Human Agency and Capability: A bottom-up perspective

from North Central Nigeria

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation engages an academic discourse around the Capability Approach, and how human agency and functioning is understood in North Central Nigeria. The goal is to contribute a top-down theoretical and bottom-up communitarian human development model that is complementary, and that understands how human agency and functioning is interpreted in North Central Nigeria and its application in Development Studies. This argument is built on the thesis that what people value determines their development. I explore the conversation on the applicability of Sen and Nussbaum's conceptualization of the Capability Approach. Both Sen and Nussbaum correct an earlier focus and emphasis on a quantitative measure of human development by making a case to measure 'what people value' using the instrumentality of democracy. I argue that Sen and Nussbaum's Capability Approach is incomplete/top-down requiring bottom-up practical relational approaches to concretize it. I accomplish this by bringing in Alkire and Denuelin's recommendations on the need to prioritize and show applicability of capabilities in policy using empirical data from the field.

I demonstrate that a Capability Approach focusing on what people value requires a bottom-up methodological approach in two ways. First, I demonstrate that the incompleteness of the Capability Approach is its inability to recognize the role of institutions, history and cultural realities. I argue that institutions as rules of the game and patterns of social interaction constitute the core of democratization processes but are not adequately situated. Secondly, I demonstrate that a Capability Approach that is 'fully human' has to contend with, and give the right measure of analysis to 'being' and 'doing' using empirical field data. As a response, I present primary data to show how the people define development, understand Being through self-consciousness based on belonging as value. I contend that this informs their interpretation of human agency and function. In concluding, the dissertation argues for complementarity in application of top-down functional theoretical approaches with bottom-up practical relational models.

Human Agency and Capability: A bottom-up perspective from North Central Nigeria

by

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DECLARATIONS

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

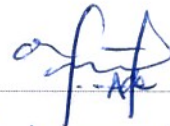Signed   (Candidate)

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STATEMENT 1

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Where correction services have been used, the extent and nature of the correction is clearly marked in a footnote.

Other sources are acknowledged by midnotes or footnotes giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

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DEDICATION

To Rahel and Yohanna Gracia…as part of our contribution to the search for 'what it means to be human.'

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIDS- Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

ANC- African National Congress

ASEAN-4- Association of Southeast Asian Nations

BCE- Before Christian Era

BWI- Breton Woods Institutions

CAN- Christian Association of Nigeria

CBCN- Catholic Bishop Conference of Nigeria

CBN- Central Bank of Nigeria

CDC- Centre for Disease Control

CoN- Church of Nigeria

EWDC- Ecumenical World Development Conference

FDI- Foreign Direct Investment

FGN - Federal Government of Nigeria

FGD- Focus Group Discussion

FGDM- Focus Group Discussion Male

FGDF- Focus Group Discussion Female

GDP- Gross Domestic Product

GNP- Gross National Product

HDCA- Human Development and Capabilities Approach

HDI- Human Development Index

HDR- Human Development Report

HHS- Health and Human Services

HIV- Human Immune Virus

IDI- In-depth Individual Interviews

IDP- Internally Displaced Persons

IFI- International Financial Institutions

IPOB- Indegenous People Of Briafra

IMF- International Monetary Fund

INEC- Independent National Electoral Commission

LGBT- Lesbian Gay Bi-sexual and Transgender

MDG- Mellinium Development Goals

MEND- Movement for the Emancipation of Niger-Delta

MPI- Multidimensional Poverty Indicators

NA- Native Authority

NACA- National Action Committee on AIDS

NBS- National Bureau of Statistics

NDIC- Nigeria Deposit Insurance Corporation

NE- North East

NGN-Naira

NHS- National Health Service

NIC- Newly Industrialized Countries

OPHI- Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative

PO- Participant Observation

PTA- Parent Teachers Association

RSA- Royal Society of Arts

Resp- Respondent

SAP- Structural Adjustment Programme

SOE- State-Owned Enterprises

TPM- Tea Party Movement

TVE- Township and Village Enterprises

UK- United Kingdom

UN- United Nations

UNDP- United Nations Development Programme

WTO- World Trade Organization

<center>**Chapter One**</center>

<center>**Introduction**</center>

The Human Development Discourse

This thesis engages the academic discourse around the Capability Approach and how human agency and functioning is understood in North Central Nigeria. The central argument is that what people value determines their development trajectory. This central claim will be examined as an intervention within the academic debates in Development Studies that favours using what people value to be the driving force for qualitative measures of human development. I focus on what people value by exploring the debates and conversations on the applicability of Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum's conceptualization of the Capability Approach. I build on the definition of development and the concept of 'humanity in development' discovered during primary data collection. Humanity in development is the conceptualization that 'humanity in development' should precede the concept on 'human development'. I will return to this contribution in the analysis of data in Chapters Four and Five.

The overall aim of this thesis is, therefore, to contribute a top-down theoretical and bottom-up communitarian human development model that understands how human agency and functioning is interpreted in North Central Nigeria and its application in Development Studies. To do this, I break down the overall aim by putting forward the following two related questions: first, how should we consider the incompleteness (without reference to history and cultural realities) of the Capability Approach by Sen

based on his core idea of functioning, capability and agency, on the one hand, and Nussbaum's minimum threshold and overlapping consensus, on the other? Second, how do we demonstrate that the presentation by Sen and Nussbaum of a Capability Approach (development theory) that is 'fully human' is an important starting point but they pay one-sided attention to 'doing' (the functional-theoretical realm) and only pay marginal attention to humanity, 'being' and belongingness (the practical-relational realm)?

Thus, the research question is - how can more people and communities play a bigger part in making the changes they value? My immediate response is that the academic debates within Development Studies of bottom-up communitarian ideas to decentralization local governance that increases individual and collective power to create change are a real potential. This raises another question - how will the understanding and interpretation of the concepts of human agency and functioning in North Central Nigeria act to blend top-down theoretical ideas with bottom-up communitarian value in fostering an understanding of human development? The dissertation sets out to answer the research questions above and will suggest a model for understanding human agency and functioning in North Central Nigeria. I argue that the functioning of the agent is characterized by the search for *yough yough,* (self-actualization and or fullness) self-worth and self-esteem. The search for human development approaches that are contextual and iterative will open opportunities to understand human agency, culture, faith, and functioning and cherished freedoms in the search for *yough yough*.

The field of Development Studies is immersed in various debates on how to locate the human being in development endeavour. Should humans be a means or an end in development conceptualization and how will human development and progress be measured within the context of the Human Development Approach? I make the point

that these academic discourse are mostly at two main levels: the first is the discourse at the conceptual-theoretical level (which I will refer to as 'the functional-theoretical realm' because it is a top-down, formal and structured process of explaining reality); the second discourse is at the practical-relational level (which I will refer to as 'the practical-relational realm' because it is bottom-up, informal, mostly unwritten and discoverable through 'lived or observed reality' like in the observation of the day to day practices, behaviour and norms that shape reality in a particular place). The coinage 'people centred' has become the mantra in development discourse indicating the desire to see that income and material resources should not be the de facto measures for human development.

The Human Development Approach inspired by Mahbub ul Haq (2003) gained prominence and became a functional-theoretical approach drawing its significance from its bid to see the world's economic and social progress assessed using the well-being of human beings in different ways. Mahbub ul Haq emphasized a move away from the usual income and economic growth considerations that characterize the World Bank's annual World Development Reports. Mahbub ul Haq argued that the production and sale of weapons makes the GDP of a country high but of itself this should not lead to the conclusion that such a country is more 'developed' than a country that has chosen not to make weapons and export them. This is simply because the production and sale of weapons makes the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of a particular country significantly higher. The core ideas of the human development paradigm (Mahbub ul Haq 2004: 17-19) are:

- Development must put people at the centre of its concerns
- The purpose of development is to enlarge all human choices and not just income

- Human development is concerned both with building human capabilities (through investment in people) and with using those human capabilities more fully (through an enabling framework for growth and employment)
- Human development has four essential pillars: equality, sustainability, productivity and empowerment. It regards economic growth as essential but emphasizes the need to pay attention to its quality and distribution, analyses at length, its link with human lives and questions of its long-term sustainability
- The paradigm defines the ends of development and analyses sensible options for achieving them

Mahbub ul Haq (2004: 17-19) identified four procedural concerns or principles that have been generally used repeatedly in applying human development approaches in development literature. They are: 1) Equality (draws on the concept of justice, impartiality and fairness and incorporates a consideration for distributive justice between groups); 2) Efficiency (refers to the optimal use of existing resources. From a human development perspective, efficiency is defined as the least cost method of reaching goals through the optimal use of human, material, environmental and institutional resources to expand capabilities for individuals and communities); 3) Participation (Participation and empowerment is about processes in which people act as agents-individually and as groups; and 4) Sustainability (often used to introduce the durability of development in the face of environmental limitations but is not confined to this dimension alone). Alkire and Deneulin (2009: 29) add that other principles such as responsibility and respect for human rights also matter.

According to Sen, the central role of development endeavour is to focus on expanding agency and creating equality of capability by dismantling what he terms 'major sources of unfreedom' (Sen 1999, 3). Sen's (2006b) objective is to focus on expanding agency and well-being and tackling blatant inequalities and forms of disadvantage. According to Sen, human development and flourishing are what democracy should strive to realize because democracy enables the agents to pursue goals they have reason to value. Sen's critical contribution is the move away from welfare income as a measure of

development to focus on expanding freedom and agency within democracy as a framework in recognizing freedom to choose from various capabilities and functioning as central to 'human development'. Sen (1999: 87, 1992: 40) asserts that human development has as its core what he refers to as agency and capability. Agency is 'the ability to pursue goals that one values and has reason to value'. An agent is 'someone who acts and brings about change'. Capability refers to freedom to enjoy various functionings. Capability is defined as 'the various combinations of functioning's (being and doing) that the person can achieve. Capability is, thus, 'a set of vectors of functionings, reflecting the person's freedom to lead one type of life or another…to choose from possible livings'. Put differently, Sen insists that capabilities are 'the substantive freedoms a person enjoys to lead the kind of life he or she has reason to value'. Functioning is defined as 'the various things a person may value doing or being'. In other words, functionings are valuable activities that make up people's well-being such as being healthy and well-nourished, being safe, being educated, having a good job, being able to visit loved ones.

Nussbaum shifted the discourse on Capability Approach (also referred to and used interchangeably as Human Development and Capability Approach, HDCA) from Sen's equality of capabilities to what she calls 'threshold of capability'. Nussbaum stated that what is needed and should be guaranteed by governments for all individuals is a threshold of capabilities that ensures that all the essentials for a life worthy of the dignity of a human being are secured. By setting up a threshold of capabilities, Nussbaum asserts that the constitution should guarantee a life of dignity for all. The central ideas about Capability Approach by Sen and Nussbaum all have a functional-theoretical and top-down point of convergence rooted in constitutional democracy and the belief that capability guarantees people a life they have reason to value. To

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guarantee capabilities in this approach ensures the attainment of basic justice, which is considered universal. Nussbaum insists 'the capabilities approach is fully universal: the capabilities in question are held to be important for each and every citizen, in each and every nation, and each person is to be treated as an end' (Nussbaum 2006, 167). Both Sen and Nussbaum seek the expansion of what people value and the unlocking of freedoms to enable the enjoyment of democratic good. Both the Human Development Approach inspired by Mahbub ul Haq and Capability Approach made popular by the works of Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum (all at the functional-theoretical realm) maintain the line of argument that humans and what they value should be the central focus of the development discourse.

However, Alkire and Deneulin (2009: 23) argue that the focus on people's freedoms is not new but can be found in the notion of Ubuntu in Southern and East Africa (Clark 2002) and liberation theology in Latin America and beyond. Others are participatory development, community mobilization, rights based approaches, sustainable livelihoods and many ethical approaches to development for a long time. So, perspectives of development to focus on people as the unit of analysis have been pioneered under different names. Sen, Nussbaum, Alkire and Deneulin all conclude that democracy and policy implementation that meet a capabilities threshold are the necessary means by which individuals can secure their rights, entitlements, freedom and equality using the instrumentality of democracy. Alkire and Deneulin further state that human flourishing and the impact of policies on people's lives is the core of the Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA). Alkire and Deneuline by stating that 'human flourishing and the impact of policies on people's lives is the core of the HDCA' move the discourse even further with concerns about the 'how' question: how can the functional-theoretical ideas of the Capability Approach be applied in various contexts? This 'how'

question and the attempt by Alkire and Deneulin to shift the discourse from a functional-theoretical realm to how the HDCA will be applied in practice stands at the heart of the gap and transition between the functional-theoretical realm and the practical-relational realm.

The 'how' question on applicability and commensurability alluded to immediately above is one of the strongest criticisms of the HDCA. Commensuability is the extent to which something is appropriate, matches closely or fits. The criticism that the Capability Approach is abstract, not concrete, is to make reference to the applicability of the HDCA theory using concepts like functioning, capability, and agency as well as freedom. Alkire and Deneulin (2009: 27) question the whole idea of value in relation to day-to-day reality. Alkire and Deneulin argue that the HDCA outlines universal principles of development and tries to relate them to what people value. But this in itself immediately forces a tension between the known general principles of the HDCA and unknown particularities to understanding what people value. Alkire and Deneulin (2009: 27), therefore, cautioned that the application of the HDCA will benefit from the combination of various theories. This will include the identification of missing dimensions to measure human development using various combinations of multidimensional poverty indicators.

I seek to contribute that there is a gap in understanding the transition between the top-down functional-theoretical realm and the bottom-up practical-relational realm with reference to the Capability Approach. I argue that at the middle of this gap and transition between the top-down functional-theoretical realm and the bottom-up practical-relational realm is the central idea: what people value determines their development trajetories. The centrality of value (Clark 2013; Okin 2003) here is that it

relates to belongingness and meaning people attach to choices they make and actions they take. Clark (2002), in his book *Visions of Development: A Study of Human Values,* makes the same point of identifying valuable capabilities from the bottom up. The contributions of Clark and his account of human development based on the perceptions of people living in both rural and urban locations in South Africa relates to and fits in very well with my communitarian model and central contribution of how humanity in development is perceived in relation to what people value in their development. Both Clark (2003; 2002) and Ibrahim (2010) in the article *From Individual to Collective Capabilities: The Capability Approach as a Conceptual Framework for Self-help* tried to confront abstract concepts of development from the viewpoint of ordinary people from the bottom up. Consulting works of Clark and Ibrahim strengthens my communitarian model and the perception of the people of humanity in development as part of my contribution. The discussions of human values, collective capability and belongingness are bottom up where people identify with the choices they make and actions they take. Therefore, I will contribute to closing the gap in understanding the transition from the abstract top-down functional-theoretical ideas and how these abstract ideas can be applied to real life.

The application and connection of abstract functional-theoretical ideas with what people value I argue is a practical-relational approach based on a predominant value framework that explains belongingness, being and choice at the disposal of the agent based on the same. The research sets out critical reflections on the 'how' question that relate to the application of abstract functional-theoretical ideas using what people value and choices the agents make in their 'being and doing'. This self-actualization is attained within accountability mechanisms the agent operates within as they pursue what is valued and cherished. The HDCA at the functional-theoretical realm has the importance of

explaining human behaviour using a combination of concepts. In the next section, I have critically examined the whole concept of human development by focusing on the idea of 'what people value' and the concept of 'being'.

What People Value: Some Critical Reflections

The Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA) is in part an admission that earlier development approaches failed to focus on 'people' and 'what people value'. What then is a value and how do we as development practitioners determine that what people value is contextually located? The important point is the on-going academic discourse in development studies by the move away from economic determinants to the fact that 'human beings' ought to be the central goal and end in all development endeavour referred to as 'human development'. According to Haralambos and Holborn (1995: 5), a value is a belief that something is good and desirable. Values define what is important, worthwhile and worth striving for. A norm, on the other hand, is a specific guide to action that defines acceptable and appropriate behaviour in particular situations. For example, Haralambos and Holborn cite individual achievement and materialism as major values in Western industrial society. To this end, individual success or achievement is often epitomized and measured by the quality or quantity of material acquisitions that an individual can accumulate. So, in the West (Haralambos and Holborn 1995: 5), a key driving force is freedom as it enables individuals and motivates their drive to invest time, energy and efforts acquiring material possessions.

The emphasis of the Human Development and Capabilities Approach (HDCA) on 'the substantive freedoms (a person) enjoys to lead the kind of life he or she has reason to value' (Sen 1999: 87) is worth a critical appraisal. Freedom is central to Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA) focusing on what Sen calls 'agency'.

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Sen (1992: 31) defines freedom as 'the real opportunity that we have to accomplish what we value'. But the view of development as individual freedom has been questioned and criticized as narrow and not widely shared. The centrality of individual freedom in the Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA) calls into question the reach and extent of individual freedom. But Sen insists that 'freedom has two aspects: opportunity and process. Opportunity pays attention 'to the ability of a person to achieve those things that she has reason to value', and process pays attention to 'the freedom involved in the process itself'. The key word is opportunities available to an individual and the possibilities open to a given person. But Sen concedes that the continuous occurrence of famines and widespread hunger, the loss of elementary political freedom as well as of basic liberties violates freedom. Sen has repeatedly refused to define justice and says he only prefers to describe it. According to Sen, individual agency is ultimately central to addressing these deprivations. The freedom of agency that we individually have is constrained by the social, political and economic opportunities that are available to us. According to Sen, freedom is central to the process of development for two distinctive reasons:

1. The evaluative reason: assessment of progress has to be done primarily in terms of whether the freedom that people have are enhanced;
2. The effective reason: achievement of development is thoroughly dependent on the free agency of people.

Sen (1992: 31) views development as a process of expanding the real freedom that people enjoy rather than focusing on human freedom with narrower views of development such as growth of Gross National Product (GNP). He also rejects exclusive and narrower views of freedom associated with the rise in personal income, or with industrialization, or with technological advancement or with social modernization. However, he concedes that growth, personal income, industrialization, technological advancement and social mobilization all substantially contribute to expanding human

freedom. The Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA) instead draws attention to the needs of human beings using evaluative reasoning and assessments rather than policy prescriptions of the neo-liberal school of thought (Sen 1992: 31). The focus on agency by Sen may not be a policy prescription but it is a functional-theoretical specification. Development in terms of expanding substantive freedoms directs attention to the means that play a prominent part in the process. Sen (1992: 31) concludes that to counter the problems that are faced, we have to see individual freedom as a social commitment. The expansion of freedom is both the primary end and the major means of development.

But Robeyn (2005: 107, 2008: 90) is quick to clarify in what sense the Capability Approach focuses mostly on individual freedom. She made a distinction between three kinds of individualism for which he argues that the Capability Approach advances only the first:

- Ethical individualism 'postulates that individuals, and only individuals, are the ultimate units of moral concern… this does not imply that social structures and societal properties should not be evaluated, yet ethical individualism implies that these structures and institutions will be evaluated in virtue of the causal importance that they have for individual well being
- Ontological individualism holds that 'society is built up from only individuals and nothing (but) individuals, and hence is nothing more than the sum of individuals and their properties'
- Explanatory or methodological individualism presumes 'that all social phenomena can be explained in terms of individual and their properties'

These kinds of scholarly and academic distinctions confuse students and practitioners of development, especially non-Westerners. Non-Western scholars are left with the task of determining when the fine lines of the three types of individualism above blur into each other. Sen has been criticized for being in favour of ethical individualism and uses it as

an analytical framework to fit all societies, even if the societies in question value communitarian organization (Taylor 2006: 370). In a nuanced discourse suggesting that traditional forms of existence are closely related to poverty and modernity associated with progress and material prosperity, Sen (1999: 31) wrote, 'if a traditional way of life has to be sacrificed to escape grinding poverty or minuscule longevity, then it is the people directly involved who must have the opportunity to participate in deciding what should be chosen'.

The Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA) has been criticized for its lack of ontological grounding by examining functioning and capability in abstraction and outside the mechanics of the social milieu and interaction. Gasper (2002: 444-452) argues that Sen's presentation of the HDCA is shallow and lacks ontological grounding. Gasper argues that Sen did not sufficiently present the human being as a 'Being' with existential reality within the context where the human person lives. This is where this thesis fills a gap in the ideas of HDCA as a functional-theoretical conceptualization about being and self-consciousness in human development. Gasper points out that the 'human' in Sen's conceptualization is of a generalized type that is abstract and fails to make a connection to existential and social reality. According to Gasper, Sen has not accounted for belongingness of the human being with others, emotions and self-criticism.

Charles Taylor (1989) defines ontology by saying it is rooted in practical anthropological analysis as the study of being (human beings). He explains that being is realized in social life within the manifestation of institutions. In this definition, self is both constitutive of, and constituted by, the social order within which it functions to gain self-consciousness-personhood. Therefore, the refrain by the Capability Approach

of what people value 'being' and 'doing' has two components: being (personhood) and doing (functioning related to personality). The being is self-consciousness and personhood and precedes doing which manifests itself in choices whereby the individual becomes a personality. Taylor's communitarian school of thought supports the principle that the individual is located in particular social contexts and networks with a group identity and a network of relationships.

Taylor (2006: 370) identifies that there is a push for exclusive humanism that dethrones all forms of egalitarian life that he calls 'the affirmation of ordinary life'. In the affirmation of ordinary life, sustaining human life is the goal where the first concern is to increase life, relieve suffering, foster prosperity with the primary concern being the 'good life'. Taylor's communitarian approach does not suggest going back to egalitarianism but focuses on a network of relationships and belongingness. For Taylor, the concept of overlapping consensus suggests that actors engaged in a humanitarian intervention or engaged in the defence of human rights may reflect very different views and radically different conceptions of human life. For instance, Taylor narrates that the Christian account of being cannot be a matter of guarantee based on what you the recipient made of yourself but one based on what you are profoundly, a being in the image of God (Taylor 2006: 701). Taylor then concludes that a Christian's understanding of being in the image of God is also the standing among others in the stream of love which is that facet of God's life we try to grasp. Gutmann (1994: 7) quoting Taylor states:

> Human identity is created dialogically in response to our relations, including our actual dialogues with others…if human identity is dialogically created or constituted, the public recognition of our identity requires a politics that leaves room for us to deliberate publicly about these aspects of our identity that we share, or potentially share with other citizens. A society that recognizes individual identity will be a deliberative, democratic society because individual identity is partly constituted by collective dialogues.

There is the recognition that societies have a core value framework that guides social existence and it is this core value framework that is at the centre of social, political and religious existence. A recognition of a communitarian existence, according to Taylor, is indeed the recognition that people hold onto beliefs that they value but can be negotiated if they find meaning in relation to their beliefs.

The argument by Taylor and Gasper brings the practical-relational realm into the discourse on human development. The concept of being, self, belongingness with others, and emotions are intrinsic values. The concept of being is not a dimension Sen's conceptualization properly deals with in his HDCA. HDCA makes excellent presentations of the free choice of the agent to make choices they value but also presents 'freedom' as infallible that cannot become negative. The freedom to own a gun can also lead to extreme choices made by some individuals to kill others and even to turn the gun on themselves. Again, the self does not exist in a vacuum but within certain value frameworks that require becoming a relational 'Being' to attain the kind of being one desires. The choice to become the kind of being one desires is a personal freedom but it also has a relational component of belonging with others in practical ways based on certain value systems. Sen's HDCA theory gives us an abstract one-sided picture of the individual that stands in the top-down functional-theoretical realm. In reality, the individual exists in a practical-relational realm within societies that may have communal values that bestow on the individual a responsibility towards the self and others. This is why the applicability and commensurability question is important as I argue below.

There is a discussion between Sen, Nussbaum, Alkire and Deneulin on the Capability Approach and they all conclude that freedom is at the centre of and is foundational to

human development. Expanding freedom using the instrumentality of democracy will ensure what people value and have reason to value is attained (Clark 2013). What people value is central to expanding freedom the agents need. However, Nussbaum attempts to overcome the criticisms levelled against Sen's version of the Capability Approach as being too abstract and merely comparative. Nussbaum proposes her Capability Approach is anchored in what she calls the threshold or the concept of a social minimum of capabilities (Nussbaum 2000: 12) that can provide a constitutional lever that citizens have rights and can make demands of their government. Nussbaum asserts that her version is not abstract but more applicable because she lived in and observed women in India in her book *Women and Human Development* (2000).

In her work on Capability Approach, Nussbaum writes about the concept of the human person that has two connecting ideas: human flourishing and human dignity. Nussbaum's concept of human flourishing speaks of 'the good' and what it means to flourish as a process that is respectful of a person's struggle for flourishing (Nussbaum 2000: 35-68). The concept of human dignity, on the other hand, refers to avoiding impoverishment that reduces a human being to live as an animal without the ability to realize his or her human potential. Nussbaum (2000: 296) presents four pillars as a threshold of capabilities she thinks are central to human capabilities summarized as follows:

1. An open-ended list subject to on-going revision and rethinking. Open-endedness is important if we extend the approach to the international community. This is because we are more likely to hear in such debates good ideas that we did not hear before, or criticisms of our own ways of life that we had previously not taken seriously.

2. A list that is abstract and general precisely to allow room for the activities of deliberating by citizens and their legislatures and courts in their nation.

3. A list that represents a freestanding 'partial moral conception' introduced for political purposes only and not grounding in metaphysical ideas that divide people along lines of culture and religion.

4. Lists of major liberties that protect pluralism are central such as freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of conscience. Any nation that does not protect these is half-hearted about pluralism, or worse.

I argue that the conception and conceptualization of the Capability Approach by both Sen and Nussbaum are incomplete without dealing with the question of being and belongingness as Taylor (2006: 370) points out above. According to Alkire (2002, 10-11), the HDCA is deliberately incomplete. Sen himself has repeatedly conceded to his critics that he has never made a claim that his Capability Approach is meant to be fully developed and operational. So the HDCA is conceived rather broadly and left at the functional-theoretical realm to allow for vagueness in its application. Alkire points out that the reason behind this is that Sen has the stated intention to allow development practitioners to work out some of the important development issues they encounter. There is a tension here created by this incompleteness because Gasper (2004, 177) points out that Sen's version of the Capability Approach has been applied by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in a broad policy analysis and design in the areas of nutrition, education, and health (Clark 2002). The question remains: is the UNDP applying an incomplete, vague and abstract approach?

Gasper points us to the reality that the Capability Approach seeks to avoid being culturally contingent and controversial (Gasper 2004, 182). But this in itself, I would argue, poses a problematic because while Sen allows for incompleteness of theory to avoid being culturally contingent and controversial, it has fallen prey to the same pitfall it is trying to avoid. Nussbaum by sensing this problematic jumped into the fray to propose what she calls an 'overlapping consensus' built on a social minimum to make the Capability Approach politically and culturally realistic and applicable. Nussbaum, by so doing, has the stated aim of complementing Sens's Capability Approach because she hopes that this will form a starting point in crafting an important development policy based on contextual issues. Nussbaum tried to answer Sen's critics that his Capability Approach is not concrete by using her idea of a threshold as more applicable to retaining the focus on the human person as the ultimate unit of justice.

But Nussbaum acknowledges that differences exist between cultures, both within and across nations and that is why an overlapping consensus will act to address the issues of diversities of nations. Nussbaum feels her idea of overlapping consensus will address the tensions arising from religious and political beliefs and is also intended to serve as a political idea as well as a conception for just social arrangements. Nussbaum hopes to concretize the abstract Capability Approach of Sen using the same fundamental principles in advancing the idea of a social minimum of capabilities.

Alkire (2002: 11) is concerned about the applicability of the Capability Approach by Sen. She is of the opinion that Sen has not presented us with the means to identify valuable capabilities (Clark 2012; Ibrahim 2017). Alkire speaks from a policy and practical standpoint because she feels if this is not adequately considered then Sen's Capability Approach will be unreliable as a policy framework. At a deeper level, Alkire (2002: 11) also demands that there should be a prioritization of which capabilities matter most when it comes to human development. This she says will support policy decisions from a practical and moral standpoint.

What People Value: A Look at the Tensions

Alkire and Deneulin (2009: 32), just like Nussbaum, are concerned with the applicability of the Capability Approach. They assert that the 'Capability Approach raises the issue of what processes, group, philosophical structure or institution has the legitimate authority to decide what people value'. Also agreeing with Gasper, according to Alkire and Deneulin, the Capability Approach needs to also deal with the problematic term of 'choices' itself because of variations in understanding across cultures. Alkire and Deneulin state that people may sometimes value making some choices together as a

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family or a community and not individually; again, many capabilities are necessarily the outcome of a joint process, not individual decisions. The incompleteness of HDCA is an opportunity to search for the connection between the useful conceptualizations of HDCA at the functional-theoretical realm and the practical-relational realm.

Another weakness of the Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA) is the apparent lack of reference to history and social context that is 'external' to the agent like values and culture that influence reality. According to Coleman (1994: 18), a social theory is made up of three components: macro-to-micro, individual-action, and micro-to-macro- and it is especially important that the individual-action component remains simple if the overall theory is to remain manageable. This is to allow for the introduction of greater amounts of complexity in the other two components of the theory- 'the social organizational' component. Expanding on the macro (social structure) and micro (individual) debate, Lukes (1977: 16) took the view that individuals are merely the effect of the structures of social practices. According to Lukes, they do not appear in the theory except in the form of supports for the connexions implied by the structure and the forms of their individuality as determinate effects of the structure. This creates a dichotomy (Coleman 1994) and questions what ought to be from the theorist and 'developer' point of view, on the one hand, and the views of 'place of intended development', on the other. This idea of individual freedom needs more explaining because some non-Western societies value community as part of tradition and value orientation. Community and social context in effect determine what people value but not the individual or agent. The agent is just a part of community structure and social conditioning.

Agency, capability, functioning and freedom are conventional conceptualizations of the micro component of social structure. Promoting or enhancing the functioning, freedom and capability of the individual relies on the will of rationality. Barbalet (2001: 2) cautioned that the unstable will of rationality makes it questionable to be made the central focus of evaluating functioning and the construction of its operational bases. It is important to note that rationality is not a component of social structure as much as a quality of social agency. The recipe of functioning as conceived by Sen is close to the ideal maxim in rational economics of 'all things being equal'. But since the social system has its history and experiences, much of the evaluative process of functioning might be based on the macro historical analysis of the society as a whole (Barbalet 2001: 2).

HDCA sees democracy and freedom as the pathway to what people value. In Sen's book, *Development as Freedom* (Sen 1999: 37), there is a nuanced suggestion that democracy leads to freedom. In other words, the pronouncement that a nation is professing democracy as a system of government makes it democratic. By extension, democracy secures the political freedom of people and works to the benefit of all in the name of democracy. The connection between what Sen calls substantive freedom and what people value means that freedom is central to democracy and democracy is central to human development. But Sen does not provide us with insights on democratization and the set of ideas, the negotiated processes within a context that eventually leads to democracy as a result or an outcome of a combination of processes. This in itself is a tension.

The human development discourse wrestles with the whole idea and question: 'what does it means to be human' in a contemporary and complex world with multiplicity of

worldviews. I consider the understanding of ideas, concepts and conceptualizations on bring human, humanity and development and how they may be interpreted as they translate from abstract ideas to lived reality. The human development discourse may not be oblivious to the fact that the application of the set of ideas it generates will also wrestle with the question of generalization, commensurability and applicability. This is because different contexts and cultures produce different orders of terms, understanding and interpretation of different kinds of 'rationality' (Barbalet 2001: 2). Barbalet argues that actions and utterances of others are interpreted based on one another's beliefs not necessarily to see that these ideas are same as ours but to find sensible meaning for our existential reality. This Barbalet says is because others are cautious of the unstable will of rationality.

The conception or conceptualization of ideas about being human and humanity in Development Studies touches on how people govern or organize themselves but can quickly become how all people ought to govern or organize themselves. The debates around human and development in Development Studies stand on an enviable platform to produce ideas in a historical epoch that will be applicable to a multiplicity of worldviews. The tension sets in when development theorists tend to rule out some ideas as 'unsuitable' in a certain world even when the people say they still value an idea. In Chapters Five and Six, I will return to the idea of rationality, worldviews and how globalization impacts the different spaces (or multiplicity of worlds or spaces) that we hold in our daily social, political and religious lives. The point I am making and will make more elaborately later in Chapter Five is that different spaces exist for the application of theoretical formulations like HDCA. There is the admission that different human beings hold different social and political views that are not necessarily the same as our social, political or religious spaces.

