c'est l'Igiseke, même si les pratiques diffèrent selon les régions. Dans certains endroits, on dit 'sur la propriété ancestrale (familiale), on te donne (à la femme) l'Igiseke, mais sur la propriété acquise, on partage équitablement'. Cela signifie que les pratiques ne sont pas les mêmes, en tant que juge, tu t'adapte au milieu. (Julien, 48ans, Juge, TR. Mutambu).

Face à cette situation, nous avons voulu savoir si lors des jugements sur la succession, les juges prendraient en compte le principe de l'égalité des genres contenue dans le droit positif burundais³. C'est ce qui fera l'objet du point suivant.

Position des juges femmes sur la prise en compte du principe de l'égalité des genres dans le jugement

Les entretiens réalisés avec les juges montrent que la question de l'égalité des genres dans les jugements en matière de succession constitue la dernière préoccupation des juges femmes. Pour certains juges, prendre en compte la question du genre, ça serait devenir impartial, injuste corrompu et inviter le sentimentalisme dans le jugement:

Hahaa ! (rires) tu vois, je vais te montrer. Lorsqu'un juge intègre des sentiments dans son jugement (ce que tu serais en train de faire si tu fais des considérations de genre), tu échoues dans ta mission de juger et dans ton travail. Même si tu trouves qu'une personne est vulnérable ou subit une injustice, toi, tu te réfères à la loi et non aux sentiments. Tu ne peux pas te dire 'puisque c'est une femme, accordons-lui une faveur', non ! là tu serais entrain d'échouer. Là tu serais entrain d'échouer. Tu aurais échoué dans ton travail. On se retient sur cette question, même si on n'est que des femmes dans le jury. Nous nous retenons sur cette question. (Denise, 45ans, juge, TR Kamenge)

D'autres juges assimilent la prise en compte de l'égalité des genres dans le jugement à la corruption :

« Il arrive rarement que les hommes parlent en faveur des hommes et les femmes en faveur des femmes. Non vraiment, si un juge le fait, c'est qu'il est corrompu ! S'il n'y a pas eu de corruption, un homme ne parle pas en faveur des hommes ou une femme en faveur des femmes. Cela ne se fait pas, c'est impossible car les autres juges ne le lui permettraient pas ». (Fidélité, 37ans, Juge, TR Kamenge)

3 La constitution burundaise, qui intègre les Pactes et conventions internationales des droits de l'homme reconnaît l'égalité des genres dans son article 19.

Enfin, d'autres assimilent la prise en compte de la dimension du genre comme une injustice à l'égard des hommes:

Un juge qui prendrait en compte l'égalité des genres dans le jugement ne saurait pas ce qu'il fait. Si tu considères que le partage inéquitable de la succession est une injustice envers les femmes, il faut savoir que les hommes aussi peuvent faire objet d'injustice. Le juge n'a ni sentiment, ni sexe. Lorsque tu sièges au Tribunal, tu n'as plus de sexe. Tu ne te dis pas 'c'est une femme qui vient' car des hommes subissent aussi des injustices, nous le voyons dans d'autres catégories d'affaires. (Eunice, 35ans juge, TR Kamenge)

« Ce n'est pas le genre qui compte, mais ce qui est juste. On ne peut pas trancher en faveur des femmes car elles ne sont pas les seules à subir de l'injustice. Juger selon le genre, c'est faire preuve de sentimentalisme et le juge ne doit pas être ainsi ». (Stéphanie, 40ans, juge, TR Kamenge)

Même les hommes juges trouvent que leurs collègues femmes ne penchent pas pour leurs congénères dans les jugements. Ils trouvent même qu'elles ne manifestent aucun sentiment envers elles lorsqu'il s'agit de juger:

« Les dames juges? à ce que j'ai déjà vu, elles égorgent d'autres femmes (n'accordent aucune faveur même lorsqu'il y a moyen de le faire). Elles les égorgent beaucoup (rires). Je le dis par expérience(...). Elles ne se prononcent jamais en faveur des femmes. Elles appliquent simplement la loi, comme les hommes le feraient. Même lorsque le jury est constitué par deux femmes et un homme, les juges femmes ne se servent jamais de cet avantage pour privilégier les femmes ». (Emmanuel, 56ans, juge, TR Mutambu)

Discussion

La question à la base de cette recherche était de voir si les juges femmes, à l'instar de leurs congénères comme le montrent certaines études citées dans l'introduction, peuvent apporter un changement dans la façon de juger, surtout que la succession les concerne directement. L'hypothèse était de dire que les femmes juges seraient plus empathiques ou sensibles que leurs homologues masculins à l'égard des droits des femmes et que cela devrait transparaître à travers les entretiens et l'analyse des jugements.

Pour cela, nous avons procédé à trois mises en examen à savoir : 1°) la comparaison de l'issue des jugements rendus selon le sexe des membres des jurys 2°) la position des juges sur l'égalité des genres en général et l'égalité dans le partage de la succession en particulier et 3°) leur position sur la mise en application dans les jugements du principe de l'égalité des genres contenu dans le droit positif burundais.

Les résultats ont montré ce qui suit :

1. 1°) proportionnellement au nombre de jurys constitués d'hommes ou de femmes, les femmes gagnent plus d'affaires lorsque le jury est composé uniquement de femmes ou dominé par elles que lorsque le jury est constitué uniquement d'hommes ou dominés par eux.
2. 2°) La quasi-totalité des juges croient en l'égalité des genres mais ne parvient pas à transposer cette égalité dans le partage de la succession, surtout s'il est question des propriétés du milieu rural.
3. 3°) Les juges, hommes ou femmes ne parviennent pas à concevoir la mise en application du principe de l'égalité des genres contenu dans le droit positif burundais dans le partage de la succession. Le faire ainsi reviendrait à être injuste envers la catégorie des hommes et ça pourrait même être assimilé à l'injustice ou même à la corruption. Comment expliquer ces résultats à bien des égards contradictoires ?

Concernant le fait que les jugements sont plus favorables aux femmes lorsque les jurys sont formés uniquement de femmes ou dominés par elles que lorsqu'ils sont composés uniquement d'hommes ou dominés par eux, deux hypothèses peuvent être avancées. La première peut être liée à une coïncidence qui fait qu'entre 2009 et 2011, au tribunal de Kamenge, les juges appliquaient encore les dispositions coutumières concernant l'héritage des enfants selon lesquels un enfant hérite de son père. Comme à cette époque, les jurys étaient constitués uniquement d'hommes, ce qui donnerait l'impression que les juges hommes jugent en défaveur des femmes ou de leurs représentants (ici les orphelins de mère) alors que c'est un effet d'évolution de la jurisprudence. La preuve est que dans les années suivantes (à partir de 2012) ce genre de jugement disparaît complètement de la jurisprudence et les orphelins sont systématiquement rétablis dans les biens de leurs mères alors que les hommes restent présents dans les jurys. Cependant, à Mutambu, cette explication n'est pas valable étant donné que dans ce tribunal, les jurys ont toujours été formés uniquement d'hommes ou dominés par eux.

La seconde hypothèse consiste à dire qu'il ne faudrait pas complètement nier les faits et que quelque part, le sexe des juges influencerait les jugements rendus, ne fut-ce que dans certains aspects. Sinon, comment expliquer que les tendances de jugement observées à Kamenge se confirment également à Mutambu et que dans les deux cas, les jugements soient moins favorables aux femmes lorsque les jurys sont composés uniquement d'hommes ou dominés par eux ?

L'une des explications qu'on pourrait avancer serait que dans le cas des affaires de succession, en raison des expériences personnelles ou de certaines caractéristiques qui leur seraient spécifiques, les femmes juges feraient attention à certains détails auxquels les hommes ne prêtent pas attention, détails qui viendraient faire la différence surtout dans le cas des affaires de succession qui sont censées léser les droits des femmes. Cela va dans le sens des conclusions de certains chercheurs comme Bessière, Gollac et Mille à propos de l'attitude de certaines femmes juges aux affaires familiales : « La posture d'intervention sociale de certaines femmes juges aux affaires familiales correspond à une écoute plus attentive et bienveillante des justiciables » (Bessière, Gollac et Mille, op. cit., p. 176). Ce raisonnement rejoint également les hypothèses de Belleau et Johnson qui ayant fait l'analyse des raisons de dissidence des juges femmes à la cour suprême du Canada les expliquent de la manière suivante :

« Nous estimons qu'il existe peut-être des composantes, des traits, des caractéristiques dans l'acte de juger qui unissent les femmes qui exercent cette fonction. Il y aurait donc, potentiellement, des expériences et des épreuves propres aux femmes qui les conditionnent à comprendre et à évaluer les faits et les circonstances et, ensuite, à les expliquer différemment dans leurs décisions comparativement à celles de la majorité ». (Belleau et Johnson, op. cit., p. 34)

Ainsi, pour elles, les femmes juges ont des caractéristiques communes, probablement liées à leurs expériences et à leurs parcours qui les pousseraient à concevoir et à expliquer les choses autrement.

Dans le cas qui nous concerne, il est probable que certaines femmes juges, également confrontées aux problèmes de succession, aient vécu des expériences qui les poussent à faire attention à certains détails qui n'interpellent pas directement les hommes qui, comme on le sait dans le cas du Burundi, ne sont pas généralement confrontés au problème de succession.

C'est le cas de Frédiane, une femme juge de 49 ans rencontrée au Tribunal de Kamenge. Grâce à son parcours, cette juge a une longue expérience en matière des jugements, à la fois dans le milieu aussi bien urbain que rural. Elle a été particulièrement touchée par le problème de la succession au sein de sa famille où elle a combattu pour obtenir un partage équitable avec ses frères pour des biens situés dans le milieu urbain. Originnaire de Kinama (Zone urbaine), elle fait partie des femmes juges qui lors des audiences publiques, n'hésitent pas à ajuster les questions pour éveiller la sensibilité des justiciables souvent femmes qui ignorent ou qui oublient d'ajuster les demandes selon la spécificité des biens revendiqués, ici la distinction entre la propriété familiale et la propriété acquise :

J'ai travaillé dans le milieu rural, surtout à Bubanza. Là, les femmes qui venaient revendiquer leur part de succession demandaient

surtout l'Igiseke. Et souvent à Bubanza, lorsque tu demandes l'Igiseke, le juge ne va pas au-delà de l'objet de la demande et il t'accorde l'Igiseke. Mais moi, ça me faisait mal. Lorsqu'il arrivait que je sois Présidente du siège, j'aimais investiguer en posant des questions comme : Où se situe la propriété pour laquelle tu demandes l'Igiseke ? Est-ce une propriété familiale ou une propriété acquise ? Mais cela ne plaisait pas aux autres membres du siège. Elles me demandaient : 'mais pourquoi poses-tu toutes ces questions ?' Et moi, je rétorquais : 'N'existe-t-il pas une liberté de poser des questions ? dans ce cas, pourquoi m'empêchez-vous de poser des questions ?' c'est comme ça qu'on se chamaillait avec les collègues. Mais toutes ces questions, je les posais pour essayer d'éveiller la curiosité des justiciables en rapport avec leurs droits. (Frédiane, 49ans, Juge, TR Kamenge)

Même au moment de la délibération à huis-clos, cette juge a déclaré qu'elle n'hésitait pas à défendre les droits des femmes :

« Souvent, au cours de la délibération, je m'empressais de prendre la parole et de dire aux collègues : 'vous voyez, ici on a affaire à deux catégories de propriétés : la propriété familiale et la propriété acquise. La propriété familiale, on la partagera. S'il y a 4 garçons et une fille, on la partagera en 5 parts, mais si c'est 4 filles et 6 garçons, on la partagera en 7 parts, à chaque garçon une part et les filles partageront le reste qui constitue l'Igiseke. Mais... toutes les propriétés acquises, celles achetées par le père, ne nous leurrons pas mes amis, ça c'est comme tout autre bien, c'est comme un magasin, le partage sera équitable. Et souvent, on procédait comme ça à Bubanza »

Ainsi, cette femme juge, en raison de son parcours et de ses expériences personnelles, n'hésite pas à mettre le doigt sur certains détails qui permettent aux femmes de ne pas être privés de leurs droits alors que comme le montre son témoignage, les autres juges (y compris d'ailleurs des femmes) ne semblent pas s'intéresser à de tels détails, (ici la distinction entre la propriété familiale et la propriété acquise). Son attitude permet aux femmes de recevoir plus que ce qu'elles devraient avoir. Cependant, on voit que cette sensibilité n'est pas due à son appartenance au sexe masculin, mais à ses expériences et à son parcours.

Malgré sa détermination cependant, cette femme déclare qu'elle ne peut pas franchir l'étape décisive dans le jugement et partager équitablement la propriété familiale entre les hommes et les femmes sans distinction dans le milieu rural:

« Quand tu tranches les affaires, il faut distinguer les propriétés : sur la propriété familiale, le partage reste inéquitable et la femme reçoit l'Igiseke mais sur la propriété acquise, le partage doit être équitable. Pour ce cas, on ne peut pas aller au-delà faute de base légale» (Frédiane, 49ans, Juge, TR Kamenge).

L'exemple de cette femme juge est pourtant loin d'être représentatif de la position des femmes juges en général comme nous l'avons vu dans le point sur la position des juges en rapport avec le partage de la succession et sur la prise en compte de l'égalité des genres dans les jugements. Sa position semble plutôt être liée à ses expériences personnelles et à son parcours qu'à son sexe. Cela est confirmé par les résultats aux points 2 et 3 qui montrent que bien que les juges en général et les juges femmes en particulier croient à l'égalité des genres, elles ne parviennent pas à transposer cette égalité dans le partage de la succession. Ainsi, comme on l'a vu dans les points précédents, on ne peut pas attendre des juges femmes qu'elles apportent des changements significatifs dans la manière de juger, ce qui nous pousse à rejoindre la conclusion de Bessière et Mille lorsqu'elles déclarent : « Malgré toutes ces différences, il règne une grande homogénéité des décisions, quel que soit le sexe du juge». (Bessière et Mille, op. cit., p. 342)

Conclusion

La question de cette recherche était de savoir si les juges femmes puissent faire la différence dans la façon de juger en défendant les droits des femmes d'autant plus que les affaires de succession, ce sont les droits des femmes en général qui sont en jeu. Les données ont montré que les jugements sont plus favorables aux intérêts des femmes lorsque les jurys sont composés uniquement de femmes ou dominés par elles que lorsqu'ils sont composés uniquement d'hommes ou dominés par eux. Cependant comme nous l'avons vu, deux hypothèses peuvent être avancées pour expliquer ces résultats: la première serait l'évolution de la jurisprudence qui fait qu'entre 2009 et 2011- période pendant laquelle il y a eu beaucoup de jugements défavorables aux femmes – les juges se basaient sur les dispositions coutumières qui refusent aux enfants d'hériter de leurs mères. Comme ces jugements ont coïncidé avec le moment où ce sont seulement les juges hommes qui siègent dans les jurys, il y a effet de gonflement des effectifs des affaires défavorables aux femmes attribués aux juges hommes. La seconde hypothèse se base sur le fait que les tendances observées à Kamenge s'observent également à Mutambu, ce qui nous pousse à ne pas nier complètement l'influence du sexe des juges dans les jugements. Ainsi, l'explication qui peut être donnée est que les femmes juges, (contrairement aux hommes) en raison de leurs expériences personnelles et de leur relation directe avec la question de la succession, prêteraient attention à certains détails selon la spécificité des affaires (par

exemple la distinction entre la propriété acquise et la propriété familiale) qui font que les femmes gagnent des affaires alors que cela n'aurait pas pu être le cas si les jurys étaient constitués d'hommes (qui généralement ne font pas attention à de tels détails).