It is this admission that different social, political and religious spaces exist by Nussbaum, Alkire and Deneulin that I will argue has the potential to build a top-down and bottom-up theoretical model. Schaeffer (1982) calls this approach co-belligerence as a means to understanding human agency and functioning within their different spaces. I will return to the reflection on the co-belligerence framework in chapter six and argue that it can be a synthesis to the dynamics existing in a multiplicity of worlds. Co-belligerence is a framework that provides a respectable space for expressing differences, airing divergent views and worldviews, faiths, freedoms and what people value (Strange 2005; Mouw 2002). Francis Schaeffer makes the point that differences exist, and should be acknowledged but should not be allowed to lead to holding absolute positions. In Schaeffer's thinking, what people value is dear to them so their encounter with other value systems requires a space to understand, interpret, clarify assumptions of how their value resembles or differ from ours.

This process of encounter, interpretation, and understanding becomes the 'how' we know the unknown or little known as we collapse abstract functional-theoretical ideas using practical-relational encounters in reality. According to Schaeffer and Strange, the discussions on co-belligerence has the potential to produce an overlap where intra-cultural similarities become reference points for inter-cultural differences human beings have and values they hold. Again, I will introduce these ideas on co-belligerence and communitarian approaches here but will return to demonstrate later how these ideas can be applied using communitarian approaches. Parsfield (2015) and Taylor (2015) use the term Community Capital to illustrate connected communities in communitarian approaches to human dignity and well-being (Ibrahim 2017; Stewart 1996, 2013). Community Capital as a term looks at both the individual and collective benefits and

emphasizes sympathetic others with whom to share ideas and to gain support, encouragement and companionship (Parsfield 2015).

The application of the central idea that what people value determines their development will raise tensions. Nigeria is a good example of a multiplicity of ethnic and tribal spaces as I point out in the discussion of North Central Nigeria as the location of this study. As such, the immediate tension with the statement 'what people value determine their development trajectory will suffice. Therefore, the application of communitarian approaches in a context like North Central Nigeria swamped by politics of identity will become a reference point to allay the fears of sceptics about culture being antithetical to 'development'. Embedding values and institutions in political discourse has been variously criticized as breeding politics of identity. In Nigeria, for instance, identity politics was part of the reason for the Biafran civil war of 1967 shortly after Nigeria's independence from the British. This speaks to the fear that my study will in a way promote identity politics.

I will argue that the post-civil war state in Nigeria is still seen as a mere political expression where people scramble to capture power in the central government for pecuniary benefits while holding on to regional nationalism. Amassing wealth is not immediately interpreted as corruption but an avenue to 'share the national cake' and this is endorsed by a sub-culture of 'get rich quick' (Mutum: 2014, Okeke: 2014; Fagbadebo (2007). This has led to the emergence of patronage and rent-seeking politics commandeered by 'godfathers' as political bosses. The government and governance is a vast patronage system that uses government primarily for self-aggrandizement. The introduction of the point about applying communitarian approaches in a place like

Nigeria here is to see how my analysis in Chapters Five and Six will build an understanding of the social dynamics so as to use the right tools for engaging difference.

According to Fagbadebo (2007), Nigeria's history is tainted with the absence of what he refers to as 'good moral and ethical values' in the conduct of ruling. The focus of leadership has become parochial as the elite only exploit the instrument of state power to promote personal wealth over national development. Smith (2007) and Okonjo-Iweala and Osafo-Kwaako (2007) also identified a pervasive 'get rich quick' culture, lack of bureaucratic morality and weak legal system as possible reasons why there is official corruption. Fagbadebo (2007: 28) concludes that this accounts for the weak legitimacy of the leadership because citizens lack faith in their political leaders and the political system. According to Afolayan (2012) 'state power became a framework for enrichment and generated a regime of public meanings with its own rationality defined by corruptive excesses and misappropriation of public funds'. To this end, state power in Nigeria has become a means of protecting primordial interests by electing representatives to the central government who championed and protected regional interests.

Here I demonstrate that what people value, their identity and institutions, cannot be wished away. Therefore, this acknowledgement requires a framework to deal with difference because it is a reality we live with and engage with in Nigeria. According to Carson (2012) Torkula (2007) and Higazi (2011), violence in Nigeria is rooted firstly in the real or perceived political domination and unequal distribution of scarce resources. Carson, Torkula and Higazi all conclude that in order to access political and economic resources, some ethnic groups only exploit identity as a converging force to challenge domination. The varied nature and shallow understanding of communitarian value

systems fuel the fear that traditional ways or forms of social organization are themselves antithetical to 'development' and should not be encouraged. The human development discourse in itself is a process that involves looking at methodological approaches that will enable historical investigation of contexts the HDCA hope to interpret and apply itself. It is, therefore, imperative to use empirical findings to engage the content of these theoretical narratives as we attempt to understand our social and political reality and contexts.

It is against this backdrop that I shall concern myself with two major aspects of the debate: firstly, the historical and contextual trends that will enable us locate the role of institutions and institutional development in grounding democratization processes; secondly, I am also interested in how the understanding of human agency, self/accountability, and functioning operate and serve to support human development in a communitarian context. Therefore, explaining development, especially in a communitarian context, may require the additional understanding of the social context for functional-theoretical assumptions to thrive. I argue that development theories that promote 'what people value' tend to assume that a particular value is present in the same way and manner across cultures or societies. This can be a tension.

It is against this assumption, presupposition or claim that I argue that 'what people value' can only be discovered using empirical research (Clark 2002) in order to draw lines that ground a functional-theoretical endeavour like HDCA. To this end, the issue of freedom raises a lot of questions in the development discourse of process, form and content and begs the question as to whether development is and can be a monolithic endeavour. The process of development relates to the 'journey' and how development is conceived, moulded, and viewed; the form of development deals with the resultant shape that will be referred to as development or not; while the content of development

looks at the character that development adopts.

Nussbaum's minimum threshold idea is a nuanced agreement that Sen's Capability Approach is abstract but useful and so she sets forth ideas to concretise and enhance the Capability Approach. Nussbaum proposes her version of the Capability Approach based on a minimum threshold that if adopted will become workable in highly diverse cultures across the globe. For Nussbaum (2000: 70), 'these capabilities are then presented as the source of political principles for all liberal pluralistic society'. This very statement suggests in part a prescription of a version of 'liberal' that the extent is not clear. Another area requiring clarity is the statement that securing the basic capabilities of people is the task of our political and social institutions. I have considered the main ideas of Sen in discussion with Nussbaum by giving an account of their ideas on Capability Approach. They both see freedom as foundational to the Capability Approach in laying the groundwork for a development theory that moves away from aggregate income as the determinant of human development as they insist on focusing on the human being.

 The Research Journey and Travel Map

In the discussion between Sen, Nussbaum, Alkire and Deneuline, I highlighted the limitation and 'incompleteness' of the HDCA because 'being' as a central concept of 'human' was not properly located. I argue that this is a fundamental gap in the HDCA because the transition point where ideas about human development move from the abstract (functional-theoretical realm) to real life (practical-relational realm) is not clear. I make the point that an interpretation of the 'self' (practical realm) lends meaning to lived reality as an important aspect in discussing places of intended development. This transition point centring on 'being' is an existential connexion between the functional-

theoretical and practical-relational realms as a bridge between (a) what people value (b) their institutions, (c) being, doing and self (d) the rules of accountability as mechanisms within the space the individual exist and function. I will build this discussion about 'what people value' and the tension it heralds in my analysis of data in Chapters Five and Six immediately following the presentation of primary data in Chapter Four.

The scope of the research was limited to the Mbaadigam villages in Benue state. But the second phase of data collection extended to other parts of Benue, Nasarawa, Plateau and Kaduna states and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja in North Central Nigeria. Data was also collected from North East and West geographical zones. The selection of North Central zone of Nigeria is due to its social, political and economic configuration with a large number of 'minority' ethinc groups. These ethnic groups reflect both the northern and southern social political structure of Nigeria and the study will reflect Nigeria across the board. The selection of the researched states and communities is based on my previous work experience in these settings as a development practitioner with international and local charity organizations. Reference is made before the National Independence of Nigeria by 1960 but the period of this study is between 1960 up to 2016. The limitation of the research is due to the time frame constraints and cost of travel for fieldwork. The coverage was also limited essentially to Northern parts of Nigeria for the same limitations of cost and time. However, the choice of the North Central for this research was due to its mixture of the Northern and Southern demographic features such as religious, settlement and institutional patterns, socio-political formations and a large cross-section of 'minority' ethnic groups of Nigeria. This demographic reason makes the findings from the research to some extent representative of Nigeria as a country.

Motivation and Justification for the Research

My motivation to conduct this research is my reading of the academic debates in Development Studies on the Capability Approach mainly by Sen and Nussbaum and the concerns expressed by Alkire and Deneulin about applicability. There is a growing recognition that not all the ideas of the Capability Approach are on the functional-theoretical realm and top-down side of the debate. However, there is need for more attention to the practical-relational realm - bottom-up side of the debate on Capability Approaches. There is an emerging school of thought that I seek to contribute to for a fusion or blend between the Capability Approach considered top-down and the ideas of the communitarian proponents which are considered bottom-up. To analyse what people value that determines their development trajectory requires the use of non-linear but contextually relevant ideas from places of intended development to advantage. In this way, what people value becomes the base of their development but I also recognize that what people value is not static as it evolves over time, however slow.

Another motivation for the research is that social inclusion is at the heart of respecting what people value because it requires a framework that is not only agreeable but also applicable. Such an analytical framework is inclusive yet respects others, their differences and what they value rather than the politically correct (Alibhai-Brown 2012) framework that stifles debate and only seeks to tolerate. The lack of respect and acceptance of the values and institutions of others has fuelled dissent, hatred, intolerance of 'others' and deepened 'otherness' rather than the acceptance of others. According to Ingleby (2006), multiculturalism seemed (Hodgett and Clark 2011) to be the ideal antidote to this pervasive stereotyping but since there is no space for dialogue, differences in race, belief system, sexual orientation, language, culture and history have deepened.

Location of the Research: Why North Central Nigeria?

Nigeria is a huge country with an estimated population of about 170 million people. Nigeria has 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) Abuja. The states of Nigeria are further clustered into six geopolitical zones namely: North West, North East, North Central, South West, South East and South South. The creation of the geo-political zones is a recognition that there is social disarticulation where some states with historical, ethnic and cultural similarities are separated from each other in the current 36 states' arrangement of Nigeria. This geo-political arrangement is not constitutional but born out of the need to firstly re-cluster socially disarticulated nationalities and secondly, to address the perceived thoughts of domination, and exclusion and to foster social, political and economic integration in Nigeria. North Central Nigeria also referred to as 'Middle Belt region' is made up of the 6 states of Benue, Kogi, Kwara, Nasarawa, Niger, Plateau and Federal Capital Territory, Abuja (FCT is not a state but the administrative headquarters of Nigeria).

The location of the research in North Central Nigeria is for three main reasons as follows. Firstly, a study of the North Central zone with its demographic, political, social cultural, ethnic and religious composition is fairly representative of both Northern and Southern parts of Nigeria and will give a broad understanding of the socio-political dynamics of Nigeria as a whole.

Secondly, the North Central zone of Nigeria and the term 'Middle Belt' is a political movement that represents the 'liberation' of people groups considered 'minorities'. North Central as a region in the central belt of Nigeria houses over 250 ethno-cultural and linguistic configurations of Nigeria (Iber 2011: 147-148). The choice of North

Central for this research provides a good historical overview of the dynamics of socio-political and economic developments in Nigeria that will enable the understanding of human agency, functioning and human capital development issues. The British colonial rule introduced the concept of regionalism as an administrative framework for Nigeria with, Northern region, Western region and Eastern region. The Hausa-Fulani tribe is predominant in Northern Nigeria while the Yoruba and Igbo are the dominant tribes in Western and Eastern regions respectively. This regional framework has been credited with deepening the seeds of ethnicity and tribalism in Nigeria. For instance, an immediate consequence of the regional framework was the formation of political parties based on ethnic regional configurations like Northern People's Congress, NPC (Northern Region), Action Group, AG (Western Region) and National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, NCNC (Eastern Region). The division of Nigeria into 12 states (Iriekpen 2016) in 1967 was a restructuring exercise to break the monolithic posture and hegemonic domination of larger tribes within the then regional structure of Nigeria.

Thirdly, the British Indirect Rule policies erroneously assumed that all groups in Northern Nigeria were of the same Hausa-Fulani extraction, that they were Muslims and of the same socio-political structure. The history of Nigeria has witnessed different political movements such as the coinage 'Meddle Belt'. Middle Belt refers to North Central zone of Nigeria and became a political movement against domination from the Hausa-Fulani tribe by other people groups in Northern Nigeria. At the centre of the Middle Belt political movement is the rejection of a perceived 'monolithic north' (Turaki 2013) in favour of plurality. Middle Belt also became a defining moment in the politics of the social demographic configuration of so-called 'minority groups' seeking liberation from 'internal colonialism' (Emmanuel and Tari 2015). Emmanuel and Tari

(2015) assert that, in reality, Northern Nigeria has multinational, multi-religious, multicultural, multi-ethnic and multi-structural groupings that felt subjugated under the political leadership of Emirs against their will. By this political structure, all other ethnic groups outside the Hausa-Fulani ethnic group were considered 'minority groups'. Turaki (2013) makes the case that under this assumed 'monolithic north', the other people groups of the Middle Belt became 'second-class' citizens.

Another policy adopted by the British colonial rule was to isolate Northern Nigeria from contact with Southern Nigeria and all forms of economic development like education, urban development and urbanization, wage employment, per capita income, international commence and industrialization. This has historically accounted for the unequal economic growth and development between the Southern and Northern parts of Nigeria against which the Middle Belt movement revolted. There was a treaty (Iber 2011: 147-148) between the British and Northern Emirs to maintain and uphold the indirect rule policy as long as the British remained a colonial power in Nigeria. Christian missionary groups that were instrumental for education in Southern Nigeria were prevented from working in the Northern parts of Nigeria. Any kind of contact with Southern Nigeria was not allowed because of the threat to the theocratic position of the Emirs (Suberu 2001).

The agitation for restructuring (Akhaine 2016) Nigeria as a country points to an acknowledgement of the existence of a plural society on the one hand and the need for a wider discourse and analysis of socio-political and economic problems in Nigeria on the other. The choice of North Central Nigeria for this research is particularly relevant where the situation of plurality exists with inequalities among people groups and the expressed need for a better distribution of the common wealth of the people (Emmanuel

and Tari 2015). The Human Development and Capability Approach has been criticized for being abstract, not concrete, lacking ontological grounding and lacking reference to historical realities. The academic debates surrounding the applicability of human development approaches in diverse settings like the Middle Belt of Nigeria will benefit from the understanding of the historical context in which such development approaches will be applied.

The desire to contribute to the discussion on decentralizing development in Development Studies is another motivation for this research. The local government structure as a third tier of government and governance in Nigeria is host to informal communitarian institutions that have linguistic, cultural and family inclinations as sources of identity. Monolithic development approaches are foiled by a tribal and ethnic reality in Nigeria and indeed Africa. Public policy in Nigeria struggles to contain or wipe out identity (Fukuyama 1999). However, it is the motivation of the researcher to explore how the communitarian understanding of informal institutions and what is now referred to as 'Community Capital' act to blend top-down and bottom-up models of human development.

Community Capital has a network of relationships as a potential decentralization approach to development using their embedded rural governance mechanism. Williamson (2000: 597) also makes the point that 'development studies may not have explored very well the themes of informal institutions, values, norms and belief system' (Lussier 2017). However, values and institutions are criticized as breeding the politics of identity and encouraging nepotism, patronage and privileges that rob merit and introduce mediocrity. While Nigeria is swamped by the politics of identity, political domination and unequal distribution of scarce economic resources have been identified

as the root causes for violence (Carson: 2012, Torkula: 2007, Higazi: 2011). Violence in any form cannot be justified but I argue the point that identity is only exploited as a converging force to challenge economic and political domination.

Social Capitalists, on the other hand, cite positive cases to argue that the coordination problem in Nigeria, and indeed Africa, is a result of un-embedded formal public institutions (Brautigam 1997, 1072-1077; Dia 1996; Douglas 2000, 101-107; Tripp 2003, 303; Umeh & Andranovich 2005). As Dia (1996:1) puts it:

> Formal institutions, not being rooted in local culture, generally fail to command society's loyalty or to trigger local ownership, both of which are important for sustainability and enforceability...By contrast, indigenous institutions anchored in local culture and values can count on the sound pillars of legitimacy, accountability, and self-enforcement.

Leonard (1987:901-2) also argues that 'the performance of public organizations is poor because few of their participants are committed to purposive rationality. Most public actors expect to use governmental resources to achieve personal and other extra organizational goals first and formal goals second.' These arguments support the sentiment in some quarters that formal institutions do not connect with the reality of rural communities so they are rather ineffective. I will make the point and demonstrate that the connexion between top-down functional-theoretical and practical-relational realms act (or ought to act) as a bridge to mutually reinforce each other in explaining reality.

Significance of the Research

The significance of this research is in its offering of methodological insights to how top-down and bottom-up human development ideas can be brought together to mutually reinforce themselves in application. I argue that there is need for internal dialogue between these paradigms if the concepts of decentralized development, social inclusion

and value are anything to go by. If the unit of analysis is the human being then this will serve as a reference point for what people value. On the other hand, this understanding will equip practitioners with the tools to use and engage both top-down formal theoretical ideas and bottom-up communitarian contexts and issues of development in Nigeria.

My choice of qualitative research provides empirical information concerning complex social issues in a particular region and social context in Nigeria to form a body of evidence. The Human Development and Capability Approach as an evolving approach will benefit from further contextual insights as to what people value. This is because the worldview of a people is formed and emanates from what they value, their institutions, culture and beliefs. If the term human development is about 'humans' then the connection between epistemology and ontology of the people should be a serious consideration.

The worldviews of rural communities is shaped by their values and understanding and interpretation of events around them. Schensul et al. (1999: 4-5) use the term 'local' to define communities, organizations, workplaces, schools and other population collectives that are spatially defined and within which ethnographers communicate face to face. Qualitative researchers collect primary data by hearing what community members have to say, observe them in action, and learn through participation in their daily lives. Therefore, the significance of qualitative ethnographic research is local and effectively builds local theories that explain events, beliefs, and behaviour. Local theories can then serve as the basis for understanding other local communities as well as the changes in one community through time. These local theories are also called substantive or grounded theories (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

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Chapter Summaries

I have identified two major criticisms levelled against the Capability Approach: Incompleteness, abstraction and lacking reference to historical reality; and secondly, lacking ontological grounding and concreteness. Chapters Two and Three sets out discussions and a methodological approach for the central argument in the seven chapters.

In Chapter Two, I review the literature to offer a sociological definition of institutions. This reflects on the first of the two main criticisms against the Capability Approach as being incomplete and to see how a conceptual analytical framework is developed to address this gap. Alkire and Deneulin (2009: 27) summarized the 2005 World Bank report entitled, *Economic Growth in the 1990s: Learning from a Decade of Reforms*, and pointed out that institutions as a key determinant of development was overlooked. This reflection on institutions and institutional development will take a historical approach to engage with Sen's idea that the instrumentality of democracy unlocks 'unfreedoms' and leads to what people value. Therefore, in Chapter Two, I show how institutionalization is akin to democratization as a prelude to democracy. This discussion on institutionalization enables me to argue that if institutions are a central part to and determinant of development as presented by the World Bank, then it is an added ingredient in academic works on development.

In Chapter Three I set out the methodological approach that I adopt for this research. I show the process of designing the research, the choice of research methods used and how data was collected in two major fieldwork studies. But I also made use of

observation as a method of data collection to enable me to cross-check identified themes while analysing and presenting data. When it comes to researching abstract concepts like human, value and development, it is essential to show how the researcher extricates himself or herself from the body of knowledge he or she seeks to generate. I show how I limit the inquiring self from the research. I also show how I make the choice of research methodology over many other available methods. This is a careful determination of which method will give me more vantage points to insert the voices of the people being researched. I present the reflections of the people being researched using participatory tools like the modified Venn diagram to enable analysis with illiterate rural people in the field. The modified Venn diagram uses symbols and signs to represent relationships, significance and power relations.

In Chapter Four, I present primary data from the two fieldwork studies: the first fieldwork on defining development and establishing what people say they value in their development. From this first spiral of data collection, I draw themes that enable me to identify what people say they value like *tyo* (community), *yough yough* (fullness or self-actualization), *tseeneke* (self-reliance or freedom). The identification of these themes is presented in Chapter Four. The second spiral of data shows how these themes enable the understanding of human agency and functioning in relational encounters using the modified Venn diagram as a tool for analysis. The data show how these relational encounters act to point out 'what it means to be human' in the process of interaction within *tyo* (community) in order to attain *yough yough* (fullness or self-actualize). From the data, I also show how the concept of *tseeneke* (self-reliance or freedom) applies in relational encounters within the *tyo* (community) as an accountability mechanism.

In Chapter Five, I present expanded and reflexive analysis of the data using the primary data from chapter four alongside secondary sources to draw up what is called research tree diagramming. Tree diagramming pulls themes from the abstract to the known using relational encounters and what people say they value. I argue that the construction of self is within a value framework that is bottom-up, practical-relational and this defines the line of accountability. I identified 'humanity in development' as an emerging concept of how the people understand human development. This is where I apply my conceptualization of '+accountability' (horizontal and vertical accountability) as arising from relational encounters between fellow individuals, between individuals and a supernatural being and between individuals and the environment. This +accountability is a space of imagery that is self-conscious and constitutive but also relational. I conclude the chapter by arguing that this +accountability is the space the self sees as imagery as self-consciousness develops. This imagery provides the ontological grounding and base that can be used by functional-theoretical ideas in dialogue with other approaches when analysing interactions in practical-relational encounters.

Chapter Six is where I present a top-down functional-theoretical and bottom-up practical-relational model of what Schaeffer calls co-belligerence toward an understanding of human agency and functioning in communitarian societies. I pull together a pictorial or diagrammatic representation of the top-down to bottom-up models (thesis, antithesis and synthesis). I argue that what people value determines their development is a thesis but is followed by a sharp tension (antithesis) expressed by strong essentialism that has the tendency to emphasize 'otherness'. I then propose a wider narrative where differences are a historical reality that presents meanings as we use to know them (or still wish to hold onto) but does not limit relational encounters in

space and time. I then present a section that touches on the shifts (or changes) in human advancement or human development.

In Chapter Seven, I pull together the different sets of arguments from the various debates across the chapters into my conclusion. I have structured chapter seven as a concluding chapter and draw up a 'whole system' schematic that will explain the complementarity that could be achieved in the application of top-down functional theoretical approaches and bottom-up practical relational approaches. This I will do by building on the earlier highlighted significance and implication of this research on current academic debates. I conclude with different areas for further research.

<center>**Chapter Two**</center>

<center>**The Place of Institutions in Human Development Discourse**</center>

Introduction

In Chapter Two I build on the first of the two questions introduced in Chapter One: how should we consider the incompleteness (without reference to history and cultural realities) of the Capability Approach by Sen based on his core idea of functioning, capability and agency, on the one hand, and Nussbaum's minimum threshold and overlapping consensus, on the other? I contend that the incompleteness of the Capability Approach is not in its lack of soundness of thought or ideas but because the ideas are mostly top-down requiring more contextual grounding.

Nussbaum concedes the differences of cultural, religious and even socio-political organization and so she agrees that the application of top-down functional-theoretical approaches needs grounding based on contexts. For this reason, Nussbaum proposed her minimum threshold and overlapping consensus. However, Nussbaum (2000: 70) quickly turned around to assert 'these capabilities are then presented as the source of political principles for all liberal pluralistic society'. By concluding that securing the basic capabilities of people is the task of our political and social institutions, she set in motion another debate to define institutions. Both Sen and Nussbaum anchor the applicability of their Capability Approach on institutions, constitutional guarantees and the instrumentality of democracy. Sen (1999b) wrote 'nevertheless, among the great variety of developments that have occurred in the twentieth century, I did not, ultimately, have any difficulty in choosing one as the preeminent development of the period: the rise of democracy'.

It is this idea of 'institutions' and the conception of what Sen and Nussbaum call 'just social arrangement' that I will review the literature in this chapter. Sen and Nussbaum advance the claim that democracy and constitutional guarantees set the important conditions upon where human development can be truly realized. Sen sees freedom as foundational to human development and democracy. The World Democracy Index by the Economist Intelligence Unit provides numerical figures that give a picture of what it refers to as political freedoms or the lack thereof across different countries. This World Democracy Index relates scores using concepts put forward by the Capability Approach with reference to the ideas of Sen and Nussbaum.

In my attempt to put forward an analytical framework, I will argue that institutions upon which democracy is built are foundational to democratization. The Capability Approach stands as a functional-theoretical approach and is criticized for pushing a conceptualization like democracy as a default without adequately discussing institutionalization as part of democratization. My position is to argue for a bottom-up learning approach that is more historical. I argue that practical-relational approaches that will uncover processes will lead the Capability Approach to the knowledge realm of democratization in multicultural and diverse settings. This is the reason why Alkire (2002, 10-11) states that the HDCA is deliberately incomplete to allow development practitioners to work out some of the important development issues they encounter.

The first section of this chapter defines institutions from a sociological perspective. The second and third parts focus on the Institutionalist and Culturalist (Warner (2003: 2) approaches as a structure for Chapter Two. According to Warner, the Institutionalist school analyse the importance of historical and political structures that have influenced the social organization. The Culturalist school, on the other hand, focuses on variances

in values across cultures but Warner quickly stresses the term 'cross-cultural learning' as a means to integrate both the Institutional and Cultural schools of analysis. I will return to Warner's historical analytical conceptualization later in this chapter but want to highlight its usefulness because it would then follow that there would be differences in managing development outcomes and organizations between different cultural and national systems. The resultant output would also be based on the cultural and institutional environment of a given context. I then present the last part of this chapter on the need to look at both Culturalist and the Institutionalist schools in the analysis and understanding of human development processes.

What are Institutions and why are Institutions important in Development Discourse?

Alkire and Deneulin (2009: 27) summarizing the 2005 World Bank report entitled, *Economic Growth in the 1990s: Learning from a Decade of Reforms,* observed:

> Growth performance was uneven across developing countries, but lower than anticipated overall. It acknowledged that, 'Bank (World Bank) growth projections, as well as growth projections by other forecasters, tend to be systematically over optimistic'. Further, it acknowledged that the unevenness of growth could not be explained entirely by countries' adherence to advised policy reforms. Indeed, some South and East Asian countries had achieved growth through very different mechanisms. Although many country experiences and insights were involved in the study, several central themes emerged. One was that the 1980s and 1990s had overlooked one determinant of growth of central importance: institutions.

According to Alkire and Deneulin, the 2005 World Bank report had the word 'institution' and stressed that 'institutions' were a key determinant of growth and development despite not giving it too much attention in development discourse. From this report, they contend that the phrase 'get institutions right' has come to replace the 1980s phrase 'getting prices right' in the market as a means to jump-start economic

growth. The development logic was that the de-regulation of markets from government control would grow the private sector and that government will efficiently use taxes as income to provide non-market social services like education, health services, housing and so on to the poor. According to Alkire and Deneulin (2009: 27), 'policy makers in 1980s and 1990s had thought that the determinants of growth were clear macroeconomic stability, trade liberalization, privatization, deregulation, financial liberalization and better public sector governance but growth did not occur as anticipated'. According to Deneulin (2009: 55):

> The idea of freedom conceived by market liberalism as non-interference from government had a tremendous influence on the world in the post Second World War period. From the 1980s onwards, President Ronald Reagan and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher were its major protagonists in politics. The Bretton Woods institutions (the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank) on the other hand were its major advocates in the arena of international development. This concept of freedom by neo liberal economist outlines a moral case for laissez-faire market economics. It was a conscious strategy orchestrated by a set of individuals after the post war context saw the rising influence of Communism in Europe and elsewhere in the world.

But the broad failure of these policies (Alkire and Deneulin 2009: 27) to produce the expected increase in production and income to trickle down to the poor has forced the re-think in development discourse.

I underscore the analysis by Alkire and Deneulin and emphasize that the post Second World War thinking bestowed on the World Bank (also called International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, IBRD) the mandate to generate development thought and financing. This is why the report by the World Bank is significant as I use this chapter to critically define and reflect on institutions and set the conceptual and analytical framework. The report by the World Bank of 2005 as presented by Alkire and Deneulin was followed by the collapse of the banking and financial system in Europe with its market policies on human development. Since 2008, the human development

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discourse has opened itself to more critical reflections to examine development thinking and question relevance, applicability and commensurability in application.

The quest for development and indeed sustainable development in Africa is subjected to varying definitions, meanings and understanding. But the (Kimenyi et al. 2003) consensus has been that development is an interactional process between social institutions, values of groups and individuals in determining collective action. Goldsmith (Kimenyi et al. 2003: 14) defines institutions as stable, recurring patterns of behaviour. The World Bank (Marsh 2003) defines institutions as 'set of formal and informal rules governing the actions of individuals and organizations and the interactions of participants in the development process'. For Marsh, defining institutions (social, political and economic) has two elements: formal and informal rules that guide, influence, shape and govern human interactions and thus determine the incentive structures faced by participants. Therefore, fashioning development processes may require an examination of these formal and informal rules that guide, influence and shape human interactions.

According to Kimenyi et al. (2003: 32) to foster and sustain economic growth and development in Africa:

> What the African countries need is to have strong and efficient political and economic institutions that guarantee freedom, adequately constrain the state, enhance wealth creation, and promote the peaceful coexistence of population groups. Developing and sustaining these institutions, however, is a major challenge for most countries in Africa. Unless they are developed and sustained, the continent will continue to suffer from high levels of poverty and deprivation.

The role of institutions in development discourse has been broadened by new creations like 'New institutional Economics', 'institutional turn in development', and 'governance reforms'. While the renewed interest focuses on overall governance systems, Ha-Jong (2006) views the focus on 'building institutions for markets' as a rather narrow position.

Williamson (2000: 567) emphasizes that institutions determine the way the economy operates and the way economic development occurs. This he says implies that 'getting institutions right is not as straightforward as transplanting formal rules and regulations seen to operate well in some context to other countries'. Williamson says it becomes apparent that the functions of institutions may arise from a range of forms. Moreover, this situation becomes even more complex when we appreciate how formal rules are underpinned by informal rules and norms. High et al. (2006) assert that while it is recognized that one of the major themes within the literature on rural development is the mix of formal and informal institutions, blindness still exists:

> A major difficulty is that while much of the mainstream new institutional literature concedes the critical importance of informal and cultural institutions, there is a recognized weakness in terms of theories that provide analytical and operational power in this 'parallel reality'. In policy and practice, the challenge is reflected in the difficulties inherent in articulating formal organizational realities with the rules and norms embedded in informally constructed social structure.

I present the sociological definition of institutions and the difficulty that exist in understanding institutions because this has a link to 'what people value' in Chapter One. Defining institutions as recurring patterns of behaviour that take place during social interaction shows that there is a relational process that occurs in formal and informal settings. This 'formal and informal' categorization has resonance with my earlier conceptualization of functional-theoretical realm and practical-relational realm in Chapter One, where formal relates to the functional-theoretical realm and informal to the practical-relational realm.

Understanding Formal and Informal Institutions
According to Johnson (2009: 162-3), formal and informal institutions in a society play a complementary role but are distinct in their operations and understanding:

> Institutions are the rules and norms that enable human interaction to take place in all spheres of social, economic, political and cultural life. Thus the institutions of society range from formal rules, such as a national constitution, which may define the specific rights and obligations of citizens to representation and voice, to national laws, such as those of property rights, criminal law and so on. Informal institutions on the other hand are an expression of the stock of social capital. This encompasses social norms of interaction, values, good or bad behaviour, or what are culturally acceptable ways or not.

I also emphasize what Johnson calls the 'social norms of interaction' to make the point that informal institutions are embedded in relational processes that define what is acceptable or not. Johnson's mention of social capital also needs proper understanding. The World Bank Social Capital Initiative drawing on the work of Putnam, Coleman, and North (Marsh: 2003: 3) defines social capital as: 'the norms (reciprocity, trust), networks and social relations embedded in social structures (local institutions) of society that enable people to coordinate action and achieve desired goals'. Marsh says these social relations determine attitudes of sympathy (or antipathy) and obligations, and go far to explain peoples' relative willingness to collaborate in collective action.

I emphasize here that to avoid misinterpretations a distinction is made between organizations as a set of actors united in pursuit of a common goal, while institutions are a set of rules that structure social interaction. One further distinction (North 1990, Knight 1992, Farrell and Heritier 2003) is that formal institutions have written rules enforced by a third party while informal institutions have rules which are enforced by the actors themselves. From the earlier definition of institutions as rule and norms that enable human interaction in spheres, Williamson (2000) classified institutions broadly as economic, political and social to stress the point about the differences that exist in institutions using the two tables below.

Table 2.1 Broad classification of institutions

Economic institutions	Political institutions	Social institutions
Markets	Laws and regulatory mechanisms	Values/norms/culture

Source: Williamson (2000)

In agreeing that the study of institutions is not new in development studies, Williamson (2000) is clear about the confusion that exists. Williamson chooses to expand his explanation of institutions by describing the categorization of institutions consisting of four levels using tabular illustrations to elaborate on the first table above.

Table 2.2 Williamson's categorization of institutions in the economy by level

	Level	Frequency of change (years)	Purpose
L1	Embeddedness: informal institutions, customs, traditions, norms, religion	10 to 10	Often non-calculative; spontaneous
L2	Institutional environment: formal rules of the game, esp. property, judiciary, bureaucracy	10 to 10	Get the institutional environment right. First order economizing
L3	Governance: playing of the game, esp. contract (aligning governance structures with transactions)	1 to 10	Get the governance structures right. Second order economizing
L4	Resource allocation and employment (prices and quantities; incentives alignment)	Continuous	Get the marginal conditions right. Third order economizing
L1: Social theory →			
L2: Economics of property rights/positive political theory-----------			
L3: Governance and contract			

L4: Incentive structure

According to Williamson and his categorization of institutions by levels, the second table conceded that the first level is 'not a level that other theorists have considered greatly'. This is because practitioners easily see and relate with macro level political and economic structures and development frameworks but find it difficult to understand micro level influences. These informal affinities and identities include family and kinship ties, rural associations, leadership, local production systems, values and belief systems. In my functional-theoretical and practical-relational realms, I am interested in the first level presented by Williamson in his second table that relates to the practical-relational realm. However, I am also interested in the other three levels which are in the functional-theoretical realm and how they complement themselves in the process of human development (Johnson 2009: 163).

Williamson links the challenge in comprehending and providing analytical and operational power to informally constituted social structure to social theory. Social theory (Williamson 2000: 567) as a process of discerning ideas that shape our understanding of our surroundings is relevant in two ways: first, for designing research, and second for understanding the role social theory plays in society. Understanding this role allows seeing whether for structural reasons there are systematic biases in the kinds of research problems that are spontaneously initiated. Again, how these problems are initiated in society will change as the social structure changes. It also allows understanding the effects on social functioning of feedback of information from applied research and the way these effects can differ depending on the point at which information is fed back into the system.

North (1990) highlights the key distinction between formal institutions as formal rules and regulations and informal institutions such as conventions and moral rules. Conventions are social rules that are commonly accepted in society and are meant to guide the behaviour of members. Moral rules are those such as 'do not steal', do not break your promise', and 'respect the elderly'. These rules are imparted during one's socialization process in all societies. The rules are reinforced in different ways like the education system, children's literature or religious instruction. North concludes that informal institutions constitute the backbone of a rural community's existence and have sustained patterns of social interaction and exchange for decades.

I will reiterate the point by Williamson and North above about social theory and the distinction between formal and informal institutions and changes in social structure in time and space. I am aware that social theory and research designs that seek to engage informally constituted ways of social interaction will need to present a robust body of evidence to support the conclusions. This is why the changes in social interaction are important and I will return to this point in my presentation of primary data in Chapter Four. I will then elaborate further in my analysis of primary data in Chapters Five and Six using institutionalization, democratization and globalization and the changes in understanding human agency and functioning in time and space.

I also make a narrow distinction between Social Capital and what is now referred to as 'Community Capital' by advocates of Communitarian approaches to human development. Social Capital is closely linked to forms of collective action or 'solidarity' that is more or less viewed as 'egalitarian' in its approach to community driven solutions without necessarily isolating and emphasizing the role of the individual. Taylor (2015) uses three attributes that make up the ideal of a community: 'Shared

values and beliefs, direct and many-sided relations and the practice of reciprocity'. In this way, emphasis is not entirely placed on individual agency but in Community Capital the role of the agent and agency is identified within the collaborations amongst people in a place of development endeavour.

For a long time, cultural theory (Taylor 2015) has struggled with applying itself within two complex domains: human behaviour in groups and organizations, and secondly, constant changes in the ecosystem- human activity, order, context and the environment under study. Both social capital and community capital are very much focused on social networks, relationships and the value of reciprocity in cultural theory. However, proponents of the communitarian approach use community capital as a term to push for what is called 'a whole systems approach' that accepts the application of hierarchical, top-down ideas that work in sync with bottom-up ideals and values towards finding solutions to complex problems.

In the section above, I have set the stage that attends to the first aim of this study to consider the incompleteness of the Capability Approach by defining institutions as central and a key determinant in human development discourse that were overlooked (Alkire and Deneulin 2009: 27). I have also defined and located the sociological usage of the term 'institutions' by making a distinction between formal and informal institutions and how they apply in social networks and relationships in cultural theory. In the section below, I go further and use Warner's Institutionalist and Culturalist analytical framework to highlight history and value systems when applying functional-theoretical approaches like the Capability Approach to different contexts.

Historical Analysis of Institutional Development and Democratization Processes in Nigeria

Institutions are rules that guide social interaction and exchange and ensure recurring patterns of social behaviour. Institutionalization, therefore, is the process of building these patterns of social, political and economic interaction and social exchange into an organized system of governance. This organized system of governance is then based on the value framework, belief system and institutions of that society. Democratization, on the other hand, is simply a continuous process of managing divergent views based on value systems and institutional arrangements of a place that ensures fairness (in inclusive representation and equitable distribution of social good) and makes governance accessible to all. In this way, institutional development in Nigeria must take a historical look at the character of institutions, democratic processes over time governing social interaction and exchange.

In Nigeria, the postcolonial framework of analysis looks at theories of imperialism and considers colonization as a process in which certain institutional arrangements were imposed upon many different sections of the country. In some of these analyses, colonialism was set up primarily to extract resources but not as an institutionalization or democratization process. In this view, the process of nurturing institutions and institutional development as part of democratization processes needed to have taken better shape from the onset but did not. It then means democratization in Nigeria needs to take shape now based on value frameworks and institutions of different sections of Nigeria as processes of human development. Institutional development in Nigeria focusing on democracy rather than democratization has failed to be an accessible process to rural communities. As Collier (1997: 60) argues:

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> Most reforms are done at the behest of the donor against the wishes of African government, and hence donor-induced increase in government expenditure is building a future scenario of post-aid fiscal crisis.

Therefore, it is my contention that the reinvigoration of the Human Development and Capabilities Approach (HDCA) as one of the main approaches in development studies (Alkire and Deneulin 2009: 27) is a recognition that earlier development approaches need re-examination and re-evaluation. Neo-liberalism, (market led development policies) to privatize and deregulate economies imposed on Nigeria (Third World countries) has not considered institutions and value orientation of Nigeria as a place of intended development. It is also an admission that while tremendous wealth has been created in Nigeria as a result of market policies, it has not trickled down to address poverty as predicted. It clearly shows that the implantation of these World Bank policies in Nigeria has further widened the gulf between the rich and the poor. The President of Nigeria, Mohammadu Buhari, addressing the visiting council of retired Permanent Secretaries led by Otunba Christopher Tugbobo was quoted (Daily Post 2016) in a statement issued by his Special Adviser on Media and Publicity, Femi Adesina:

> When I was military Head of State, the IMF and the World Bank wanted us to devalue the Naira and remove petrol subsidy but I stood my grounds for the good of Nigeria…the Naira remained strong against the Dollar and other foreign currencies until I was removed from office in August, 1985 and it was devalued…but how many factories were built and how many jobs were created by the devaluation…that is why I'm still asking to be convinced today on the benefits of devaluation.

It will be recalled that the President Buhari led administration won elections under the platform of the All Progressive Peoples Congress (APC) party and was sworn into office in May 2015. The IMF and World Bank are still pressurizing the President Buhari led administration to devalue the national currency as a measure to reduce poverty in Nigeria. Sitglitz (Abubakar et al. 2016) agrees with this claim by stating that IMF and World Bank policies are entirely wrong but lack the distinction of economic opportunities between developed and less developed countries. Stiglitz also stresses that the IMF and World Bank policies were implemented with the assumption that everyone will benefit.

Poverty in Nigeria has doubled between the 1980s and 2010 when Nigeria was made to implement the IMF and World Bank led Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) President Buhari made reference to above. For instance, the implementation of World Bank market led policies in Nigeria has seen tremendous economic growth rate but poverty has quadrupled (NBS 2012). In year 2011, Nigeria's growth rate was third in the world only behind Mongolia and China respectively (Onuoarh; 2012). But ironically, Nigeria's National Bureau of Statistics (NBS 2012) stated that 60.9% of Nigerians in year 2010 were living in 'absolute poverty'. This figure increased from 54.7% in year 2004. This means poverty has risen in Nigeria with almost 100 million (of the total population of about 160 million) people living on less than 1 dollar a day despite giant economic growth statistics. According to the report by NBS in 2010, 93.9% of respondents felt they were poor compared to 75.5% about 6 years earlier (NBS 2012). The breakdown of year-by-year poverty in Nigeria by the NBS report is presented below:

Year by Year Nigeria's population in poverty

- 1980: 17.1 million
- 1985: 34.7 million
- 1992: 39.2 million
- 1996: 67.1 million
- 2004: 68.7 million
- 2010: 112.47 million

Source: Nigeria's National Bureau of Statistics, 2012

Sen (1999b) and Nussbaum (2005) make reference to the instrumentality of democracy and constitutional guarantees to ensure freedom and human development as if democracy by default ensures 'human development'. Nigeria is a challenged democracy because the years showing the most increases in poverty are years under democratic rule. Nigeria returned from military rule to democratic rule in 1999 and, from the

statistics, poverty has doubled under democratic rule. This is a development paradox and anti-climax that democracy will deliver common good and enhance citizenship rather than compromise it (Ade 2012). I argue that the Capability Approach as a functional-theoretical approach needs to take time to understand historical processes. Democracy does not by default guarantee freedoms but we need to review the historical record of the impact of macro policies from International Financial Institutions (IFIs) on processes of institutionalization and democratization.

The Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI) used non-quantitative weighted indicators to measure poverty in Nigeria. They discovered Multidimensional Poverty Indicators (MPI) of poor people deprived in at least 33% of weighted indicators. Those identified as 'Vulnerable to Poverty' were deprived in 20-33 per cent of weighted indicators and those identified as in 'Severe Poverty' were deprived in over 50% (OPHI 2012). Collier (2007), working on development projects in Africa, argued that 'international financial institutions tried to coerce governments into reform through conditionality'. Collier concluded by saying a government could access extra aid only if it agreed to change some of its economic policies.

According to Rodrik (2006), these conditions led Third World countries to implement previous World Bank and IMF policies with varied results. Rodrik stated that the Latin American recovery in the first half of the 1990s proved short-lived and saw less growth in per-capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) than in 1950s-1980s. This is despite the dismantling of the state-led, populist, and protectionist policy regimes of Latin America. According to Rodrik, Sub-Saharan Africa has failed to take off despite significant policy reform, improvements in the political and external environments and continued foreign aid. Rodrik concluded by pointing to Argentina as the poster boy of the Latin

American economic revolution that came crashing down in year 2002 as its currency board proved unsustainable in the wake of Brazil's devaluation in January of 1999.

From the foregoing, neo-liberal policies of privatization and deregulation do not fit the social mechanics in Nigeria and were not thought through. Deneulin (2009: 55) also points her finger at the idea of freedom conceived by market liberalism as non-interference government orchestrated by Bretton Woods Institutions from the 1980's onwards. Sindima (1998: 13) also emphasized this point saying it is not surprising that with the implementation of World Bank and IMF policies African economies have regressed and are even more fragmented and most depend on foreign aid. Sindima stated that even in the once bright spots of Africa like Ghana, Kenya and oil rich Nigeria their economies regress. These economic problems have led to mounting political turmoil, civil unrest and tensions and pretext for coup plots. Sindima asks the inevitable question: what happened? He bemoans the fact that India, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore have also had these problems but are now doing better than their African counterparts.

The Need for Institutional Development instead of a Push for Economic Modernization

The institutions that regulate behaviour and will facilitate development with desired outcomes have to be mostly endogamous (within Nigeria) to set the growth and development of Nigeria as a nation. Collier (2007: xi and 192) emphasized:

> Change in the societies at the very bottom must come predominantly from within; we cannot impose it on them. In all these societies there are struggles between brave people wanting change and entrenched interests opposing it. To date, we have largely been bystanders in this struggle. Our support for change can be decisive... But we will need not just a more intelligent approach to aid but complementary actions using instruments that have not conventionally been part of the development armoury: trade policies, security strategies, changes in our laws, and new international charters. We can do much more to strengthen the hand of the reformers.

Democracy is a small sub-section of democratization that nibbles at the selection of representatives through periodic electoral processes by citizens. In Nigeria, colonialism was an obstacle to real democratization and has led to a brand of democracy that can be described as an elite theory of democracy. The elite theory of democracy (Nagle and Mahr 1999) came from the Australian political economist, Joseph Schumpeter. According to Nagle and Mahr, Schumpeter was pessimistic in the midst of the struggle with European fascism, Soviet communism and real democracy in the 1930s. His worry about the chances of fulfilling the ideas of a citizen-based and grassroots democratic polity borrowed from the insights of classic elite theorists (especially from Michel, Pareto and Mosca) to produce a new major conception that came to be known as an elite theory of democracy.

Schumpeter (Nagle and Mahr 1999) viewed this elite-oriented democratic theory as a mark of political realism at the time he was writing. To Schumpeter, the best that could be hoped for was if the dangers of fascism and communism were to be avoided. Nagle and Mahr assert that Schumpeter's critique of classic democratic idealism, as dangerous utopianism was clearly a product of his times. Many inter-war democracies in Europe had collapsed and been replaced by right-wing authoritarian or fascist regimes. According to this view, it is impossible to see democracy as the rule of the people but only as an opportunity for the people choosing or rejecting those to rule or represent them through free competition for the votes of the electorate at the ballot box. At the end of the Second World War and the challenges of anti-democratic alternatives, Schumpeter's conception gained ground. Some scholars expressed an inherent distrust of popular participation and accepted a watered-down elite-oriented version of democratic theory.

Schumpeter's (Nagle and Mahr 1999) pessimism about real democratization also raises another big question in Nigeria as to whether democracy can be home grown and adopted to suit the reality of every nation state. The election into power of a civilian regime in 1999 meant Nigeria became a democracy. However, this means the process of democratization, managing decent, differences and expanding citizenship just began. The shift from military rule to civilian rule only opens up possibilities to explore how democracy can best serve a heterogeneous and multicultural society like Nigeria. For instance, the Eurocentric bias that saw fierce competition between democracies versus anti-democracy as a central struggle against communism is shifting to a growing interest in the possible 'varieties' of democracy. The post-election violence that saw the power sharing arrangement in Kenya and Zimbabwe are examples. The contentious 'rotational' power sharing formation between northern and southern Nigeria is another example. Comparative political analysis and approaches like the Human Development and Capabilities Approach now are much more likely to recognize important differences among nations and between cultures. This is in terms of the nature of its political life without trying to squeeze each nation (or culture) into one-size-fit-all democratic model or into anti-democratic categorization (John and Allison 1999: 12).

Community capitalist and advocates of communitarian approaches to development using value systems and institutions are criticized and accused of breeding the politics of identity, nepotism and patronage. Carson (2012) Torkula (2007) and Higazi (2011) agree that Nigeria is swamped by the politics of identity, political domination and an unequal distribution of scarce economic resources. But they all identified political domination and unequal distribution of scarce economic resources as root causes for violence in Nigeria not identity. I have consistently put forward the argument that identity is only exploited as a converging force to challenge economic and political

domination in Nigeria.

According to Fukuyama (1999a), there is a growing recognition that values, institutions and systems that created solidarity in Nigeria (and indeed Africa) with a high degree of loyalties are different from those in Western Europe. With the easing of hostilities that saw African values, norms, and traditional systems of political organization as an impediment to Europeanization (modernization) due to ideological purposes, other cultures can now evolve home grown democratization processes. The grip of Western European style democratic impositions on Third World countries is waning with the collapse of the Eastern bloc. The fear and suspicions around regimes and governments that initiated policies considered redistributionist and far too socialist inclined may now be appreciated and understood as a product of internal institutional, political and social value of these nations. According to Fukuyama, economic modernization was seen as antithetical to traditional culture and social organizations and would either wipe them away or else itself be blocked by forces of traditionalism.

However, another concern is that these versions of democracy and democratization portend what Fareed Zakaria (John and Allison 1999:12) terms 'illiberal democracy'. Zakaria says the rush to embrace the current wave of democracies call into question important qualitative differences that might be glossed over. This is his analysis of the wave of democratization in East-Central Europe comprising the nations of Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia and Slovenia. These nations historically associated with Central Europe have also been a point of focus for other transitional nations. Democracy in post-communist Europe has been a focus of attention most especially to ward off the resurgence of Russia and growing influence of China in the post-Cold War global order (Dahl 1995). This is also similar to the liberal democracy across the Arab

uprisings starting from North Africa to the Middle East as part of spreading democratic ideals. Liberal democracy is a system deemed most desirable for citizens' freedom, economic prosperity, and international order. When US announced and resumed formal contact with Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood it was described as a vital acknowledgement of the new political realities and democratization based on values in most of the Arab world.

Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP): Transplanting Liberalization and Deregulation Policy Reforms to Nigeria

General Ibrahim Babangida's military regime (Lewis and Stein 1997) negotiated a standby agreement by 1986 with the IMF and implemented the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). SAP called for the removal of credit allocation, the unification of interest rates, the maintenance of real positive interest rates, and the restructuring of banking to enhance financial intermediation. The SAP embodied standard donor prescriptions for reform with its central elements being substantial currency devaluation, trade liberalization, and general fiscal and monetary restraint. Other prescriptions included a reduction of public sector subsidies and employment and the privatization of the banking sector and public enterprises. Prior to the implementation of structural adjustment, the World Bank had urged the Nigerian government to deregulate the financial sector. In a 1983 report, the Bank offered an analysis predicated upon financial repression theory. The report criticized the government allocation of credit, public subsidies fostering negative real interest rates, the inadequate number of licensed banks and the 'complexity and rigidity' of government regulations (World Bank, 1983; 44).

Financial liberalization (Lewis and Stein 1997) was a relatively unheralded aspect of the SAP in Nigeria. It prompted scant commentary in the public debate over structural adjustment and little controversy among senior policy makers. Although Nigerian officials initially regarded financial sector reform as a subsidiary measure, deregulation of the banking industry was ultimately among the more consequential measures in the adjustment package. According to Lewis and Stein (1997):

> Our analysis attributes the failure of financial liberalization in Nigeria primarily to the political and institutional setting of reform. An important precipitating factor was the unstable macroeconomic climate, a product of capricious policies and fluctuating global oil markets. The Nigerian experience, we believe, illustrates the problem of pursuing reform without sufficient attention to political and institutional variables. The results are often unintended and perverse. In particular, this episode indicates that conditions of unstable and contracting rents can be more detrimental to investment or growth than a situation of stable rent- seeking, where at least the rules of behavior are known.

Before deregulation, the banking industry in Nigeria was oligopolistic in structure and dominated by the 'big three' commercial banks: First Bank, United Bank for Africa (UBA) and Union Bank. The immediate response to liberalization was an explosion in financial services, as the number of banks tripled to 120 by 1992. The government wholly owned several financial institutions including four development banks. This was accompanied by a profusion of ancillary finance, mortgage, insurance and brokerage houses. A number of other major ventures reflected mixed ownership while about 15 firms were under private indigenous control. The federal government held a controlling share in the country's leading sources of commercial rents. Nigeria had partial compensation commercial and merchant banks along with an average 47% stake in fourteen insurance companies. Overall, about 80% of assets in the commercial banks and 45% of assets in the merchant banks were under defacto federal control (NDIC, 1993, 46-47). In addition, state governments had equity in two-dozen banks. The Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), supervised by the Ministry of Finance controlled about a third of sectoral assets. The swift increase of banks from 3 major banks to 120 led to banking collapse because the formal institutional arrangements were not formed or

strong enough. Rapid deregulation in Nigeria was not supported by effective mechanism for institutional oversight and control.

Nigeria's growing poverty numbers and pervasive development question owes much of its complications to these development policy experiments of three decades (1980s-2010). This made Mkandawire and Soludo (1996: 2) affirm that the monumental failure of public policy in African development shares fault between the complicity of African leaders and the outside world:

> First, the problems of African development have been compounded by the very weak/poor initial conditions of her peculiar history of post-independence and colonial heritage. Again, the external influence where the Africans are adjudge incapable of thinking for themselves and implementing policies. So a deluge of foreign technical experts are brought in to design and implement development policies. Secondly, Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) has been imposed on Africa by the Breton Woods Institutions (BWIs).

Havnevik et al. stated that African agriculture was in the World Bank's spotlight 25 years ago with the publication of the Berg report entitled, *Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Agenda for Action* (1981) and the World Development Report 1982 on the theme of agriculture. These reports identified African state policy intervention, particularly in the form of producer subsidies and parastatal marketing, as key problems to resolve in order to achieve higher agricultural productivity. Havnevik et al. (2007) wrote:

> It was strategically placed to offer advice to Sub- Saharan African countries after their achieving of national independence in the 1960s. Under structural adjustment conditionality of the 1980s continuing to the present, the World Bank's prescriptions have become largely mandatory for the debt-ridden national economies of the continent. Its influence over a country's policies is generally in direct inverse proportion to that country's economic strength. Thus, most African countries have to greater or lesser degrees espoused and implemented World Bank development policy for the last 25 years, and African agricultural sectors, in effect, demonstrate through continuous low growth rates and deepening rural poverty, the impact of World Bank policies.

Havnevik et al. (2007) point out that over the past fifty years the World Bank has become the central international agency prescribing economic development policy to the world's nation-states. The coming down of the Berlin wall and some other events of 1989 and early 1990s were celebrated as a victory for free market ideas. This was marked as the formal end of communism and a justification and rational choice for capitalism and liberal democracy and hubris export of capitalist free market ideas. According to John and Alison (1999: 41):

> The Cold War dichotomy had become an institutional framework for analysis, and gave credence to the thought that post communism must reshape Europe along the lines of the clearly victorious Western model. Without past models for the rapid demise of ideology, or time for careful scholarship on the accelerating changes, early conceptualizations of the events and their future consequences were quite naturally broadly speculative. With some hindsight from the late 1990s, we can now view post-communism in more complex terms as befits the experience of each country…emphasizing the reasons for rethinking the nature of the transition, the meanings of 'joining the West', and the variety of potential longer-term outcomes from post-communism.

In Nigeria, the policy prescriptions of the World Bank and IMF were transplanted and implemented without citizen debates, with poor regulatory systems, lack of oversight functions and poor development of formal institutions. It was not until the 2008 financial crisis that scholars in Nigeria seriously started to question the hubristic optimism of core liberal conceptions like free market, liberalization, deregulation, and devaluation. Stiglitz (2002b) said globalization and the emphasis on free trade, the increased mobility of capital, and the interconnected nature of financial markets have served to undermined state sovereignty. Stiglitz added that this has interrupted democratic consolidation in the developing world:

> What is disturbing to me is not that such decisions have been made, but that in many countries they have been made without adequate democratic debate. They feel they have to do this 'or else,' and the 'or else' is that you won't receive aid, which they're so desperate for, or we will say that you're a terrible country and foreign investors will never come in. Through carrots and sticks, they've been forced, and that is a derogation of their sovereignty.

A good instance of aid relations between Kenya and the World Bank (Collier 1997: 60) shows that in a period of fifteen years the Government of Kenya sold the same agricultural reform to the World Bank four times. Each time Kenya reversed the reform after receipt of the aid. Collier concluded by writing, 'the aid-for-reform packages were inconsistent and conditionality has thus had the inadvertent outcome of enabling African governments only to signal their policy incompetence. Failures are clearly attributed to governments; successes are not'.

Liberalization by definition (McCulloch et al. 2001; 15) reduces the barrier to trade. In general, when markets are functioning effectively this will result in a reduction in domestic prices of the liberalized goods. This is done by either making cheaper foreign goods available or reducing the rent that may have previously been captured by domestic producers. The case of East Asian countries (Wagle, 2007) spearheaded by Singapore, for example, shows that rapid economic growth likely follows efforts to liberalize the economy. Neo-classical economics suggests that expanding exports enable entrepreneurs and workers to realize increased earnings and the government to realize the increased tax base and foreign currency. The multiplier effect in turn percolates through the economy thus making everyone better off. Tsai and Huang (2007) strongly affirm that Taiwan's experience also suggests that there is a close link between openness, economic growth and poverty reduction. Aside from being open to foreign trade, Tsai and Huang define openness to include bring open to inward and out-ward Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). They feel a liberal inward Foreign Direct Investment regime is among the essential ingredients of Taiwan's overall export-oriented development strategy.

Wagle (2007) looked at the affirmative role of liberalization in boosting economic growth but what has been highly contested is how the benefit of growth is to be distributed in society. This argument is particularly palpable in the case of Nigeria as a resource rich country and the 6th world largest oil exporter but has remained very poor with one of the worst maternal health records. McCulloch et al. (2001; 15) also agree that increasing openness increases the degree of competition faced by domestic producers. This may result in closure and consequent unemployment. Therefore, this realization that liberalization increases unequal competition may lead to the closure of companies and unemployment made the Taiwanese government regulate the process of liberalization. Tsai and Huang (2007) wrote of Taiwan's liberalization strategy:

> Despite several rounds of import liberalization and tariff reduction in the 1970s, it is noteworthy that…trade liberalization was generally limited to the export sector, with the domestic market remaining heavily protected. In other words, by 1980 Taiwan had a dual-track trade regime attempting to encourage exports while sheltering the domestic market from foreign competition at the same time.

I make the point that looking at Nigeria (and indeed African economies) one will be tempted to conclude that the orientation of Nigeria towards development is shaped in part by the way they are forced and handed down by IMF and World Bank macro-economic policies. Another factor is the monumental levels of corruption that follows from weak institutional oversight to regulate government business. The ability of the state to achieve its objectives depends on its legitimacy and confidence of the citizens in policies of the state. Another factor is the internal cohesion, economic conditions and, most importantly, the degree of social mobilization and participation as an essential political term for inclusive development. The examination of the nature of development approaches and processes in Nigeria will be made in the light of the strength of her institutions. Form, formation and formative stages of anything (human development or institutional development) have at its centre orientation. Vaughan (1968) refers to this

as the basic shape that determines or at least radically conditions the way in which a process will run, how the individuals within the structural process will think, act, function and their attitude. According to Vaughan, it is orientation that effectively brings out the significance of structure. He concludes that it is the same with an institution as it also takes its shape from its orientation, and its structure determines everything it does.

According to Mkandawire and Soludo (1996: 3), Nigeria is now recognizing that the economic crisis in the country requires much more fundamental adjustments including tackling corruption. This is because there is growing convergence that International Monetary Fund (IMF) austerity measures and Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) have not worked. Mkandawire and Soludo assert that more recently such self-assurances in SAP seem to be giving way to subdued humility. They say, such phrases like 'development everywhere is a complex phenomenon… nobody has all the answers… learning from experience… rapid changing reality' are statements conceding failure. This 'rethink' and admission that they (IMF and World Bank) do not have all the answers have provided a climate for productive dialogue in search for broader institutional frameworks and development alternatives from within countries based on their value orientation and institutions.

Deregulation and Privatization: A Case for Regulation and Oversight

There are vigorous efforts at re-regulating the financial and banking sector in Western Europe. This is because the sophistry of Western Europe in bureaucratic governance, financial and economic expertise has been humbled by the lessons from the 2008 financial crisis and collapse of the banking sector. For Nigeria and most of Africa, re-

regulation does not even apply because politicians and the elite have usurped the regulatory systems of privatization for personal gain. Re-regulation would have meant Nigeria has developed regulatory systems for privatization that are not working effectively and will be strengthened but Nigeria has weak governance systems that are not well conceived. Collier (1997: 51) wrote, 'most of Africa does not have even minimally adequate economic policies or systems. And even where such policies are in place investors fear reversal as Africa is rated the riskiest investment environment in the world'.

McCulloch et al. (2001; 10) strongly advises that trade liberalization is a political act and implementing it in particular ways or even implementing it at all requires a good deal of political skill. They say it is a well-known fact that liberalization policies increase income but also increase or exacerbate poverty. In Nigeria, deregulation as a policy was not supported by effective formal institutions or institutional mechanisms for oversight of its application or applicability. Deregulation is a component of liberalization and it means increasing the openness to competition faced by domestic producers from external producers without regulation by the state. McCulloch et al. (2001; 15). Lal, (1983) and Bhagwati (1982) asserted that state intervention has limited and distorted economic growth. Lal and Bhagwati did not deny that under certain circumstances state intervention yielded positive results. But they insisted that state intervention needed to be replaced by free market microeconomic policies. This they said was because of the self-seeking actions of government officials that need to be amalgamated into the common good and replaced by a 'rational' form of state control.

It is to this end that the neo-classical economics (Martinussen 1997: 263) proposed that the economic role of the state should be minimised: the state should be 'rolled back' and

the economy left to the price mechanisms in competitive markets to decide what should be produced and in what quantities. The neo-classical economists shifted the whole focus from 'getting the policies right' to 'getting the prices right'. Neo-classical economics (Martinussen 1997: 24-25) focuses on the determination of prices, outputs, and income distribution in markets through demand and supply. In other words, in accordance with rational choice theory, excess produced in the cause of perfectly competitive markets will be rationally distributed and will trickle down to the poor leading to economic growth and development. Rational choice theory, also known as rational action theory, is a framework for understanding and modelling social and economic behaviour.

The IMF and World Bank who were at the forefront of criticisms of the state led model of development gained ground up to the end of the 1970s and 1980s. The monetarists and microeconomist with roots in the neo-classical paradigm became accepted among decision makers in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries, the World Bank and IMF. Havnevik et al. (2007; 16) pointed that the election of President Reagan in the US and Prime Minister Thatcher in the UK finally tilted the development paradigm in favour of the neo-liberal approach:

> The IMF, the World Bank and major donors embraced the prevailing neo-liberal climate thereby denying any significant future role for the state in the development process. Instead, the state was seen to facilitate the release of market forces and the 'unchaining' of the private entrepreneur. This was a new term for the African small- holder, who in the modernization paradigm had been viewed as backward and traditional. By designating the rural social context as 'private', the agricultural and rural strategies failed to understand that rural societies were embedded in complex indigenous systems of reciprocity, redistribution and market exchange which encompassed other institutions besides the market. The interactions of these exchange systems and the challenges they posed for an expansion of market exchange based on formal institutions and informal systems largely ignored.

It is against this quote by Havnevik et al. that I argue that the proposal and application of functional-theoretical approaches more often than not ignore indigenous systems. It

is my position that this makes sound functional-theoretical ideas to lack contextual grounding because they refuse to acknowledge other institutions that are rooted in the context, history and development of a given place. In following Warner's institutionalist analytical framework, I have maintained that functional-theoretical ideas have value but must be seen as adopting and adapting contextually relevant scenarios in application. The examples I draw from Taiwan and other Asian economies are intended to buttress my point of how these nations adopted and adapted macro-economic policies to catalyse rapid human development.

According to McCulloch et al. (2001; 15), openness in the economy of a nation increases the degree of competition faced by domestic producers. Therefore, McCulloch et al. state that this may result in closures and consequently unemployment. Taiwan's liberalization strategy as quoted by Tsai and Huang (2007) aptly captures this point: 'Despite several rounds of import liberalization and tariff reduction in the 1970s, it is noteworthy that…trade liberalization was generally limited to the export sector, with the domestic market remaining heavily protected'.

Lewis and Stein (1997), in their analysis, attributed the failure of financial liberalization in Nigeria primarily to the political and institutional setting of reform. Therefore, deregulation in Nigeria was not supported by an effective mechanism for oversight and institutions as seen in Taiwan. In general, trade liberalization is said to be an ally in the fight against poverty because it tends to increase average income. But McCulloch et al. (2001; 3) warn that it should be recognized and that most trade reforms would hurt someone, probably pushing them over, or deeper into poverty. McCulloch et al. concede that liberalization increases overall poverty even while boosting income in total. Therefore, the affirmative role of liberalization in boosting economic growth has been

described but what has been highly contested is how the benefit of growth is to be distributed in society (Wagle 2007). It is a known fact that there remain important public policy questions on how to implement or regulate liberalization and what to do about poverty when it does create or exacerbate it.