Cependant, dans les grandes lignes, comme les entretiens l'ont montré, les hommes et les femmes jugent de la même manière en ce sens que les deux groupes font une distinction entre les sexes au moment de partager la succession en attribuant aux femmes l'Igiseke et aux hommes la propriété dans le milieu rural alors même qu'il n'existe pas de loi et malgré leur croyance en l'égalité des genres. On voit donc que la féminisation de la magistrature est loin d'apporter des changements significatifs dans la manière de juger et qu'on ne peut pas attendre des juges femmes qu'elles défendent les intérêts des femmes, même dans des affaires où leurs intérêts ainsi que ceux de leurs congénères sont en jeu. Dans ce cas, on peut conclure que la féminisation de la magistrature est encore loin d'être un gage à l'avancement des droits des femmes, même dans le cadre des affaires familiales qui opposent généralement les hommes et les femmes.

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Construction de la paix par les compétences de vie courante en milieux scolaires de Bukavu/RDC. Regard sur les approches « Peace-campings et Clubs de paix scolaires »

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Résumé

Cette étude analyse comment les «Clubs de paix et Peace-camping scolaires» peuvent contribuer à la construction de la paix durable. Il s'agit des activités éducatives parascolaires organisées par les écoles en partenariat avec des organisations non gouvernementales en dehors des heures normales de cours dans l'objectif d'inciter les jeunes élèves à cultiver la paix dans leur vécu quotidien. L'Education à la Paix en milieux scolaires est un processus permettant de promouvoir des connaissances, des compétences, des attitudes et des valeurs nécessaires pour susciter des changements de comportements qui permettent aux enfants et à la jeunesse de prévenir les conflits et la violence, aussi bien ouverte que structurelle, de résoudre pacifiquement les conflits et de créer les conditions susceptibles de conduire à la paix.

Mots-clés: *Construction de la paix, compétences de vie courantes, école, approche, peace-camping*

Abstract

This study focuses on "School Clubs and Peace-camp-sites", which are the extra-curricular educational activities organized by schools in partnership with nongovernmental organizations with the ultimate objective of cultivating peace among young pupils. It shows how they can contribute to the construction of lasting peace making it possible to promote knowledge, competences, attitudes and values necessary to bring changes in their behaviour.

Keywords: *Peacebuilding, everyday competences of life, school, approach, peace-camp-site*

Introduction

Contexte de l'étude

L'éducation à la paix en milieux scolaires est un processus de responsabilisation qui vise à induire des changements à travers le développement des compétences personnelles chez les jeunes dans une approche multiculturelle (Pole Institute 2017 : 2). L'objectif est d'apporter des changements aussi bien au sein d'une population donnée qu'au sein des communautés (Biregeya 2017 :10). Ainsi, le rôle de l'école dans la construction de la paix reste indéniable. Celle-ci façonne les personnalités capables d'infléchir un changement pour le bien de tous. Ce rôle est perceptible grâce aux compétences de vie courante acquises à l'école (Cousinet R. 1959 :18) ; qu'il s'agisse de la rue ou de l'école, peut-on le remarquer, les enfants vivent en opposition car pour les jeunes issus des couches sociales défavorisées par exemple, la première rencontre avec les enfants en situation scolaire normale génère un sentiment d'hostilité et de répulsion. En outre, à l'école d'une façon plus ou moins aigue, la vie sociale des enfants rencontre l'hostilité latente du maître qui se manifeste de plusieurs manières allant soit des stigmatisations, des châtiments corporels, des invectives et indexations (Aksanti 2017 :15) alors que dans bien des cas, dès son entrée à l'école, l'apprenant comprend d'abord que l'activité sociale (éducation-instruction) à laquelle il désire ardemment participer ne peut s'exercer que s'il se contente d'un seul rôle, celui qui lui est voulu et qu'il accepte volontiers. Cela renvoie finalement à une *pédagogie collaborative* au regard de la responsabilité capitale du maître (enseignants au sens large du terme) et son triple rôle d'éducateur averti (Illich, D cité par Aksanti 2013:23). A ce titre, comme l'école de par sa nature, réclame toute l'énergie et le temps dont peuvent disposer ses fidèles, le maître est à la fois *gardien, prédicateur et thérapeute*. En tant que gardien de l'institution, son travail consiste, tel un maître de cérémonie, à guider les apprenants dans le dédale d'un rituel interminable, à veiller à l'observance des règles, à leur faire subir les différentes épreuves de l'initiation à l'existence humaine digne et responsable dans une société où la compétitivité et la promotion des meilleurs sont les véritables guides des esprits. En sa qualité de «censeur des mœurs», il se substitue aux parents, à Dieu ou à l'État, et se charge de l'endoctrinement. Enfin, de par sa troisième fonction, celle de thérapeute, il se voit autorisé à examiner et à connaître la vie personnelle de ses apprenants en vue de leur orientation selon la célèbre maxime: à chacun selon ses capacités et ses mérites.

En Afrique, et en RDC particulièrement, les enfants et les jeunes ont été conscrits, enlevés et forcés à s'enrôler dans différentes factions armées. Sous l'influence des substances narcotiques ou sous la pression des combattants plus âgés, des jeunes gens ont commis des atrocités horribles contre les civils innocents et, dans certains cas, contre

les membres de leurs propres familles. Cependant, les victimes des séquelles physiques et psychologiques des conflits violents ne se limitent pas seulement aux jeunes soldats faciles à manipuler. Dans les zones déchirées par les conflits, ces calamités ont eu également une influence néfaste sur des enfants qui ne sont pas des combattants. L'effet réciproque d'un environnement conflictuel difficile à résoudre et d'un processus émergent de socialisation négative a placé les jeunes dans une situation dangereuse où ils risquent de développer diverses manifestations de radicalisme, de caractères violents 'vicieux' susceptibles de déstabiliser davantage les efforts de paix et du développement (Warner 2012 :25).

En RDC, toutes les instances de la vie communautaire ont été affectées par les conflits de diverses natures (Kaganda 2014 : 17). En toile de fond, un contexte de déficit de gouvernance dans tous les secteurs de la vie nationale orchestré par une suite des régimes incapables d'apporter des réponses appropriées aux préoccupations des populations. Cette situation a conduit à des crises qui dans bien de cas, ont culminé vers des violences qui à leur tour, ont causé des drames humanitaires d'une ampleur incommensurable ayant suscité un élan de quête de piste des solutions. Au niveau local, ces violences ont laissé derrière elles non seulement des groupes armés nationaux et étrangers, mais aussi une grave dysharmonie sociale et de profondes fissures sociales au sein des communautés ; ces dernières étant des détonateurs potentiels de conflits lorsqu'elles peuvent être instrumentalisées à souhait par des groupes d'intérêts divers. Ainsi au niveau social, un travail de dialogue intercommunautaire et d'éducation à la cohabitation pacifique a été initié par plusieurs organisations dont la plupart d'entre elles étaient du ressort des confessions religieuses (Saidi, A. & Bya'Ene, N. 2007 :28). Les fissures sociales étant profondes, la sortie de crise est lente et difficile bien que des avancées soient observées. Des rapports de recherche consultés à ce sujet renseignent qu'à la période post-conflit, les ressources en imagination n'ont pas manqué surtout lorsque la peur de l'instrumentalisation reste persistante au sein des communautés : instrumentalisation pour des intérêts étrangers, par des groupes maffieux, des négociants d'armes et des minerais, des politiciens en mal de positionnement ou des bandes des pillards se cachant derrière des discours obscurs « tribalo-politiques » (Pole Institute 2017 :5).

Les suspicions mutuelles entre membres de différentes communautés persistent, avec risque qu'un incident ne soit transformé en une « preuve » de cette suspicion et ne déclenche des réactions dites de légitime défense (ADEPAE & Life and Peace Institute 2007 :16).

Objet et objectifs de l'étude

La question de la violence en milieu scolaire, sous ses formes physiques et symboliques, conduit à interroger la nature de l'institution qui la légitime, l'Ecole, et ses divers liens avec les univers sociaux et politiques extérieurs (Lanoue, E. 2006; Zongo 2003 ; Mohammed, A. 2003). Ainsi, ce papier a pour objet l'analyse de la violence et des

conflits dans le contexte scolaire.

En termes d'objectifs, il cherche à évaluer l'apport des approches « Peace-campings et clubs de paix » à la construction de la paix en milieu scolaire. Ces deux approches renvoient à des activités éducatives parascolaires organisées par les écoles en partenariat avec des organisations non gouvernementales en dehors des heures normales. Ces activités visent à amener les enseignants et les élèves à lutter contre les violences et les conflits et ainsi cultiver la paix dans leur vécu quotidien. De manière spécifique, nous ambitionnons de/d' :

- Identifier les acteurs, les facteurs et les différentes formes de violences en milieux scolaires à Bukavu ;
- Évaluer l'impact des approches « clubs de paix et peace-campings scolaires » dans la lutte contre les violences en milieux scolaires de Bukavu et son hinterland;
- Relever les perceptions sociales (celles des élèves, des enseignants-éducateurs et de la communauté) sur les pratiques violentes dans les établissements scolaires;
- Explorer les nouvelles perspectives possibles en vue de la consolidation de la paix dans les milieux scolaires à Bukavu.

Orientation méthodologique de la recherche

Pour répondre aux impératifs de cette recherche, nous avons usé d'une méthodologie centrée sur quatre axes:

L'observation : réalisée à travers des « *visites de constatation* ». A ce niveau, nous avons observé comment se structurent et s'organisent les activités dans les clubs de paix et les « peace-camping » scolaires. Il a été donc question ici de déceler la nature des activités et le contenu des enseignements dispensés aux élèves ainsi que des pratiques liées à ces activités et enseignements, leurs implications et retombées dans la construction de la paix.

L'analyse documentaire : Pour pénétrer davantage la question de la construction de la paix en milieux scolaires et extra-scolaires de Bukavu, les rapports d'activités ont été consultés, bien qu'une riche documentation nous soit fournie en grande partie par les institutions organisatrices de ces activités au sein et en dehors des écoles. En outre, les bibliothèques de la région étant moins équipées en ouvrages qui traitent de la question, l'internet nous a été également d'une importance indéniable pour combler ce déficit.

Les interviews : celles-ci ont été réalisées avec les responsables et les animateurs des clubs de paix et « peace-camping » en milieux scolaires de Bukavu. Ces responsables sont généralement à la fois des enseignants des cours d'histoire et d'éducation civique et morale. Ceux-ci sont désignés par les autorités scolaires en collaboration avec le délégué des organisations non gouvernementales qui appuient les écoles et qui par ailleurs, patronnent et coordonnent toutes les activités des clubs de paix et « peace-campings » scolaires. Les échanges tournaient autour des objectifs et les incidences du programme en cours d'implémentation.

Les focus-groups avec les élèves qui participent activement dans les clubs de paix et « peace-camping » scolaires. Il a été question ici de cerner les perceptions des élèves sur les bienfaits des activités organisées en leur faveur. A ce titre, nous avons mis à profit les dix élèves choisis dans chaque école-pilote retenue par le programme et cela, compte tenu de leur disponibilité en dehors des heures de cours et du temps imparti.

De plus, nous avons capitalisé les séances évaluatives des activités semestrielles au cours desquelles nous avons bénéficié de quelques plages d'échanges d'expériences concomitamment avec les élèves, les responsables d'écoles et ceux des organisations partenaires qui ont mis en route les programmes de clubs de paix et « peace-campings » scolaires. Le but était finalement, à travers cette voie, de chercher à comprendre les méandres, les forces et les faiblesses des mécanismes et stratégies empruntés directement par les élèves-animateurs des clubs de paix et les gestionnaires des programmes « peace-campings » et clubs de paix scolaires. Dans le concret, nous avons organisé dix focus-groups au total en raison d'un focus-group par école-pilote sélectionnée.

L'échantillonnage : Celui-ci a consisté à considérer les dix élèves par école-pilote (soit cent élèves au total). Ceux-ci ont été sélectionnés par les autorités scolaires sur base de leur réputation comme étant les plus actifs dans la participation aux activités de clubs de paix et « peace-campings » scolaires.

Le tableau ci-après en donne l'illustration:

Tableau 1 : Ecoles-pilotes retenues pour les activités de « Peace-campings » scolaires à Bukavu

N°	Ecoles-pilotes retenues	Réseau d'appartenance/ Convention de gestion	Localisation	Institutions partenaires
1	Institut KASALI	Catholique	Kadutu	Groupe Jérémie et SFCG
2	Institut Technique de Bugabo/ITB	Officiel/Public	Kadutu	Groupe Jérémie et SFCG
3	Institut FADHILI	Protestant	Kadutu	Groupe Jérémie et RIO-ECC
4	Lycée WIMA	Catholique	Kadutu	Groupe Jérémie et SFCG
5	Institut de BAGIRA	Officiel/Public	Bagira	Groupe Jérémie et SFCG
6	Lycée MAPATANO	Catholique	Kadutu	Groupe Jérémie
7	Institut MULINDWA	Catholique	Ibanda	Groupe Jérémie et Héritiers de la Justice
8	Institut TUMAINI	Protestant	Ibanda	Groupe Jérémie et RIO-ECC
9	Lycée CIREZI	Catholique	Ibanda	Groupe Jérémie, SFCG et Héritiers de la Justice
10	ITFM/BUKAVU	Catholique	Kadutu	Groupe Jérémie, SFCG et Héritiers de la Justice

En considérant les indications contenues dans ce tableau, on note que les églises catholiques et celles protestantes ont bénéficié d'une place importante dans la sélection. Les écoles dites « non conventionnelles ou officielles » et celles privées ne semblent pas

trop retenir l'attention des organisations partenaires d'appui. Les raisons en sont que premièrement, ces institutions qui travaillent pour la paix et qui viennent en appui aux écoles sont dans une large mesure à vocation confessionnelle (catholique et protestante, principalement). Aussi, l'initiative de création de ces organisations est soit l'œuvre des laïcs engagés, soit celle des membres faisant parti du clergé. Deuxièmement, ces écoles-pilotes sélectionnées sont généralement réputées « sérieuses » dans la ville de Bukavu en terme de formation dispensée et de rendement scolaire des apprenants.

L'analyse qualitative : celle-ci nous a permis de cerner la valeur intrinsèque de ces activités et/ou enseignements et, par la suite, déceler comment ces activités peuvent impacter à la longue sur les efforts de construction de la paix. Dans le concret, l'analyse qualitative a servi d'outil pour interpréter et comprendre à la fois les contenus associés aux thèmes abordés et aux activités réalisées dans les clubs de paix et peace-campins scolaires.

Cadre conceptuel et théorique de l'étude

Comprendre et expliquer les sens de la violence exigent un effort de confrontation des acceptions. Pour Balle (1976 : 14), la violence désigne l'acte délibéré ou non, provoquant chez celui qui en est la victime, un trouble physique ou moral comportant des conséquences dommageables ou sa personne ou pour ses biens. Pour sa part, Sorel (1935 :24) souligne qu'en droit international, la violence désigne l'emploi de la force ou une contrainte menaçante exercée contre un Etat pour obtenir de lui un consentement alors qu'en politique, la violence désigne tout simplement l'usage de la force dans la contestation sociale, dans la répression des conflits. Cet auteur poursuit en soulignant qu'on emploie les termes force et violence en parlant des actes de l'autorité, tantôt en parlant des actes de révolte, dans le premier sens la force dans l'objectif d'imposer l'organisation d'un certain ordre social dans lequel une minorité gouverne, tandis que la violence tend à la destruction de l'ordre. Ce concept s'emploie au pluriel pour désigner *les actes d'agression commis volontairement à l'encontre d'autrui, sur son corps ou sur ses biens*. La violence est donc un ensemble d'actes, d'attitudes manifestant l'hostilité, l'agressivité entre des individus (Moran 1930 : 128).