In Nigeria, the implementation of liberalization policies has seen increased poverty levels, unemployment and inequality. From the statistics (NBS, 2012), poverty is on the increase from 57% to over 60% of Nigerians living in 'absolute poverty'. Deregulation negates the social and economic protection of small farm holders and leaves them vulnerable to the more sophisticated and established foreign producers. Privatization and deregulation policies promoted in Nigeria are not focused on protecting poor smallholder farmers. Hassan (2012) reports that the Federal Government of Nigeria is still granting import waivers on rice and palm oil produce. The government from the advice of the World Bank and IMF has removed subsidies on agricultural inputs for poor smallholder farmers and growers. But, on the other hand, tax waivers are given for mass importation of agricultural produce. This pitches rural smallholder farmers against stiff competition with highly established and subsidized producers from Western Europe and Asia.

Agriculture (Agoi 2011) has long been neglected in Nigeria with the oil industry providing about two-thirds of government revenue and more than 90% of export earnings. The oil industry provides few local jobs while agriculture still employs about 70% of the Nigerian workforce and most are subsistence farmers. But the non-availability of fertilizers and other farm inputs has tremendously hampered agricultural production in the country. Agoi quoted Ahmed Rabiu Kwa, executive secretary of the Fertiliser Suppliers Association of Nigeria, an umbrella body of 27 manufacturers and

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suppliers, in saying that the proposed development of a fertilizer blending company would increase the yields of farmers. Kwa argues that more fertilisers should be made available to farmers. But the president of the Lagos Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Olufemi Deru (Agoi 2011), argued that farmers would benefit more if there was a comprehensive policy on agriculture in the country.

According to Cheru (1992), farmers are vulnerable to market uncertainties and the condition of the poor has deteriorated further because governments across the African continent are compelled to cut public expenditure. These restrictions are part of an International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank economic restructuring programmes. On the contrary 'direct payment' (Abbott 2011) subsidies of over 5 billion dollars a year are given to farmers by the American government. Direct payments created in 1996 were large measures of farm subsidy for farmers in America.

Liberalization in Nigeria, and indeed other African countries, is aimed at securing the investment climate. Securing the investment climate includes giving tax waivers to Foreign Direct Investors (FDI's) and ensuring stability of exchange rate to guarantee the investments of FDI's. In Uganda (Reuters 2012), the IMF said Uganda needed to improve its business climate, strengthen tax collections and make effective use of revenues to be able to drive economic growth to its true potential of around 7%. In Egypt (Werr 2012), an International Monetary Fund (IMF) technical team arrived in Cairo in October of 2012 to negotiate an almost 5 billion US dollars' loan. This loan by Egypt was to shore up finances hammered by year 2011's popular uprising. Part of the IMF loan conditionality is placing a minimum level on reserves that analysts say could be an indirect way of forcing Egypt to allow its currency to weaken. In all, the main attention is not altogether the well-being or happiness of the citizens of Nigeria, Uganda

or Egypt. It is to improve the business climate for Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs) to thrive and to deregulate the economy and devaluation of their currencies. This discussion on Nigeria, Eggypt and Uganda is not gainsaying that Liberalization in African countries is not entirely aimed at 'developing' the host but securing the investment climate.

According to Collier (1997, 69), the aid for development as 'carrot and stick' in Africa has not resulted in functional governance systems as conditionality has failed. Typically, a government signing a structural adjustment loan will be committing itself to around 60 promises of policy changes. What is reassuring to investors is not these promises of policy changes. The investors are interested in the commitment to the maintenance of perhaps two or three fundamental aspects of the policy environment. These include such areas as convertibility of the currency and a degree of fiscal prudence. An extreme case, according to Collier, was when President Moi of Kenya became irritated with the insistence on civil rights and threatened to reverse the reform programme. Collier asked who then owns the reform? The 'state or market' and 'public or private' debate and some of the early conclusions tinkering with 're-regulation' called 'collective action' (Stiglitz, 2002b; 223) and 'selectivity' (Collier, 1997; 75) needs re-examination. Stiglitz (2002b, 221) concludes that 'the International Financial Institutions (IFI) have caused more harm than good. There is a feeling of deprivation in Nigeria, as people do not feel they own choices. Stiglitz concludes that African nations are even forced to make choices that countries like the United States have rejected'.

I have presented a historical perspective to institutionalization using Warner's Institutionalist school to show how the impact of IFI's macro economic policies can support or hamper human development in Nigeria. I have used the Asian experience to

buttress my point that institutional development has to be home grown, adapted and adopted to the context and not imposed by IFIs. This presentation is to engage the functional-theoretical ideas of the Capability Approach that the instrumentality of democracy leads almost by default to freedom and human development. In the section below, I will now use Warner's Culturalist school to examine the issues of corruption, values and institutions in Nigeria.

Corruption in Nigeria: An Overview of a Growing Sub-Culture

Mkandawire and Soludo (1996: 3) assert that the economic crisis in Nigeria requires much more fundamental adjustments including tackling corruption. Collier (1997: 60) is also critical of the conditionality imposed by Bretton Woods's institutions without adequate systems to monitor compliance that gives room for corruption. I have made the point that the inability of functional-theoretical approaches to acknowledge, adopt and adapt institutional realities in its application is a theoretical weakness and make its application incomplete. However, I am not oblivious to the criticism that corruption is to blame for a large part of the poor human development efforts in Nigeria but not that functional-theoretical approaches are not suitable.

A discussion about corruption in Nigeria was sparked off by an interesting debate between sides for and against legalization of same sex practices within Nigeria. The debate drew a sharp focus on the clash in value systems and institutions within Nigeria that was of huge interest to cultural theorists. I will call the debate the clash between two entrenched publics: 'the traditional public and the liberal public' in Nigeria because the 'two publics' all made the claim that they were fighting for 'public good'. The traditional public consist of traditional and religious groups while the liberal public

consists of civil society groups like non-government organizations (NGOs) and civil rights activists. Oluwafunminiyi (2014) viewed the push by some civil society activists to legalize same sex practices and homosexuality in Nigeria as an act of subversion to corrupt traditional values and religious beliefs. The liberal public accused the traditional public of hypocracy because the traditional public is not challenging official corruption in Nigeria with the same vigour. A bill against gay and homosexual relations was passed into law with a maximum of 14 years in prison.

These accusations against the traditional public for being silent on corruption in Nigeria introduced an interesting angle to the clash of views about same sex relations but found its way into why corruption in Nigeria is not challenged by certain 'publics'. According to the liberal public, the silence by the traditional public against corruption was interpreted as tacit endorsement of corruption while resisting same sex relations 'labelled' as a 'negative' value aimed at corrupting the traditional value system. The church (Alabi: 2014) led by Church of Nigeria (CoN) Anglican Communion was forced to respond and say corruption is also a vice and not a value and the church in Nigeria does not value corruption. Bishop Fearon in Kaduna diocese, at the time, in a further response, called on the National Assembly (Nigerian parliamentary houses) to pass a bill to criminalize official corruption in Nigeria.

There are various definitions explaining the phenomena known as 'corruption'. For more definitional clarity, we will further classify corruption into official (corrupt public officials) and unofficial (corrupt or corrupted public). Official corruption (Ufere et al.: 2012, Doh et al.: 2003, Okonjo-Iweala and Osafo-Kwaako: 2007) is the misuse of a position of authority for personal or private gain. These they say can take the form of bribery, extortion, patronage, buying influence, favouritism, nepotism, fraud and

embezzlement. For instance, Nigeria was ranked 41 among 52 African countries on the good governance index using indicators of security, sustainable economic opportunity and human development in 2013. Niger Republic that is a much more resource poor nation compared to Nigeria ranked better than Nigeria with 7th position on good governance in the same year. Nigeria also ranked 7th (very high up in the world) in the transfer of corrupt funds to foreign accounts in overseas tax heavens (Umar and Oguntola: 2013, Randall and Walton: 2014; Bakare: 2014, Musari: 2014, Ahmed-Yusuf: 2014, Azu: 2014).

Allaby (2013: 9) pointed that the widely used contemporary definition of corruption is 'the abuse of public office for private gains'. But the researcher views these definitions of corruption above as one-sided because they depict corruption as 'official' and seem oblivious to corruption amongst informal social and community capital formations. I will define corruption as 'irresponsible use of power and authority'. Going by this definition, I agree with Allaby's (2013: 11) description that 'corruption determines the extent to which public resources result in material benefits for elites rather than the majority'. Unofficial corruption here focuses on corruption within the informal social and community capital formations either as corrupt in themselves or accomplices of corruption that we refer to as 'corrupt or corrupted public'. Examples of corrupted public are parents or religious bodies who receive gifts, donations or tithes from their children or followers without questioning the source of income. The recipients, in most cases, are well aware that their child or followers do not have the means with which to give such a gift yet receive these gifts without questioning.

Unofficial corruption manifests itself with the usage of language or terms in Nigeria's lexicon nowadays like '*chop money*' (petty cash) and *'hama'* (this describes the 'get

rich quick culture of getting instant riches') where individuals amass huge sums of money and live the 'good life' (*bling bling* glittery) life style (Okonjo-Iweala and Osafo-Kwaako: 2007). The corrupted public exalts and admires these kinds of 'successes' not only without questioning the source of income but also seeking and receiving gifts or donations from corrupt people. In the unofficial realm of corruption, there are also established festivities called 'thanks giving mass or service' mostly organized by religious organizations. The term 'reception' is a ceremony or party organized by the corrupted public to honour a member of a certain community appointed, elected or a member who suddenly amass wealth ('*hama')*. These are all avenues the two publics collude to host corrupt people.

Allaby (2013:11) again pointed out that the word corruption is subject to varied interpretations and opinions because different cultures have different views about what constitutes corruption. There are two examples to illustrate this: first, an individual from a certain ethnic group in Nigeria who embezzles money from *'Adashi'* (local community micro-credit schemes or association) either in the city or rural area is called a thief and made to refund every stolen penny back to the community *Adashi (Ade: 2013)*. He/she will never be exalted or seen as one who has *'Hama'* into success but viewed as a thief who has brought shame upon his family and community. This shows that that community abhors 'stealing' and stealing is not valued.

But, on the other hand, if the same individual is appointed or elected into public office and embezzles 'public' funds from the state or government coffers it is not viewed as 'stealing'. The family, community, religious and traditional organizations host festivities to welcome home these kinds of individuals. Diepreye Alamieyeseigha, Joshua Dariye and Bode George are examples in Nigeria among many where corrupt

officials in government returned to the warm embrace of cheering community members (*Ebhomele and Yisa: 2011).* For some cultural groups in Nigeria, corruption is what happens in government circles and one of their own is only clever enough to beat the system.

The Nigeria Labour Congress (the labour union in Nigeria) is now campaigning against the hiring community member (Odunsi 2016) to protest about the arrest of public official from their locality by the anti-graft agency (Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, EFCC). Corruption is also seen as a means to retaliate against or 'get back' at the state machinery that has subjugated and coerced ethnic or tribal groups over time. Other tribal groupings see and use state power to address long-standing grievances of perceived or real ethnic subjugation. This is the difficult intersection where the two publics in Nigeria oscillate and tacitly endorse 'corruption' and even elevated it to a sub-culture where corrupt community members are seen as 'victorious' against a government system that has deprived them as an ethnic group for so long.

Understanding the Clash of Values and Socio-Political Configuration of the Traditional and Liberal Publics in Nigeria

I have put forward a position in this chapter that rural community mechanisms that check the stealing of community resources seem to be more effective than anti-corruption schemes that are government driven and formal in their approaches. There is even greater need for an analytical framework that will pay attention and understand the concepts of corruption, corrupted public and its link to the identity question in Nigeria. Ekeh (1975) wrote:

> In fact, there are two public realms in post-colonial Africa with different types of moral linkages to the private realm. At one level is the public realm in which primordial groupings, ties, and sentiments influence and determine the individual's public behaviour. I shall call this the primordial public because it is closely identified with primordial groupings sentiments and activities which nevertheless impinge on the public interest. On the other hand, there is a public realm which is historically

associated with the colonial administration and which has become identified with popular politics in post-colonial Africa. It is based on a civil structure: the military, the civil service, the police etc…I shall call this the civil public.

Ekeh, when writing about postcolonial Nigeria, contended that many of Africa's political problems are due to the dialectical relationship between these two publics. But Afolayan (2012) countered the two public theses by Ekeh and insists that there is a multiplicity of publics beyond just two publics in Nigeria. Afolayan advises caution in his narrative of the two publics in Nigeria and asks scholars to rethink the idea of what he terms 'the skeptical public'. He sees the multiplicity of publics with a different identity who have legitimate claim to multiple political spaces created as a result of trans-conceptual notions of democracy, civil society, and globalization. I agree that there is a multiplicity beyond just two publics in Nigeria but all these publics oscillate between the traditional and liberal spheres in Nigeria as I have described in the section above.

Fukuyama (1999a) wrote that African communities are divided along language, cultural, tribal and family inclinations that remain important sources of identity. He highlighted the importance of understanding sources of social capital as 'by-products of tradition, culture, shared historical experience, religion, and other factors that lie outside the control of any government'. The importance of this fact he insists is for public policy to be aware of ethnic and tribal inclination as part of the African reality. Ingleby (2006; 4) emphasized that liberalization and the secularization theory quickly forgets history and assumes that when modernity sets in traditional forms of social organization, including religious ones, will recede. This has failed and rural affinities remain important sources of identity.

I argue that the history behind the emergence and political configuration of the ruling class in Nigeria has had long-standing distrust between themselves and between the

tribes. The creation of a federal system of government centralized decision-making but politicians held onto geographic regions they came from and acted to protect the interests of regions. This immediately bred politics akin to regional identity and explains the operational bases for corruption and identity politics in Nigeria. In this way, people communed, believed and become accountable only to a system that they considered fair and true to their shared identity and beliefs. In this sociological space, people operate and are loyal to beliefs they consider shared and hold onto a value pattern that rewards and punishes each and every member in the same way.

For example, funds from community *Adashi* are not stolen because rural communities have vertical and horizontal accountability mechanisms that abhor and check 'stealing community resources'. Wan (2006), in what he calls 'relational realism', also makes reference to vertical accountability as the relationship between community members and a supernatural that constrains behaviour. Horizontal accountability refers to relationships between humans guided by values, norms, rules and sanctions that apply to every community member according to the offence in question (Oluwafunminiyi: 2014). But then this begs answers as to why the same rural communities celebrate 'stealing public' resources belonging to the 'people' (state or government resources) by their sons and daughters.

I will return to this point in chapters five and six of my analysis of data where I argue that for most tribes and ethnic groups in Nigeria the term 'corruption' does not exist in their lexicon. What exists is 'stealing'. A community member defrauding the *Adashi* association of the community will not be called 'corrupt' but will be called 'a thief' with known implications for this act or action. Again, corruption and the use of the term 'corrupt officials' became associated with the British and their colonial regime and

machinery put in place to colonize. Torkula (2007) elaborated this point to explain that the post-colonial state and leadership did not have the legitimacy because they failed to win back the confidence of the governed. The colonial system of governance was coercive and considered 'external' and lacked the acceptance enjoyed by the traditional local governance system.

In the colonial judicial system, offenders (including thieves) were released on bail (money usually exchanged hands) as offenders awaited the completion of a case. In some cases, the offenders were made to pay a negligible fine for the offence when the case was finally decided. Rural communities viewed this as diluting their juror system but this was to become the 'acceptable' judicial system practiced in the 'new or modern external' system of governance which was unclear and seen to have nothing to do with them as rural people (Oluwafunminiyi: 2014). In the traditional juror system of the Tiv people in Nigeria, for instance, there is a reconciliatory component where an offender was made to show remorse and apologise. Then he/she will appease the community by killing a goat to be accepted back into the fold of the community. These sharp contrasts in local governance and the 'new modern' governance system created confusion in the minds of the rural people in Nigeria. This confusion heralded the emergence of the Nigerian ruling class and explains in part their lack of legitimacy (Sekoni: 2012, Higazi: 2011, Fagbadebo: 2007). To this end, the Nigerian ruling class constituted a privileged class wielding much power and questionable affluence but enjoys little community acceptance.

The state in Nigeria was seen as emerging from a colonial residue of coerced rule that forcefully subjugated people groups under a British colonial policy of indirect rule and leadership. This kind of rule did not reflect the collective beliefs or shared values of the

people being governed. Torkula (2007) made the point that 'Middle-belt' region of Nigeria became a geo-political idea and geo-political expression that became the prelude for northern 'minorities' seeking self-determination. The dominance of Muslims (Higazi: 2011) made possible by colonial rule in Northern Nigeria meant Christians living in the middle belt and the far Northern parts of Nigeria had to live in Sabon Gari ('new' neighbourhoods) or Bayan Gari (neighbourhoods behind the main towns). By the Northern penal code in Nigeria this meant segregated towns for non-Muslims established during the colonial period and this is still enforced in Nigeria to this day.

I stress the point here that institutions and institutionalization failed to take root and so the democratization process was not and is still not owned by the rural people of Nigeria. The kind of state formation and urbanization described above immediately created a dynamic for local governance, control of resources, provision of services and a nuanced division characterized by 'superior' and 'inferior' citizens. Amassing wealth through corrupt practices was a mechanism to retain assumed superiority. The case in Middle Belt Nigeria was that those labelled minorities or 'inferior' citizens also saw amassing wealth using the same corrupt practices or vandalizing public property as a revolt against subjugation. In this way, the postcolonial state in Nigeria came to be seen as another elevated authority like the then British Native Authority (NA) that was seen as an established framework for the primitive accumulation of wealth.

The state in Nigeria is still seen as a mere political expression where people scramble to capture the centre using the instrumentality of democracy and 'democratic elections' for pecuniary benefits. This calls into question the optimism by Sen and Nussbaum that the instrumentality of democracy will enable freedoms that are foundational to human

development. From my analysis of the emergence of democracy, democratic institutions in Nigeria so far, it is clear that the building institutions for human development needs to take root. Application and applicability of the Capability Approach in a place like Nigeria needs grounding in the historical processes that make people behave or react the way they do.

Amassing wealth is not immediately interpreted as corruption but an avenue to 'share the national cake' and this is endorsed by a sub-culture of 'get rich quick' (Mutum 2014; Okeke 2014; Fagbadebo 2007). This has led to the emergence of 'godfathers' as powerful political bosses sitting atop vast patronage systems and these godfathers see government primarily through the lens of their own personal aggrandizement. According to Fagbadebo (2007), Nigeria's history is tainted with the absence of what he refers to as 'good moral and ethical values' in the conduct of ruling. The focus of leadership has become parochial as the elite only exploit the instrument of state power to promote personal wealth over national development.

Smith (2007) and Okonjo-Iweala and Osafo-Kwaako (2007) also identified a pervasive 'get rich quick' culture, lack of bureaucratic morality and weak legal system as possible reasons why there is official corruption. Fagbadebo (2007: 28) concludes that this accounts for the weak legitimacy of the leadership because citizens lack faith in their political leaders and the political system. Afolayan (2012) said, 'state power became a framework for enrichment and generated a regime of public meanings with its own rationality defined by corruptive excesses and misappropriation of public funds'. State power was then a means of protecting primordial interests by electing representatives to the central government who championed and protected regional interests.

I put forward the thesis that 'what people value determine their development' and this is immediately faced with the challenge I have been discussing above. Embedding values and institutions in political discussions have been variously criticized as breeding the politics of identity. However, I have argued in this chapter that violence in Nigeria is rooted firstly in real or perceived political domination and unequal distribution of scarce resources (Carson 2012; Torkula 2007; Higazi 2011). In order to access political and economic resources, some ethnic groups only exploit identity as a converging force to challenge domination. What people value, their identity and institutions cannot be wished away but requires a framework to deal with difference. I will later demonstrate that it is the avoidance and not engaging differences (considered volatile) that led to the absence of proper analytical frameworks that are communitarian and more grounded in context.

Conclusion

Chapter Two sets out to define and explain formal and informal institutions. This clarity is needed as a distinction between institutions and organizations and how these concepts are put to use and the processes of institutional development. The chapter has examined institutional development in the light of social and community capital as mechanisms to build development initiatives on what people value in their development aspirations. The second and concluding parts of the chapter make connections between institutional developments as democratization processes that build institutions overtime. Overall, the review of related literature in the chapter highlights that conceptually institutions are broadly the same from one society to another but the operational bases of institutions are based on the dominant value system and culture of a given place. I then argue that liberalization may have worked well in Western Europe and other places with varying outcomes but the case in Nigeria shows growth and creation of wealth side by side with

deepening poverty. This chapter agrees with Williamson (2000: 567) that institutions determine the way the economy operates but also warns that is not as straightforward as transplanting formal rules and regulations seen to operate well in some contexts to other countries.

Chapter Three

Research Methodology

Introduction

In Chapter Three I present a methodological approach that will speak to the second of the two main criticisms against the Capabilities Approach that it is abstract and lacks ontological grounding (Gasper 2002: 444-452). Gasper like Taylor (1989) used key concepts of 'being'- in relation to existential reality; the belongingness of the human being with others; and emotions/self-criticism to emphasize that being is realized in social life within institutions. I also use Chapter Three to address the second aim of my dissertation: to demonstrate that the presentation by Sen and Nussbaum of a Capability Approach (development theory) that is 'fully human' is an important starting point but they pay one-sided attention to 'doing' (the functional-theoretical realm) and only pay marginal attention to 'being' (the practical-relational realm). To overcome the criticism that the Capability Approach lacks ontological grounding, I show the methodology I use throughout to ensure that the voices of the people researched lead the identification of what they say they value.

The focus in Chapter One dwelt on the human development discourse using the Capability Approach as conceived by Sen and Nussbaum. I also used Chapter One to introduce the question of applicability posed by Alkire and Deneulin and the challenges of commensurability the Capability Approach faces in multicultural settings. In Chapter Three, I adopt the qualitative methodology that will enable me to carefully read the conceptual ideas of the Capability Approach and find resonances in the application from

the context. This I will do by listening to the critics (Taylor 2006: 370; Gasper 2002: 444-452) of the Capability Approach and coming up with methods that will lead me to discover knowledge by bringing in the voices of the people being researched. This approach makes use of the understanding and interpretation of being, human agency and functioning of the people and how their interpretation is applicable from the context. For this reason, I argue that top-down functional-theoretical approaches like the Capability Approach that use abstract concepts (capability, functioning, agency, freedom) can have bottom-up practical-relational methods as additions to their narrative. These methodological approaches are more contextually suited and grounded to blend abstract theoretical expositions based on what people value.

It is important for me to state at the out-set of my research journey that I am not attempting a comparative analysis of versions of the Capability Approach by Sen and Nussbaum. But this chapter on methodology will help me to address the second aim of my thesis: to demonstrate that the presentation by Sen and Nussbaum of a Capability Approach (development theory) that is 'fully human' is an important starting point but they pay one-sided attention to 'doing' (the functional-theoretical realm) and only pay marginal attention to 'being' (the practical-relational realm). Nussbaum agrees that Sen's Capability Approach has acknowledged that differences exist between cultural, religious and even socio-political organizations but avoided engaging this criticism fully. Nussbaum's proposal of a minimum threshold and overlapping consensus is her attempt to see that the Capability Approach is not abstract but looks at the dignity of the human person.

Nussbaum's (2000: 12) methodological approach can be seen in her book *Women and Development* about her work with women in India to make her version of the Capability Approach 'real and complete rather than abstract'. This methodology by Nussbaum, using the lives of real people, especially the living conditions of women in many poor

countries, gives her version of the Capability Approach some (not entirely) level of concreteness. Nussbaum also cited the 1997 Human Development Report by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to assert that 'no country treats its women as well as its men according to a complex measure that includes life expectancy, wealth and education' (Nussbaum 2000 2). Nussbaum sets out a goal in her version of the Capability Approach 'to go beyond the merely comparative use of the capability space to articulate an account of how capabilities, together with the idea of a threshold level can provide a basis for constitutional principles that citizens have a right to demand from their governments' (Nussbaum 2000 2).

I contend that the methodology by Nussbaum to use the lives of real human beings is a laudable attempt to formulate a more realistic framework of the Capability Approach. Again, Nussbaum's attempt to bring in the idea of a threshold of capabilities is important. This is because her approach uses the concept of human dignity and the human person and makes the Capability Approach applicable as a framework of analysis with which governments can set policy goals. Yet, she did not completely deal with the criticism that the Capability Approach lacks ontological grounding. Nussbaum's introduction of a threshold of capabilities or her idea of a social minimum of capabilities to an extent speaks to belongingness (Taylor 2006: 370; Gasper 2002: 444-452). However, it does not deal with the fundamental question of being, self-consciousness and how the women in India she worked with interpret the whole question of their being, humanity and human agency.

Therefore, my review and reading of Sen and Nussbaum side by side is for two main reasons. First, they set up and advance the claim that freedom, democracy and constitutional guarantees are the important condition under which freedoms can be realized and human development can be truly attained. Secondly, they see the human person as the unit of analysis but say little about being, self-consciousness, relationships

and community networks. Sen and Nussbaum see the human being as an agent free to 'be' and 'do' and so 'doing' seem to assume belongingness in the process without telling us how the agent gains 'self-consciousness' as a 'being' in relation to others.

It is against this background that my chapter identifies the qualitative research methodology to use and sets out how I collected and analysed primary data. The overall idea of the research which states that, 'what people value determines their development' required empirical evidence for me to be able to draw conclusions. Chapter Three is a follow-on from the development discourse set out in Chapter One and later in Chapter Two on institutions. Here, I will present the methodology, methods and approaches I use to collect and analyse primary data and how I arrive at the conclusion I am drawing. This is important because the need to understand what people value and their institutions as key concepts and themes must come from the people researched.

Qualitative methodology spells out 'aposteriori' processes of generating data using quality as a focus to be able to bring out narratives from people, their perception and feelings. The first section of the chapter sets out the methodological approach and is closely followed by a section on data collection methods, and phases of data collection. The methods of data analysis, coding system and data presentation show how I limit the subjectivity of the researcher. I did this by showing how I generate data and how this information is coded, analysed and presented. In the last section of the chapter I will present the methodological and theoretical framework that will guide the entire research and how I am applying it.

A Method and Approach to defining the Concept of Development

The Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA) has the overall goal of ensuring that people and what they value is at the centre of the development endeavour. However, the Capability Approach also needs to first of all define the term 'development'. Development as a concept is not the easiest to define because it relates to the intrinsic value people place on their social, political, economic, spiritual and cultural environment. This is why a combination of theoretical methodologies and methods of data collection and analysis will discover and explain the aspirations of people with respect to what they value. Development as a term needs to be understood from the context and realities people live in and this requires understanding specific contexts. Alkire and Deneulin (2009) also assert that the term development is 'value laden' and must be situated within a context for us to understand and appreciate it. Alkire and Deneulin concluded that development should not be viewed like the development of a child growing up or completing unfinished software in the laboratory because it is not that simplistic.

Edwards and Fowler (2002: 6) see social change as the ultimate goal of development. They defined development very broadly to mean 'a world without poverty, violence, injustice and discrimination'. However, Edwards and Fowler say that at the heart of social change is the question of values and values pose a deep dilemma for development experts. In other words, they emphasized that this creates a dichotomy of values of the 'developer' and those of the place of 'intended development'. Edwards and Fowler conclude that the 'developer imposes a management structure with a set of values such as democracy, participation, rule of law (non-discrimination) and freedom (empowerment)' on the place of intended development. Edwards and Fowler (2002: 6-10) go on to say that development in some aspects entails more material possessions and 'prosperity': such as having money, assets like land, cars, houses, and clothes. Yet

for others, development is about liberation from captivity and suppression, like colonialism or the slave trade. They say the term development is sometimes even likened to neo-colonialism and imperialism and then rejected. Other people see development as a transformation or holistic change in the personal, social and spiritual development of human endeavour.

Cowen and Shenton (1996), on the other hand, defined development as 'the means to carry out a nation's development goals' and promoting 'economic growth', equality and national self-reliance'. But I must stress here that just like Cowen and Shenton, this definition of development immediately implies a certain connotation which comes from the way that a certain 'badge' is placed on development as if it is a source external to the action and supposed to bring about development. Staudt (1991), on the other hand, defined development by stating that 'development is a process of enlarging people's choices; of enhancing participatory democratic processes and the ability of people to have a say in the decisions that shape their lives; of providing human beings with the opportunity to develop their fullest potential and of enabling the poor, women, and free independent peasants to organise for themselves and work together'. By defining development this way, Staudt brought in new twists to the thinking about development. He brought in aspects of participation, empowerment, decision and choice, yet, this is still subjective action but only this time it is combined with the subject of development not as an object of development. Staudt (1991) concluded:

> But for choice to be exercised, let alone enlarged, it is assumed that there is the desire and capacity to choose as well as knowledge of possible choices. These three components of choice are routinely assumed to be as much preconditions for the development process as the goal in which the process results. If any one of these conditions is regarded as missing, then it is that gap which development is involved to bridge. For instance, either people have power to exercise choice, in which case there is no cause for empowerment, or they do not and the task of empowerment is that of the logical problem of development.

If choice is essential in the process of defining development, then I will set out to explore what development is from the viewpoint and choices of the people. However, I will state that Staudt's definition stands out for its unique elements of participation, empowerment, decision-making and choice. The contention here is that if the poor are unable to choose their development aspirations, then development negates participation and choice. The power to decide and choose is removed from poor people in the development process. The context of development should be the source that determines the result and the result of development should not be determined by a priori deductions before the action. Alkire and Deneulin, (2009: 32) also posit that 'the Capability Approach raises the issue of what processes, group, philosophical structure or institution has the legitimate authority to decide what people value'. They said the Capability Approach is a descriptive term as it relates to the real and actual possibilities open to a given person. The Capability Approach needs to also deal with the problematic term 'choices' itself because of the variation in cultures. Alkire and Deneulin conclude that people may sometimes value making some choices together as a family or a community and not individually. Again, many capabilities are necessarily the outcome of joint process, not individual decisions. Staudt (1991) also concludes that 'solidarity and equity are the source and starting point while development and growth may be considered the result'.

My presentation of the difficulty in defining the term development here is to enable me to see the challenge that the research will be facing in trying to choose a methodology that adequately guides the researcher to discover knowledge. The criticism against the Capability Approach of lacking ontological grounding is strong (Taylor 2006: 370; Gasper 2002: 444-452). Any approach aiming at producing findings and results that overcome this methodological gap must be carefully explained. A research into culture,

institutions, tradition, values and norms in relation to identifying what people value is a complex endeavour. However, by identifying an approach to use and carefully explaining it will solve methodological questions because the finding of the research will be based on the choice of methodology. It is against this background that I will carefully present below and explain the research methodology. I also present the conceptual framework I use and explain how I apply it all throughout.

Research Methodology

I adopt and use qualitative research methodology as an exploratory approach to participatory data gathering and analysis. According to Berg (1989), quality refers to the what, how, when, and where of a thing, its essence and ambience. Berg concludes that qualitative research methodology thus refers to the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of things.

My choice of qualitative methodology is to step back, listen and understand what people value, know their perception and feelings of what they say they value. The use of this methodology is also to enable me to apply a combination of theoretical approaches that would assist me as a researcher unveil meanings attached to concepts. Qualitative methodology will highlight what Warner (2003: 2) calls taken for granted values and norms that rural communities value. In this way, the exploratory analyses are an approach to learning from the context. This is because qualitative methodology begins with familiarizing one's self with the issue, context and people and asks questions with a view to examining options and possibilities.

I argue that contrary to the Capability Approach suggesting terms and concepts about what people value, an exploratory qualitative methodology is applied to discover what

people say they value. This exploratory qualitative approach to issues of development gets into the minds of people by applying learning from the social context to understand how people feel, their perception before establishing what people value. It is in this approach that themes or domains are identified and highlighted for further understanding the issues of development (Piercy et al. 2011). Therefore, qualitative research seeks answers consistent with local settings like social structure, institutions, values, roles and responsibilities.

Again, my choice of the qualitative research methodology is because it has different scientific approaches to discovering and investigating social and cultural patterns and meaning in communities, institutions, and other social settings. In qualitative research, the researcher begins with an early or rudimentary version of a formative theory or a research model. According to Trotter and Schensul (1998), a formative theory includes an issue or problem central to the study. It starts with a research topic or research problem to be addressed in a localized population. It also relates ideas about which components of the physical, social, and institutional environment causes, predict, or are associated with the central problem. According to Trotter and Schensul, formative theory then serves as a map that guides the research and provides an opportunity for generating initial hypotheses or assumptions against which observations are made. Formative models are then used to discover what people do and why before assigning meaning to behaviour and beliefs. People's perspectives then form the foundation for building local theories that can be tested, linked to scientific literature, and adapted or enhanced for use elsewhere (Miles and Huberman 1994: 434, Johnson 1998: 132, Trotter and Schensul 1998: 696-698).