Par ailleurs, l'Education à la Paix est définie comme un processus permettant de promouvoir des connaissances, des compétences, des attitudes et des valeurs nécessaires pour apporter des changements de comportements qui permettront aux enfants, à la jeunesse et aux adultes de prévenir les conflits et la violence, aussi bien ouverte que structurelle, de résoudre pacifiquement les conflits et de créer les conditions susceptibles de mener à la paix tant à l'intérieur d'une personne qu'entre des personnes, des groupes à l'échelle nationale comme à l'échelle internationale (Fountain, S. 1999). Dès lors, les éducateurs à la paix espèrent créer dans la conscience humaine un engagement dans

les voies de la paix. En outre, l'Éducation à la Paix tente de sensibiliser les élèves aux mauvais effets de la violence en leur enseignant des connaissances sur la façon de gérer les conflits par la non-violence et en créant un désir de rechercher la résolution pacifique des conflits (Harris, I.sd). Ceci fait que la pédagogie de l'Éducation à la Paix soit interactive, utilisant le dialogue, les délibérations et l'apprentissage critique (Magi, E. 2000). Elle encourage la collaboration avec d'autres groupes de cultures dans la communauté. Les Programmes scolaires d'Éducation à la Paix offrent des contenus, des formes, des structures, des compétences et des attitudes diverses qui abordent les besoins de perspectives alternatives (WANEP, 2001). Par ailleurs, peut-on constater que les germes de violence - les attitudes des enseignants, les manuels scolaires, l'exclusion-contenus au sein de systèmes éducatifs non perturbés par des situations de guerre, n'attendent que le déclenchement des conflits pour éclore et fructifier (Charlot, B. & Emin J.C. 1997 :56). Bien sûr, à eux seuls, ces germes ne peuvent pas provoquer des conflits puisqu'ils entrent facilement en conjonction avec des contextes et des facteurs extérieurs à l'univers scolaire (Guth, S. 1990).

Néanmoins, outre les formes ordinaires de la violence à l'École (affrontements physiques, par exemple), une des formes de violence les plus fréquemment étudiées dans le monde est ce que les anglo-saxons nomment le *Schoolbullying* qu'on pourrait traduire avec Catherine Blaya (2013) comme étant des formes de « harcèlement et de maltraitance entre pairs à l'École ». Il s'agit donc d'une violence répétée, verbale, physique ou psychologique, perpétrée par un ou plusieurs élèves à l'encontre d'une victime qui ne peut se défendre, en position de faiblesse, l'agresseur agissant dans l'intention de nuire à sa victime. Peter Smith (2000) le définit ainsi : « nous dirons qu'un enfant ou une jeune personne est victime de bullying lorsqu'un autre enfant ou jeune ou groupe de jeunes se moquent de lui ou l'insultent. Il s'agit aussi de bullying lorsqu'un enfant est menacé, battu, bousculé, enfermé dans une pièce, lorsqu'il reçoit des messages injurieux ou méchants. Ces situations peuvent durer et il est difficile pour l'enfant ou la jeune personne en question de se défendre. Un enfant dont on se moque méchamment et continuellement est victime de bullying. Par contre, il ne s'agit pas de bullying lorsque deux enfants de force égale se battent ou se disputent. » La victime est souvent isolée, plus petite, faible physiquement, des stigmates corporels lui sont attribués (couleur des cheveux, de la peau, poids, etc.). Leur solitude est d'autant plus grande que les pairs ne souhaitent pas s'associer à eux, de peur de perdre leur statut dans le groupe ou de devenir eux-mêmes victimes. La caractéristique principale du bullying est que l'intimidation physique ou psychique se produit de manière répétée créant un état d'insécurité permanent dangereux pour la victime (Batsche & Knoff 1994).

Bien que les conséquences des conflits sur le système éducatif soient connues (Proteau 2002 :12), le rôle du système éducatif dans la reconstruction post-conflit reste, quant à lui, peu connu et moins investigué. Pourtant note Justin Sheria (2020), l'éducation

peut contribuer à la résolution desdits conflits ou favoriser leur enlisement à travers le contenu officiel du curriculum d'enseignement, les manuels scolaires et les pratiques pédagogiques par lesquels peuvent être propagés des narrations de paix ou de conflit. Ainsi pour le système éducatif congolais, les intentions d'enseignement d'attitudes et pratiques de paix formulées pour le cours d'éducation civique et morale finissent par présenter un caractère obsolète et moins fonctionnel à cause de l'insuffisance de la plage horaire destinée à cet enseignement, à l'absence des considérations pour cet enseignement et au manque des compétences suffisantes des enseignants. Quant aux pratiques pédagogiques, elles sont en elles-mêmes des obstacles à la création d'un environnement paisible d'autant plus qu'elles sont magistrales, moins démocratiques et faisant la part belle aux punitions corporelles. Enfin, le système scolaire secondaire reste un bastion des revendications sociales frisant des tensions à la fois manifestes et latentes entre diverses parties prenantes (Sheria & Langer 2017 :17).

En définitive, l'éducation à la paix implique l'enseignement et la promotion des attitudes et pratiques de tolérance, de patience d'acceptation de la différence, d'amour, de vérité et de justice entre les composantes sociales pour que le groupe social demeure dans l'ordre et l'harmonie (IVP & ADEPAE 2007). Le conflit étant enraciné dans la nature biologique de l'homme, les sociétés tentent d'amener leurs membres à travers tous les temps à promouvoir des pratiques susceptibles de préserver la cohésion entre les individus eux-mêmes, les groupes et les structures (Bour 1998).

La construction de la paix, est-ce aussi l'affaire de l'École?

Pareille interrogation suscite la curiosité lorsque d'habitude on reconnaît ce rôle à d'autres institutions de socialisation et/ou de répression (lorsqu'on tente d'imposer la paix par la force des armes). Cependant, la réponse est affirmative si l'on considère la place qu'occupe l'école dans tout le processus de socialisation des jeunes générations. L'école remplit un rôle, celui de faciliter l'adaptation de l'enfant à des conjonctures complexes (Léon-Joseph, S. 1956) et de le préparer à de nouvelles conditions de vie (Collette 1954). En outre, l'école, de par sa nature même, est une réalité sociale ambiguë par rapport à la dimension du temps. Elle se rattache au passé par la tradition et les connaissances qu'elle transmet, elle appartient au présent par les investissements collectifs qu'elle requiert et engage l'avenir par les espoirs et les aspirations qu'elle entretient (Rocher, G. & Bélanger, P. 1975). Cette perspective d'avenir apparaît singulièrement importante. En effet, l'école est, dans l'esprit de ceux qui en attendent quelque chose ou qui n'en attendent plus rien, un *symbole de la société de demain*. Elle ouvre la porte à cette société, elle en est comme l'antichambre (Kazadi, K. 2016), elle est un pont jeté entre le présent et l'avenir. Il en résulte que l'école est sensible à l'optimisme ou au pessimisme de l'heure sur la société de l'avenir. Le jugement qu'on porte sur l'école, sur ce qu'elle est ou devrait être, se trouve

affecté par l'image que l'on a de la société de demain et par les espoirs ou les craintes que celle-ci éveille. Tout un folklore existe pour illustrer comment la perception qu'on a de l'école est en même temps une projection dans l'avenir. On parle de l'école qui forme « *les élites ou les générations de demain* » ; on dit de l'école qu'elle est un « *facteur de développement culturel aussi bien qu'économique* » ; on attend de l'école qu'elle ouvre aux apprenants « *des voies d'avenir plus faciles ou plus gratifiantes* » que celles qu'on a dû suivre soi-même (Kapagama, 2014).

Ainsi, de nos jours, l'éducation (l'école) est fondamentalement l'institution la plus favorable aux transformations pouvant toucher chaque citoyen, homme et femme, lorsqu'elle est accessible de manière équitable, de bonne qualité, pertinente et qu'elle tient compte des risques et situations de conflits/violences de toutes natures. Dès lors, les milieux scolaires se sont dressés en instances de socialisation privilégiées pour la transmission des valeurs universelles comme la cohabitation et l'entente harmonieuses entre les groupes, l'acceptation et la promotion de la diversité (Aksanti 2013 :5).

Par ailleurs, sans minimiser les causes économiques, politiques, des guerres, on peut raisonnablement penser que les premières causes des conflits se situent dans les comportements et les choix induits par l'éducation reçue. Et l'on peut dire que la paix sociale n'est envisageable que si un certain type d'éducation s'installe chez les habitants, et donc aussi, un certain type d'enseignement. C'est pourquoi, il est probable que la clé de cette situation qu'on appelle, selon les heures ou les lieux, Violence et Guerre, est entre les mains de tous ceux qui ont la charge d'éduquer, notamment des enseignants, et bien sûr avant tout, de ceux qui ont la charge de former ces derniers (Pilon & Quesnel 2006 :6).

Pourtant, l'éducation civique et politique pour l'élève, n'est pas un processus linéaire et ne suppose guère une propagande politique et partisane mais une étude des mécanismes complexes qui organisent la société. Cette éducation devra être pour l'apprenant une intégration de différentes expériences auxquelles le jeune citoyen est confronté, une accommodation et non une reproduction identitaire (Bashige, C. 2014). Le civisme est fondamentalement une attitude et une manière spécifiques de se comporter vis-à-vis de toute la communauté nationale. Il suppose un sentiment intime de solidarité avec la réalité nationale, de fidélité à cette solidarité dans un effort constant de création et de renforcement de la cohésion nationale, d'engagement personnel pour la promotion et la défense du bien commun, de respect profond des lois et des valeurs de la nation, reconnues justes et indispensables.

Dans le cadre de cette recherche, nous avons considéré la multidimensionnalité des activités des clubs de paix et peace-campings scolaires (exposés magistraux, jeux de rôles collectifs, visites-guidées, sorties et excursions, campings) ; cela dans la perspective de comprendre comment les activités promues dans la continuité du champ scolaire peuvent concourir à l'édification d'une paix durable.

Vue d'ensemble sur les approches « Clubs de paix et Peace-campings scolaires » dans les écoles de la ville de Bukavu et son hinterland

Si la conflictualité « travaille » notre monde en voie de globalisation, la paix en constitue le seul horizon et le seul principe de régulation possible, puisqu'elle est la clé d'une culture du vivre ensemble, locale ou mondiale (Deschaux-Beaume, D. 2012). Comme on peut le constater, à Bukavu et dans une large mesure dans toute la partie orientale de la RDC, les écoles, secondaires surtout, sont la cible des programmes d'éducation à la paix. Ces programmes sont développés et mis en œuvre par plusieurs organisations non gouvernementales. Ainsi aujourd'hui, l'Est de la RDC est sans doute la région où travaillent le plus grand nombre d'organisations de recherche de la paix. Elles sont soit nationales, soit interrégionales, soit internationales. Elles œuvrent au cœur des universités comme centre de recherche, ou au sein de la société civile ou comme partenaires (Ulimwengu, B. 2017). Elles se déploient dans l'humanitaire, dans le plaidoyer politique ou dans l'aide au développement. Le contexte des violences leur a donné une aura fortement visible et leur travail est bien connu parmi les populations (Rumashana, J. & Ulimwengu, B. 2017). En dépit du foisonnement de ces organisations en faveur de l'instauration de la paix, une interrogation majeure persiste pourtant: pourquoi la « paix des armes » a-t-elle prévalu sur la paix intégrale des relations humaines et du développement holistique ?

Pour ce qui est des clubs de paix, on note qu'il s'agit d'une structuration des élèves par groupes thématiques dans un ensemble appelé « Clubs de défense des droits de l'Homme ». Sauf cas exceptionnel, les activités dans ces clubs s'organisent une fois la semaine dans chaque école membre et ce, juste après les dernières heures des cours au sein même de l'école.

Ces activités durent une heure maximum et portent sur une diversité des thèmes qui concourent à la construction de la paix et touchent les aspects moraux, civiques, éducatifs et culturels de la vie en communauté. Ces thèmes sont définis par les responsables des organisations non gouvernementales partenaires des écoles en collaboration avec les enseignants-encadreurs et les représentants des élèves. Le nombre de participants dans les clubs de paix varie selon les périodes et l'intérêt que chaque élève accorde aux activités organisées cela du fait que l'adhésion est gratuite et volontaire pour ce qui est de la participation aux activités développées au sein de l'école (Groupe Jérémie 2017). Les élèves qui y participent viennent des classes de première jusqu'en sixième année secondaires sans discrimination aucune. Les groupes thématiques des élèves se réunissent ponctuellement et ce, sur demande à la fois de la majorité des membres qui les composent ou compte tenu d'une activité imminente projetée par les organisations partenaires. Pour ce qui est de la mise en route des clubs de paix, on retrouve les organisations humanitaires comme Search For Common Ground et les organisations confessionnelles comme Groupe Jérémie et CDJP (Réseau catholique) et Héritiers de la Justice et RIO-ECC (Réseau protestant).

Quant aux « Peace-campings » scolaires, il s'agit d'un ensemble d'activités qui permettent de regrouper les élèves en raison de dix par école dans des endroits autres que leurs écoles d'origine. Ces activités datent de 2003 et s'organisent à l'intention des élèves membres des CDDH opérationnels dans les écoles secondaires de la ville de Bukavu et ses périphéries. Ces manifestations sont organisées soit au milieu de l'année scolaire (pendant les vacances de Pâques) ou généralement pendant les grandes vacances au mois de juillet jusqu'en fin Août de chaque année scolaire. Outre les apprenants et leurs encadreurs permanents au sein des écoles de provenance, les organisateurs des « Peace-campings » scolaires, on signale toujours la présence de certaines autorités municipales (gouverneur de province ou son représentant, les bourgmestres de communes ou leurs délégués) ainsi que des représentants des organismes du système des Nations-Unies comme l'UNICEF et l'UNESCO, et ceux des organisations philanthropiques comme le CICR, Save the Children, etc.).

Qu'il s'agisse des Clubs de paix ou des « Peace-camping » scolaires, les objectifs semblent les mêmes et se recoupent mutuellement : promouvoir l'acceptation de la différence ; offrir un cadre et des opportunités aux élèves pour la conversion des mentalités, des attitudes et des pratiques longtemps enracinées dans un passé chargé des violences ; cultiver chez les jeunes un esprit du vouloir-vivre collectif ; déraciner les préjugés et stéréotypes chez les élèves en instaurant un climat de confiance mutuelle et enfin combattre une « pédagogie d'oppression » dont sont victimes plusieurs enfants à l'école(Groupe Jérémie 2003 ; Héritiers de la Justice 2004 & RIO-ECC 2012).

Nature et signification des activités des clubs de paix et « peace-camping » scolaires dans la ville de Bukavu

Au sein des écoles de Bukavu où s'exécutent en expérimentation les activités des programmes « clubs de paix et peace-campings » scolaires, on note une visée principale d'une éducation à la paix conçue comme un outil de transformation chez les élèves d'un passé fort chargé des violences pour flamboyer un avenir plein d'espoir en terme de cohabitation pacifique à travers la promotion de l'esprit du vivre-ensemble. Selon les protocoles d'accord sur le cadre opérationnel des activités de culture et de promotion de la paix dans les écoles-pilotes, une importance capitale est accordée d'une part aux pratiques pédagogiques qui combattent une pédagogie d'oppression (Groupe Jérémie 2003 ; Héritiers de la Justice 2004). D'autre part, les encadreurs proposent aux élèves des activités qui d'ouverture à la diversité culturelle (RIO-ECC 2016 ; SFCG 2018). La perspective étant que ces clubs servent de matrice de dialogue et échanges permanents d'une part entre les élèves et leurs éducateurs, et d'autre part entre les apprenants eux-mêmes et ce, en vue de l'instauration d'un système de confiance.

Pour y parvenir, plusieurs activités sont mises en œuvre en faveur des élèves dont :

- Les conférences-débats et les séances de génie en herbe à l'école autour d'une diversité des thèmes comme la paix et la cohabitation pacifique, la bonne gouvernance, le civisme, etc ;
- Les tribunes d'expression populaires et les visites guidées sur des sites présentant un intérêt historique pour les diverses communautés;
- Les séances de simulation des scènes qui frisent la violence et les « bonnes » manières pour contourner cette violence au profit de la paix ;
- L'organisation des émissions radiodiffusées mettant aux prises les enfants issus des communautés et couches sociales différentes.

Toutes ces activités ont comme point de convergence d'amener les jeunes élèves à cultiver une convivialité collective et une collaboration-coopération enracinées dans une diversité d'opinions, d'idées et de pratiques ainsi que la valorisation des différences. Il s'agit ici d'amener les jeunes dans leurs clubs respectifs d'appliquer au quotidien le principe de la *complémentarité différentielle* (Kaganda 2004) : tout en étant différent l'un à l'autre, on est en même temps utile et complémentaire l'un à l'autre. Ainsi, au vu de ce qui précède, il apparaît que dans la pratique, les clubs de paix sont de véritables instruments pour la démocratisation des institutions scolaires mais bien plus des lieux de « fermentation » et d'éclosion des valeurs de paix chez les jeunes générations. A ce titre, un enseignant-encadreur de l'Institut Kasali explique que les activités développées en faveur des apprenants dans le cadre de clubs de paix ou peace-campings sont d'une portée significative car elles permettent de gommer les vestiges d'une mémoire collective pleine des violences de toutes natures. Et cet éducateur d'ajouter ceci : « *notre responsabilité dans l'émergence d'une société pacifique est grande car nous devons léguer à nos enfants un patrimoine culturel encré dans les valeurs de paix et du vivre-ensemble. Tout le temps que nous agissons dans le sens contraire à cet impératif, nous qui sommes des éducateurs, nous répondrons devant l'histoire car une société qui renonce à prendre en charge sa jeune génération en l'éduquant aux valeurs de paix et en la dotant des outils en vue d'une promotion optimale, enterre son propre avenir ; c'est une société suicidaire* ». Ces propos rejoignent finalement Jean-Marc ELA (1998) pour qui l'avenir appartient à ceux-là qui auront su donner aux générations présentes des raisons de vivre et d'espérer.

Pour les élèves, ces activités mises en route sont d'une importance indéniable car elles leur permettent de déconstruire les préjugés et stéréotypes qu'ils ont les uns autres vis-à-vis des autres. Lucien Buhendwa, membre du club de paix à l'Institut Tumaini témoigne en ces termes :

« Avant, nous avions l'habitude de prendre certains élèves de notre classe comme des étrangers et ennemis du Congo vu leur morphologie. Nous les considérions comme les auteurs principaux du malheur qui frappe notre pays. Cela a fait que pendant longtemps, nous avions du

mal à les associer dans nos initiatives à l'école comme au quartier. Eux, aussi, ils nous prenaient comme des adversaires potentiels. Cependant, depuis que nous avons été sélectionnés (dont deux de leur côté) pour participer aux activités de club de paix en tant qu'animateurs dans notre école, nous sommes parvenus finalement à tisser des liens d'amitié même en dehors de l'école ».

Clubs de paix et « peace-campings » : cadres pour une culture et une pédagogie pratique de la paix

Il s'avère que le fait d'être exposé de façon régulière à des comportements violents altère les fonctions cognitives telles que la mémoire, la concentration, les capacités d'abstraction (Debarbieux, E. 2011). Généralement, les enfants victimes d'ostracisme ont une opinion plus négative de l'École, mettent en place des stratégies d'évitement et sont donc plus souvent absents, et ont des résultats scolaires inférieurs à la moyenne (Observatoire International de la Violence à l'École 2011). A ce titre, le rôle des éducateurs paraît capital en ce qui concerne la prévention de tout acte susceptible de culminer vers une quelconque forme de violence entre apprenants ou entre enseignants et apprenants. C'est ce que nous désignons par le concept de « pédagogie de la paix ». Cette forme de pédagogie considère l'action éducative dans son ensemble comme un processus de dialogue permanent entre l'éducateur et l'éduqué où la règle de l'imposition cède la place à la collaboration.

Au demeurant, nos enquêtes font constater qu'un large consensus se dégage au sein des organisations ayant implémenté les programmes d'éducation à la paix dans les écoles secondaires de la ville de Bukavu et son hinterland: l'Éducation à la Paix a besoin d'un cadre dans lequel elle peut être mieux enseignée et comprise par les plus jeunes. Même si certaines institutions sociales comme les églises, les mouvements associatifs des jeunes opérationnels dans la ville, relayent le message, une évidence se construit selon laquelle le cadre le plus naturel et propice pour sa diffusion demeure les établissements scolaires. Un établissement scolaire est un condensé de la société dans son ensemble (WANEP 2001) ; il joue aussi un rôle très important pour modeler le comportement psychosocial des enfants en rapport avec leurs familles et l'environnement élargi.

Cependant, il a été admis à partir des discussions en focus group que les stratégies de mise en œuvre des activités en faveur de la paix au sein des écoles dans le cadre des clubs de paix sont plus tributaires à la fois des *conjonctures et possibilités financières* (sensibilité des autorités scolaires vis-à-vis des activités projetées et disponibilité des fonds nécessaires), *des bénéficiaires* ciblés et de la *structure d'encadrement* (Club de paix) desdites activités.

Pour ce qui est des bénéficiaires ciblés à l'avance, un des encadreurs rapporte ceci :

« De plus en plus, les responsables d'écoles et les partenaires nous donnent les lignes de conduite à suivre pour sélectionner les participants. Malheureusement, les autres enfants qui n'ont pas été retenus pour participer aux activités de grande envergure orientent à l'exclusion et au favoritisme, surtout en ce qui concerne les activités qui se déroulent pendant les grandes vacances. Cette situation génère des frustrations et même une forme de jalousie chez ceux qui se considèrent comme des oubliés, des laissés-pour-compte. Ils nous reprochent même d'avoir fondé le choix des participants sur des bases clientélistes ».

Selon les responsables des organisations partenaires, la sélection des élèves pour participer et représenter leurs condisciples aux activités de grande envergure se fait de commun accord avec toutes les parties prenantes au programme en fonction de plusieurs critères à savoir le rendement scolaire de l'élève, sa participation active dans les activités pour la visibilité, le rayonnement et la réputation de l'école (activité de génie en herbe, club pour la vie, club de paix, concours, football, etc.). En plus, soulignent-ils que les élèves qui représentent leurs condisciples ont l'obligation de faire une restitution aux autres au sein des clubs de paix opérationnels dans les écoles de provenance. Déroger à cette obligation constituerait de facto une auto-disqualification pour la participation aux prochaines activités. Au demeurant, dans la pratique pédagogique, on note que la mise en œuvre des activités dans le cadre du « peace-camping » et/ou du club de paix dans les écoles de la ville de Bukavu apparaît comme la fusion du programme d'Education à la Paix dans un programme scolaire particulier déjà existant et déjà approuvé dans les écoles-pilotes concernées. Ces activités touchent les matières comme la bonne gouvernance, la démocratie, la diversité culturelle, la tolérance et l'écoute active, et réclament moins d'exigence dans la mesure où certaines matières sont élargies pour intégrer cet ensemble thématique regroupant des sujets qui ont trait à l'Education à la Paix. Les exposés magistraux des enseignants-encadreurs, les visites guidées sur des sites de conservation des patrimoines culturels, les conférences-débats touchant les questions de la coexistence pacifique, les tribunes d'expression populaire animées par les élèves sous la supervision de leurs encadreurs, etc. constituent des pratiques des parties prenantes pour la construction de la paix. Ce témoignage d'un enseignant-encadreur est plus frappant :

« Dans les séances de routine que nous animons conjointement avec les élèves selon le besoin, nos exposés magistraux permettent aux jeunes de comprendre la valeur de la paix dans une société qui se veut démocratique. Dans les clubs de paix et à travers les activités réalisées en dehors de l'école dans le cadre du peace-camping, nous tâchons également de développer chez les élèves, des attitudes et pratiques qui concourent à briser et combattre les chaînes de la violence, de la haine, des préjugés ».

et stéréotypes véhiculés par nos traditions, nos mythes et méthodes pédagogiques fort oppressives. A ce titre, nous amenons les jeunes à participer finalement au processus de démocratisation des structures scolaires au sein desquelles ils évoluent, car nous nous sommes rendus que comme éducateurs, nous pouvons aussi obtenir auprès des jeunes élèves des propositions pratiques pour améliorer au quotidien notre agir dans le cadre de notre métier d'enseignant ».

Au regard de ce qui précède, l'on est à même de considérer qu'à travers les approches « clubs de paix et peace-camping scolaires », il est possible d'imaginer et consolider pratiquement une « *pédagogie pour une culture? la paix* ». Celle-ci consisterait à identifier les matières qui conduisent les enfants à adopter des pratiques susceptibles de contribuer aux efforts de la consolidation de la paix. A ce titre, cette forme de pédagogie implique l'addition d'autres éléments dans ce programme scolaire. Il s'agit par exemple des matières sur la cohabitation pacifique, l'acceptation de l'autre et la valorisation des différences culturelles. Cependant, cette introduction de nouveaux contenus au programme existant nécessitera l'approbation des autorités respectives chargées de la réglementation de l'ensemble du système éducatif. De plus, cela réclamera également une formation supplémentaire pour les prestataires chargés de l'enseignement de ces nouvelles matières. Selon la matière considérée, elle peut faire l'objet d'une évaluation à l'interne pour les élèves qui participent au programme; l'objectif étant de s'assurer de l'assimilation de matière apprise dans le cadre des activités du club de paix.

En outre, cette forme de pédagogie exigerait que les matières retenues dans le cadre de l'Education à la Paix et qui peuvent être intégrées au programme préexistant soient considérées et clairement présentés comme des matières destinées à modeler le caractère et à provoquer un processus de changement dans le comportement des élèves. Cette structure peut être appliquée aussi bien aux établissements scolaires primaires que post-primaires. Ainsi, la pédagogie pour une culture de la paix nécessite une restructuration du programme scolaire après un réexamen et l'approbation d'une nouvelle politique d'éducation par les institutions gouvernementales responsables de la réglementation. Cependant, elle va réclamer des moyens pour une planification à long terme. Au fil des temps, cette approche approfondit les connaissances et la culture des élèves pour la paix et la résolution des conflits.

Discussion des résultats et appréciations critiques

La construction de la paix suppose, à bien des égards, la participation des jeunes générations au processus d'édification d'une culture de la paix et aux progrès de la communauté. C'est donc une exigence éthique pour tout citoyen d'avoir une connaissance

suffisante sur l'organisation de l'Etat et sur sa loi, sur les responsabilités des différents acteurs dans leur exercice ; un comportement qui se veut patriotique. S'engager sur cette voie, c'est promouvoir une société plus juste, libre et plus égale pour les membres de la communauté (Bashige 2014 :104). Par ailleurs, certains travaux d'expertise (Le Pape & Vidal, 1987) évoquent les formes de violence scolaire, au titre de « germes conflictuels », uniquement quand il s'agit d'expliquer l'entrée en conflit des sociétés africaines. Aucune de ces expertises ne court le risque de détecter, à des fins de comparaison, des « germes conflictuels » pourtant existant parmi les systèmes d'enseignement de pays en paix en apparence (Unicef 2003). En écho à ce comparatisme restreint, d'autres travaux de recherche placent, eux, le phénomène de scolarisation, en tant que préoccupation sociale et politique, au cœur de la production des conflits (Proteau 2002 :12). Du reste, ils marquent leurs distances vis-à-vis des modèles mécanistes qui tentent d'attribuer aux systèmes d'enseignement une pleine responsabilité dans le déclenchement des conflits (Pilon, M. 2006). Or la violence existe, en temps de paix comme en temps de guerre, et ses formes, pour être identifiées, n'en restent pas moins méconnues dans leurs logiques de production comme dans leurs conséquences psychologiques. La première forme de cette violence est physique et, assurément, ses pratiques courantes en milieu scolaire – l'usage fréquent de la chicotte ou les châtiments corporels directs en guise de punitions – montrent combien « les violences à l'école » sont consubstantielle à « l'école de la violence », ce que révèle une enquête nationale menée au Togo (Kouwonou & Locoh 2002). Encouragées par certains chefs de famille, moins souvent dénoncées par voie de presse, ces violences de la vie scolaire quotidienne puisent leur source dans l'institution scolaire elle-même.

Avec un accès limité à l'éducation, bon nombre de jeunes et d'enfants se sont détachés de l'Etat et du courant dominant de la société (Olonisakan, F. 2006) et la conséquence d'un tel état de choses est la création d'un réservoir d'enfants et de jeunes gens vulnérables ayant reçu une éducation limitée, sinon nulle, en matière de principes éthiques et moraux en vue d'un changement social et d'un développement constructifs dans leurs sociétés (Adekeye, A. & Rashid, I. 2004).

L'action sociale étant un construit symbolique (Kaganda 2004) qui fait intervenir les attentes, les anticipations et les évolutions des agents face à des situations contraignantes qui les forcent à élaborer des interprétations originales inspirées des codes culturels dominants, il ressort que beaucoup d'élèves veulent participer activement aux activités au sein des clubs de paix mais leur volonté est contrariée par les logiques qui guident la matérialité même des projets de mise en œuvre des clubs de paix au sein des écoles: les élèves qui doivent participer au programme sont sélectionnés sur base des critères prédéfinis à l'avance de commun accord par les préfets d'écoles, les enseignants-encadreurs et les responsables des organismes partenaires. Ces critères, dans les faits, sont exclusifs et ne donnent pas la possibilité d'élargir davantage les acquis du programme aux autres élèves qui ne sont pas directement associés aux activités. Cette exclusion renferme, en

elle-même, d'autres germes de conflits entre les élèves sélectionnés et ceux qui ne le sont pas.

En outre, la sélection des enseignants-encadreurs tient compte des matières enseignées au sein de l'institut, de la disponibilité et de l'intérêt accordé au programme. C'est pourquoi les enseignants privilégiés sont généralement ceux-là qui dispensent des cours d'Éducation Civique et Morale, d'Histoire, de Géographie ou de Psychopédagogie. Ce seul critère ne paraît pas aussi judicieux au vu des contours et de la délicatesse même des thématiques abordées (tenir aussi compte de la personnalité de l'enseignant et de son attachement aux valeurs de paix). Il se pose aussi pour ces encadreurs un problème de capacitation et de remise à niveau permanentes en rapport avec les matières dispensées aux enfants au sein des clubs de paix. En plus, dans les « peace-campings » comme activités parascolaires qui prolongent les activités des clubs de paix en dehors des écoles, on note une absence quasi-totale de communication-collaboration permanente entre les organismes partenaires et les écoles-pilotes.

Cette situation traduit une absence des liens et une décomposition des réseaux d'interaction entre parties prenantes et constitue, de facto, un obstacle majeur à la pérennisation des acquis du programme. À ce titre Oberschall, A. & Boudon, R. (1999) démontre que la capacité de mener une action concertée (synergique) dépend étroitement du degré et du type d'organisation inhérents à la collectivité concernée.

Enfin, en rapport avec les logiques de projets guidant même les interventions au sein des écoles-pilotes, il s'observe une dispersion d'efforts traduite par des actions laconiques et disjointes (par exemple duplication des activités par deux organismes au sein d'une même école avec les mêmes bénéficiaires au détriment d'autres écoles qui sont dans le besoin). Cela soulève un besoin d'harmonisation des stratégies et mécanismes de mise en œuvre du programme en vue d'une meilleure coordination d'actions sur le terrain (écoles-pilotes) d'une part et, d'amener les élèves à cultiver la paix, d'autre part.