I seek to understand traditional and informal ways of organizing by rural communities based on what people say they value, their norms, institutions and belief systems. Therefore, to do this requires the analysis of components of the social, physical, and institutional arrangement within a cultural context. According to Schensul et al. (1999: 3), the focus of social ethnographic research is culture. Determining which cultural domains make up a particular culture and is relevant to a particular research topic or question involves an innovative mix of qualitative and quantitative methods. A cultural domain (Schensul et al. 1999: 3) is a set of items, behaviour, belief, or events defined by cultural groups as belonging to the same category of things. These become the basic units of meaning that shape how people conceptually organize their worlds.

Qualitative approaches, therefore, depend on preferences of the people towards a more holistic understanding of development needs. In the course of the research, I will select themes and domains as dimensions of human development that people mention that they value to become the bases for forming models upon which to draw conclusions. I use research methods that enable me to collect and collate data from the field based on what people say they value. In the section below I describe what type of research method I use to enable me draw conclusions based on what people say they value.

Research Method

I will use Focus Group Discussion (FGD) in this research as a method of participatory data gathering and serendipitous learning (Piercy et al. 2011). FGDs involve an interactive group discussion of 6 to 12 people on a particular topic within a permissive, non-threatening environment (Krueger & Casey, 2000). Researchers use focus groups to understand participants' opinions on a particular topic (Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999; Morgan, 1992). The open-response format and synergistic snowballing effect of group

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discussion often resulted in rich data. This would have been impossible through individual interviews or more quantitative methods (Stewart, Shamadasani, & Rook, 2007).

The main advantage FGDs offer (Morgan: 1999) is the opportunity to observe a large amount of interaction or acquire information from a collection of people on a topic in a limited period of time. According to Brand (1990:11), answering a research question is not entirely an academic exercise but participatory processes for everyone to have a say by expressing his or her views. It is for this reason that I chose FGDs because its results are usually practical and participants typically enjoy the focus group experience (Piercy & Hertlein, 2005) because it allows them room to say what they value. The key to this ability is the researcher's control over the assembly and running of the group session by dissagreggating respondents. But this control is also the single largest disadvantage of FGDs because it may limit discussions when people tend to express sentiments rather than analysing issues.

I agree with the critics of FGDs regarding unnatural social settings. Another area of sensitivity to focus group interviews also has to do with whether these interviews are tape-recorded and taboo topics are discussed. However, my choice and use of FGD as a data collection tool also depends on the topic at hand that requires people to say what they value. How sensitive the discussion is and amount of disclosure required is a determination in the course of the research. The criticism of the FGD is valid when the topic at hand leads participants to reveal a sizable amount of information about the personal lives of respondents. But since my research topic of human development does not involve taboo topics that people will ordinarily keep private, participants tended to provide a sizable amount of information in their responses during the group discussions.

However, to overcome the challenge of confidentiality, power dynamics and disclosure in a public space, I also made use of individual interviews to follow up cultural topics considered sensitive. This is to enable the understanding of issues more personal to the participants in a 'safe space' (Morgan: 1999).

Morgan (1999) states that the two principle means of collecting qualitative data in the social sciences had been individual interviews and Participant Observation (PO) in groups. But he stated that Focus Group Discussion (FGD) now combines elements of both of these better-known approaches and this is the reason why I made the choice to use FGDs. This is because focus groups have the intermediate nature of a group position within the existing set of qualitative methods but also they possess a distinctive identity of their own. I agree with Morgan that while focus groups cannot substitute wholly for the other methods of data collection, they provide access to forms of data that are not obtained entirely with either of the other two methods.

I also made the choice to use FGDs because dealing with sensitive topics like values and institutions required plans to encourage as much discussion while ensuring confidentiality of information by codification. Once participants notice that the researcher is genuinely interested in learning about their experiences and feelings it becomes easier to share openly. But culture and values are sensitive topics and require the researcher to go behind ethnocentrism. I guided participants to analyse sets of cultural practices they considered harmful without judging their context. Researching what people value can be personal, so the choice of FGD as a data gathering technique fits the topic at hand. In this regard, the topic, research area and the issue under investigation determined the choice of data collection methods.

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The choice of FGD is the desire to understand institutions and what people value from the people researched. FGDs seek to generate information about culturally patterned beliefs and behaviour and the reasons accounting for behavioural and other forms of diversity within groups. The core principles of the Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA) form the initial paradigm to organize the inquiry. The Human Development and Capability Approach (HCDA) has its premise on what people value and ideals people cherish and perceive as valuable to their development needs (Alkire and Deneulin, 2009: 29). In this process, cultural themes or domains were selected by the respondents and viewed as relating to some problems that groups of people agree is in need of a solution. Creating this focus (Johnson, 1998: 132) calls for selecting one or more core themes to form initial paradigms to organize the inquiry and for building a formative theory.

Description of Data Collection Phases

The data collection and fieldwork have two main phases namely: first data collection phase and second data collection phase. I also set aside time for observation and reflection on data across the two phases of data collection. The focus of the first data collection phase is on making the interviewees define the term development and what they see as development from their own perception. To this end, the Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA) and what people value are used as the formative themes to guide the fieldwork. The reason for collecting data on the concept of human development, poverty and what people value is to enable the researcher gain an understanding of the perception of these concepts. This bottom up understanding will guide me as a researcher in getting into the minds of the people being researched and enable me to identify themes as mentioned by the interviewees to not only guide the second phase of data collection but also to dig deeper into the interpretation of the

concepts and themes identified. To this end, the focus of the second phase of data collection is built on the themes identified and described by the interviewees as valuable in enabling the researcher to get to the point of understanding the development aspirations of the people researched. How do people define the concepts of 'human' and 'development' in relation to human development as an approach? This question is important for the research because the identified themes, definitions and understanding by interviewees of how human agency, capability and functioning are interpreted formed the basis for analysis to draw conclusions from the viewpoint of the people researched. I also set aside time to reflect on the data from the field to enable me as a researcher to critically engage with the existing literature and the assumptions of the Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA) around agency, capability and functioning in relation to primary sources. This also enabled me to create a formative conceptual framework using primary source data on what people identified that they value in relation to the Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA) in North Central Nigeria.

First Data Collection Phase: Identifying what People Value, Contextual Themes and Dimensions

In this first data collection phase, I identified themes and dimensions around what people said they value. The Human Development and Capability Approach (HCDA) uses what people value as the bases for development planning and implementation by specifying theoretical principles. But this phase of data collection enabled me to further identify themes in accordance with what people said they value from empirical data. The identified contextual themes and dimensions were used as a formative analytical framework for collecting and analysing qualitative data about what people value, in relation to poverty and development. My main aim here was to collect data on key

themes the people said they value that are instrumentally important to their development within the research context. (Oxford's Department of International Development (OPHI, www.ophi.org.uk).

In this first stage of data collection, I also made use of identified themes during the fieldwork to see what principles guide their development thought. I made us of this method to see if the people researched would mention the HDCA principles of equality, efficiency, participation/empowerment and sustainability so as to cross-reference themes and their interpretation (Clark 2002). My aim in this phase was also to confront questions of 'key freedoms' of the agent: 1) what philosophical underpinning decide key freedoms people value and, 2) the need to explore further the understanding of these said 'key freedoms' by the people being researched. This is because the Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA) talk about freedom and agency. According to Johnson (1998: 132) and Schensul et al. (1999: 3), the selection of initial themes in a research of this kind is to organize the inquiry and help the researcher to concentrate observations and interviews and to organize information into a coherent framework. A sample of the FGD interview guide is attached as an appendix.

I recruited and trained data collectors and note-takers to speed up transcribing field notes taken during FGDs. The selection of interviewees was preceded by an awareness of the entire community of what the research topic, the aim of the research and the mutual benefits the research portend to both the researcher and the entire community. This was to affirm the understanding of the community on the aim of the research and reduce suspicion about what the results of the research would be used for. The clarification of the research aim at the onset helped with the selection of Focus Group participants in the Mbaadigam community of Benue state, where the first stage of data

collection took place. To select the FGD participants I provided the age categorization in order to enable the selection of the FGD participanst from the plenary at the village arena during the sensitization meeting with the entire community by community members themselves. The selection was by the community members because I would not know the ages of people in the community so is was best for the community to debate amongst themselves and come up with the participants. I made it clear to the community and would-be FGD participants that selection and participation in the research was voluntary. The age categorization was 18 to 29, 30 to 49 and 50 years and above. The age category of 18 to 29, 30 to 49 had both male and female sets. The fifth FGD was a mix of the old and young as well as male and female community members to enable me to validate the responses from the earlier FGDs. Participants were disaggregated by age and gender because of cultural sensitivities for two main reasons: first, women and youths do not feel free to express themselves openly in the presence of adult men (known as elders or community leaders). Secondly, research about community values, culture and beliefs requires a cross-section of views from younger and older generations. A total of 5 FGDs and 45 follow-up individual in-depth interviews immediately after the FGDs were carried out in this phase. The FGD with adult-males had 9 participants whereas the youth-male FGD had 11 participants. The adult-female FGD had 8 whereas the youth-female FGD had 6 participants. The total for the four FGDs was 34 respondents. The fifth FGD had 47 participants during the validation FGD. This brings the overall total of FGD participants in the 5 FGDs to 81 and 45 follow-up IDIs. The validation process was to cross-check with the wider community members if the themes identified during the research represent the entire community in a fair manner. Again, the validation was a space created for the wider community members to refute claims made during FGDs and individual interviews and/or make additions if any.

The categorizations indicate that older participants were predominately farmers and a few pensioners while the youths had farmers, students and artisans. I opened the space in analysis of the data from the understanding of concepts and standpoint of the four different communities researched. The fifth FGD that served as validation was a general community meeting but was a useful data validation exercise. This is because the researcher cannot interview the entire community members but the communities then have this general FGD as an opportunity to make input into the research. This is important because the formative themes are conceptual models that will represent the whole community being researched.

Second Data Collection Phase

In the second phase of data collection, I made use of the identified themes from the first data collection phase to form the research map. In this second phase, I made use of In-depth Interviews (IDIs) building on the themes from the FGD analysis in phase one of the research. My focus was not to look for essentials or make judgements but to select indicative patterns of relationships as domains of what people say they value to become the bases for drawing conclusions as formative models (Wan 2006). This approach is also in keeping with the social constructionist theory (Bur 2003) which is principally concerned with explicating the process by which people come to describe, explain, or otherwise account for their world. In sociology, patterns of social interaction produce meanings and interpretation of social reality are drawn from such an understanding.

The process of drawing up formative models enabled me to come up with research models to enable cross-references. A research model is a diagrammatic representation of the relationships among components, while cross-referencing is the interpretative meanings and linkages amongst the relationships (Trotter and Schensul, 1998). The model identified values, norms, institutions, and the beliefs that communities value in relation to flourishing and development. The understanding of the communities researched was analysed in relation to the general principles of the Human Development and Capability Approach (HCDA). This formed the early rudimentary formative perceptions of the communities researched that paved the way for me in cross-referencing the themes.

I made use of In-Depth interviews (IDIs) in the second phase of data collection in Benue, Nasarawa, Plateau, Kaduna states and Abuja in the North Central geo-political zone. Some part of the data collection was also collected in parts of North West and East geo-political zone of Nigeria. A total of 22 IDIs were conducted and observations carried out. This approach enabled me to have a more detailed description of what people said they value, their beliefs, institutions, perception, and their motivations in relation to identified themes I was cross-referencing.

Observations and Reflections on Field Data

This observation phase was not in my initial plan for data collection. However, the amount of information I gathered made me create this 'data reflection phase' to enable me to introduce reflexive analysis on data I already collected to support the marrying of primary and secondary data in my final analysis. This phase was serendipitous and with individuals working with different international and local development or charity

organizations, government ministries, departments or agencies. This phase was deliberately kept unsystematic but it was used to create a synergistic understanding towards answering the series of research questions based on the themes and domains identified, research model and cross-references being developed. Another set of random/unsystematic group discussion (FGDs) were also carried out and used to get a broad perception of responsiveness and accountability of government to the needs of citizens. According to Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Schensul et al. (1999: 3), this process of constant comparison of concepts that emerge in the field was to check against initial formative models and allow for modification of the formative conceptual theory. Content analysis and a review of relevant literature was also used as secondary sources of data collection and analysis to complement primary data findings.

Method of Data Analysis

It is my stated aim to come up with a data collection and analysis method that will overcome the criticism that the Capability Approach lacks ontological grounding. This can only be possible with methods that allow me the leverage to listen to the voices of the people being researched from the bottom-up.

However, many qualitative researchers consider it impossible to transform beliefs or behaviour into numbers during data analysis. Schensul et al. (1999: 4-5) argue for the collection and integration of both forms of data-qualitative and quantitative. Both qualitative (defined as descriptions in words) and quantitative (numerical) data are vital parts of qualitative research endeavour. I am in agreement with Schensul et al. that understanding this broader or macro-context is essential in order to situate local experiences and cultural observation. Some aspects of the context can be better conveyed quantitatively to describe what constitute an essential component of human

behaviour. I used numerical listings to convey more accurately my presentations using figures or tables than mere words could describe.

On the other hand, detailed textual description may convey better a sense of history, culture, politics, and social position of the group under study and its institutions. According to Schensul et al. (1999: 4-5), both quantitative and qualitative data provide the cross-checks (triangulation) that ensure that the numerical data are a valid and effective representation of phenomena. At the same time, quantitative data provide the external validity that enables ethnographic researchers to generalize appropriately from their qualitative data. Without a descriptive context numerical data have little meaning.

It is against this background that initial theoretical or conceptual themes and models I have identified from all the phases of primary data collection will help me to organize observations and findings into units, patterns and structures as part of data analysis. This will help me to attribute meaning to otherwise disconnected social elements. According to Schensul et al. (1999: 3) and Johnson (1998: 132, 1990), the end result of this process is a modification of the formative theory. That is why I use 'free-listing' as a research approach to elicit cultural domains. For example, Schensul et al. (1999: 3) state that respondents could be asked to list all 'foods that help a person stay thin'. The results would be a qualitative list of such foods. If the list is compared across respondents, the foods could be ranked in terms of the frequency with which they mentioned and their mean rank (order of mention). Respondents then could be asked to sort the most frequently mentioned items into groups based on affinity (pile sorts) or listings.

This kind of analysis of data would produce a quantitatively generated cognitive map. A cognitive map (Schensul et al. 1999: 3) is a display that illustrates how people organize

their thinking about items in a cultural domain. The data obtained through interviews and observations about people's eating patterns and choices would then help the researcher to interpret the relationship of this quantitatively derived cognitive map of foods to body size of individual respondents or groups of respondents (Schensul et al. 1999: 3). It is in following with the explanation of Schensul et al. that I then use modified Venn diagrams, tabulations and free listing of values and elements of culture. This is an analytical tool to aid analysis done at the point of data collection alongside community members to enable me create cognitive maps. The search for patterns in the analysis of data made use of dependent, independent and mediating domains to permit movement from the abstract to the concrete.

The term dependent domain (Schensul et al. 1999: 29) refers to that change in response to variations in other domains. The independent domains precede the dependent domain in terms of presumed causality, as change in the independent domains is unaffected by change in the dependent domain. An example Schensul et al. give is the exposure to media through television and movies (the independent domain) that is believed to have a negative influence on adolescent drinking behaviour (the dependent domain) because it portrays positive images associated with the use of alcohol. However, changes in exposure to the media are not likely to occur because of changes in adolescent drinking. This could be as a result of mediating domains or factors such as parental control over use of television or movie attendance (or an increase in the cost of video and movies), are likely to change adolescent media exposure. In this way, mediating domains modify, come between, or intervene in the normal or direct relationship between independent and dependent domains.

My data collection design took place in two main phases, with the first phase using FGDs and the second using individual interviews. From the first phase of data collection, I noted that the discussion of values was better done collectively instead of using individual interviews. This was because the FGDs had more space for collective discussions and produced varying opinions and analysis to enrich responses. But culture and values are sensitive topics and require researchers to go behind ethnocentrism. So, data analysis commenced from the point of data collection with respondents clarifying themes. I made participants analyse those sets of cultural practices in relation to human development as I moved from one context during data collection to another. This also enabled collective analysis of themes to highlight patterns of behaviour and practice in the community over time. In this way I facilitated the FGDs and interview discussions to enable respondents reach views considered more representative of the wider community in question. This also gave room for varying opinions on themes and issues identified and how others viewed them. The subsequent research phases modified the interview questions based on emerging themes from the first research phase in order to deepen analytical discussions.

The presentation of data made use of an approach known as tree diagramming. Tree diagramming (Weller, 1998: 365, Bernard, 2006: 523) involves organizing information into tables or hierarchical taxonomies in which items are subsumed under broader categories. This involved 'unpacking' the domains into component parts at each level in the hierarchy of abstraction, that is, factors, sub-factors, and variables. This approach established categories for coding of textual data and also permits movement from the concrete back to the abstract. Again, qualitative decision modelling was used and this was based on asking questions, sorting out some logical rules about how the questions have to be ordered. Then this was laid out in a picture (like a tree or Venn diagram) or

in writing to allow low literate respondents to analyse categories. The qualitative analysis method was mainly adopted for this research using the modified Venn diagram but I also made use of some quantitative tabulations.

A System to guarantee Anonymity

The selection of FGD participants was at plenary during a sensitization of the entire community about the research topic, aim and age categorization of FGD participants. I made it clear to the community and would-be FGD participants that selection and participation in the research was voluntary. This was to ensure that all participants to the FGD understood and gave verbal consent before the FGDs proceeded. In the light of the above, a good coding system was put in place because research into what people value makes for an interesting discussion but can also touch on sensitive community values, beliefs and institutions. Dealing with sensitive topics requires the researcher to make plans to encourage discussion but with confidentiality by coding that will ensure anonymity. A maximum of 12 and minimum of 6 participants were present for the FGDs and each participant was given a number tag. The number tags were used in place of names as a coding system for data analysis and this was to ensure the confidentiality and anonymity of respondents in all documents and materials by using the numbers to represent the respondents. Participants also sat in a semi-circle for an adequate observation of body language. This also ensured adequate eye contact with each of the respondents themselves, the interviewer and note-takers. The sitting arrangement was also to enable the note-takers to easily see the number tags of the respondents for effective note-taking.

When the coding system was explained, participants became more interested in openly sharing their experiences and feelings. So, I used observations to read body language and followed up selected respondents individually to further clarify sensitive themes highlighted during the FGDs. As sensitive interview topics made community members uncomfortable, the FGDs were carried out with selected individuals privately. This was also to ensure data protection and to offer a guarantee to the interviewee that information provided will be handled discretely and with utmost respect and confidentiality. However, I used the name of the research location on documents. The same coding approach was used for IDIs.

Method of limiting the Subjective Self of the Researcher

I defined the inquiring-self as a development worker doing academic research and taking into account the constantly changing nature of social reality. I agree with Johnson (2009: 59-60) that 'the inquiring self in this research is a biographically situated researcher and reflecting how the location and values have impacted the conduct of the research'. It is for this reason that I chose empirical methods of data gathering and analysis to help superimpose data on the inquiring self. The work of the researcher with an international charity within the research location makes it a familiar theatre and gave birth to the research interest and motivation. Writing about a familiar area immediately brought forward the problematic of the 'investigating self'. For this research as a development worker doing research, I had the sole aim of understanding and subsequently improving practice (Borthwick et al.: 2010).

My work in the locality of the research as a development worker with international development charities confronted another problematic of objectivity. Put simply, the

objective world that the self is describing and analysing is inclusive of the inquiring-self. Thus, the inquiring-self is firmly located within the material and historical worlds that the researcher is trying to make sense of through the research. Furthermore, this inquiring-self is not a passive and non-active self but rather dynamic, active and becoming. Therefore, the researcher was the primary tool of data collection and paid attention to issues of biases and accuracy of data from a wide range of information. However, I did not set out to cross-check formative theory to determine whether it was right or wrong. Instead the researcher (1) expands and fills in the model, (2) discovered the qualitative and quantitative associations among domains or variables, (3) matched the expected results derived from the formative theory with the observed results that accrued from that data collection process (Schensul et al. 1999: 3).

Again, the amount of information generated from research more often than not overwhelmed me and the choice was between 'how much is too little or too much' to include or discard. This choice questioned the judgement of the researcher, my reliability, discretion and subjectivity. This becomes even more delicate because the researcher is both an observer and a development worker doing academic research and is required to give the right weight to variations. According to Fuchs (2001:4), the major question is how cultures and observers do their work. Fuchs said this interest is mere differences between modes of relating to the world, not constants or universals. If there are constants, this is because they are being held constant by an observer. When this happens, essences appear along with things-in-themselves or natural kinds. Fuchs then concludes that essences prosper in the deep core of cultures where they house that which they cannot even consider let alone deconstruct.

The question of culture is another concept in the research that needs situating by the researcher. Culture is defined as ideas, beliefs and values that form the worldview and

conceptual framework of particular people. Ayisi (1997: 1) sees culture as comprising the way of behaving; it is the way we do things. Another aspect of culture he explains is the means by which we do things like implements, artefacts, paintings, figurines for religious observances, and all the integrative forces such as religion are elements of culture. Ecological factors also influence human behaviour; therefore, culture has a symbolic affinity with the environment, including geographical factors. The research into culture, values, beliefs and norms, therefore, touches on what people cherish and hold dear and this can easily lead to essentialism. Essentialism (Fuchs 2001: 4) holds that things are what they are because that is their nature, essence, or definition. But Oderberg (2007: 18) said this in itself brings about unnecessary complications.

I use Fuchs' (2001: 4) sociological approach to overcoming essentialism by looking at cultural constructivism that is sensitive to and accepts variations and drives one towards explaining differences. According to Fuchs, the sociological tool for scientific understanding of culture and society looks at systems and networks. Systems and networks are relational and the focus is to observe patterns of social relations. In this way, what things are they are for an empirical observer and what these things can do depends on how they are related to things of a similar or even different sort. This more structural sort of constructivism does not deny the world, truth, or an external reality, rather, it acknowledges variations in the processes and outcomes. Fuchs states that the implication is that while all cultures are constructed, not all of them are constructivist in the sense of understanding themselves. Fuchs gives examples of instances a culture might become so strong and widespread that it turns into a 'dominant' or hegemonic culture. It is more realist about itself and insists on its being not 'just a construct'. At other times, cultures are much more fragmented and uncertain about their identities.

I see the notion of systems and networks (Fuchs 2001: 4) to appear promising in limiting the self in research. Systems and networks both start with the assumption that

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everything could be otherwise or different from what it is. That is-what things are depends on the other things to which they are connected. What something means for example, depends on a host of variables, including context, situations, and place. The question is not, for example, whether persons and their actions are or are not rational. Instead, my interest is finding out under what conditions 'rationality' emerges as a possibility. And again, when there is more or less of rationality, provided we can agree on what it means to be or act rationally. Fuchs (2001: 4) stated that merging systems and network theory yielded a theory of social structure that distinguishes four social observers: encounters, groups, organizations, and networks. Society takes place in these modes of association. He concluded that none of these concepts could be explained in terms of actors, agency, actions, or individual intentions alone.

This realization of the variations and the sensitivity of the area or topics around culture and values made me aware of the need to give the right weight to varying ideas. This is the reason why a combination of FGD and individual interviews with groups, associations and networks is preferred over other known methods. Again, I made use of and check issues of reliability and trustworthiness of data and analyses right from the point of data collection in the field. Respondents do the analysis of data from the field and the transcribed notes with cross-references, mediating factors and relationships are the areas I identify by myself as the researcher. I usually ask questions that make rural communities analyse their cultures, values and identify those that promote or could become an obstacle to human development.

Guiding Theoretical Framework

Alkire and Deneulin (2009: 27) state that the application of the Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA) will benefit from the combination of various

theories. I also agree with this position because functional-theoretical approaches like the Capability Approach have ideas in explaining reality that are sometimes abstract. However, the criticism that the Capability Approach lacks ontological grounding stems from its top-down functional-theoretical explanation of reality in abstraction. Another area in which a combination of theories to explain reality is necessary is the fact that the top-down functional-theoretical approaches can become a blend with bottom-up practical-relational approaches. This is because bottom-up practical-relational approaches are rooted in experiences of the people based on their reality and this makes them concrete due to its explanation of day-by-day reality of people by the people themselves.

I will adopt the social constructionist theory with insights from Habermas's life world and system theory to demonstrate how knowledge is generated or socially constructed. The abstract formulations by functional-theoretical approaches are not only considered top-down but also are silent on historical experiences of people and social context in the process of explaining reality. Secondly, functional-theoretical approaches like the Capability Approach in development studies often defined the concept of 'development' and assume development in the process. But practical-relational approaches seek to allow the people say what they see, value and consider as development.

Social Constructionist Theory: A Social Constructionist Inquiry to knowing

I will use the social constructionist theory as a theoretical framework that seeks to uncover social practices from context and use the experiences therein to explain reality. Social constructionist theory is a sociological theory of knowledge that considers how social phenomena develop in social contexts. Social constructionist inquiry (Bur 2003)

is principally concerned with explicating the process by which people come to describe, explain, or otherwise account for the world (including themselves) in which they live. Social constructionist theory has its strengths at objective and process levels of explaining reality and will form an analytical framework for this study. Social constructionist inquiry pays attention to what people feel, their social context, systems and the processes involved.

According to Layder (1995: 186), Habermas adopted a critical philosophical approach to culture and literature to confront the social, historical, and ideological forces and structures that produce and constrain society. Habermas' approach to the construction of social reality uses what he calls lifeworld and system theory also called 'Theory of Communicative Action' to explain phenomena. Theory of Communicative Action is concerned with human freedom and the way it has been curtailed through forms of domination and social repression in the modern world. It also looks at diagnosing and identifying the nature of social change that is necessary in order to produce a just and democratic society.

In the Lifeworld theory, Habermas (1987: 220) says people use 'validity claims' of three 'worlds': objectivity (best external and factual way of achieving desired results), social norms (validity of claims based on the normative rightness of what is argued) and lastly, subjective experience (based on the sincerity and authenticity of a person's advice to another). Habermas (1987: 220-5) acknowledges that in the real world, there are no such neat boundaries but our activities and ideas are related to the institutional, economic and cultural structure of the society in which we live. Communicative rationality is what Habermas sees as the way in which people in interaction are preoccupied with reaching an understanding.

Brand (1990:11) explains that Habermas draws attention to the fact that people come together in encounters primarily to achieve some understanding on the basis of which further interaction may proceed. So, language plays a vital role in this and is the distinctive characteristic of humans as opposed to animals. Humans use language as a communicative device with which to achieve consensus. Brand (1990:11) wrote, 'in a situation in which all participants are free to have their say and have equal chances to express their views, thus there is in language an in-built thrust for the achievement of what Habermas calls the 'ideal speech situation' in which discourse can fully unfold its potential for rationality'.

Communicative action is, therefore, informed by strategic action and motivated by practical empirical concerns with the resulting action motivated through reason. I see that Habermas is trying to advance a critical theory but insists that it can not be a stand-alone approach because he says it is to incorporate systems theory into an overall framework that attempts to marry both systems and action theories. This also agrees with Alkire's and Deneulin's (2009: 27) position stated earlier that the Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA) will benefit from the combination of various theories. According to Layder (1995: 186-7), Habermas can be seen as more committed to traditional ideas, including Marxism. Layder says Habermas vehemently believed in the usefulness and necessity of such a general theory as means of identifying social trends and developmental processes that are of immense significance for critical theory.

A critique of social constructionism, in particular, and critical social theories, generally (Ratner 1989: 10, 211-230), is its maintenance that adult human emotions depend upon

social concepts. Social constructionists insist that emotions depend on social consciousness concerning when, where and what to feel as well as when, where and how to act and so on. According to Ratner, the social constructionist feels that culture provides a 'niche' or 'ethos' that is a set of guidelines for feelings. But Gergen (2003) counters the criticism by arguing that if our world is in a state of rapid flux, then what we need is not so much arduous counting of past events but sensitive and conscious social analysis. The kind of analysis that enables us to understand what is taking place from multiple standpoints that will help us to engage in dialogue with others from various walks of life and that will sensitize us to a range of possible futures.

My choice of social constructionist theory is the admission that the Capability Approach is incomplete and will benefit from a combination of theories to explain reality. Alkire and Deneulin (2009: 27) also state that to explain reality in the context of values, the Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA) outlines universal principles of development. These principles of development relate to what people value. But Alkire and Deneulin say that this immediately forces the interaction between the known general principles of the Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA) and unknown particularities to understanding what people value.

My choice of the social constructionist approach is also due to its critical way of thinking, approach and methods and its insistence to generate knowledge from the social context (a posteriori). Layder (1995) also agrees and states that Habermas's lifeworld and system theory has a synthesis that brings action and system theories together in social discourse. Layder (1995) points out that Herbermas is aware of the exploitative dominative effects associated with the spread of bureaucratic rationality in modern society. Similarly, Hebermas is aware of the limitations of conventional

scientific (positivistic) forms of reasoning in social analysis. He does not altogether reject the Enlightenment project of the search for rational understanding.

Habermas moves away from the kind of critical analysis of postmodern thought that rejects all aspects of modernity and forms of reason and creates an independent voice (Layder 1995: 187). Habermas, in this way, attempts a synthesis of embracing the work of old and later theoretical authors. This provides a unique approach to the study of society and earned him criticism from 'critical' theorists. He has also gained praise for his insights and courage to break away from dualism and mundane academic antagonisms and unnecessary ideological warfare. In this way, my choice of social constructionism with insights from life and systems theories is to seek a more exploratory approach to explaining phenomena.

In Chapter Two, I made reference to the institutionalist and culturalist schools as a social constructionist approach by Warner (2003: 2) and have applied it as a framework for analysis. According to Warner, the institutionalist school as a conceptual framework for analysis looks at the importance of historical and political structures that have influence on the social organization of a place. The culturalist school, on the other hand, focuses analysis on variances in values across cultures. However, Warner himself stresses the term 'cross-cultural learning' as a means to integrate both the institutional and cultural schools in the course of analysis and understanding social phenomena. The idea of combining theories and analytical approaches to explaining social phenomena is truly appealing to me because of the complexity of determining what people value. However, social constructionist approaches also realize that holistic approaches (sometimes referred to as whole system approaches) are better in explaining social changes.

Conclusion

I have been able to present a methodological approach that looks into the second of the two main criticisms against the Capabilities Approach that the Capability Approach is abstract and lacks ontological grounding. I have also presented the qualitative methodology in this chapter to address the second aim to demonstrate that the presentation by Sen and Nussbaum of a Capability Approach (development theory) that is 'fully human' is an important starting point but they pay one-sided attention to 'doing' (the functional-theoretical realm) and only pay marginal attention to 'being' (the practical-relational realm).

For this reason, I made use of qualitative methodology to seek answers consistent with institutions and values and the social context of the research. According to the Oxford Poverty and Hunan Development Initiative (OPHI, www.ophi.org.uk):

> Poverty and wellbeing are multidimensional concepts that involve all aspects of a person's experience of life. To combat poverty effectively, we need to understand its causes. Our measure not only identifies who is poor and how poor they are, it tells us what the major drivers of poverty are among different groups of people. For example, access to drinking water may rank as the major contributor to poverty in rural areas of a country, whereas poverty in urban areas may be driven by education. Data on people's freedoms is needed to guide and evaluate development actions…this information is highly valuable for policy makers in deciding where to focus resources.

The quotation above shows that the Human Development and Capability Approach (HCDA) is a shift in paradigm from early development theories that measured development based on income and other quantitative measures. This shift in paradigm also touches on how a certain body of knowledge and knowing is pitched between a posteriori and a priori approaches. I, therefore, made use of the social constructionist theory as 'a posteriori' approach where context and experience is applied to determine

knowledge in relation to what people said they value. Nigeria is a multicultural country with varied socio-economic and cultural values and sources of identity that development efforts need to understand. Nigeria (NACA 2008) has over 373 'ethnic groups', for example, and the need to understand these groups would benefit from a range of theoretical approaches and qualitative research methods for sound empirical results. The identification of themes in the course of the research is to find value frameworks and belief systems that are shared and see how my conclusions will be based on these dimensions. This methodological approach is important in order to ameliorate suspicions of subversion or perceived domination by 'minority' or even 'majority' groups in multicultural societies. While development planning is centralized, top-down and monolithic, development management may benefit from devolution to appeal broadly.

It is for these reasons that the research in a multicultural setting needs a methodological and conceptual groundwork to show how the research is done. The social constructionist approach will enable me to apply this methodological approach. In setting out the groundwork with regard to the first aim, I present historical literature in chapter two to show that the Capability Approach needs to ground itself in what Warner calls the institutionalist school as an approach. In addressing the second aim, I argue that top-down functional-theoretical approaches can blend with bottom-up practical-relational approaches to explain social reality. I argue here that while the Capability Approach provides useful insights into explaining reality it can also benefit from social constructionist theories in application.

I provide a historical background to address the first main criticism against the Capability Approach. The presentation here in Chapter Three will enable me to have a

research map that allows me to proceed to data collection in the field and identify themes that people say they value. This in itself is the background work to the overall aim to contribute to the development of a complementary model that blends top-down functional theoretical and bottom-up practical relational communitarian human development approaches.

Chapter Four

Presentation of Primary Data

Introduction

In this chapter, I focus on presenting primary data from the two main phases of fieldwork and data collection in two sections: one, the first data collection phase and two, the second data collection phase. Before explaining the data collection phases, I restate some of the academic debates and main conceptual areas in the data collection process.

In Chapter One, I stated that the Capability Approach like most theoretical approaches explains reality from the top-down functional-theoretical perspective. For this reason, the Capability Approach has been criticized for being abstract, lacking concreteness and lacking ontological grounding. To respond in part to these criticisms leveled against the Capability Approach, I reviewed the literature in Chapter Two to show that institutions as a key determinant of development are overlooked as Alkire and Deneulin (2009: 27) discovered while summarizing the 2005 World Bank Report. Again, in Chapter Two, I presented the difficulty of conceptualizing informally constituted institutions using the four levels enumerated by Williamson (2000: 597). This difficulty in understanding informal institutions is because informal institutions are defined as recurring patterns of social interaction and behaviour. This brings me back to my top-down functional-theoretical and bottom-up practical-relational realms conceptualization. I argued in Chapter Two that top-down functional-theoretical approaches are useful in their attempt to explain reality but are abstract. This abstract and non-concrete criticism speaks to the difficulty of applicability of top-down approaches to various contexts as well as the

difficulty of explaining informal institutions like values, norms, cultural beliefs, and tradition.

This is why in Chapter Three I presented a methodological and theoretical approach to explaining social reality using qualitative methodology and social constructionist approaches as response to this criticism. I also argued in Chapter Three that the process of identifying local themes using qualitative methodology is known as cross-referencing. Cross-referencing builds practical research models when explaining abstract concepts that are complex. This approach to explaining reality from context builds bottom-up practical-relational understanding of meanings and interpretation known as grounded theory. This will overcome the criticism against and complement the Capability Approach in its application in North Central Nigeria.

In this section of the data collection phase I focus on the question of what the development aspiration of the people and what do people say they value in their development. This starting point is important to identify themes from the context of the research that will form the bases upon which I will use to organize the second phase of data collection. In order to facilitate analysis, the first data collection phase made use of Focus Group Discussion (FGD) and the modified Venn diagramming approach to enable analysis with low literate respondents. This is considered particularly important to ensure the people identify what they say they value and use the modified Venn diagram to explain relationships and interaction. The first part of the chapter sets out what is considered as development by the respondents using the Capability Approach as a guide and research map. This is followed by an analysis of what people say they value in their development aspiration from their own context, reality and understanding. The

respondents also identify themes that they consider important to human agency, capability and functioning.

The last part of the chapter presents the second phase of field data collection by making use of the identified themes from the first phase of data collection to understand human agency, functioning and what is termed 'humanity in development'. The presentation of primary data in this chapter sets the stage to engage with the epistemological and ontological criticism against the Capability Approach. I use the findings from the two phases of the primary data to argue that what people value determines their development aspiration as well as the way they understand and interpret reality. This focus of the data collection process is also to get primary data on themes from North Central Nigeria on agency, capability and functioning. The data in the second part of this chapter focuses attention on the concept of 'human' as it relates to the development of the 'human being' as the subject matter of development.

Section One: First Data Collection Phase

Defining Poverty and Contextualizing Development through the Eyes of the Communities Researched

Defining the concept development has almost always been from a top-down functional-theoretical exercise (Clark 2002). My methodological and theoretical approach for this research, outlined in Chapter Three, clearly seeks to use the process of field data collection to make the communities researched bring out their understanding of the twin concepts of poverty and development. This is needed for a working definition as a framework and base for bottom-up analysis of abstract themes based on the understanding and interpretation from the communities being researched. The Focus

Group Discussion (FGD's) method of data collection made sure respondents came up with the local name(s) of 'development' and 'poverty'. This is then followed with interpretation and analysis of how the researched villages understand the concepts and what these concepts mean to them.

Defining Poverty and Development

The first questions during the FGD include: What is the local name(s) for poverty in this village? What is the local name for development in this village? What is your understanding and interpretation of these concepts? The definitions of poverty and development by the people is the first bottom-up step to painting a picture of what the people understand by the concepts. This is also to overcome the challenge of defining the concept 'development' from a top down functional-theoretical approach to see how the people themselves view their development aspirations without assuming development for them. The first phase data collection is from Mbaadigam villages in Benue state. But the second phase of data collection extended to other parts of Benue, Nasarawa, Plateau and Kaduna states and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja in North Central Nigeria. Data were also collected from North East and West geographical zones of Nigeria.

Poverty (Res.5-FGDM-1: 14/09/2012) is *ichan* meaning (Res.4-FGDM-1: 14/09/2012) lack, absence of or inadequacy of something needed. Another respondent (Res.7-FGDM-1: 14/09/2012) quickly added that poverty is *iban-ave:* meaning absence of what the agent needs and this they say leads to aimlessness or purposelessness. *iban-ave* can literally be interpreted as; 'idle hands' meaning when you lack you become 'aimless or purposeless'. The two words *'ichan'* and *iban-ave* are similar but the interpretation

and meaning have connotations that are onomatopoeic or metaphorical in meaning. The two words denoting poverty describe the disempowerment of the agent.

A respondent (Res.7-FGDM-1: 14/09/2012) elaborated further and stressed that if a farmer cannot afford fertilizer for his or her farm then i*chan* has disempowered them from earning a living since that is his/her source of income. From this analysis, the respondent emphasized that *ichan* is like an external 'force' acting to deny or depriving the farmer his or her desire to flourish. Therefore, it is the inability to access farm inputs like fertilizers that leads to *iban-ave*, disempowerment and hopelessness. In other words, fertilizer is an external force causing *ichan.* So, this presupposes that if the farmer gets farm inputs he/she needs his or her productivity will improve then *ichan* (poverty) will be gone and he or she will not be disempowered (*iban ave).* Another explanation (Res.7-FGDM-1: 14/09/2012) of poverty and disempowerment is:

> What you need might be there, but if you lack the purchasing power then you are poor. For instance an individual, who has kidney problem, may have the money to treat himself but if the hospital is not there he is poor. Money will not save him but if the hospital was there and he utilized his money to treat himself then that is the difference his money can make. Again, if the hospital is there but he can't afford its services he is again impoverished.

Development, on the other hand, is defined simply as *shagba* meaning 'wealth' or having assets (Res. 9, 5, 7-FGDM-1: 14/09/2012). Such assets could include dependents (people), food, money, clothes, land, and farm produce. The respondents explained that it is common for poorer people to go to a wealthy person to borrow clothes to attend festivals or occasions. *Shagba* is mostly associated with 'having money' but the respondents also explained that *shagba* is beyond merely having money but associated with 'fullness' called *'yough-yough'. Yough-yough'* is interpreted to mean self-actualization. Therefore, having people around you like children, relations, kinsmen, and extended family members is valued as much as riches. A respondent (Res. 7-FGDM-1: 14/09/2012) elaborated:

'*Shagba*' (fullness) is contentment and suggests that the person is man of the people. So wealth is different from riches in terms of money. *Shagba* means wealth or fullness. It is like self-actualization. A past traditional leader of the community (by name Zaki (*Chief*) *Adedzwa Agera Akweshi*) was very wealthy (Man of the people, liked, loved) and so whatsoever he said was respected, adhered to and taken into consideration/account. People readily came whenever he called on them to assist him (for instance farm work, roofing of thatch huts). This means he was wealthy (fullness or man of the people) and liked and accepted as a person and their king.

From the FGD's the word *iban-ave* (lack) is an underlining narrative that suggested there are intervening factors that disempower the agent and cause poverty. The agent lacks certain farm inputs like fertilizers that will enable self-actualization by reaching his or her aspirations by earning income from farm produce. Therefore, the use of qualitative research methodological techniques like listing, tabulation and categorization became useful for the analysis of low literate community members. This approach made the respondents further analyse poverty by coming up with causes or causalities. This also enabled categorization of who is poor and who is poorest and who is rich and who is richest in the village in the context of the fieldwork.

Table 4.1 Criteria for identifying poor, very poor and poorest in Mbaadigam, village Benue-Nigeria

Category	Criteria for identification
Poor	-Could be educated up to primary school level -Employed on a low income job e.g. night guard -Has small farm size (go to farm to enable him get just enough food for his stomach and also for commercial purposes) -Can afford to sponsor their children up to post primary school level -Owns a motor-cycle -Has food to eat and food could contain fish or meat -Can pay medical bills (but not in a sophisticated hospital) -Has a house (thatched/zinc roof)

Very poor	-Strives to go to school up to primary school level but might dropout halfway
	-Has food but rarely afford fish or meat
	-Owns a bicycle
	-Can sponsor two out of seven children up to post primary school
	level (some children stay back to enable him train others
	in school.)
	-His children wear used clothes called 'alaha'
	- He is also slow (lazy).
	-Lives in a round hut but manages to maintain the roof
	-Owns land but sell out when a need arises (as there is no other source of money)
	-Could be employed in a very low paid job like cleaning.
Poorest	-Has no land (even if given a piece of land they might hastily sell because they cannot
	afford to cultivate it.)
	-Leases out farmland but does not make good use of the money.
	-Has no wife (has children but he does not take care of them. Such children could
	become petty thieves)
	-Has no house (may be living in a dilapidated room given
	to him by a friend /relative or has a home but the house is
	thatched and in a poor state.)
	-Cannot afford medical bills
	-Cannot pay taxes
	-Has no farm of his own (feeds from other people's homes s/he is more or less a
	parasite or beggar)
	-Is extremely lazy (this individual lack clothes because the individual is lazy and
	parasitic in nature and thrives on the effort of others.)
	-Does not keep his eating plates/utensils tidy
	-Often steals foodstuff from other people's farm.

Again, the respondents explain by showing rich, richer and richest community members

based on the criteria they generated themselves during the FGDs as shown in the second

table below. This is needed because development and poverty are abstract concepts and the researcher wanted a deeper analysis to show how these concepts are understood in practical terms beyond theoretical definitions.

Table 4.2: Criteria for identifying rich, very rich and richest in Mbaadigam village, Benue-Nigeria

Category	Criteria for identification
Rich	-Owns a rickety car or motorcycles. -Might be educated up to secondary school or possibly National Certificate of Education (NCE) level. -Can sponsor his children up to A-level, -Might own a small electric generating plant (what they call 'I pass my neighbour') -May own a television set, -Owns livestock, -Can afford to eats good food with meat (he has a choice of food).
Very rich	-Owns a car -May own three or four motorcycles (which he gives out for commercial purpose) -He can sponsor his children up to degree level and beyond. -Has several wives.
Richest	-Can afford to contribute to societal development, -Can form a credit or thrift association (from which others benefit and he also gets his own gain). -Has the capacity to own a schools or clinic -Owns a borehole for water in their compound -Can sponsor his children to whatever level they want (there children are well educated and travel wide) -Has people who work for him (house helps) -Has become a community leader (because they are rich/influential) -May be educated up to a 2nd degree (i.e. Master's degree) or beyond.

From the qualitative research methodology adopted earlier in Chapter Three, the essence of identifying and defining themes is to get bottom-up working definitions from the context of the research. Therefore, poverty (Res. 9, 5, 7-FGDM-1: 14/09/2012) is defined as *'lack of and obstacle to attaining fullness (shagba, yough-yough)'.* Poverty is, therefore, attributable to a disempowerment process characterized by a lack (*iban-ave*) or inability to access basic needs like food, water, shelter, clothing, and healthcare. This is a consideration because poverty is lived reality and if the development needs of poor people are prioritized their interpretation of poverty is a reality that should count.

Development (Res. 7-FGDM-1: 14/09/2012), on the other hand, is defined as *'the opportunities and life chances available to all humans to attain fullness (shagba, yough-yough)'.* A key emerging theme from this definition is *yough yough* (fullness or self-actualization). This underscores the importance of the search for approaches to end poverty and bring about *yough yough* will build on the reality of the people and what they say they value.

What conditions are necessary for human development and community development in Mbaadigam village?

This question during data collection focuses on how to identify and establish conditions that supports human development and community development. This question during the FGD followed closely after defining the concepts of poverty and development by the respondents. The aim is to know what the people see as conditions necessary to enable human development (individual) and community development. This method and approach to analysing complex conceptualizations of how development happens or not during data collection ienable the identification of themes and analytical explanations.

The respondents (Resp. 6 and 2, FGDF- 2: 15th/09/2010) elaborated that 'values develop the individual first and then the community. A certain farmer that is hard-working never lacked food for his family and other members of the community also get food from him. He can provide money for community development too'.

To enable respondents to rigorously analyse conditions necessary for the development of the agent, a hypothetical case study of four children (two boys and two girls) born on the same day by the same parents was presented. The objective is for the respondents to produce a free listing of the conditions under which one out of the four children attained *yough yough* (fullness) while the others remain poor. This analytical approach enables the respondents to come up with a categorization of the internal and external factors, variables or causalities causing poverty. The respondents listed factors supporting human development into two categories: firstly, factors within the control of the individual (internal) that will enable human development and secondly, those factors outside the immediate control of the individual (external).

Table 4.3 Internal and external conditions necessary in supporting human development (individual) and community development in Mbaadigam village, Benue state-Nigeria

	Internal conditions	External conditions
1	Hard working	Inadequate farm land or access to land,
2	Determination and concentration.	Inadequate farm inputs like fertilizers
3	Good saving culture	Lack of sponsorship like school fees
4	*Avoid hweghve* (Laziness)	Poor access to quality education
5	Good resource management	Sickness or ill health
6	Sincerity	Disability

The free listing and analysis above by the respondents show the internal conditions that the individual needs to cultivate *yough-yough* (fullness). Using the analogy of the children, the respondents further explained that parents have varying backgrounds, exposure, and financial standing. They stated that it also depends on the extent to which parents make efforts to instil in their children good community values like hard work, commitment and honesty. However, the respondents said if the children are of the same parents it could be because some children are indolent rather than being hard-working and determined (Res. 2,6,7, -FGDM-1: 14/09/2012; Resp. 6 and 2, FGDF- 2: 15th/09/2010).

The external conditions beyond the power of the individual to develop are identified as the opportunities outside their immediate control but needed by the individual to enable the attainment of *yough yough* (fullness). The external conditions are causalities that could impinge *yough yough* (fullness) if 'access' and 'opportunities' are not available to the individual. The point here is that there are conditions that could limit the capability and functioning of the individual. From the analysis by respondents, it was interesting to note that most external conditions (impinging access and opportunities) required to support human development (individual) or community development are beyond the capability of the agent (individual). In this way, the individual could be hard-working and determined but his or her functioning or capability can be limited by these external conditions. The respondents elaborated that a hard-working child from Mbaadigam village in Benue state can be determined to be a medical doctor/surgeon but could be limited by poor access to quality education or poor sponsorship as causalities. The respondents (Resp.2 and 8 FGDF-2: 15th/09/2010) stated, 'some children lack sponsorship and help. If only they had someone to pay for their education, they will not

be failures. It is true that committed persons went to school in spite of the distance but the others too would have received an education if the government brought schools closer to our locality'.

The quotation above opens up discussions of the capability and functioning of the agent and what enables or impinges *yough yough* (fullness). The respondents (Resp.2 and 8 FGDF-2: 15th/09/2010) pointed out that table 4.3 confirms that poor access to education is a major denial of opportunities leading to *iban-ave* (poverty). The respondent's definition of development 'as *the opportunities and life chances available to all humans to attain fullness,'* is important to see how opportunities can be expanded. Education is identified as a condition necessary for fullness *(shagba, yough-yough)* but it is impinged in Mbaadigam village by the government's neglect of the education sector (Resp.2 and 8 FGDF-2: 15th/09/2010). In Chapter Five, I will return to the point that there may be a historical analysis behind the deteriorating standard of education and the HDCA can use these kinds of analysis to enrich its quest to support human development. That is why the definition of poverty and development and further analysis presented here by respondents from the primary data collection exercise pointed to a *'lack of and obstacles to attaining fullness'.*

Central to these analyses is access to basic social services like education and basic needs like food, safe water, shelter, clothing, and healthcare. These are mentioned as conditions necessary for attaining fullness *(shagba, yough-yough)* as outlined by respondents above. From table 4.3, the analysis shows that human development is a complex process involving internal and external causes that enable or impinge the capability of the agent. The respondents identified poor access to and provision of schools and quality education to enable the individual to attain their potential. The

communities pointed out that issues of development are not entirely within the power or control of the individual but depend on a number of external mediating conditions.

What do people value in their development?

This FGD question to know what people value is a difficult question and the respondents initially struggled with it. But when asked to list core values, what the community cherished to enable human development, it became clearer. This question is important because HDCA states that what the agents value and have reason to value should form their development priority. Therefore, a free listing of what is valued, the local themes and their meaning are generated in a table below.

Table 4.4 What Mbaadigam village say they value

	Value	Local name, interpretation and understanding
1	Unity	Ijough zwa; Ijough ave, Dooshima. (To be united as a community, love)
2	Hard work and determination	U tavershima (strong-willed individuals)
3	Community (solidarity, patriotism, Interdependence; Participation)	Tyo, u wasen tyo; U lun ken mzough; Ihumbe; *'u lun wegh ken kwagh'; 'u eren kwagh imongu'; 'Ijough ave' 'u lun môm ken kwagh eren'; 'u eren kwagh sha er i gbe er u er yô'* (solidarity, togetherness. To have a say or to be party to something or part of what is happening)
4	Truth	Mimi- *mimi-mimi u gba Aondu; U ôrun shi eren kwagh sha kpôug/vough; u ôrun kwagh sha inja; u eren kwagh a ihom iyol shio* (Truth, the truth of God's creation. To do and to say something with utmost truth and without ill feeling. Impartiality or fairness).

The respondents during the FGDs (Resp. 4, 6, 5, 11 and 1, FGDM 4, 15th/09/2010, Resp.7 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010) explained:

> Back in time (i.e. years back or in the days of old) hard work used to be valued, as parents trained their children and taught them hard work on the farm, but today it is no longer so.

> Today we seem to have old and new values because the values of old are different from today's values because unity used to be a value as opposed to today's sectionalism and segregation.

It is important to state that (Resp.7 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010) *tyo* (community) is central to the value system listed above. A respondent stated that the collective value system leads to every other thing like *ijough-zwa* (unity), *ijough-ave or ihumbe* (solidarity) because community members do not live in isolation. Unity or *'ijough zwa'* is highly valued amongst community members as a means to co-operate with and support weaker community members on the farm known as *'ihumbe'*. *Ihumbe* is a self-help community support system that brings a number of community members together to move from one member's farm (using a rota system) till they complete the cultivation of each member's farm. The respondents explained that this interdependence and mutual rendering of help to each other also apply to social services like the repair of community roads, bridges and schools. Unity (*Ijough zwa*) is referred to as a sense of community (*tyo*) and interdependence and participation. Unity is also likened to community patriotism (*Ijough ave)* as consciousness of community and togetherness. Truth (*mimi*) is also identified as a value. The discussion by members of the community to explain their understanding of *mimi* is linked to the concept of fairness and being just.

The respondent (Resp.7 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010) referred to truth as *mimi mimi u gba-Aôndo* translated as 'undiluted truth of God's creation'. *Aondo* is the name of God amongst the Tiv people whereas *mimi mimi u gba-Aôndo* is explained to mean ancestral practices, norms and ways of doing things to ensure justice and fairness from God. To kill is forbidden for whatever reason, so if a community member kills, he or she is made to appease the community by killing a goat. The killing, sharing and eating together of the goat with wider community members is a reconciliatory and cleansing process to accept an erring community member back into the fold of *tyo* (community). If the elders

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of the community fail to make the offender appease the *tyo* (community), then this is considered as deviation from the value or norms and the communities feel and *'mimi mimi u gba-Aondo'* is not followed. Therefore, 'truth' (*mimi*) as a concept is said to go beyond just the name but implies the concept of fairness. Truth (*mimi*) entails fairness, community reconciliation, order and stability and reinforces interdependence.

The respondents (Resp. 7 & 5 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010) used a practical example where *mimi u gba aondo* is violated to illustrate how the Mbaadigam village were cheated by a neighbouring community (Mbayagh village) and given a village kindred head (throne). A kindred head is a traditional leadership position at the clan level that is based on size of population. Kindred is a political structure for local governance and has a kindred head that presides over it. In this case, the Mbaadigam village is larger in population than Mbayagh and should have been the rightful kindred given a kindred head. The Mbaadigam village insinuated that the Mbayagh settlement had someone in 'government' at the state level who influenced this wrong-doing. By this act *mimi mimi u gba Aondo* has not been followed (Resp. 7 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010) and this is a deviation from the truth and value system.

A second example to illustrate deviation from *mimi mimi u gba Aondo* (truth) is when a participant during the FGD (Resp. 5 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010) shared a practical example of when he worked as an ad hoc election staff during the 2007 national elections as a Returning Electoral Officer (REO). He said the police and other law enforcement agents forced him as Returning Electoral Officer (REO) to take the ballot box to a place where it was stuffed in favour of the candidate preferred by the ruling political party. In Nigeria, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), due to inadequate staff, makes use of ad hoc staff (especially teachers and interns) during elections. The

respondent accused the government of deviation from *mimi mimi u gba Aondo* (the truth), thereby creating an unfair society based on falsehood (Resp. 5 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010, Resp. 5 FGDM 5, 4th/11/2010).

From the FGD analysis, the respondents concluded that falsehood is now rampant because of deviation from the truth and ancestral practices. They stated that swearing to the *Swem* instilled fear of 'god' and restrained people form deviating from the truth *(mimi) because the Swem* ensured truth, fairness and social justice (Resp. 5 FGDM 5, 4th/11/2010). The *Swem* is an oath when community members are sworn to tell the truth. It is a small clay pot with grounded ashes/substances and shrubs believed by the Tiv people to contain the head of the Tiv ancestor (*Takuruku nyam Adzenga)*. Therefore, anyone swearing by the *Swem* must say the truth or else he or she will die of an incurable infliction like swollen legs and stomach. The Nigerian Legal System has adopted the swearing to the *Swem* alongside the Holy Bible and the Qur'an in the 'modern' judicial system in Tivland. Values identified to be negative within the community are greed, get-rich-quick through corrupt ways, envy, witchcraft, fighting and communal clashes, lack of unity and insincerity (lack of truth) (Resp. 7 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010, Resp. 8, 10, 5 and 9 FGDM 4, 15th/09/2010).

Human Development: Agency, Capability and Functioning within the Social Arrangement (Community)

How does what people value support or impinge human development, agency, capability, functioning?

From the section immediately above, the respondents say at the base of what the agent value is *tyo* (community) and their analysis suggests everything like *ijough-zwa* (unity), *ijough-ave or ihumbe* (solidarity) follows.

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I will restate the core of the Capability Approach for the purpose of emphasis as I present here the findings from the fieldwork. The Human Development and Capability Approach as enunciated by Sen has has its core agency, capability. Agency is the ability to have, make choices and pursue goals that the agent values and has reason to value. An agent is described as someone who lives, works, takes action and brings about change. Capability, on the other hand, is the freedom to enjoy one's self said to be 'the various combinations of beings and doing (functioning) that the person can achieve or become. Capability is thus a path or route of functioning, reflecting the person's freedom or choice to lead one type of life or another or to choose from possible options to live. Functioning is defined as the numerous things the agent may value doing or being. in other words, valuable activities and states that make up the well-being of the agent such as good health, safety, education and acquiring a job, marrying and raising a family.

The focus of the FGD questions is to cross-reference the ideas of the Capability Approach and what the people think about these concepts. The respondents analysed and explained the role values play in supporting human development, functioning and capabilities using intervening variables that support or impede individual capability, functioning and development. This approach to data analysis made use of the experiences of respondents rather than intellectual and theoretical expositions by making community members combine two analytical processes. Firstly, the respondents analysed what they value, bring out contextual theme(s) and identified factors and variables and secondly, the respondents compare the factors and variables of the identified theme(s) and propose their own solutions. From the primary data in Table 4.3, what is valued develops the individual and the community but it depends on a number

of causalities and intervening factors. The respondents further divided these intervening factors into two categories: those within the control of the individual (internal) and those outside the control of the individual (external).

Functioning within the Social Arrangement (Community) in Mbaadigam Village

To determine how functioning and capabilities operated in the context of *tyo* (community), the respondents used the modified Venn diagram tool to help analysis. The Venn diagram (Edwards 2004: 3 and 77), named after the English logician, John Venn, is a diagrammatic representation of logical sets of elements (especially using different sizes of circles). For analysis, the positioning and sizes of the circles is very important and used as imagery to interpret in a graphic manner patterns of interaction and or relationship. This is also used to show relationship, power, influence or importance of the point respondents or a researcher wants to make or describe. This approach of using taxonomies to represent patterns, interaction, power, influence and or relationships is a way of enabling low literate communities to stimulate analysis during data collection/research.

The respondents made use of the Venn diagram during the FGDs to analyse capability and functioning within the *tyo* (community) using four entities (Chapatti); Community, Extended Family, Nuclear Family and the Individual (agent). Since functioning and interaction takes place within the *tyo* (community) these entities became a categorization to describe the functioning and capability of the entities. The respondents (Resp. 7 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010, Resp. 8, 10, 5, 11 FGDM 4, 15th/09/2010) during the

FGDs explained that the largest/most powerful and influential of the entities was *tyo* (community) followed by the extended family, nuclear family and lastly the individual.

Fig. 4.1 The social arrangement, hierarchy of power, influence and functioning as represented by FGD respondents using the modified Venn diagram in Mbaadigam village
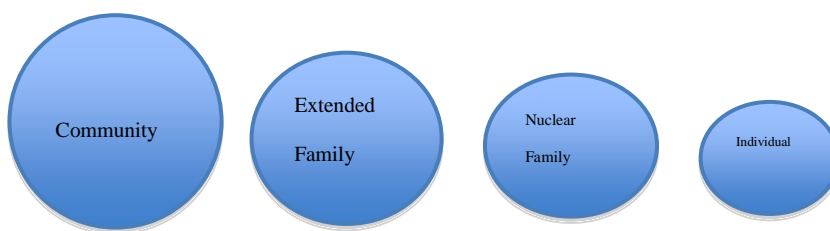

According to the respondents (Resp. 7 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010, Resp. 8, 10, 5, 11 FGDM 4, 15th/09/2010), the reasons behind Fig. 4.1 is the representation of functioning of the agent using an adage in Tiv language; *'tyo hemba' 'Or hembe tyo ga'* (no one is above the community). *Tyo* in Tiv and *Jamaa* in Hausa languages mean community and so the expression in essence means 'community is supreme'.

The next follow-up question during the FGD looked at functioning or interaction in-between the four entities: Community, Extended Family, Nuclear Family and Individual (agent). The respondents had two views: First Fig.4.2 below shows that the *tyo* (community) is supreme and encloses all the other entities. However, the placement of the entities within Fig. 4.2 shows that the nuclear and extended families intersect (relate more) while the agent (individual) seems to stands alone (on its own). Secondly, Fig. 4.3 seen below shows that the *tyo* (community) stands on its own while extended family and nuclear family intersect (interact more). The agent (individual) is seen as closer to

the nuclear family as their lines touch more. But the line between the individual and the

extended family only touches marginally.

**Fig. 4.2 Independence of the agent**   **Fig. 4.3 Isolated *tyo* (community)**
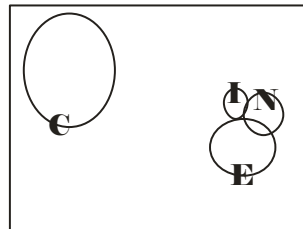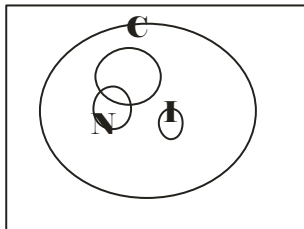
KEY
C = Community
E = Extended Family
N = Nuclear Family
I = Individual

Another follow up question during the FGD made respondents explain the reasons for

their views in Fig. 4.1 and 4.2 of the modified Venn diagrams above. The respondents

say in Fig. 4.1 and Fig. 4.2 (Resp. 7, 4, 1, 2, 3 and 6 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010) that the *tyo*

(community) is supreme (*'tyo hemba' 'Or hembe tyo ga'*) as seen in the size of the

circle representing the *tyo* (community). In Fig. 4.2, the respondents say the individual

is increasingly seeking 'independence' from everyone' as the circle of the individual

seen in Fig.4.2 is distant. The respondents continue the analysis by saying that the agent

(individual) seeks personal gains and does what he thinks will benefit him personally.

Further analysis using Fig. 4.3 show (Resp. 7, 4, 1, 2, 3 and 6 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010)

the individual, extended and nuclear families form their own unit of interaction while

the *tyo* (community) is obviously seen isolated and kept distant.

But another cross-section of the same FGD respondents (Resp. 5, 8, and 9 FGDM 1,

14th/09/2010) disagreed with this initial view of social arrangement, functioning and

interaction. The FGD respondents with an opposing view to the earlier Figs. 4.2 and 4.3

Venn diagrams above came up with Fig. 4.4 Venn diagram below. According to this

opposing view, they depict cyclical layers of harmonious functioning and interaction

amongst the entities. This depiction shows the authority, power and influence of the *tyo*
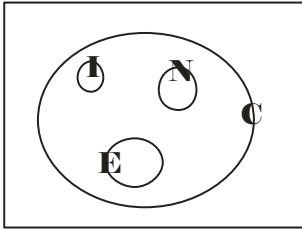
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(community) over all the other interacting entities within it. It also showed the accountability structure looking at the sizes of the circles flowing from the biggest to the smallest entity in Fig.4.4. The extended family has authority, power and influence over the nuclear family unit and the same for the nuclear family over the individual.

Fig. 4.4 Cyclical and harmonious relationship amongst entities
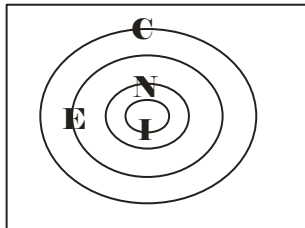

A key point of divergence in view about functioning and social arrangement arose during the FGD (Resp. 3 and 6 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010). Those that disagree with Fig. 4.4 above draw up Fig. 4.5. These respondents say Fig. 4.5 below is closer to reality as far as functioning within the *tyo* (community) is concerned. The respondents argued that the cyclical lines depicted using Fig. 4.4 are too formulaic and no longer reflect the true picture of the interaction and functioning within the *tyo* (community). They stated that there is a shift in both interaction and relationship as seen in Fig 4.5. Interaction here is used in a more general sense where community members interact in the same geographic space but have no specific, congenial or instantiated ties. Relationship is used to mean specific, congenial and instantiated ties between interacting entities.

Fig. 4.5 Point of divergence by respondents   **Fig.4.6** Point of convergence by respondents
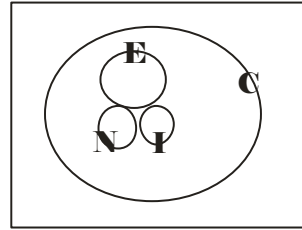
However, there is a point of convergence (Resp. 7, 4, 2, 5, 3 and 9 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010) with respect to functioning and social arrangement by the respondents as shown in Figs. 4.1 to 4.6. The point of convergence during the FGDs is that *tyo* (community) is supreme and still encloses all the other entities. The respondents during the FGDs stated that Fig. 4.6 above represented the shift in interaction, functioning and patterns of relationship within the communities. Fig 4.6 shows that all the entities are within the community (bigger cycle) but they stand slightly or marginally independent of each other. However, the respondents stated that there is interdependence (Resp. 4, 1, 3 and 6 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010) amongst the entities because the cycles still touch each other albeit marginally as shown in Fig. 4.6.