Suggestions pratiques

L'incidence réciproque d'un environnement conflictuel difficile à résoudre et d'un processus émergent de socialisation négative place les enfants et la jeunesse dans une situation dangereuse où ils risquent de développer diverses manifestations de radicalisme (Office de la Prévention des Crises 2005). Il ya également chez eux des caractères violents « vicieux » capables de déstabiliser davantage la paix, la sécurité et le développement. Dès lors, la vulnérabilité s'accroît encore du fait de la phase critique de développement humain qu'ils traversent, à un âge où les types de comportements interpersonnels, sociaux et civils se modèlent et se fixent.

Au vu des faits ci-haut soulevés, nous suggérons en définitive deux alternatives possibles à savoir :

1. La revisitation de l'optique et des politiques de mise en œuvre du programme d'Éducation à la Paix à travers les approches clubs de paix et *peace-camping* scolaires. Il s'agit ici d'élargir le programme aux écoles tant du niveau primaire que secondaire en faisant participer tous les élèves régulièrement inscrits à l'école au regard de la pertinence des matières et de l'ampleur du problème ;
2. L'insertion au programme d'enseignement (avec obligation d'apprendre à tous les élèves) les matières d'Éducation à la Paix dans tout le processus formatif des jeunes élèves et ce, avec possibilité d'évaluation, comme c'est le cas dans les autres matières, pour se rendre compte de l'assimilation-appropriation des matières par les apprenants et par voie de conséquence, pour l'adoption par ces derniers des attitudes favorables à la paix.

Conclusion

A travers cette recherche, nous avons expliqué comment l'éducation à la paix en milieu scolaires, à travers les approches « clubs de paix et « *peace-camping* » scolaires, fournit aux jeunes des possibilités de briser les engrenages des violences antérieures et s'engager résolument dans la voie de la paix durable. Concrètement, notre réflexion effleure les méandres des programmes d'éducation à la paix dans les écoles congolaises en ce qui concerne l'offre aux jeunes des connaissances et aptitudes requises pour assurer la promotion d'une vie sociale positive en passant par l'acquisition-adoption d'une culture de la non-violence.

Cette étude révèle que la véritable éducation à la paix ne peut seulement être envisagée dans les leçons magistralement dispensées ; elle devrait aussi être envisagée dans la vie de tous les jours à travers des activités pratiques en faveur des apprenants. Cela passe par des efforts visant à amener les élèves à une remise en question permanente des traditions et des croyances de toutes sortes, par le refus des principes et évidences culturels, par la recherche et la promotion des différences en adoptant des habitudes ouvertes au changement. C'est cela le but ultime des activités organisées dans le cadre des approches « clubs de paix et « *peace-camping* » scolaires. Dans cette perspective, l'Éducation à la paix telle qu'envisagée par ces deux approches, fournit aux élèves des connaissances et des aptitudes requises pour assurer la promotion d'une vie sociale positive, concourir à la promotion d'une culture de la non-violence et à l'émergence de la cohésion sociale. C'est donc un processus de responsabilisation qui vise à effectuer des changements à travers le développement de compétences personnelles dans la non-violence. Ainsi, avons-nous suggéré que cette pédagogie pour la paix devrait adopter une approche multidimensionnelle pour changer aussi bien les élèves qui participent au programme que les communautés dont ils sont originaires.

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The Politics Of Infrastructural Provision in Rural Areas of Oyo State Nigeria

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Abstract

Over the years, rural service delivery is often subjected to political players and less of the rural public interest. The study examined rural people experiences of local government rural LGAs of Oyo state, Nigeria. The concept of governance provides the conceptual balance for this study. The study made use of a mixed approach for data collection, qualitative and quantitative tools of questionnaire and in-depth interview respectively. Two hundred and fifty (250) rural households across six (6) LGAs were administered questionnaire randomly from the purposively identified rural local government areas. Study revealed that infrastructure politicking is a challenge that limits sustainable rural facility delivery. This is because infrastructures such as water infrastructure, school buildings and drainage construction were provided based on political affiliation. Over half of the respondents consider rural governance not to be participatory and inclusive towards rural development. The study recommends that democratic local government autonomy remains the feasible and responsive solution to efficient service delivery in the local space

Key words: Rural, Inclusive, Politics, Infrastructure development, Service delivery.

Résumé

Au fil des ans, la prestation de services ruraux est souvent soumise aux acteurs politiques et moins à l'intérêt public rural. L'étude a examiné les expériences des populations rurales des LGA rurales du gouvernement local de l'État d'Oyo, au Nigeria. Le concept de gouvernance fournit l'équilibre conceptuel de cette étude. L'étude a utilisé une approche mixte pour la collecte de données, des outils qualitatifs et quantitatifs de questionnaire et d'entretien approfondi respectivement. Deux cent cinquante (250) ménages ruraux répartis dans six (6) LGA ont reçu un questionnaire au hasard dans les zones de gouvernement local rural identifiées à dessein. Une étude a révélé que la politisation des infrastructures est un défi qui limite la fourniture d'installations rurales durables. En effet, les infrastructures telles que les infrastructures hydrauliques, les bâtiments scolaires et la construction de drainage ont été fournies en fonction de l'affiliation politique. Plus de la moitié des répondants considèrent que la gouvernance rurale n'est pas participative et inclusive vis-à-vis du développement rural. L'étude recommande que l'autonomie démocratique des collectivités locales reste la solution réalisable et adaptée à une prestation de services efficace dans l'espace local

Mots clés : rural, inclusif, politique, développement des infrastructures, prestation de services.

Introduction

Rural exclusion remains an underlining challenge to settlement sustainability of human. This is so because, planners and environmentalist have failed to realise that urban decay, poverty and collapse are a reflection of abject rural poverty and infrastructural neglect. Notwithstanding the rural denial of basic facilities when considered alongside city residents, rural spaces is not expected to disappear as it is expected to exist as a settlement type (FAO 2003; Grgić et al., 2010). Urbanisation is primarily the result of migration, and it is reasonable to treat it as such (Tacoli, 2015:4).

In low-income settings like Nigeria, rapid rural–urban (net) migration can in principle contribute to infrastructure, housing and service shortages, and create financial and delivery problems for the responsible local governments and national agencies (Tacoli, 2015:8; Aliyu & Amadu, 2017). Popoola and Akande (2016) iterates that the migration of rural dwellers due to infrastructure decay often limits the sustainability and liveability of urban areas due to pressure on city amenities and also food production for urban residents and income for rural farming households. Tacoli et al. (2015) buttressed that rural-urban migration is mainly attributed to the increasing urban poverty. The argument was that the increasing infrastructure demand in city spaces can be attributed to rural immigrants, many of whom are relegated to city fringes that is characterised by infrastructure dearth (Popoola et al., 2020).

Rural development driven by the provision of social and physical infrastructure (ADB, 2007) is a key element that will facilitate relationship between the rural areas and urban centres (Paul et al., 2014). Rural service delivery remains unequally distributed across space in Nigeria, with the service providers remaining unresponsive to the rural demands. Limitation to responsive service delivery in rural areas are lack of voice and representation in the decision making process (Amdam, 2000; Rakodi, 2010). The studies advocate for planning within the rural sphere to promoting rural governance, private public partnership, public interest and an inclusive planning.

Over the years, planning for infrastructural provision has been done without rural preference. Literature (Dalal-Clayton et al., 1999; Prato and Longo 2012; Mazibuko, 2012) indicates that despite the abundance of resources within rural spaces, they receive little attention and preference in terms of policies and plan formulation and implementation that should translate into development and enhanced rural sustainability. Rural exclusion remains a reality within this settlement and planning space. Thus, exposing and influencing rural dwellers living in poverty under poor conditions, subjecting them to induced rural-urban migration for access urban allocated services and infrastructure. This is reflected in the call for improved concentration of investments and policies on the rural disadvantaged majority people living in poverty (IFAD, 2001; Calabrò & Della, 2014; Markussen & Tarp, 2014).

However, the long neglect of the rural areas has always been associated with high poverty rate and under-development in the form of exclusion in infrastructure provision and service delivery. Owing to neglect to rural development and focus on urban areas (Paul et al., 2014) thus, neglecting physical infrastructure which indirectly influence rural economic sustainability. In Nigeria, the inadequate obvious basic social and physical facilities and extremely poor livelihood in the rural areas is an affirmation of the opinion that the rural sector of Nigeria has not experienced tangible developmental investments in over 5 decades of the country's self-governing identity (Ugwuanyi & Chukwumeka, 2013). Social amenities are inadequate (Ezeah, 2005); there is the near absence of some basic infrastructure reflecting in degradation and deprivation (Okoli & Onah, 2002) of rural communities despite the country's oil wealth (Abonyi and Nnamani, 2011). Omeruah (1985; in Obiukwu, 1992) observing that the Nigerian rural economy is depreciating, as the areas continue to be characterised by informal settlements and loss of traditional identity that results from facility neglect.

Rural areas remain less relevant in the infrastructural provision map of politician and decision makers. Sometimes rural planning and local politics, often times, do work together towards the need for development and sustainability across all settlements, based on suggestions by the political office holders (Moas, 2012; Leone, 2013). Although there exist a poor definition of public interest and distrust among public stakeholders, private stakeholders and citizens as rural planning is being used as an instrument of manipulation, selfishness and selective development in places of choice by political office holders and their "instructive planners" (Johnson, 1997).

Discussions about the rural space have often been focused on food production and poverty with few pieces of literature (Maos and Charney, 2012 and Leone, 2013) addressing the politics of rural service delivery. Provisions of services are often defined by the political affiliation and the responsiveness of governance. Governance in a way that involves the people remains a way towards bringing about responsive and sustainable governance. Based on this, peoples' perception and experiences about governance vary across space. Within the rural space of Nigeria, the local government is responsible for the provision of infrastructures. Nonetheless, the rural people been planned for in facility location are not included in the decision-making process. It is against this backdrop that the study aims to examine the experience of local government by rural people. In responding to the study aim, the relationship between community representation, public participation, and politics and service delivery in Oyo state, Nigeria will be established.

The Context: Oyo state.

Oyo State is located in the South-Western part of Nigeria. It was carved out from the Western state and originally, it included Osun state, which was split off in 1991. Oyo state is homogenous, mainly inhabited by the Yoruba ethnic group who are primarily agrarian but have a predilection for living in high density urban centres (Adegoke & Jegede, 2016).

The state was formed in 1976. It has a total land area of 28,454km² and is ranked fourteenth in size in Nigeria. The state had a population of 5,591,589 people, according to the 2006 population census figure with a density of 200/km² (Ifabiyi and Ogunbode, 2014).

Oyo as a state in Nigeria is made up of thirty-three (33) local government, three (3) senatorial districts out of which twenty-eight (28) are considered to be rural or sub-urban local government areas (Bankole & Bakare, 2011). The local government areas under the supervision and management of a democratically elected Chairman/Chairperson by the LGA residents or a politically appointed caretaker administrator by State governor is in-charge of local grass-root politics and governance of the people in the rural local government areas.

Methodology

The rural terrain and the disperse nature of the rural people and space were some factors accountable for sample size selection across the study area. Combinations of qualitative and quantitative data were collected for the study. Structured questionnaire served as the quantitative data capturing tool while in-depth interview and field observation were the data capturing tools for the qualitative data. Questionnaires were administered across the purposive sampled rural local government areas (LGAs) and administered using a non-probabilistic (accidental) sampling technique to select the households where the questionnaires were administered. The rural LGAs were selected purposively based on the classification of Oyo state into urban and peri-urban and rural LGA. Also, the settlements where the questionnaires were administered were selected based on preliminary fieldwork and interview with officials of the Department of Agriculture in the sample LGA. The officers of the department of agriculture were approached for suggestions based on their establish interactions with rural people and their clear familiarity with the rural terrain.

Owing to the nature of the research which depends on the experience of the responder about governance and service delivery, non-probability sampling technique remains best to be used. Non-probabilistic sampling techniques as been identified to provide a range of alternative techniques based on researchers subjective judgement, time and financial limitation (Yusuf, 2013). Purposive sampling as a type of non-probabilistic sampling is considered better when communal studies are carried out.

The sample frame for the selected LGAs for study is the 185,683 rural dwellers in Oyo state based on the household survey conducted by NPC (2006). A 0.1346% sample size representing 250 rural residents was adopted for the administration of the structured questionnaire in the six (6) rural LGAs as shown in table 2. Neuman (1991: 214 - 215) opines that for a study population of 150,000 a 1% sample ratio is suffice. Yusuf (2003) went further and explained that situations where the sample population is above 10million, to achieve accuracy, a researcher may make use of 0.0025%. Thus for this study considering the household population of 185,683 (National population commission (NPC), 2010) a sampling ratio of 0.1346% was considered suffice and was used to arrive at the sample size of 250 households.

The study employed cross-sectional survey approach to facilitate the collection of both qualitative and quantitative data from primary and secondary sources. This study adopted the cross-sectional survey research design for questionnaire-based data obtained from rural residents. The study area Oyo state, at present, has 3 senatorial district (*Oyo South, Oyo Central and Oyo North*), 33 LGAs and 337 political wards. Oyo state has a total of 1,279,681 households across 33 LGAs (NPC, 2006). However, for the purpose of this research, the state was delineated using the 3 Senatorial Districts (North, South and Central) in the state as contained in Table 2.

The option of senatorial district was adopted as against the federal constituency owing to the fact that some federal constituencies fall within the urban area with no rural local government area. A total of six (6) rural LGAs (two LGAs each from the three senatorial districts) were chosen purposively. It is from the purposively selected LGAs that communities were selected randomly based on outlook and rural characteristics as advised by the local government officials' contacted and preliminary filed survey. The settlement selected for sampling study within the local government areas were selected using accidental, convenience and cluster sampling technique. A total of two-hundred and fifty (250) rural households were administered questionnaire. Considering the rural disperse population and the uneven distribution of houses where households reside, the number of settlements sampled for household questionnaire administration per LGA was dependent on the number of targeted sample size population. One settlement was sampled from each purposively selected LGA amounting to a total of six settlements across the six LGAs purposively selected.

In the sampled rural LGAs, questionnaires were administered purposively and interview conducted accidentally. Community leaders served as the key informant and were interviewed. Also people along the circulation routes were interview using accidental sampling and based on the persons willingness to respond. For this study, the responders are household head, wife or the eldest person in the house. Instances where the responder is not educated or request for discussion to be in the native language for ease of communication, the questions are asked in the native language. Owing consideration was given to ethical issues such as the respondents' privacy to responses given and the right to withdraw from the interview when the need arises.

For the interview, a total number of seventeen interviews were conducted for rural stakeholders across the six LGAs. The stakeholders include four officers in the department of agriculture, two officers in the department of works, an officer in-charge of community and social development officers, an officer in the department of information, six rural community dweller (two of whom are traditional and community elder) and three teachers in rural schools. Field observation was used to investigate rural infrastructure provision.

To establish the association rural politics, participation, and infrastructure and service delivery in the sampled study area, a model was tested using R Studio 3.6.3. The subjected model testing also examined the association using Chi-Square tests.

Table 3: Sampled Size according to LGAs

S/N	LGA	Senatorial District	Sample Size in each LGA (0.1346%)	Percent (%)
1.	IDO	Oyo South District	37	14.8
2.	Ibarapa Central	Oyo South District	51	20.4
3.	Irepo	Oyo North District	43	17.2
4.	Olorunsogo	Oyo North District	38	15.2
5.	Oyo-East	Oyo Central District	40	16.0
6.	Egbeda	Oyo Central District	41	16.4
	TOTAL		250	100

Source: Authors' compilation (2018).

Conceptualising Infrastructure, Governance, Politics and Politics of Infrastructure and Service Delivery

The ongoing neglect of the rural areas in Nigeria has always been associated with high poverty and under-development in the form of exclusion in service delivery. Studies show that rural spaces are experiencing opportunities and challenges that demand efficient and responsive equity-based programmes and policies investment in social capital, as well as the more sustainable and effective use of scarce financial resources (Bongomin et al., 2016; Jones et al., 2016; Rechel et al., 2016).

Post-independence developmental experiences in various colonial countries were characterised by a focus on urban people, space (Paul et al., 2014). According to Mabogunje (1980), the Nigeria rural neglect displays an urban bias and neglect in national economic policies since the era of Africa political independence. Victor and Hope (2011:350) summed that the “recent resurgence of urban-bias and city-centric (development) thought is leading to two concurrent but contradictory trends: the

foregrounding of the city as the epicentre of investment or ‘engine of development’ as well as the relegation of rural development to the backwaters leading to widespread rural neglect and poverty. It was reported that Nigeria like every developing country is characterised by rural poverty, gross lack of capital and infrastructure. This as mentioned deepened this vortex of rural neglect and deprivation”. Reported is that focus modern agricultural practices, techniques and approaches (Lacroix, 2011) with neglect of the physical infrastructure that will help to promote economic sustainability (Olawoye, 2019) further deepened rural marginalisation (Iwu-James et al., 2019).

Rural development is focused on meeting the physical and socio-economic demands (agriculture and non-agricultural related) of rural dwellers in an environment that is open to interaction with the urban areas in such a way that the indigenous identity of the people is sustained, rural capacity enhanced, and resources well managed and controlled through an open market (The Asian Development Bank Institute (ADB), 2007). Paul et al. (2014) aver that access to basic amenities helps to promote household livelihood, which translates to rural communal development (physical and financial). Despite the space endowment with resources, with their dwellers remaining deprived of a good quality of life, and their livelihood often being threatened by a dearth of infrastructure, facilities and poor service delivery (Gbadamosi & Olorunfemi, 2016; Brinkerhoff et al., 2016). An attempt to identify the relevance of infrastructure provision as a wheel towards the development of a country is the foundation on which such country’s soundness, increased industrialization, state social cohesion, investment attraction, enhanced quality of life and total development rest (Popoola and Magidimisha, 2018). As noted by Rao (1980:10), “the link between infrastructure and development is not a once for all affair. It is a continuous process and progress in development has to be preceded accompanied and followed by progress in infrastructure, if we are to fulfill our declared objectives of a self-accelerating process of economic development”.

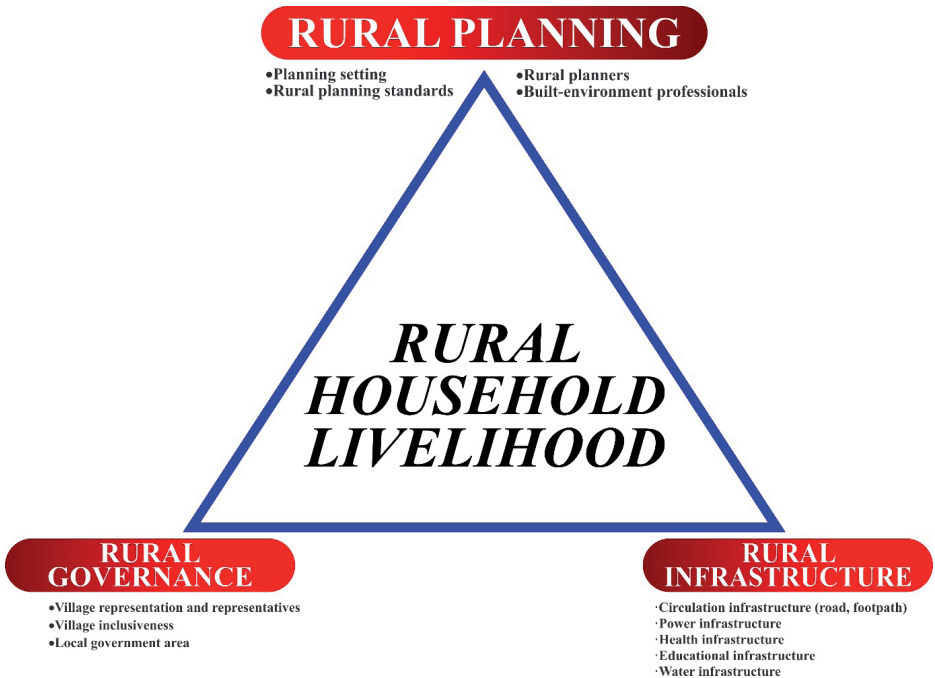
Hirschman (1958) and Biehl (1994) defined infrastructure as capital that provides public services. Buttressing this assertion, Reungsri (2010) state that there is an acceptance in the literature that infrastructure investment has a strong public involvement towards promoting livelihood. It is one of the complementary factors for economic growth (Stewart, 2010). Infrastructure remains a heterogeneous term (Jimoh, 2016) which can be classified as physical structures, social and economic includes servicing facilities such as schools, hospitals, network utilities, energy, water, transport, and digital communications (Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA), 1998; Prud’homme 2004; Chan et al., 2009; Bottini et al., 2013) all of which involves large scale civic construction which directly or indirectly promotes economic development (Reungsri, 2010).

Infrastructure in this study comprises of water, road, education, power and health facilities/services are needed by rural dwellers towards improved livelihood. In Nigeria, the provision of these infrastructures is the role of public government. The argument is that the prospect of rural area is dependent on governance that is participatory and

inclusive in the provision of services and infrastructure (Popoola & Magidimisha, 2019).

In the quest for rural sustainability, this study has identified and argued that governance, rural planning (Popoola & Magidimisha, 2020a) and infrastructure provision can translate into improved rural household conditions (Figure 1). In the quest for space equality, advocacy planning and inclusive governance, bringing the rural areas into the fold of governance remains the way towards bringing about equality, equity and social inclusion and representation. The effect of the effective and responsive representation will help bring about improved service delivery in the rural LGAs and also generate an improved livelihood and settlement liveability for dwellers in the rural LGAs. In the same vein, planners’ involvement in the process of service delivery remains the route to improved livelihood for rural households (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Rural Governance, Infrastructure and Planning as a determinant of rural household livelihood



Source: Researcher's Construct

Governance of participation and representation in Nigeria is politics related (Local State and Federal governments). This is in line with the proposition of Frischmann (2005) and Popoola & Magidimisha (2018) that the government (political officer holders in Nigeria) is generally responsible for the provision of the infrastructure. The political actors (Local, State and Federal tiers) in this regard focus on the government in power that shapes the direction of infrastructure decision (Popoola & Magidimisha, 2020a:290).

Political capital (government, rural people, and traditional rulers) remains relevant to enhancing the rural quality of life. Nigeria operates as Federal system of government, which was introduced to consciously prevent the bias of development among various local government areas across the country (Lawal, 2014). Local government, as the lowest form of government in Nigeria, represent a legal political entity within the rural areas (Majekodunmi, 2013). It was historically driven by a democratic group of common interest (Agbakoba & Ogbonna, 2004), and remains the closest tier of government to the people, being aimed at encouraging local participation in decision making and attending to primary needs (Reegan, 2008; Alobo, 2014) through infrastructure provision.

Rural Governance in Nigeria

Majekodunmi, (2013) traced the origin of local government system in Nigeria to the pre-independence era, when the political arrangement of the country was according to first, second and third class kingdoms of the South-western Nigeria, the caliphate and empires of the Northern Nigeria, with these larger kingdoms and caliphates being sub-divided into smaller units for ease of power devolution and sovereignty. Oviasuyi et al. (2010) expressed the view that although local government in Nigeria existed before the coming of the British regime (1900 - 1960). The change in the political nature, functioning and spatial arrangement was implemented during the British colonial administration with the introduction of the tier system of government of Federal, State and Local Government. The reforms in 1976 gave birth to a multi-dimensional system of grass-roots governance (Ajayi, 2000), and provided a class cut definition of responsibility, with the jurisdictional power partitioning of the LGAs so as to prevent a upper class of authority, the collapse of power (Oviasuyi et al., 2010) and the management of resources and the constitutional responsibilities of the level of governments (Imuetinyan, 2002).

Local government is an administrative agency through which control and authority relate to the people at the grassroots or periphery, thereby providing the community with a formal organizational framework that enables them to conduct their affairs effectively for the general good. The political need for local government as an authority formed by the Federal or State government of Nigeria is to compliment her sovereign power (Adeyemo, 2005). Studies (Ezeani & Nwankwo, 2002; Ojo, 2009; Olojede &

Afegbua, 2011) have been summarized, with the finding showing the functions of local government being to promote local governance, encourage easy access to administrative responsibilities, engender development through cultural sustainability and promote public interest. The studies also reveals that the common needs of the people has been limited owing to insufficient capital, inadequate technical know-how, governance isolation in resource control, corruption, inadequate skilled personnel, lack of autonomy, weak democratic condition at rural areas and political instability, many of which has limited the effectiveness of rural governance in rural infrastructure provision.

The relevance of local governments to planning has been traced to 1900, with the subsequent evolution of legal backings (Alobo, 2014). The creation of local government was thus expected to usher in a new approach to planning activities and service delivery. As stated by Agagu (2004), providing for the societal and basic needs (material or non-material) of the rural dwellers is the responsibility of the rural government in Nigeria. The material needs are infrastructure, which are expected to bring about the development of the non-material (livelihood) demands of the rural people. Rural infrastructure comprises of the facilities and services needed for communal sustenance and rural development (FAO, 2006).

In Nigeria, this rural facility provision is the responsibility of local government, its purpose being to coordinate the socio-economic policies and physical policies that dictate rural living standard (Enero et al., 2004). This is because rural challenges and demands are better handled by the local rural government, as in most case, it is usually formed from and for the people. However, this assumption of local government being responsive is not always an accurate one, with over 20% of rural areas in Nigeria not being connected to the electricity grid (Lawal, 2014). In addition, many areas (over 85%) are still not able to access potable drinking water and have to depend on polluted sources (Hall, 2006), with rural residents paying more transport costs due to the poor condition of rural roads and long distances (Ipingbemi, 2001). The Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) survey (2002) established that most rural roads were in bad condition, the issue now arises as to what the relevance of local government is to the people. This point to the failing political governance in rural Nigeria. Situating governance into infrastructure delivery, this study integrates the three (participation, equality and inclusion), out of five criteria democratic process as proposed by Dahl (1989). The argument is that political participation defines infrastructure equality and inclusion in rural Oyo state.

Infrastructure and Rural Development in Nigeria

The rural populations of many countries (including Nigeria) have suffered different kinds of deprivation. The development has a dynamic change in the structural level and rate of economic growth of communities and individuals such that inequality and

poverty are (Umebali, 2006). This change translates to economic growth component, equality or social justice component, and socio-economic transformational component which are all on a self-sustaining basis. Viewing the concept differently, Simon (2004) sees development as an improvement in the quality of life (not just the material standard of living) in both quantitative terms.

UNDP, Human Development Report of (1990) stated that “*human development involves improving people’s chances of leading long healthy lives; providing access to education, and making it possible for them to have a decent standard of living*”. All of which are have been proven to be dependent on infrastructural investment within space (rural or urban). Development within rural settings has been regarded as the antidote to the poverty sting of rural communities. In perceiving development as modernization, the emphasis shifted to “*how to inculcate wealth-oriented behaviour and value in individuals*” (Mabogunje, 1980; Dube, 1988), which represents a shift from a commodity to a human approach.

The relevance of investment in education, or more broadly, in human resources, came to be regarded as a major and critical basis for social change (Mabogunje, 1980; Hinzen, 2000). Ogunkoya et al. (2015) perceived rural development to involve investing in individual opportunities that will bring about the attainment of potentials of a person that indirectly affects their households. It entails a well coordinated improved investment in infrastructures, service delivery, capacity development, job creation, provision of social amenities and increase agricultural production (Olayide et al., 1981; Titilola, 2008) in such rural communities.

This means that rural development is based on the need to balance the patterns and direction of government for the benefit of both the urban and rural sectors, and provides technical requirements for speeding up economic growth in the process. The direction of government in this sense is focused on the synchronization between the various tiers of governments, with more roles and focus placed on the local government.

Adebayo (2014) summarized the duty of local government to include providing, maintaining and servicing facilities relating to education, transportation and environmental infrastructure (waste, public toilet. etc.), water supply, medical and health, and law enforcement. Despite the state role of local government authorities (LGAs) in Nigeria, they remain dependent on the financing and political mechanisms of state and federal governments, thereby resulting in the lack of investments that could translate into development within the rural communities. It is against this backdrop that it has now become imperative for planners to act as advocates for rural infrastructural development, which will help translate indirectly into enhancing household quality.

Rural development is a deliberate attempt through service delivery of bring about improved living conditions of a people that usually reside along the peripheral of urban area (Omale, 2005). The service provision should be done in a coordinated to ensure that rural resources are used by the inhabitants for their livelihood enhancement

in a competitive economic open market. This livelihood improvement, as alleged by Ogeidefa (2010), can only be feasible through a continuous balance of the relationship between agricultural activities, heavy investment in human resources (capacity building) and improved infrastructure provision.

In Nigerian, the Government has implemented various policies and programmes in an attempt to revitalise the rural areas, with their failures and successes being detailed below. Attempts at reducing the vulnerability of rural dwellers through various rural development policies have led to the introduction of a range of strategies across political regimes in Nigeria (Uba 2012; Sam 2014). The relevant programmes being:

1. 1972 - National Accelerated Food Production Programme
2. 1976 - Operation Feed the Nation
3. 1979 - Green Revolution Programme
4. 1986 - Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure
5. 1987 - National Directorate of Employment
6. 1993 - Family Support Programme/Family Economic Advancement Programme
7. 2001 - National Poverty Eradication Programme
8. 2004 - National Economic Empowerments and Development Strategy

Paul et al. (2014) observed that across the tiers of government, there have been various programmes to support the above initiatives. These include the following:

Accelerated Poverty Alleviation Programme, Integrated Community Development Project, State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (SEEDS) and National Directorate of Employment (NDE) (1986); Better Life Programme for Rural Women (BLP) (1987). The National Youth Employment and Vocational Skills Development Programme and School to Land Programme; People's Bank of Nigeria (PBN) (1987), Community Bank (1990), National Agricultural and Land Development Authority (NALDA) (1991), Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), The National Economic Reconstruction Fund (NERFUND) (1989) and The Seven (7) Point Agenda (2007)

All these policies and programmes can be regarded as focusing on improving the physical, social, economic and quality of life of rural people. The physical quality of life improvement is focused on providing rural infrastructure, the social at promoting education and the economic at eradicating rural poverty. Nonetheless, all are aimed at promoting good individual and household livelihood conditions. The summary of the rural development plans shows that rural investments was focused on *food and agricultural investments* (The National Accelerated Food Production Project, Operation Feed the Nation, and Green Revolution Programme); *capacity building and poverty eradication* (National Directorate of Employment, Family Support Programme, the

National Poverty Eradication Programme, and the National Economic Empowerments and Development Strategy) and *infrastructure and service delivery* (Directorate of Food, Road and Rural Infrastructure and National Fadama Development Project).

The infrastructure intention was to introduce a programme that would identify, implement and monitor practical indigenous standards and measures to enhance mobility, manage rural wetland, and bring about increased rural accessibility across the country by constructing a country-wide rural circulation road network (Agriscopes, 2001; Ezech, 2009; Ike, 2012). Studies (Iwachukuwu and Igbokwe, 2012; Raheem et al., 2014) aver that the programme recorded success in enhancing mobility and accessibility (space and water) when compared to earlier programmes.