The Theme of 'tyo' (community) as an Informal Social Formation in Mbaadigam Village

The central point of convergence with respect to functioning and social arrangement is that *Tyo* (community) as seen in Fig. 4.1 to Fig. 4.6 is central to the functioning of the agent. A central emerging theme during the first phase primary data collection process is *tyo* (community) because functioning does not happen in isolation or outside the *tyo* (community). The agent and what is valued is also analysed within the framework of the value system of *tyo* (community). *Tyo* is considered supreme despite the shift in relationship and interaction over time as seen in Fig 4.6. However, the authority of the

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tyo (community) over the interacting entities within it is now waning (Resp. 4 and 1 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010). The respondents (Resp. 7, 4, 1, 2, 3 and 6 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010) say this is because the other three entities increasingly seek independence due to the increased level of education, cost of living and rural-urban migration. However, the respondents maintained that the relationship and interaction amongst the entities show interdependence with each other as seen in Fig. 4.6. The respondents (Resp. 7, 4, 1, 2, 3 and 6 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010, Resp. 1 and 8 FGDF 2, 15th/09/2010) say:

> The extended family is the eyes of the community. They watch over the members of the community and the community in turn oversees the activities of the extended family that is why the community is aware of its members that refuse to help the community even when they are prosperous. The community expects its members that are doing well to bring home benefits. The community does not encourage laziness among its members but encourageS help to individuals that are making genuine efforts.

From the quotation above, the FGD respondents (Resp. 7, 4, 1, 2, 3 and 6 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010) recognized the independence of the individual but still pointed to interdependence as shown in Fig. 4.6. The respondents stated that *'tyo hemba'* (community is supreme) and '*Or hembe tyo ga'* (the individual is not above the community). The respondents lamented the reduction in cash remittances to family relations from well-to-do community members living outside the village due to the weakening social ties and interdependence.

Another emerging theme from the FGDs is a shift in interaction and relationship where the agent is said to value 'independence' called *tseeneke* (self-reliance) and increasingly wants to be 'free' as seen in Figs. 4.5 (Resp. 7, 4, 1, 2, 3 and 6 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010). The theme *tseeneke* (self reliance) in the local language was identified to mean 'self-reliance' or 'freedom' or 'independence'. The understanding by the respondents of

tseeneke (self reliance) as a concept literally depicts 'someone who is self-reliant'. But *tseeneke* also connotes or suggests isolation, self-centeredness or someone who is self-seeking (Resp. 1 and 8, FGDF 2, 15th/09/2010). But the respondents also said *tseeneke* as a concept can be used to positively depict someone who has 'earned' independence and has become 'self-reliant'.

This is explained to mean that a community member, who owns a farm, builds a house (hut) shows that he or she is becoming responsible. This earns the individual some level of t*seeneke* (self-reliance or independence) to get married, bear children and start life (Resp. 1, 5 and 2, FGDM 5, 4th/11/2010). But the respondents say this is still within the framework of interdependence based on interdependent network of relationships within *tyo* (community) as shown in Fig. 4.6. Interdependence, solidarity (*ihumbe*, *Ijough-ave*) and community support are valued because the respondents clearly highlight the aspects of *tseeneke* (self-reliance) that the individual earns. The respondents (Resp. 1, 7 and 5, FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010, 2, 1 and 8, FGDF 2, 15th/09/2010, 1, 5 and 2, FGDM 5, 4th/11/2010) emphasized:

> There is a type of independence/freedom (*tseeneke*) that is not harmful both to the individual and the community at large. This is when the individual seeks to be able to stand on his own - meet his own needs, settle his own problems, have his own assets and so on without wholly leaning on others for support, living, survival and so on. But Tseeneke becomes harmful both to the individual and the community when the individual turns to abscond or boycott the community when he/she has become successful. The individual need freedom from tyo (the community) and tyo should not restrict and remote control the individuals but people should be given a voice. The police should stop harassing people and the government especially should give people a listening ear.

From this primary data, the understanding and interpretation of respondents of the concept of *tseeneke* (freedom, independence) is 'self-reliance' and self-reliance they say is earned. The respondents made a distinction between dependence, independence and interdependence. The respondents (Resp. 7, 4, 1, 2, 3 and 6 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010) said freedom is literally called '*tseeneke*' (self-reliance) or *'ian'* (space). *Tseeneke* and *ian*

have the same meaning but differ in usage. T*seeneke* is self-reliance or independence that an individual earns with education, employment, and marriage or through *passage rites* to be regarded as a 'responsible' community member. *Ian* (space), on the other hand, is used interchangeably with *tseeneke* but slightly differs. *Ian* (space) is interpreted to mean unwarranted or premature *'craving'* for freedom and independence without earning it. Therefore, an individual earns *tseeneke* (self-reliance) as a right to make personal life choices and decisions (5 FGDM-1, 7 and 5 14th/09/2010).

But when asked to analyse how *'tseeneke'* leads to or facilitates individual development and community development, the respondents (Resp. 7, 4, 1, 2, 3 and 6 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010) explained that the individual's achievement through hard work earns them *tseeneke*. That individual success becomes beneficial to the entire *tyo* (community) through solidarity (*ihumbe, ijough-ave*) and interdependent networks. The *tyo* (community) values *Tseeneke* (self-reliance) as a concept when it is earned and the individual uses *tseeneke* to become self-reliant. But *tseeneke* (self-reliance) is different from *ian* (premature craving or unearned space) to be 'free' which is interpreted as craving for a 'loose and irresponsible life style'. Craving for unearned space (*ian*) is interpreted to be directly at variance with the concepts of *tyo (community)* and *Or hembe tyo ga* (no one is above the community or community is supreme).

The respondents (Resp.7 and 5 FGDM-1, 14th/09/2010) made reference to *'Ayaatutu ka se'* as a slogan for community solidarity that reinforces the concept of interdependence. Agency, *tseeneke* (self-reliance) and pursuit of goals the agent values, being and doing (capability) and functioning are all products of the social environment the agent operates within. The individual functions in a social milieu that serves as a determinant of his or her ability to earn *tseeneke* (self-reliance) and functioning based on what he or

she values and the values of the community as part of social reality. This creates an immediate dichotomy between what the individual wants and what is acceptable and unacceptable behaviour by the *tyo* (community). As agency and functioning do not happen outside *tyo* (community), what is acceptable and unacceptable behaviour in terms of the norms and values constraining social behaviour and social exchange of the agent is also known within the framework of *tyo* (community).

Within the concept of *Tyo* (community) is interdependence as a theme to explain what people say they value using themes like *ihumbe* (solidarity). *Ihumbe* is also a key component in social assistance formation community groups (*ihumbe* or farm labour support groups) like micro credit lending associations (*Bam or Adashi*). Another form of interdependence mentioned is support mechanisms where cash transfers or remittances by family members in diaspora (within or outside the country) to poorer community members. The interdependence within the social formation known as the *tyo* (community) entails networks of social relations that make up the *tyo* (community). To know these social formations, the free listing approach was again adopted to enable respondents list these social formation or associations in Mbaadigam village that make up the village. The respondents (Resp.7, FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010, Resp. 6 FGDF 2, 15th/09/2010, Resp. 2, FGDM 5, 4th/11/2010) came up with the following list of community associations and how they support individual and community development:

Table 4.5 Names of social formations or associations in Mbaadigam village

	Name of association	Type	Reason for formation
1	Mbaadigam Community Development	Umbrella community association	Repair of roads, settlement of disputes/justice (mediation/reconciliation in time of disputes), ensures fairness in distribution of community resources like land,

			forest resources (based on *mimi mimi u gba Aondo* and norms) and preside over burying the dead.
2	Mbaayagh Youth Association	Youth group	`*Ihumbe'* i.e self-help farm union, cooperation and support system for each member on the farms. Community support and mutual rendering of help.
3	Aposough Youth Association	Youth group	Same as above-self-help *(ihumbe)*
4	Ayegh Youth Association	Youth group	Same as above -self-help *(ihumbe)*
5	Amali Youth Association	Youth group	Same as above -self-help *(ihumbe)*
6	Nyouku Youth Association		Same as above -self-help *(ihumbe)*
7	Njough Youth Association	Youth group	Same as above -self-help *(ihumbe)*
8	Mbayaagh Widows Multipurpose Development Association.	Women group	Micro-credit/lending scheme (known as bam or Adashi), help the women members purchase house hold utensils
9	Mbaadigam, share Bam	Community banking system	Community banking, micro credit lending, savings and loans (known as bam or Adashi)
10	Adigan girls association	Girls savings association	Adigan girls contribute savings for sisterhood, buying gifts for marrying brides or cash saving for future use by young women.

The concept of *ihumbe* (farm labour support groups) is embedded in *tyo* (community) as a social assistance formation or self-help association that operates as a safety net or scheme supporting interdependence. The *ihumbe* system reinforces the fact that the

agent is not an island but depends on other community members as an informal institutional arrangement supporting development efforts in Mbaadigan as a village. These social assistance formations serve the agent as a social insurance, social security, safety net, family support system or coping strategy for community members in times of need. These safety nets are informal but serve as substitutes to 'formal', constitutional and government-run social benefit schemes (like pension and retirement schemes) that are only accessed by those employed in structured white-collar work sectors.

These (Resp. 1, 7 and 5 FGDM-1, 14th/09/2010; Resp. 2, 1 and 8 FGDF-2, 15th/09/2010; Resp. 1, 5 and 2 FGDM-5, 4th/11/2010) informal safety nets/schemes cover the informal sector employees like farmers, hunters, blacksmiths, fishermen, market women and artisans. These informal *ihumbe* schemes aid community members during planting and harvest farming seasons, wedding festivals, and burial ceremonies. They also support Mbaadigam village as social insurance institutions against shocks like natural disasters, famine, and poor harvests. Other areas of safety nets are insurance against the death of a breadwinner, old age or even sudden retrenchment from a paid white-collar job. Some of the local financial schemes in Mbaadigam village also serve as lending institutions to meet short-term and long-term investment needs by community members.

However, some of the respondents criticize the operations and management of some social assistance associations saying they become greedy, self-serving and are sometimes inefficiently managed by some unscrupulous individuals. The respondents (Resp. 5 and 7, FGDM-1, 14th/09/2010; Resp. 4, 2 and 5, FGDF-3, 15th/09/2010) asked to identify the impediments to the efficient management of these associations stated that there are internal and external factors that cause mismanagement of social assistance formations in Mbaadigam as follows:

i. **Internal challenges:** some members of these associations do not understand the aims and objectives of these associations. Some association members pursue personal benefits over community development. Again, those heading some of these associations like the president, chairman, treasurer, financial secretary become greedy (self-serving), irresponsible and unaccountable.

ii. **External challenges:** the major external challenge is interference of government in the functioning of community associations. The respondents narrated an example of how the police harass members and/or leaders of these associations on several occasions when they stood for their rights (and at times imprison them). A particular instance is when the police came and arrested the local community leader (chief) for standing up to support a community lending association against an erring/defaulting member that refused to repay his debt. The defaulting community member instead took the case to the local police station to evade sanctions or confiscation of his property to re-pay debt he owed the association.

Summary of Themes identified during the first stage of Fieldwork

In this first half of Chapter Four, I presented the themes, definitions, interpretative and analytical understanding using primary source data from the field. These themes presented become themes that will form the research cognitive map. A key emerging theme from this definition of poverty and development is *yough yough* (fullness or self-actualization). Poverty is defined as *'lack of and obstacle to attaining fullness (shagba, yough-yough)'*. Development is defined as *'the opportunities and life chances available to all humans to attain fullness (shagba, yough-yough)'*. These definitions set out the operational framework I made use of all through the first stage of data collection. Another theme identified is *tyo* (community) within which functioning and capability of the agent is realized. *Tyo* (community) is the epitome of and central to the value system and sets the stage for social interaction and what is acceptable or unacceptable behaviour. Flowing from the Tyo (community), other themes like *ijough-zwa* (unity),

ijough-ave or ihumbe (solidarity) are listed as valued. Another theme identified relating to the concept of *Tyo* (community) is *tyo hemba* (community is supreme), *Ayaatutu ka se* (togetherness) (*Or hembe tyo ga*) meaning no individual is above the community. However, *tseeneke* (self-reliance or freedom) is also another theme showing functioning and capability of the agent towards attaining fullness (*yough-yough).*

Section Two: Second Phase of Data Collection

An Overview of the Second Data Collection Approach

The aim of the second phase of data collection and presentation is to focus on 'Human Development'. During the first phase of data collection, the question: 'what does it mean to be human?' as it relates to human development is encountered. Therefore, the second phase of data collection is built on identified themes from the first phase around what people say they value in relation to the twin concepts of 'human' and 'development'. This is done by using the theme of *tyo* (community) to make a connection between what the respondents view as their reality within the social milieu that shapes their actions. A closely linked follow-up question was to ask what people consider as 'development' in relation to the Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA).

Schensul et al. (1999: 3) state that this style of data presentation is a constant comparison of concepts that emerge in the field to check against initial formative models. Schensul et al. emphasized that this allows for a modification of the formative conceptual theory as a vital intersection between what people see, their value framework, their development aspirations and the themes they identify. This second phase of primary data presents analytical reflections on the development aspirations of

people from their reality. The identification of what people value will then become the themes, definitions and meanings that form the bases upon which I draw conclusions about human development.

Freedom, Faith and Functioning: The Dynamics of Self and Community in Social Accountability

During the second phase of data collection the first question was: what does it mean to be human? . The aim of this question is to know what the concept 'human' means to the respondents. This is because the theory 'human development' has two concepts and if development is about humans then it is important to know what the term 'human' means for HDCA. A respondent (INDI-1: 04/06/2011) summed up 'human' to mean 'it is a Being that is humane. It is also having a relationship (vertical and horizontal) and connectedness with God, man with man and man with the environment'. The question what does it mean to be human is explained as a relational process that is physical, spiritual and emotional between the individual and others within the *Tyo* (community) and a spiritual relationship with a 'supernatural being'. It is in this regard that the Eggon people (INDI-5: 18/08/2011) of Nassarawa state say that they emanated from a certain rock on the top of Eggon Mountain known as *Eggon amai* and the *amai* created and protects Eggon people. Therefore, to be human as an Eggon person is the understanding that you are not a self-contained individual but you are accountable to *amai* first and then other humans. This is a value system as well as an accountability framework for the Eggon person that determines what is acceptable or unacceptable.

Another two respondents (INDI-2: 17/08/2011, INDI-11: 29/09/2011) explain that 'what it means to be human' is relational and touches on how people regard other human beings. The respondents linked humanity, 'Being' and existence with the role the

accentor's play in watching over community members and the fact that there is some form of supernatural presence all community members must respect. Therefore (INDI-11: 29/09/2011), the term 'all humans are humans' referring to 'born equal', refers to a common 'Being' given by a supernatural being that blesses and punishes all equally. The interpretation of what it means to be human is a recognition of others, their existence, and how they are accountable to each other and to an 'external force'. There is an emphasis on 'accountability', faith and belief in a supernatural force and the exertion of control on all humans by a deity. This emphasis is also on some form of supernatural being that defines and sets the limits of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour in the course of social interaction. Therefore, for a respondent (INDI-1: 04/06/2011) human is the interconnection between self, functioning and the freedom to explore one's humanity within the *tyo* (community). However, the same respondent (INDI-1: 04/06/2011) stressed that there is a vertical and horizontal social accountability framework within the t*yo* (community) that all community members within a village recognize and understand as binding on them.

The understanding of humanity (INDI-1: 04/06/2011) is, therefore, a link between the concept of *'self'* and *tyo* (community*)* and the functioning of the agent expressed in values such as *Tyo hemba* (community is supreme) *and Or hembe tyo ga* (no individual is above the community). The explanation is that there is a connection between *self* and the social accountability structure existing within *tyo* (community*)* that acts as a restraint and defines acceptable and unacceptable behaviour of the agent, agency and functioning (INDI-1: 04/06/2011). Therefore, the concept of 'human' is interpreted as a deeper connection of what people think about themselves in relation to others, their 'Being', existence and social exchange as they interact with others within the *tyo* (community). The agent is, therefore, 'free' (*Tseeneke*: self-reliance or freedom) to

explore and access community resources and opportunities for *self-development* and 'self-actualization' (known as *yough yough* or fullness) (INDI-2: 17/08/2011, INDI-11: 29/09/2011, INDI-1: 04/06/2011).

Tiv people (INDI-1: 04/06/2011) worship god. But the *swem* is also a symbolic representation to the Tiv people of their ancestor (*Takuruku*) and closely linked to A*ondo* (meaning God but also sky or upwards) who is a Supreme Being in the sky. The ancestors expect certain moral standards from their descendants and it is considered a disgrace to put the name of your ancestors to shame. Vices such as stealing, fighting fellow community members, killing, adultery and fornication are against the norms and values of the community. For this reason, the gods or ancestors are humane to all but impartial in their reward and punishment of offenders. This produces a framework for equality (INDI-2: 17/08/2011, INDI-11: 29/09/2011, INDI-15: 05/03/2012) of all humans before the Supreme Being who is considered to be just, fair and rewards good conduct and punishes bad behaviour accordingly. Therefore, to understand what it means to be human requires coming to terms with the institutions of the *tyo* (community) and how the agent functions and aspires in the context of 'human development'. This forms the institutional patterns or way people think and act based on what they value, their belief system and values that are embedded and set out as a predictable pattern of recurring behaviour.

To this end, the sense of *tyo* (community) drives the vertical interaction (to the Supreme Being and ancestors who watch over community members) and horizontal interaction (to fellow community members) and accountability by being responsible for one another, showing compassion and care to fellow community members. A respondent (INDI-2: 17/08/2011) elaborated:

> If the Mada people go hunting and happen to kill a Leopard it MUST be shared amongst all Mada people (home and abroad) and those who are not available it is given to their immediate or extended family members to keep for them. This was the sharing and community value that united the Mada people.

To be human, therefore, is to have a sense of responsibility to others. To give and receive gifts, sharing, and exchange of household wares like handmade cloths, farm implements and food are the expressions of humanity, solidarity, compassion, love, care and togetherness. The (INDI-2: 17/08/2011) sharing of meat, especially rare species caught by hunters like leopards and peacocks by the Mada people of Nassarawa, is a virtue and a shared value. Therefore, there are different expressions connoting sharing, care and compassion as the hallmarks of humanity, solidarity and community. To the Tiv people in Benue, Nassarawa and Taraba states *ya na angbian* is the term and it literally means 'eat and share with your neighbour' as a mark of good neighbourliness. This is also the recognition of others, humanness, and spirit of compassion known as *Sadaka* meaning 'giving' (INDI-3: 17/08/2011). *Sadaka* is an Arabic term that has come to be closely associated with the Islamic faith but it was argued by the respondent to be a value and virtue even before the advent of organized religion to show compassion, love and care for your neighbour. The respondent (INDI-3: 17/08/2011) further elaborates:

> Empathizing with others and having compassion is the hallmark of the Egbira people. For instance, the word human in Egbira is *Oza orihi* (*Oza* meaning Human and *Orihi* meaning rain). Again there is a relationship between human-rain-sky and *Ihinegba* (God). Therefore, if a community member behaves as if she/he has no human feelings or very insensitive or without compassion the Egbira people will ask *Obo zu orihi* (meaning is he or she human at all) and these inhuman and inhumane behaviour range from stealing, cheating, deceit or killing another human being and so on.

There is a relational (INDI-3: 17/08/2011, INDI-9: 28/09/2011, INDI-13: 02/03/2011, and INDI-7: 26/09/2011) component of being human associated with sharing (*sadaka*) as a community value that emphasizes what they term 'relational equality' meaning 'all

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humans are humans'. The concept of relational equality flows from 'community solidarity' and the understanding that the humanity in another human is same, (all humans are humans) and from God irrespective of background, status or race. The emphasis, in spite of the differences in beliefs, culture and traditions in North Central Nigeria, is on the equality of all humans as a central theme to being human. The 'self' image of the human being is not individualized or individuated but viewed within the vertical and horizontal accountability framework between God and man, man-to-man and man and the environment. Being human and human development in this way is expressed in community solidarity, compassion, sharing and being humane. Amongst the Egbira, Eggon, Tiv and most tribes of North Central region, the value of sharing (*sadaka*) as an expression of humanity is emphasized.

Therefore (INDI-3: 17/08/2011), the vertical and horizontal accountability is a value framework that lends meaning to being human and humane, knowing that everyone is human and created equal before a Supreme Being. The concepts of 'self' and *tyo* (community) operate slightly differently in centralized and decentralized social structures in Nigeria. A centralized social structure is that which kingship and governing responsibility is bestowed on a lineage that produces successive kings or chiefs from the same descendants. A decentralized social structure is that which has no central kingship structure but the oldest persons from autonomous family units making up the village constitute the ruling elders in the community. Centralized (INDI-4: 18/08/2011) kingship social structures embody an accountability structure that has both religious and traditional leadership responsibility. The decentralized social structure has an accountability structure that is autonomous and directly connects the individual and the deity.

The usefulness of knowing and understanding difference in social structures is historical but also relates to how villages govern themselves and are accountable to 'constituted authority'. The historical background of these communities produces variations in their social mechanics within which the individual functions (INDI-7: 26/09/2011). The determination of what people value is produced in social interaction (INDI-3: 17/08/2011). The meaning in social interaction manifests itself in patterns of social accountability that cut across self, otherness, respect, faith, and even how the issues of life and death are handled.

There (INDI-3: 17/08/2011, INDI-7: 26/09/2011) is, therefore, an intricate relationship between freedom, faith and functioning because the concept of *tyo* (community) shapes the way the agents function. This also underscores the fact that humans are not 'self' accounting but accountable to a deity or god' and their functioning is expected to be in conformity with set norms and values of what is acceptable behaviour. Alago (INDI-4: 18/08/2011) people of Nassarawa state believe *Owuso* (God) is supreme and is in the sky. *Owuso* created all humans and comes down in the form of rain referred to as *Owuso aw a'h* (God is coming). Nyifon people (INDI-7: 26/09/2011) believe that *Uken* (God) created all humans. *Uken* is likened to the sun because God shines like the sun on everyone fairly, freely, justly and *Uken's* light is given unconditionally and equally to every human. The awesome power of *Uken* (God) is likened to the sun because 'no one can look the sun in the eye' and so *Uken* is untouchable and resides in *Tsen* (above or upwards). So, *Uken Tsen* means God above. This means the concept of 'human' is linked to 'humanness' and tied to a Supreme deity, Being, existence, essence and accountability.

Therefore, accountability is connecting with God and others known as *tyo*, *Ayaatutu, Ubuntu, Jamaa* showing communion with others (INDI-1: 04/06/2011 and 01/08/2011). Community members are expected to live according to the principles and value framework that recognize and appreciate human worth. On the other hand, a man who is greedy, proud, self-seeking (in terms of riches, power, and material possessions) and does not care about others is told to be ready to bury himself/herself when s/he dies. Reference to a supernatural being or Supreme Being in relation to creation, agency, functioning is central to the concept of *tyo* (community). Eggon people who believe they came out of a certain rock on the Eggon Mountain known as *Eggon amai* still believe that the *amai* serves as a fortress (INDI-5: 18/08/2011) and protector to all Eggon people. This means that man is dependent on God and on powers greater than himself. So, believing in a deity or Supreme Being is essential to well-being because of the need for protection if one is submissive and accountable. The *tyo* (community) is at the heart of understanding social interaction, exchange, common humanity and desired human development needs. What it means to be human is, therefore, a relational occurrence between God and man, man and others within the *tyo* (community).

Community as a Value: its Implication for Operational Mechanics supporting Human Agency and Functioning

During the interviews repeated reference to *tyo* (community) and the relational component to understanding 'human' became evident. Therefore, I made 'community' a key category in the interview guide during the second phase of data collection to seek a better understanding of the intersection of community, agency and functioning. The question was: what is community and how does it act to support human development? Community (INDI-1: 04/06/2011; INDI-7: 26/09/2011; INDI-3: 17/08/2011; INDI-13:

02/03/2012, INDI-14: 03/03/2012, INDI-11: 29/09/2011) is defined as a collection of people in groups bonded together by certain affinities they consider acceptable to them. This can be lineage, kinship, language, location or geography, association and common norms or values.

The Nyifon (INDI-7: 26/09/2011) people greet each other by saying *ingyeni*- meaning 'this man or this human'. This is the recognition that other fellow community members are humans too and we are responsible for each other and greeting is the first indication of this responsibility. Therefore, fullness (*yough yough*) in this sense is not material possessions but when you know that your neighbour or fellow human being is also doing well. A further explanation is that greetings are not mere salutations or just exchange of pleasantries to the Nyifon people but asking to know how the other 'human' is doing, sharing his/her joy and pain and feeling for each other. The expression of fullness (INDI-7: 26/09/2011) is not only individual contentment but the desire to see other human beings surrounding you also do well by being humane, sharing our common humanity and reaching out. A respondent (INDI-1: 04/06/2011) stressed that 'there is no longer fairness because other people due to their monetary riches tend to think too highly of themselves and little of others'. Quoting from the book of Romans 12: 3-5, a respondent (INDI-1: 04/06/2011) elaborated saying 'men should not think too highly of themselves than they ought to think'. But on the contrary, the respondent added another quote from the book of John 12: 43 from the Bible states 'they love men's praises more than God's praise'. So, community members tend to do 'good' to earn people's praises but not intrinsic love for other human beings.

Therefore, (INDI-1: 01/08/2011; INDI-3: 17/08/2011; INDI-5: 18/08/2011 and INDI-7: 26/09/2011) living frugally is part of the value to be meek and modest and desist from an

overt show of extravagance, an outward show of material possessions or affluence but use these possessions to show compassion to other humans. *Ya na abgbian* (INDI-1: 01/08/2011) is an expression of this care, compassion and solidarity like the sharing of leopard or peacock meat by the Eggons (INDI-5: 18/08/2011). S*adaka* (INDI-3: 17/08/2011) is another concept of compassion and community practiced all across North Central region as an institutionalized way of living based on sharing. A Nyifon (INDI-7: 26/09/2011) person is happier when neighbours around him/her are also happy. The love for others (INDI-7: 26/09/2011) is a value that Christianity has only come to complement as seen in the book of 1 Peter 2: 17 that says 'honour all men, love the brotherhood, fear God, and honour the king'. The concept of community is linked to the identity of the people and community solidarity as a value produces strong ties and associations that define how leadership and local production systems are administered and managed. This is why 'community' is a value because it includes micro level influences and affinities (INDI-7: 26/09/2011) like norms, values, culture that define the identity of a place.

The emphasis on fullness (*yough yough*) during this second phase of data collection gave rise to the interview question: what is poverty? This question was meant to elicit analysis and interpretation from the eyes of respondents of the concepts of 'development' and 'poverty'. I felt this was important because the reality of people being researched and their voices should form and become the formative models for analysis. Poverty was defined as a lack of opportunities (INDI-3: 17/08/2011). This definition of poverty is similar to the earlier definition of poverty by the respondents (Res. 9, 5, 7-FGDM-1: 14/09/2012) during the FGDs and presented in section one: first stage of data collection as *'lack of and obstacle to attaining fullness (shagba, yough-yough)'*. Poverty is, therefore, attributable to poor access to basic social needs like food,

water, shelter, clothing, and healthcare. This explanation has interesting intersections between the worldview of the people and the social milieu in which the concept of community operates. This brings back the need (Resp. 3, 4, 8-FGDM-1: 14/09/2012) to analyse the connection between the twin concepts of 'human' and 'development'. Development as a concept is defined to be *'the opportunities and life chances available to all humans to attain fullness (shagba, yough-yough)'.* In this definition of development, emphasis is on the attainment of 'fullness' and the need to understand what fullness means to respondents. This leads to the last question on human development.

What does the Term 'Human Development' mean to you?

This question followed closely after discussing and analysing the interpretation and understanding of the terms 'human' and 'development' separately as presented above. The fieldwork and data collection at this point needed attention on the twin concepts of 'human development' and how this is understood and interpreted by the respondents. The main (INDI-10: 29/09/2011, INDI-1: 04/06/2011, INDI-12: 01/03/2012, INDI-8: 27/09/2011) focus of development should be human beings and so it is humanity before development, that is humanity in development. This is because it is the conception of development ideas focusing on humanity that will lead to human development. Another follow-up question was to make the respondents elaborate on the concept of 'humanity in development' as it related to human agency and functioning. A respondent (INDI-1: 04/06/2011) elaborated saying:

> The 'government' has come to support and reinforce this system which has destroyed the cardinal principle of *'ya na angbian'* and looking out for each other and replaced it with self-seeking individuals that are not only corrupt but plunder and arrogate community resources like land and trees (timber) to themselves. There is no longer fairness. They do not know what it means to be human.

Further analytical explanations of the concept of humanity in development are linked to even deeper concepts like fairness, compassion towards others and communitarian values of sharing common resources and collective decision-making. Another key point from the analysis is the way the government system operates in relation to established communitarian value systems with regards to fairness in allocation of community resources. In this regard, the 'government' is referred to as if it is 'outside' what the villager knows and understands. The government is seen as 'replacing' the local governance and organizational system and does not know how to fairly adjudicate and distribute common resources humanely. Humanity in development is, therefore, an established value framework built on tradition and beliefs that form significant parts of influence on the cultural heritage of the people as a governance system.

Humanity in development in effect leads to human development but not the other way round. This is because humanity in development is an integral part of community governance; it is also an institutionalized process that defines how human agency and functioning is guided in line with the value system. Humanity in development is a relational framework for fairness that defines how the agent functions and relates to others in the community. Humanity in development leads to human development because the value of fairness permeates community governance and the organizational system and is known to all community members. Humanity in development also guides the operations of existing social networks, rural associations, leadership and local production systems based on norms/values and belief systems that ensures fairness in social exchange (INDI-10: 29/09/2011, INDI-1: 04/06/2011, INDI-12: 01/03/2012, INDI-8: 27/09/2011) and is used as an accountability mechanism.

Tyo (community) (INDI-10: 29/09/2011, INDI-1: 04/06/2011, INDI-12: 01/03/2012, INDI-8: 27/09/2011) is, therefore, a system of social solidarity and support that enables others to grow (human development) and attain *yough yough* (fullness/self actualization). So, the concept of community is not location-centred but people-centred and has in-built mechanisms that ensure 'humanity in development' for human development to strive. Community is also a regulatory system that checks the plunder and arrogation of community resources by 'powerful' and 'self-seeking' individuals. From the analysis during the interview sessions, the 'modern' government as a system is viewed with suspicion and distrust where a few people hold on to political power and use the economy for personal gain rather than the common good.

Conclusion

In Chapter Four, I present data from the first and second stages of fieldwork to examine what it means to be human and how the understanding of being human shapes relationships and leads to *yough yough* (fullness/self-actualization). The understanding and interpretation of the concept 'human', humanity, human agency and functioning is drawn from a strong undercurrent and sense of *tyo* (community) that shapes human development referred to as humanity in development. Humanity in development from the analysis leads to human development because it has inbuilt mechanisms for fairness and how community resources are allocated based on their value system. Therefore, the primary source data in Chapter Four show the philosophical underpinning of *tyo* (community) as a value system and how the functioning of the agent and agency is shaped in following humanity in development principles. From the primary data, *tyo* (community) and humanity in development are frameworks for compassion, group solidarity, and community identity that are central to the functioning of the agent.

In the next chapter, I will use the primary data for analysis and show how value, being and belongingness is understood, interpreted and activated to provide meaning to social interaction within the community. I will do this by reflecting on the emerging themes from the field data alongside academic debates presented in Chapters One, Two and Three. I will also use the contextual interpretation, understanding and meaning of humanity, human, development, agency and functioning as bases of analysis in the next chapter.

<center>**Chapter Five**</center>

<center>**Analysis and Reflection on Primary Data from the Field**</center>

Introduction

In Chapter Five I use the emerging themes from the primary data in Chapter Four to compare reflections and analyses with the criticisms levelled against the Capability Approach. In Chapter One, I identified two major criticisms levelled against the Capability Approach: incomplete, abstract and lacking reference to historical reality; and secondly, lacking ontological grounding and not concrete. I reviewed literature in Chapter Two to address the first criticism and also set out a methodological approach in Chapter Three to address the second criticism. I will use findings from the primary data in Chapter Four to address the second criticism against the Capability Approach. By so doing, I will also be touching on the second aim of my study: to demonstrate that the presentation by Sen and Nussbaum of a Capability Approach (development theory) that is 'fully human' is an important starting point but they pay one-sided attention to 'doing' (that is at the functional-theoretical realm) and only pay marginal attention to 'being' (which is at the practical-relational realm). This is in line with Sen's (1999: 87, 1992: 40) idea that the capability and functioning of the agent is anchored on freedom to enjoy what they value 'being' and 'doing'.