Results and Discussions

Governance in a way that involves the people remains a way towards bringing about responsive and sustainable governance. Based on this, peoples' perception and experiences about governance vary across space. With rural dwellers perceptions of governance and its relationship with rural service delivery remains less investigated. This study attempts to examine the rural dwellers perception of governance in their respective local government areas (LGAs) and how it relates to rural service delivery.

From the sampled respondents, 26.8% are less than 30 years of age, 53.2% are between the ages of 30 to 50 years of age, and 20.0% are aged above 51 years. In trying to understand governance over the years, age is very important. Thus, attention was given towards the age of respondents, as this defines the experience of the respondents which also translates to the robustness of data and information about the governance history of the study areas arrived at for this study. Effective age distribution among a study respondents help gather relevant data across various age grouping about a topic of discuss giving room for data comparability across various age groups. When talking about governance, peoples' perceptions across various governing regime over the years tend to shape their perception. It has been explained that age of a respondent influence their perception about the governance of service delivery and government responsiveness (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2013).

It was revealed (Table 4) that majority (80.4%) of the respondents have resided in the LGA for over 5 years, 39.2% reside between 5 to 10 years, 41.2% over 11 years while the remaining 19.6% have stayed in the area for less than 5 years. The five (5) years range was considered as the electoral and democratic regime of an elected government is usually a 5 years term. Therefore, many of them will have at least experience two term tenure of a democratically elected person. 58.8% of the respondents are engaged within the formal sector while the remaining 41.2% are engaged within the informal sector (see Table 4).

Table 4: Socio- representation of Respondents in the Study area

Age Grouping of the study responders.			
S/N	Age (in years)	Respondents	Percentage
1	< 30	67	26.8
2	30 - 50	133	53.2
3	> 51	50	20.0
	TOTAL	250	100%
Respondents Occupation Sector			
S/N	Occupation typology	Respondents	Percentage
1	Formal Occupation type	147	58.8
2	Informal Occupation type	103	41.2
	TOTAL	250	100%
Duration of Stay in the LGA			
	Duration	Respondents	Percentage
1	Less than 5 years	49	19.6
2	6 to 10 years	98	39.2
3	Above 11 years	103	41.2
	TOTAL	250	100%

State of Rural Infrastructure

Rural areas are scored lowest on the developmental map of Nigeria owing to lack of physical infrastructural investments that can help translate into financial, social, and human capital investments within these areas. These physical infrastructural investments are mainly driven politics of the rural area. Nonetheless, there is uncommon political undertone that has shaped rural infrastructure development. This study adopts both field observation and in-depth interview to investigate rural infrastructure provision.

Investigation across the study area shows that while the LGA remains a failure in infrastructure provision in the area, the roles of international donor agencies such as World Health Organization (WHO) in the collaborative funding mechanism with the local people remains important. The reported experiences through the CSDP co-funding agency reveals that international agencies contributes between 70 to 90% of the infrastructure project costs though CSDP. From the 19,539,925 invested in 2 villages of Oyo-East and Ibarapa Central LGA, the community contributed 10% of the infrastructure project capital (see table 5).

Table 5: Community-world bank infrastructure investments in Oyo East & Ibarapa Central LGA

Community	Project	Total Cost ₦	Community contribution	WHO Donor contribution
Igboora community in Ibarapa Central LGA	Procurement and Installation of Transformer and Electricity Extension	7181500	718150	6463350
	Drilling of 4 motorised borehole	2800000	280000	2520000
Asipa Konbuko, Oyo East LGA	Rehabilitation of 400m line drain and Construction of Culverts (Road 1)	3 824 200,00	382 420,00	3 441 780,00
	Rehabilitation of 450m line drain and Construction of Culvert(Road 2)	4 167 225,00	416 722,50	3 750 502,50
	Rehabilitation of Electricity and Replacement of Wooding Poles and Cables	1 567 000,00	156 700,00	1 410 300,00
TOTAL		₦19,539,925	₦1,953,992	₦17,585,932.50

Source: Community and Social Development Project (2018)

Perception of Participatory Governance in LGAs

The dichotomy in the individual wealth and locational status between rural areas and urban areas continue to be widened owing to the continued neglect of rural areas in the decision making process and provision of infrastructure despite its resource endowment (WHO European Region, 2010; IFAD, 2010; Mazibuko, 2012; Philip and Paul, 2017). As presented in Figure 2, 89.6% of the total respondent perceived that rural LGAs are not well catered for when infrastructure is taken in consideration.

Figure 2: Perception on Rural Welfare

Local government provides the community with formal organizational framework which enables them to conduct their affairs effectively for the general good". This general good is subjective, in most cases the local community are not carried along in the decision making process for the "public good" by the governing body.

Public opinion and community consultations remain an avenue through which the voice of the rural people is heard and registered. Finding revealed that 88% of the sampled respondents have never attended or been invited for a rural public opinion meeting. This finding reveals that 2 out of every 3 respondent do not have their views represented at the local governing level. This perception is not far from the basis on which the people perceived the LGA and the leadership. The study revealed that 81.2% respondents perceive their LGA not to be participatory and inclusive (a subset of good) in decision making, out of which 54.4% (136) state that their local government chairman/caretaker does not engage the populace in governance (in the context of their view not well represented or considered sustainable) (see Table 6). Further finding showed that 31.6% (79) of the sample respondents are not sure if the chairman practices good and inclusive governance.

Table 6: Cross-tabulation Analysis of Participatory governance in the LGA

Is LGA politics and governance participatory?	Do you perceive LGA chairman as participatory?			
	Yes	No	Not Sure	Total
Yes	22	8	17	47
No	13	128	62	203
Total	35	136	79	250

The in-depth interview with a local community leader in Irepo on the level of communal participation in the decision making process portrays a governance at the local level with no rural communal representation. The leader stated that:

"...how do you expect them to be participatory when they weren't democratically elected by the people of the community... we do not support them and they do not welcome our views....they were sent here by the governor (state government) as caretaker committee... so their participation is with the state government not the rural community..."
(Research Respondent, February, 2018)

Asked if represented during stakeholders meeting, a rural stakeholder at Ido said:

"...the meeting has always been a waste of time... as most times our views and suggestions are not welcomed or considered to be useful to them... they (local governing body) are subjected to the dictates of the state instructions".

Further inquiry into the rural peoples' experiences as to "what is and how is" good and inclusive governance in their LGAs. A plethora of responses were received. A respondent in Egbeda LGA stated that *"...inclusive governance in my LGA calls for self-independence (state-LGA democratic independence)..."* Supporting the perception, a leader in Oyo-East LGA states

"...the government of the day has failed the electorates because they do not keep to manifestoes..." as the local governance has *"...not been very open but partial and non-participatory..."* (Research Respondent, February, 2018)

As narrated by a leader this type of governance has failed and there exist a dichotomy between the masses and the leader. Although the people quite understood good governance as *"...the participatory governance to me is okay because people are allowed to participate in the government ..."* (Ibarapa central LGA leader); *"...it is a process where every class of the society is involved in decision making and policy formulation towards development..."* (Olorunsogo LGA leader); *"...involvement of the locals in government..."*; *"...a kind of government that involves the LGA occupants in decisions..."* (Irepo LGA leader).

Summarising this description reveals that the local respondents saw good governance as a type of government that incorporates the peoples’ views into the decision making process.

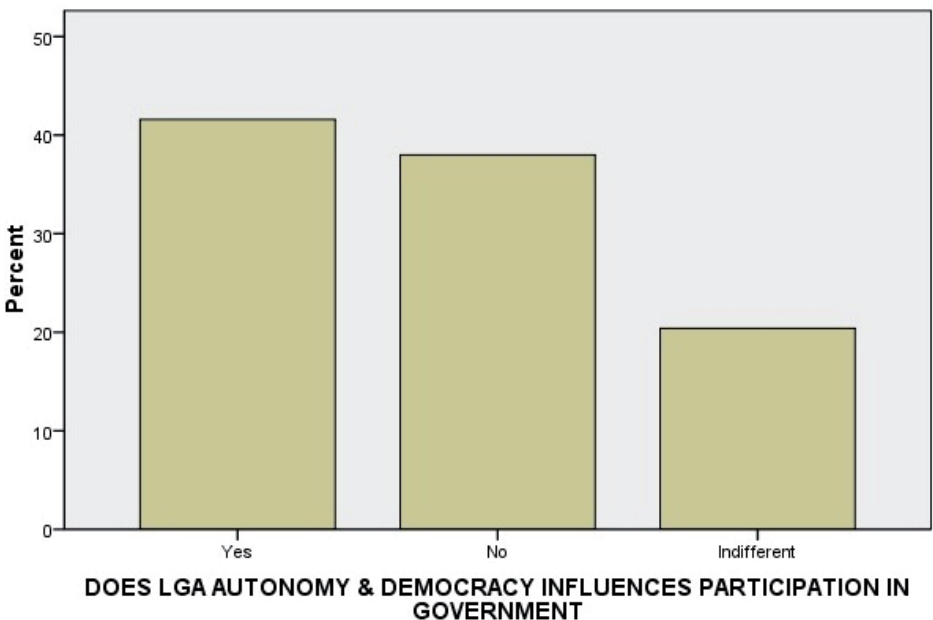
“...there by incorporating the young, old, adult without social marginalization into governance such that they all contribute their own quota to their societal development giving room for smooth running of governance, transparency and also accountability...” (Research Respondent, February, 2018)

It is still perceived that such governance is a mirage in the LGAs and as put by community leaders:

“... participatory governance is at zero level in the rural LGAs of Oyo state... although it is needed as it will help the government to understand the plight of the masses... and put by another leader “...it will be a welcomed development if our views were welcomed, respected and considered in decision making...”.

The limited participation in governance has been attributed to lack of local government autonomy and democracy (see Figure 3). About 42% of the sampled respondents are not willing to participate governance if the LGA is not autonomous, 38% stated that their participation in governance has nothing to do with the internal democracy in the LGAs while the remaining 20.4% are indifferent to the role LGA autonomy plays in participation in governance.

Figure 3: Response on LGAs autonomy and participation in governance.



Politics, Political Representation and Service Delivery

Local government represent an ancient political entity in space recognised by the law of a country, governed by a democratic or non-democratically elected (Majekodunmi, 2013) with a common interest (Agbakoba & Ogbonna, 2004). Nonetheless, the politics of local government composition and representation at the local level has shaped the place of service delivery in the rural space.

From the sample rural dwellers, one hundred and one reported that they were never aware of ever been represented at any governance (executive and legislative) level (local, state and federal) in their community, ninety two had an mental history of representation while the remaining 57 also had the history of representation but over 20 years ago (see Table 7). Out 250 respondents, 40.4% (101 respondents) had no history of representation. From the 36.8% (92 respondent) that reflected a history of representation, 65.2% (60 respondent) perceived the service delivery was not noticeable during the period of representation while 13.04% (12 respondent) observed a noticeable difference in service delivery during the period of representation Follow up from the ninety two respondents with a history of representation shows that majority (65.2%) of them perceive that the representation didn't trickle-down into effective service delivery for the community.

Table 7: Cross-tabulation of Community Representation and Service Delivery

History of Representation	Perceived Level of Service Delivery.			Total
	Noticeable	Non-noticeable	Indifferent	
Yes	12	60	20	92
No	23	53	25	101
Maybe Over 20years	12	25	20	57
Total	47	138	65	250

Statements from the key informants present a mixed reaction as relating to inclusiveness, service delivery and responsive representation. When ask if the community has benefitted from the perceived history of good governance and inclusive representation. A person responded that “...we have arrived at this type of governance (*participatory/inclusive*) before and our advocacy (*through responsive representation*) led to the establishment of a primary health centre...” This portrays a notion of an effective communal representation by the political class. Nonetheless, a dweller differs in her perception and history of governance as relating to service delivery. She said

“...*fair political government I will say and this is because infrastructure facilities is not readily accessible in area...*”; further stated by a civil servant in Egbeda LGA was that “...*the government is irresponsible and our political representatives are weak; they are not forth coming in the rural areas in terms of social facilities ...*”

Although in Nigeria, LGAs are seen as a means of enhancing development and service delivery, improving living standards, human capacity building, improve governance and deepen democracy (Mabogunje, 1980; Buccus et al., 2007) living up to the expectation remains oblique. In Nigeria, nepotism in facility allocation and location has shaped service delivery. The level of political affiliation among the tiers of government and the level of LGA or community representation across the levels of governance is also a factor. Finding revealed that 58% of the respondents perceived and have experiences that show that political affiliation among the tiers of government influences service delivery. A leader states:

“... during election that we vote, you have to pray the party you voted for in a community wins... if not, do not expect them to carter (in service delivery)... even if they do, it will be minimal as compared to communities that voted for the candidate or party...” (Research Respondent, February, 2018)

Although subjective, yet the statement cannot be totally ignored as informant portrays a share of priority among the governing body when it has to do with service delivery. As the democratically elected continue to have a spatial arrangement for service delivery based on the number of vote they receive from each community. The place of interaction among the tiers of government was investigated. Finding show that 81.6% of the respondents perceive that there is no relationship between the three tiers of government as relating to the provision of services in their respective communities. Reacting to this, a community leader said

“... in those days (1980s) we used to see and enjoy the projects such as schools and community health care clinics and programmes from and by the state and federal government in our local community...., but nowadays (post-millennium) you can rarely see such...” (Research Respondent, February, 2018)

This assertion points to the perceived level of interaction between the tiers of government as relating to social infrastructure and service delivery prior to the millennium era which is marked by partisan politics and political ideology as against country-wide rural social welfare which was the focus of the pre-millennia democratic regime. As Dahl (1989) emphasised the relevance of participation in democracy (as defined by infrastructure good) in this study, the question of how participatory governance and politics explains infrastructure delivery was raised.

Buttressing this, the study through inferential analysis investigated if rural development (infrastructure and service defined) during the limited instances of representation can be explained by the village alignment to a political party and participatory governance within in a LGA and most importantly by the Chairman. The Pearson Chi-square test

with a p-value of 0.03328 was derived. The analysis shows that rural development is influenced by political affiliation and alignment of a rural setting to the party in power. This means that political affiliation of a rural settlement is a determinant factor for a government provision of infrastructure during a particular democratic regime. This means that without a village aligning to the ruling political party, the village might not have access to infrastructure. There is actually no fairness in service and infrastructure delivery except your village aligns with the political party in power. Generally, political affiliation is one factor that determines inequality in rural areas of Oyo State, Nigeria.

Fourie (2017) narrating that politics from the lens of the role of government (as the same is in rural Nigeria where LGA are politicians that are democratically elected) influences infrastructure allocation, location and delivery. He argued that politics dictates the typology of infrastructure to be delivered and the direction to which facility will be maximised. In his views, the role of government is to determine the type and location of infrastructure. In Harris and Wild (2013), they reported that these political influence is not a South African or rural Nigeria experience alone, but that globally, the governance environment (rural politics) influences the delivery of services. The argument went further to pin that the relationship of governance of infrastructure without taking into consideration political cannot be downplayed. Buttressed was the need for politicians to be committed in the providing infrastructure common good. This, Henckel et al. (2010), suggested that is important that when politicians as public representative engage in representation and advocate they must remain neutral and corruption free.

In the United Kingdom, factors such as weak representation and political engagement limit infrastructure responsiveness and institutional sustainability (Coelho et al., 2014). In South Africa, while there exists a spatial difference infrastructure delivery (Greenstein, 2006; Twala, 2014), the role of political parties as power holder and governing authorities is not new to infrastructure provision. This political parties explains the alignment of affiliation to rural development in Nigeria. As summarised by Welham (2014:1), "the politics can travel in different ways: through the 'long route' of citizens' involvement in national or local politics to pressure government to deliver services; or through the 'short route' of citizens engaging directly with service providers". Key in this quote is citizen engagement. Emphasising the role of engagement, the study further revealed in the Pearson Chi-square test with a p-value of 0.007933, that a political leader (LGA Chairman) that embraces the tenants of participatory governance is likely going to translate into rural development when a village is represented. The argument laid in this analysis is that governance of participation as much as political affiliation promotes rural development.

Local government areas function as a grassroot system that supports governance and democracy participation. Despite these, Mathekga (2006) reported limited LGA capacity has undermine participation in government. Within the context of this study, limited capacity of the LGA Chairman to be participatory limited rural limits rural development. Popoola and Magidimisha (2020b) aver that a constructive collaboration

between governance stakeholders is key to total infrastructure location and allocation. The evidence as presented in this study shows that away from participation as a citizen right by law (Gaventa, 2004), a participatory local government chairman has the indirect possibility of influencing rural infrastructure development in Oyo State, Nigeria (p-value of 0.007933).

Conclusion

In the quest for space equality, advocacy planning and inclusive governance, bringing the rural areas into the fold of governance remains the way towards bringing about equality, equity and social inclusion and representation. The effect of the effective and responsive representation will help bring about improved service delivery in the rural LGAs and also generate an improved livelihood and settlement liveability for dwellers in the rural LGAs. Based on the study findings, it is proffered that improved sensitization of the rural public on the need to participate in rural governance and the benefits of participating. The reported neglect by the residents and the perceived non-accordance not given to their views and suggestions cannot warrant to total neglect in governance by the people. People must endeavour to be resilient towards engaging in the governance of their communities.

Government policies must consider adopting strict policies that enforces community representation which is not politically driven or motivated by any political parties but a communally people based representation in the roundtable of local governing stakeholders. Also, improved and responsive representation among the democratically elected people and the appointed local managers cannot be under-emphasized in the quest for efficient service delivery. This study further recommends that political tussle should be advocated to stop at the place of the election and thus not excluding communities that didn't vote for a candidate or party in the delivery of service. Likewise, means to promote better representation (LGAs like Olorunsogo and Egbeda) in candidacy election process and also effectiveness and responsiveness of the representative among the people need to be devised by the government.

Government most consider introducing a tool and agency that will assist in monitoring the activities of the rural representatives, so as to ensure that representation translates into improved rural service delivery. The relevance of local government autonomy towards sustainable rural politics and infrastructure development is imperative. LGAs must be made sustainable and independent on the other tiers of government before meeting their own peoples' needs. Thus, LGAs must be made independent.

Positive, collaborative and constructive relationship between the tiers of government remains important. As no LGA can survive on its own without external help same way the federal and state government cannot fully comprehend the infrastructure needs

of a society without the assistance of the grassroots managers. Therefore, there is need to blend the between the bottom-up approach as advocated by the local government and the top-down as designated by the federal and state government. The federal government must understand that the infrastructure location characteristics of these rural areas must be considered. In areas where respondents complain of dearth and lack of federal and state coordinated infrastructure projects, government at federal and state level must endeavour to encourage the allocation of need infrastructures in such LGAs and communities through purposive allocation of facilities.

As much as people understand what participatory governance is, there is a need for politicians to make their governing participatory and inclusive to all. Likewise, the place of rural representation must be well visited, as infrastructures provided should be examined by rural communities to be such that facilities provided at working at the expected standards. Also, local government chairmen whom are the custodian of governance should endeavour to focus on continuous maintenance of infrastructure as against a political driven ideology of constructing a new one. The study reinstates that for improvement in rural infrastructure condition which has been characterised by decay, rigid monitoring of the political officer representative cannot be ignored. In the same vein, private individual with investments within the rural areas should be encouraged and mandated to invest in community infrastructures within their areas.

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Book Review

The 'Dugout': A Review of Africa's Struggle For Its Art: History Of A Postcolonial Defeat

By **Bénédicte Savoy**

Translated by **Susanne Meyer-Abich**

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This, in the end, is a book about a certain defeat. Not the defeat that immediately comes to mind when the word is uttered, that of warriors at war; but, the defeat of consistent and powerful efforts to bury calls for “restitution” which emanate from a very uncomfortable truth (of relevance here is Foucault who writes about “regimes of truth” in terms of “colonial apparatus of power”) that for long remained buried in sand. The sand kept washing off with drops of rain that were at times torrential, but mostly drizzled. As it washed off, the buried truth gradually became visible triggering efforts to physically dig it out and showcase it for all to see, thus defeating the efforts [yes, efforts] to conceal it six feet under. I say, in the end, and, yes, in the end. This, in a nutshell, best summarises Savoy's *Africa's Struggle For Its Art: History Of A Postcolonial Defeat*. Savoy's narration of the defeat of efforts for “restitution” by African nations serves us well but it serves us better if what she presents us is seen as the defeat of the efforts to thwart the call for “restitution” which, by the way, is happening, but at a snail pace or better still, in pour-over coffee drops. The book has a goal which, as Savoy puts it, is to “reconstruct half a century of resistance by European collecting institutions in the face of legitimate demands for restitution from African countries.” This “reconstruction” requires a “long, hard and unflinching look at European museums' disavowal and arrogance towards these demands.” With this, Savoy hopes that the book will contribute to the movement for “restitution”.

Well, be that as it may, what precisely is the contribution? What has Savoy presented us in this book? What is she saying in the presentation? These two questions are my concern: one is asked in past tense, the other, in present continuous. There is a reason for this which unfolds in the ensuing ‘conversion’ with Bénédicte Savoy, an art historian of repute at the Technical University Berlin. The ‘conversation’ is *sociology meeting history*

because the “return our cultural works” movement, if I may be indulged to label it as such, can scarcely be neatly taken out of the social processes of an awareness of the cultural production of African societies sharpened and perhaps shaped by a *certain level* of political consciousness. As we know, the dominant western social world of art and aesthetics relegates African art; yet, the museums of the West hold tightly to these cultural productions that are relegated in the wider scheme of things, just as the colonised were by the colonists, who, at any desired moment, ‘utilised’ them for aggrandisement and betterment. Why? This is the key question that needs answering. I venture explanation in this ‘conversion’ with Savoy wrapped in Edward Said’s analysis of the binary rhetorics of power that developed as part of the imperialist and orientalist ideologies espoused in the West. In Said’s analysis, we see the nature of colonialist thinking during the ‘Age of Enlightenment’ (see Said 2003 [1978]).

To the point, in the 18th and 19th centuries, it was considered normal and very much unquestionable for culturally produced works from the Global South, which then, were mostly colonies, territories and dominions of imperial powers of European countries to be taken from their sites of production and communities of origin and relocated not only to the cultural capitals of Western Europe, but few leading seats of learning in some of these European countries. As it turned out, London and Paris both became centres for the reception, classification, display and consumption of African, American, Asian and Oceanic artworks and artefacts in ways that were barely considered acts of hegemonic cultural appropriation and theft, but self-righteously considered as safeguarding rightfully owned British and French ‘properties’ from overseas territories. As Said notes:

If you were British or French in the 1860s you saw, and you felt, India and North Africa with a combination of familiarity and distance, but never with a sense of their separate sovereignty. In your narratives, histories, travel tales and explorations your consciousness was represented as the principal authority, an active point of energy that made sense not just of colonizing activities but of exotic geographies and peoples (Said 1993: xxiv).

And with regards to peoples of these colonies, they were as a matter of course perceived as the ‘Other’ and were, as the recently deceased bell hooks put it, “offered up as new dishes to enhance the white palette” (hooks 1992: 39). Satisfying the European appetites for the black female body has in fact been very well documented.

So, within the context of 1950s to 1960s decolonisation, one might have expected perceptions of an African ‘Other’ to decrease in significance, and the resulting associated practices of exhibiting the “exotic” to disappear. On the contrary; what we have is the arts and culture establishments of Western countries’ *use* of museums as sites to reinforce colonial power hierarchies, “rhetorics of racism” and systems of exploitation and oppression effectively turning museums

into what Barringer and Flynn describe as “three dimensional imperial archives” for preserving memories of a colonial past (Barringer and Flynn 1998: 11). What then emerged from this has been described as “differentialist racism” where cultural reference points were utilised to justify the continued separation and dissimilar treatment of artworks and (by association) their creators (Balibar and Wallerstein 1991: 22).

My point, to simplify, is that holding tightly to the “art/artefacts” of Africa is a deliberate act of reminder; a continuous reproduction and reinforcement of ‘othering’ that ultimately treat any perceived differences as aberrations. This is a practice that has long featured negative categorisations of Africa and Africans as different from assumed Western norms, constructing them as deficient, deviant and inferior. The conscious creation of the ‘Other’ that drove and still drives the West in relation to Africans and their cultural works, to go back to Said, is evident of an ideology of difference and an apparatus of power which emerged and was reinforced over centuries of Western European exploration, imperialist expansionism and colonial appropriation of territories throughout the Global South peaking, as it was, in the ‘Age of Enlightenment’ through the espousal of European notions of universalism and supremacy to differentially positioned bodies according to gender and phenotype (see Saldanha 2006). As Stuart Hall observes, issues of race, class and gender were part and parcel of Europe’s Enlightenment narratives concerning the history, geography and socio-cultural dynamics of modernity formation:

The Enlightenment was a very European affair. European society, it assumed, was the most advanced type of society on Earth, European man (*sic*) the pinnacle of human achievement. It treated the West as the result of forces largely *internal* to Europe’s history and formation. (Hall 1992: 278)

To be sure, Savoy did not go this far in her narration of the struggle for restitution, though there were echoes of this analysis of European ‘world-view’ in her book; but the very strong efforts to hold tightly to the cultural works in the museums of the West which she narrated brilliantly could be brought to sharper relief within this wider context – a sort of sociology of power, so to say. The strength of Savoy’s masterpiece notwithstanding, this sociology merits detailed discussion than what Savoy presents us. This said, this is a history book, one that not only documents facts, events and issues but provides the discussion around issues, and, agitates for what is presented to the reader. The movement that Bénédicte Savoy hopes the book’s documentation will contribute to, movement for restitution, started modestly when in 1965, as she reminds us, the West African (Benin) writer, Paulin Joachim called on Western museums to “liberate the black deities”, a historical fact; that movement was and has been ignited several times since then, a historical fact. The recent ignition (President

Emmanuel Macron), caught fire in a bigger fireball: the ‘must-fall movements’ – “Rhodes Must Fall” student movements in South Africa and the UK; the ‘Slaves monument must go’ movement in the UK and latterly, the U.S. and some former imperial nations of Europe (‘colonial statutes must fall’). Not to tie all these together is itself a “post-colonial defeat” as the sub title of the book suggests.

Savoy’s advocacy in this book, as those familiar with her work which she referenced in the book would know, dates back to the call she made with Felwin Sarr, her co-author of a landmark report of a commissioned investigation by President Emmanuel Macron. In the report, they put forward a “new relational ethics” between Western museums and African countries, “increased provenance research, the sharing of colonial archives, and an “acknowledgement” that many “scientific” collecting expeditions had been just as coercive as conquests. Quite a list of proposals, one must say, and, of course most of these have been very much around as they both acknowledged. As a matter of fact, fine-tuned aspects of the proposal are evident in the ongoing attempts by some of these museums to invite leading African artists, mostly in the diaspora, to curate some of these and contemporary art pieces for museum exhibitions, a small but significant step in the wider issue of restitution. Good examples of ‘giving room’ to African artists in these museums are *The King’s Mouth* (2006) by Beninese artist Romuald Hazoumé, and the immersive exhibition *Jardin d’Amour* [Garden of Love] (2007) co-curated by Yinka Shonibare, the British-Nigerian conceptualist, the French curator Germain Viatte and the anthropologist and curator Bernard Müller who has considerable experience of staging exhibitions at the Musée du Quai Branly (MQB), Françoise Vergès, a political scientist and curator and the historian Pascal Blanchard. Interestingly, the MQB beats its chest by stating that its overarching ambition is to be the place “where cultures converse” as articulated in its mission statement, “*Là où dialoguent les cultures*”.

Bénédicte Savoy’s book is a scrupulous dismantling of the arrogance of domination evidenced in the justificatory attitude of the governments, parliaments and museums of the West with regards to looted cultural works of the dominated that are being sought back by the previously dominated owners – countries of origin. Savoy is mild-mannered to refer to the struggle for restitution as a “struggle between foreign and interior policy, between diplomacy and museums, between information and disinformation”. Fair enough; but, it is much more than this and Savoy surely knows, I suppose. Well, because the book is one focused on post-colonial history, it confines its discussion more to events of that period. And so, in her story, 1972 seems significant in the struggle for restitution. This was five years before the second festival of arts and culture (FESTAC) in Nigeria. One could suggest that the preparation for this continental festival of arts and culture included ‘getting back’ well known iconic cultural works. Ekpo Eyo, then a young director of antiquities, in 1972, requested the then West German (there was East Germany because of the Cold War) Embassy in Lagos (then capital of Nigeria) to facilitate a “permanent loan (note, a “loan”) of Beninese art works. This was passed on

to the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation (S.P.K.) which, as a matter of historical significance held the world's second-largest collection of bronzes from Benin. Savoy notes that this request was welcomed because some Bundestag members seconded it and that one member said of the request as "modest" which is hardly surprising given the timidity of Ekpo Eyo's request ("permanent loan"). The modesty of the request did not however prevent opposition which Savoy highlighted drawing out the gendered character of the opposition. She writes: "men, almost all of them over fifty years old, including lawyers, a few former National Socialist members, most of them without significant international experience. The "modest" request was booted out by the director of S.P.K., Hans-Georg Wormit, who, as documented by Savoy, voiced the concern that should Germany start giving back requested art works ("presents" as quoted by Savoy) to emerging nations, it would create a domino of requests.

Ekpo Eyo's modest request was a drizzle that began sweeping away the sand that covered the "truth" buried in sand. The *digging* of the dugout in which African art works were kept thus began; a defeat of attempts to get minds off them. Germany began to wither in this effort to wish it away as the wind of restitution continued to blow. On the side of the wind of restitution was the director of Übersee-Museum in Bremen, Herbert Ganslmyr, whose very significant siding with history (the restitution wind) was to cost him dearly. Savoy notes that he was ostracised by the museum establishment in Germany. Savoy's forensic digging of the forces against restitution revealed that there was a "matrix of all blockades". She cited a drafted document by a group of German museum directors and cultural officials gathered in Bonn, a year after the African festival of arts (FESTAC 77 which has as its logo the 16th century ivory pendant mask depicting "Queen Idia" the mother of Beninese King that the British typically held tightly to) which puts forward the argument that Western countries had no legal or moral duty to repatriate art works that were now "owned by humanity as a whole" and suggested changing the word "restitution" to "transfer". In the document was an imposition of onerous conservative requirements on claimants and discouraging the publication of catalogues that might encourage "covetousness". Shockingly, but hardly surprising from a bunch of haughty individuals with a collective sense of superiority, they insisted that "history didn't matter". To top the icing of the arrogant cake, they wrote: "The way in which objects arrived in the collections of Europe and North America was of no consequence."

This is a book that will for long sit on the bookshelf as an enduring history book for reference but will also serve as a tool-kit, not in the manner of 'how-to' types, but an intellectual prop to action and continued efforts to see to the success of restitution. It offers an outstanding account of efforts at restitution and counter-efforts against. It is a knowledgeable insight into the defeat that Savoy was concerned with summed up as "blanket of leaden silence spread over European museums and their colonial past began to sink into oblivion": be that as it may, it was not so much so but a wind of change. Recent developments on this bear this out.

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