I now present the analysis of data by reflecting on the findings from primary sources and cross-referencing primary source data with secondary materials. This approach of cross-referencing primary data sources with secondary materials is to check theoretical conceptualizations against the themes from the primary data from the field. It is my contention that the application of the Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA) is grappling with a contextual interpretation and understanding of human

agency, development and functioning. This is part of a broad paradigm shift and I argue that viewing development from the reality and perspective of what people value is a bottom up approach requiring us to embed development theory. This chapter and indeed the study as a whole seek both theoretical and analytical insights to highlight these important shifts in development thinking in the context of North Central Nigeria. It is against this background that the collection of data around human development, values and institutions in general is relevant. I present the analysis of primary data in this chapter in two sections: one will focus on what Sen calls 'being' and reflect on the understanding and interpretation of human agency in relation to being and humanity. The second will focus on 'doing' around what Sen calls functioning and capability.

Section OneThe Ontological Grounding of a Theory: Reflections and Cross-Referencing identified Themes from Primary Data with Secondary Materials

Gasper (2002: 444-452) criticizes the excellent scholarly presentation by Sen and Nussbaum of a Capability Approach as shallow and lacking ontological grounding. This is because the human person as a 'being' with existential reality is not presented as a relational being with emotions and belongingness. In this way, Taylor (1989) emphasizes that ontology is the study of being that is realized by and manifests in social life and institutions. Taylor concludes that the self is in this way constitutive and constituted by the social order where self-consciousness and personhood develops. Therefore, being, self and consciousness are all relationally constituted and anchored in belongingness with others, feelings and emotions. This is where Taylor's communitarian school of thought has analytical power when applying the principle that the human person is a being, and that human beings become self-conscious within institutions in the social contexts and networks that produces identity within these relationships. This takes us back to the earlier discourse in Chapter Two that an

institution as a key determinant of growth and development is overlooked (Alkire and Deneulin 2009: 27).

According to Johnson (2009: 162-3), formal and informal institutions exist in a society. There is the recognition that these formal and informal institutions play a complementary role but institutions are also distinct in their operations and understanding. Williamson (2000), in his categorization of institutions, pointed out that informal institutions relating to norms, values, beliefs and culture that belong to social theory are not properly understood. The study of human development touches on understanding being and the human person in the course of development. Being emerges in and is realized within informal institutions relating to norms, values, beliefs and culture. This in itself relates to particular contexts of how being and self-consciousness are developed, understood within networks of human relations and relationships. The definition of institutions as a recurring pattern of social interaction brings to focus that the study of human development will first deal with how the human person is viewed. This relates to culture that sets a pattern and way of life or way of doing things and how this understanding shapes what is considered as development. According to Schensul et al. (1999: 3), conducting an ethnographic research that focuses on culture requires isolating themes earlier on to build references, themes and meaning from the context one is researching:

> Determining which cultural domains make up a particular culture and which ones are relevant to a particular research topic or question involves an innovative mix of qualitative methods. A cultural domain is a set of items, behaviour, belief, or events defined by cultural groups as belonging to the same category of things. They are a basic unit of meaning that shapes how people conceptually organize their worlds. The ethnographic approach therefore relies on preferences of the poor towards a more holistic understanding of development needs. The selection of cultural domains is viewed as relating to some problems that groups of people agree are in need of a solution.

The difficulty of explaining the word human by Sen and Nussbaum in their Capability Approach confirms the argument by Taylor and Gasper of the need to bring in a practical-relational angle to the discourse on human development. The concept of being, self, belongingness with others, and emotions touch on intrinsic values people place on their understanding of humanity. Parrinder's (1976) writing about the word 'animism' explained that the word human is frequently used in the belief that there is a 'soul' (anima) in every being. Parrinder stated that 'African religion is more than a personification of nature and some of its most important beliefs are in a Supreme Being and in the departed ancestor'. The understanding of human and humanity is likened to God to the sky, sun, clouds or rain (INDI-5: 18/08/2011, INDI-1: 01/08/2011, INDI-3: 17/08/2011, INDI-2: 17/08/2011). The human being as a person is seen in reference to a connection with others within the society and a connection with the ancestors and a supernatural existence. Parrinder concludes that this supports the notion of the greater power above (*nhialic*).

Patterson (2012), elaborating on differences in a value framework, stated that God is increasingly withdrawn from 'public space' in other societies. This is because some scholars like Baggini (2012) consider religion an encumbrance to the personal liberties of the agent. By contrast, the presentation of primary data from North Central Nigeria shows that human development is represented in relationship with fellow community members and in relationship with a deity. This is in line with the primary data as the Eggon people (INDI-5: 18/08/2011) of Nassarawa state say they emanated from a certain rock on the top of Eggon Mountain known as *Eggon amai* and the *amai* created and protects Eggon people. To be human to the Eggon person is the understanding that you are accountable to *amai* first and then other fellow Eggon people. This is a value system as well as an accountability framework for the Eggon person and this shapes their

understanding of human agency and functioning. From the primary data presented, the concept of *tyo* (community) is identified as one of the key themes that people value. This is because the understanding of human agency, capability and functioning is mirrored from the concept of tyo (community) and solidarity referred to as *'Tyo hemba'* *'Or hembe tyo ga'* (Resp. 7 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010, Resp. 8, 10, 5, 11 FGDM 4, 15th/09/2010).

The understanding of people of the predominant belief system shapes the way the concepts of 'human' and 'development' are interpreted. A clash of values may occur between societies if the concepts of 'human' and 'development' do not represent their social reality. From the primary data, the view by Baggini (2012) that organized religion is ignorant and impedes individual liberty does not find easy expression amongst the respondents of North Central Nigeria. From the primary data, (INDI-5: 18/08/2011) the belief in a greater power by the Eggon people produces a vertical accountability structure that acts as a restraint, defines acceptable and unacceptable behaviour and creates an understanding of human agency and functioning of the agent. Therefore, the concept of 'human' as presented in Chapter Four is interpreted as a deeper connection of what people think about themselves in relation to their 'being', existence and as they interact with others. There is a connection between the belief system of a people, their identity as human beings and their quest for development. The belief system of the people shows and lends meaning to their being and existence through the shared values of community, solidarity and compassion, or *Ayaatutu, Jamaa and Ubuntu* (Resp. 7 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010, Resp. 8, 10, 5, 11 FGDM 4, 15th/09/2010). Community is valued and belief in a Supreme Being is linked to humanness and community development through sharing and solidarity.

Accountability, Community Solidarity and Humanity as a Relational Value Framework

According to Taylor's (1989) definition of ontology, being is realized by and manifests in social life and institutions. It is in this social life and institutions that self, consciousness and personhood develop. Taylor argues that being, self and consciousness are relationally constituted and expressed in belongingness with and having feelings and emotional attachment with others. Following closely Taylor's presentation, I argue that the construction of self is within a value framework that is bottom-up, practical-relational and this defines the line of accountability within any given society. From the primary data presented in Chapter Four, the Nyifon (INDI-7: 26/09/2011) people greet each other by saying *ingyeni-* meaning 'this man or this human'. Greetings to the Nyifon people have three significant aspects of note: first, it is a relational encounter and recognition that other fellow community members are humans too; secondly, it is also a reminder of the responsibility fellow community members bear towards each other. Thirdly, the expression of fullness (INDI-7: 26/09/2011) is not only individual contentment (self-actualization) but the desire to see other human beings surrounding you also do well by being humane, sharing our common humanity and reaching out. Socialization and upbringing of younger Nyifon community members commences the process that realizes the self within these relational encounters and builds consciousness from relationships with others within the village.

Taylor (1989) views self as constitutive and constituted by the social order and he uses his communitarian school of thought to show that the human being becomes self-conscious in social contexts and network of relationships. This is where the concept of *tyo* (community) as an emerging theme from the primary data is central to

understanding self, consciousness, belongingness and relational encounters. Community (INDI-1: 04/06/2011; INDI-7: 26/09/2011; INDI-3: 17/08/2011; INDI-13: 02/03/2012, INDI-14: 03/03/2012, INDI-11: 29/09/2011) is defined as a collection of people group bonded together by certain affinities considered acceptable to them. This can be lineage, kinship, language, location or geography, association and common norms or values. The *tyo* (community) is at the heart of understanding social interaction, exchange, common humanity and desired human development needs. What it means to be human is, therefore, a relational occurrence between God and man, man and others, man and the created order within the *tyo*.

Tyo is a cosmic space that harbours the understanding of what it means to be human. In Chapter Four, 'humanity in development' is also another emerging concept of how the people understand human development. Humanity in development is a concept that embodies wider principles around fairness, equality, and accountability to others and to a supernatural being (INDI-10: 29/09/2011, INDI-1: 04/06/2011, INDI-12: 01/03/2012, INDI-8: 27/09/2011). This accountability system means community members are not self-contained or self-accounting. This I will refer to as +*accountability* (meaning vertical and horizontal accountability). +*Accountability* is the relational accountability framework that looks at the 'relationship by community members with the supernatural (vertical) and connectedness of man with the supernatural, and the relationship between man and fellow men (horizontal) and man with the environment'. Wan (2006) calls this kind of accountability mechanism 'relational realism'. According to Wan, relational realism is 'the systematic understanding that reality is primarily based on the vertical relationship between God and the created order and secondarily horizontal relationship within the created order'.

There is, therefore, a binding force within the *tyo* (community) that makes every community member draw on an accountability pattern in his or her common humanity. The use of terms likes '*Insha Allah*' (by God's will), 'God willing', and 'by His grace' shows this +*accountability* structure and spirituality. Another theme to underscore this accountability is concept of *'self'* and functioning within the *tyo* (community) is that *tyo hemba* (community is supreme) *and Or hembe tyo ga* (no individual is not above the community) presented in Chapter Four. This understanding of *tyo hemba* transcends organized religion and religious affiliations, or affiliation to political parties or social clubs. This brings us back to the question 'what does it mean to be human?' and the response (INDI-1: 04/06/2011) that 'it is being humane'. It is a recognition that other people also matter and we are all accountable to others and a force external to 'self'.

There is an element of spirituality, faith and belief in a supernatural being that exerts control on all community members from a deity or supernatural force. Within the *tyo* (community) there are norms linked to spiritual beliefs that define and set the limits of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour in the course of social interaction. In this way, self, functioning and faith bind community members with others but community members also have the freedom (*tseeneke*) to explore their humanity and attain fullness. Freedom to explore one's humanity is allowed so long as this bound the actions of the agent in this institutionalized +*accountability* (vertical and horizontal social accountability framework) structure.

Community solidarity and cohesion based on a certain value framework becomes a binding force that is valued and forms the bases for thinking, social exchange and local governance within and amongst a people. *Tyo* (community), therefore, has institutions and ways that are essentially 'place' and location centered but community itself is not in

the place or location but the people. This is because the place only sets the stage where the actual community and relational exchange happens based on what people value (Ade 2013). There are (INDI-1: 04/06/2011; INDI-7: 26/09/2011; INDI-3: 17/08/2011) strong connections between *self* and the +*accountability* structure within the *tyo* (community) that act as a restraint on the agent (self). *Tyo* (community) defines acceptable and unacceptable behaviour and sets expectations of the agent, agency and functioning. However, the agent is 'free to develop' (*tseeneke*) by accessing community resources and opportunities towards self-development and fullness.

In this vein, to understand what it means to be human, freedom, agency and functioning is to come to terms with the institutions within *tyo* (community), humanity and what is identified as *yough yough* (fullness) or development. Institutions (North 1990) are the established patterns or way people think and act based on what they value, their belief system and values that are embedded and set out a predictable pattern of recurring behaviour. Lui (2013) concurs that the Chinese people are open to imbibing new ideas so long as they mirror such ideas through the prism of Confucianism as one of the core of the Chinese value framework. Lui argues that the acceptance of development ideas as well as cultural ideas outside of China first finds expressions in Chinese values and a value framework before they are fully accepted. The primary data for this research from North Central Nigeria confirm this by showing that what people value, their values and institutions have influence on the development of the agent. To this end, choices of any endeavour are firstly viewed from the background of the existing value framework, systems of social exchange and institutional arrangement.

The conjuncture of two concepts-'human' and 'development' in an approach like HDCA remains a conjecture that will benefit from historical analysis for its application.

There is a bond and connection between community members and the wider belief system that governs social interaction in North Central Nigeria. A respondent (INDI-1: 04/06/2011) said the Tiv people worshiped a supernatural god that is unseen. But the *swem* is a physical and symbolic representation to the Tiv people of their ancestor (*Takuruku*) but closely linked to A*ondo* (meaning God but also means sky above) who is a Supreme Being in the sky.

The ancestors (INDI-2: 17/08/2011, INDI-11: 29/09/2011, INDI-15: 05/03/2012) expect certain moral standards from the descendants and, therefore, putting the name of your ancestor to shame is a taboo. Vices such as stealing, fighting with fellow community members, killing, adultery and fornication are against the norms and value of *Tyo*. Community members know acceptable and unacceptable behaviour that the gods or ancestors reward and punish impartially. This produces a framework not just for +*accountability* but also fairness and equality of all community members before the Supreme Being. This also defines equality as the Supreme Being is considered just, fair and rewards good conduct and punishes bad behaviour accordingly, irrespective of status. *Tyo* (community), community expectation and accountability is at the heart of understanding social exchange and common humanity in the process of development.

From the primary data collected from North Central Nigeria, human development is a more intricate +*accountability* relationship I describe as vertical (to the Supreme Being and ancestors who watches over community members) and horizontal (to fellow community members). Human development is a relational process of being responsible to one another, showing compassion and care to fellow community members (INDI-2: 17/08/2011). Stott (2006) also agrees but points to the difference in value frameworks across societies. Stott points out that in other societies accountability is seen largely

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through the lenses of self, rights and legal frameworks and less of the supernatural. Stott concludes that under the rights framework, accountability is treated as if the individual is self-contained and self-referential.

My conceptualization of +accountability (horizontal and vertical accountability) is the platform of relational encounters between fellow individuals, between individuals and a supernatural being and between individuals and the environment. This +accountability is a space of imagery that conjures the self; it is constitutive but also relational. I will argue that this +accountability is the space the self sees as imagery and where self-consciousness continues to develop. This imagery provides the ontological grounding and bases that can be used by functional-theoretical ideas in dialogue with other approaches when analysing interaction in practical-relational encounters.

Section Two

Self-consciousness and Functioning: The Stage of Imagery that conceives of 'Being' in Development

In this section of data analysis, I argue that development has a soul. It is this soul of development that is conceived alongside the understanding of 'who I am' and leads to self-consciousness of the agent to choose what they do based on what they value. This formative stage of 'who I am' builds the imagery of self within a value system and manifest in 'doing development' or functioning according to what the agent values. According to Gasper (2002: 444-452) and Taylor (1989; 2006: 370), the human being as a being develops self-consciousness during interaction within networks and so being is realized in social life. Taylor states that the presentation of the Capability Approach of what people value has two components: being (personhood) and doing (functioning related to personality). Being precedes doing because self-consciousness develops and

this manifests in the choices the agent makes about which personality the individual becomes. Taylor states that the recognition that people hold onto beliefs that they value begs the question: whose reality counts in advancing the HDCA? This is a central 'bottom-up' question to enable the understanding human agency and functioning from context. During the data collection, I observed an interesting encounter between an international development expert and a driver that elaborates on Taylor's position of the need to recognize that people hold onto beliefs that they value.

The humanitarian crisis caused by the armed terrorist group known as *Boko Haram* (Western education is bad) particularly in North East (NE) Nigeria has attracted a lot of international attention and an influx of international and local development expatriates. I travelled to Maiduguri, Borno state in Nigeria, as part of a local and international expatriate development team to support the government of Borno state design and implement the delivery of social services. Borno state in North East Nigeria is better recognized by the hashtag *#bringbackourgirls* social media campaign in reference to the kidnapping of the over 200 schoolgirls from a school in Chibok Local Government of Borno state in April 2014. Due to high insecurity, a key measure to protect us as expatriate developers was to assign a driver with local knowledge of road networks and locations to take the expatriate team from place to place. This was a measure to avoid suicide bombing and gun attacks targeting expatriates in the city of Maiduguri, capital of Borno state, where we were based and working.

But the curfew imposed on the city of Maiduguri meant the driver assigned to convey the expatriate development team to and from the office was often late to arrive for work. At the close of the day's work on a certain day, an international development expatriate was instructing the driver to arrive earlier the following day and convey the team to the

office because a lot of project designing needed to be accomplished the following day. Every time, the international development expatriate instructed the driver to arrive early the following day the driver responded 'I will arrive early *Insha Allah'*. The use of the phrase *Insha Allah* made the international development expat extremely angry. *Insha Allah* is an Arabic phrase meaning 'by God's will' used by Muslims and non-Muslims all across North Central to Northern parts of Nigeria. The local development expatriates along with the driver were all confused as to why the international development expatriate became so angry at the use of the phrase *Insha Allah* and asked the driver not to use of the phrase '*Insha Allah'* anymore.

The international development expatriate demanded that the driver should give him firm assurance that he will arrive early to work the next day as instructed. The driver was visibly seen trying to suppress his anger still responded 'I will arrive early *Insha Allah'*. When the driver left, the local development expatriates sought to understand why the international development expatriate was so angry at the use of the phrase *Insha Allah.* The international development expatriate retorted 'it is because of fatalism and these kinds of attitude to work guised in phrases like *Insha Allah* that Africa is not developed'. The international development expatriate went ahead to ask why *Insha Allah* has not brought about 'development' in Nigeria and indeed Africa.

It is important to underscore here that *Insha Allah* is part of a value framework and is an expression used by most ethnic groups in North Central to Northern parts of Nigeria, irrespective of religious affiliation. Some other ethnic groups have similar expressions in local dialects such as *Insha Allah: 'by His grace' 'by His power' 'by His mercy' 'if I am guided to see tomorrow'.* These expressions all denote a sense of humanity in submission, humility and accountability to a supernatural power beyond the individual.

The summary of the above exchange between the international development expat and the driver touches on several narratives and questions: if *Insha Allah* is valued then the international development expatriate needs to respect what the driver values. If development is about what people value, then *Insha Allah* is a value for the driver and should be respected. How do we determine *yough yough* (fullness)? What do some expatriates see as development or *yough yough* (fullness)? There is also the narrative of the attitude of 'expert developers' and the attitude of 'those in place of intended development'. Ignatiefff (1995; 55-69) narrates a similar scenario in Kabul:

> The women in Kabul who come to Western human rights agencies seeking their protection from the Taliban militias do not want to cease being Muslim wives and mothers; they want to combine respect for their traditions with an education and professional health care provided by a woman. They hope the agencies will defend them against being beaten and persecuted for claiming such rights.

There is a definitional problematic of 'what is development or what does development mean' in the exchange between the development expatriate and the driver above. In Chapter Three, I stated that the difficulty of defining the term 'development' especially because 'choice' is involved. I, therefore, selected the qualitative research methodology as a way to elicit bottom-up definitions of concepts from primary source data.

Development (Res. 7-FGDM-1: 14/09/2012) is defined as *'the opportunities and life chances available to all humans to attain fullness (shagba, yough-yough)'.* In this bottom-up definition of development, I argue that the mention of *yough yough* (fullness or self-actualization) is a key category and emerging theme that requires contextual understanding. The attainment of *yough yough* (fullness or self-actualization) depends on choice and what the agent values. The reflection in this chapter explores and reflects on *tyo* (community) as a value and as a possible missing dimension in human development discourse in North Central Nigeria. There is a nuanced assumption from the statement by the development expatriate above that development is coterminous

with the provision of infrastructural development like access roads, hospitals and better medical care, schools and clean drinking water. Edwards and Fowler (2002: 6) see social change at the heart of development endeavour but they also are quick to say that development encounters 'the question of values and values pose a deep dilemma for development experts'. They conclude by stating that this creates a dichotomy of values of the 'developer' and those of the place of 'intended development'.

To this end, Alkire and Deneulin (2009) caution that the term development is 'value laden' and must be understood within a context. Alkire and Deneulin conclude that development should not be viewed like the development of a child growing up or completing unfinished software in the laboratory because it is not that simplistic. It is against the background of this difficulty in defining development from a top-down functional-theoretical standpoint that I made the respondents during primary data collection come up with a bottom up and practical definition of development. From the dialogue between the development expert and driver above, most 'international development expatriates' fail to read 'the body language of locals or places of intended development' that infrastructural development is important but they also value other things like *Insha Allah*, their faith, belief, kinship and ancestral lineage. With reference to *Insha Allah* even if it leads to *yough yough* (fullness or self-actualization), some development experts view this as 'fatalism'.

Taylor (2006: 370) is critical of what he calls 'exclusive humanism' that fosters prosperity with the primary concern being the 'good life'. According to Taylor, the concept of overlapping consensus suggests that actors engaged in a humanitarian intervention or engaged in the defence of human rights may reflect very different views and radically different conceptions of human life. Gutmann (1994: 7) also agrees that

'human identity is created dialogically in response to our relations, including our actual dialogues with others'. Taylor is aware of the suspicion that his communitarian approach is viewed as a return to egalitarianism. But even the view of functioning during the FGDs using the modified Venn diagram by respondents rejected egalitarianism as a social arrangement.

In Chapter Four, the FGD respondents (Resp. 5, 8, and 9 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010) use Fig. 4.4 Venn diagram (see page 142) depicting cyclical layers of social arrangement showing functioning and interaction amongst interacting entities. This depiction shows a close knit social arrangement where the authority, power and influence of the *tyo* (community) over all the other interacting entities within. This depiction in Fig. 4.4 shows the accountability structure looking at the sizes of the circles flowing from the biggest to the smallest entity. The extended family has authority, power and influence over the nuclear family unit and the same for the nuclear family over the individual.

This depiction in Fig. 4.4 is a key point of divergence during the FGDs about functioning and social arrangements during the FGD (Resp. 3 and 6 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010). The FGD respondents that disagree with Fig. 4.4 drew up Fig. 4.6 (see page 151) to show that the agent has some level of *Tseeneke* (self-reliance or independence) with respect to functioning within the *tyo* (community). The respondents argue that the cyclical lines in Fig. 4.4 no longer reflect the true picture of the social arrangement, interaction and functioning within the *tyo* (community). The respondents state that there is a shift in both interaction and relationship as represented in Fig 4.6.

However, in Chapter Four, I stated that *tyo* (community) is an underlining point of convergence (Resp. 7, 4, 2, 5, 3 and 9 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010) by the FGD respondents

with respect to social arrangement. There is also convergence by the fact that there is a shift in functioning as the agent seeks more *tseeneke* (self-reliance or independence) as shown in Figs. 4.6. The respondents (Resp. 4, 1, 3 and 6 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010) stated that there is interdependence amongst the entities because the cycles still touch each other, albeit marginally as shown in Fig. 4.6. I wish to restate that interaction is used in a more general sense where community members interact in the same geographic space but have no specific congenial or instantiated ties. Relationship, on the other hand, is used to mean specific blood affinities that are instantiated ties between interacting entities.

A clash of values (Huntington, 1993) occurs when development expatriates use top-down functional theoretical extrapolations (Edward, 2011) to suggest that locals or places of intended development do not know what they value (as demonstrated by the dialogue with the driver using the phrase *Insha Allah*). The debate between the international development expatriate and the driver when the phrase *Insha Allah* was used has more to do with what the driver (and indeed the people) values. The application of classical top-down development approaches may not see these intangible affinities. The use of the phrase *Insha Allah* points to a relational value framework that touches on the humanity of a people the driver is part of. *Insha Allah* here also touches on life encounters and institutionalized processes of vertical and horizontal accountability, community solidarity and humanity. T*yo* (community) and solidarity are central to showing humanity and being humane to others. The theme *tyo* (community) is indeed a governance system with in-built safety nets that regulates human agency and ensures that all community members act (functioning or doing) in accordance with set norms.

The significance of *Tyo* (community) is that it serves as a platform that adjudicates how community members have access to common community resources like grazing fields, forest resources, water and fishing areas to enable self-actualization. The failing state and the inability of formal government to provide social services and economic opportunities mean that *tyo* (community) is the communitarian structure that subsists as government. Social and community capitalists cite positive cases to argue that the coordination problem is a result of the un-embedded formal public institutions. This means there is need for complementarity between formal and informal institutions (Brautigam 1997, 1072-1077; Dia 1996; Douglas 2000, 101-107; Tripp 2003, 303; Umeh & Andranovich 2005). As Dia (1996:1) puts it:

> 'Formal institutions, not being rooted in local culture, generally fail to command society's loyalty or to trigger local ownership, both of which are important for sustainability and enforceability...By contrast, indigenous institutions anchored in local culture and values can count on the sound pillars of legitimacy, accountability, and self-enforcement'.

In the absence of the formal 'modern' system of government, *tyo* (community) becomes a key accountability structure that adjudicates based on institutionalized patterns of norms and what the people value. *Tyo* (community) is (INDI-1: 04/06/2011) a system of social suppor that enables others to grow and attain *yough yough* (fullness or self actualize). So, *tyo* (community) is said (INDI-1: 04/06/2011) to have in-built mechanisms to ensure fairness and regulate the plunder of common community resources. The analysis of functioning and capability (INDI-3: 17/08/2011) of the agent is also dependent on intervening conditions as listed below. The capability of the agent to function and attain fullness has internal and external factors as outlined in Chapter Four by FGD respondents Table 4.3 to enable the capability of the agent (See Chapter Four Table 4.3: p. 139) Internal and external conditions necessary in supporting human).

The list of internal and external conditions necessary in supporting human development in Chapter Four shows that the Freedom (*tseeneke*) of the agent to develop depends on the agent but is also dependent on external intervening conditions if the full capability and potential of the agent is to be realized. This is why the bottom-up definition of poverty and development and further analysis presented here by respondents from the primary data collection exercise clearly pointed to *'lack of and obstacles to attaining fullness'*. I stated at the beginning of the chapter that to explain 'doing', functioning and capability of the agent requires a bottom up practical relational approach. It is my firm contention that central to the analyses of 'doing' (functioning and capability) from Table 4.3 is access to basic social services like education and basic needs like food, safe water, shelter, clothing, and healthcare. These are mentioned as conditions necessary for attaining fullness *(shagba, yough-yough)* as outlined by respondents above. From Table 4.3, the analysis shows that human development is a complex process involving internal and external causalities that enable or impinge the capability of the agent. The respondents identified poor access to and provision of schools and quality education to enable the individual gain an education and attain their potential capability and functioning. The communities pointed out that issues of development are not entirely within the power or control of the individual but also depend on a number of external mediating conditions.

The respondents (INDI-1: 04/06/2011; INDI-3: 17/08/2011, INDI-4: 17/08/2011, INDI-7: 26/09/2011) analyse the role of the 'modern government' as a historical conception received during colonialism as a system that will enable the capability of the individual to attain 'fullness'. In Chapter Six, I will return to the point that there is a historical analysis behind the deteriorating standard of education and state that the HDCA can use

these kinds of analysis to enrich its functional theoretical explanation of human development. From the analysis of primary data, defining concepts helps me use the definitions and voices of the people to draw analytical conclusions. The intersection between formal and informal institutions and understanding the complementary role and of workings of these two is an important finding over the course of this research journey.

The bottom up definitions of development and poverty suggests that these two concepts interact and can produce each other if a 'fair' mediation platform is not instituted. Therefore, if there are obstacles to accessing opportunities in the development process, this leads to poverty but if there are more opportunities in the development process to access by the individual then this will lead to *yough yough* (fullness). This is why the *tyo* (community) is the platform that ensures fairness in the distribution of common community resources in a truthful (*mimi*) way. Truth (*mimi*) is identified as a value. How truth (*mimi*) as a concept operates goes beyond just its name but implies the concept of fairness in the social arrangement and how opportunities are created for community members to attain *yough yough* (fullness). The concept of truth (*mimi*) entails fairness, community reconciliation, order, and stability and reinforces interdependence.

An example to illustrate how *mimi mimi u gba Aondo* (truth of god's creation) operates during the FGD (Resp. 5 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010) is how the police and other law enforcement agents forced him as Returning Electoral Officer (REO) to take the ballot box to a place where it was stuffed in favour of a certain candidate. In Nigeria, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) due to inadequate staffing makes use of ad hoc staff (especially schoolteachers and interns) during elections. The

respondents accused the formal 'government' of deviation from *mimi mimi u gba Aondo* (the truth) thereby creating an unfair and anomic society based on falsehood (Resp. 5 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010, Resp. 5 FGDM 5, 4th/11/2010). Odunsi (2016c) also agrees and reports that a Resident Electoral Commissioner (REC) of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Gesila Khan and four others were arrested by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), the anti-graft agency for allegedly receiving N651 million bribes during the 2015 elections.

This is why respondents (Resp. 5 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010, Resp. 5 FGDM 5, 4th/11/2010) state that obvious corrupt practices and misappropriation of government funds and resources have created so much distrust for the formal government. The complementary role of formal and informal institutions (Johnson 2009: 162; Wiliamson 2000: 567) can be a serious area to explore in HDCA. I argue that formal government (constitutional provisions and policy frameworks) and informal institutions (embedded in the *tyo*-community) can act to reinforce development aspirations of people based on what they value. The definition of development is a vital bottom-up entry point to understand what people value and aspire to in their development. The attainment of capability or the prioritization of 'threshold' or the concept of a social minimum of capabilities (Nussbaum 2000: 12) can benefit from what people say they value and the things needed to enable functioning and capability. This approach to defining and understanding issues of development from bottom-up is different from Nussbaum's (2000: 70) assertion that 'these capabilities are then presented as the source of political principles for all liberal pluralistic society'. The provision of constitutional levers that citizens have rights and can make demands of their government is a good idea requiring a system of fairness understood by all.

Sen and Nussbaum both conclude that securing the basic capabilities of people is the

task of our political and social institutions. To anchor the applicability of Capability Approach in institutions, constitutional guarantees and democracy is an assumption that can benefit from voices of what people say they value. The news about corruption by public officials in Nigeria (INDI-3: 17/08/2011, INDI-4: 17/08/2011, INDI-7: 26/09/2011) has built a wall of distrust of formal government in Nigeria. This reinforces the belief that modern government is selfishness and has lost the capacity to enable 'doing', the capability and functioning of the agent. Attending an international anti-corruption summit in London in May 2016, Nigeria's president Muhammadu Buhari acknowledged that corruption almost became a way of life as corrupt government officials acted with impunity. Corrupt officials also hire villagers from their localities to protest against their arrest by law enforcement agencies (Odunsi 2016d). The respondents (INDI-4: 17/08/2011, INDI-7: 26/09/2011) point out the growing implications of corruption on social mechanics and social arrangements:

1. The increased desire by the agent (individual) for material things and the self-seeking attitude no longer allows *sadaka, ya na angbian* as values to thrive. This has resulted in a reduction in remittances to extended family members back home because care and compassion is waning;

2. Growing inequalities and worsening well-being amongst sections of Nigeria is made even worse by corruption and the desire to show affluence;

3. The pressures to show 'the good life' make 'honest' community members indulge in profiteering, rampant looting of community or government resources;

4. Social bonds between individual, family and community are breaking. The individual no longer feels a moral sense of solidarity or accountability to the family, community or ancestors or the Supreme Being.

The seeming inability of the formal government in Nigeria to provide social amenities that will enable 'doing' or capability and functioning makes communities resort to 'self-help' community initiatives as alternatives to formal government (INDI-1: 04/06/2011). This is seen in the construction of community owned schools by rural communities, recruiting and paying schoolteachers by rural communities in order for children to acquire an education as one of the intervening conditions listed in table 5.1 above. Parent Teachers Association (PTA) teachers are a common feature in rural communities. PTAs are local school management associations formed to give oversight in the running of schools by villagers. The respondent (INDI-1: 04/06/2011) emphasized that the 'capability' and 'functioning' of the agent is dependent on availability, access and use of social services like schools. The working definition of development as opportunities available to the agent to attain 'fullness' was mentioned as a condition necessary for the agent to flourish. The understanding of human agency and functioning of the agent in North Central Nigeria is governed by *tyo* (community) as a theme the people say they value. *Tyo* (community) in North Central Nigeria is the identity the agent bears that guides social interaction and encounters with 'others'. Building complementary development models that understand the working of formal and informal institutions is an area the HDCA can show applicability and its value in the human development discourse.

Whose Reality should count in advancing the Human Development and Capability Approach, HDCA?

Whose reality counts in advancing the Human Development and Capability Approach HDCA is a classical bottom-up approach question in development discourse. Bottom-up development approaches look at consultation with and participation of locals in their development. Bottom-up development approaches and the word 'participation' have

become a mantra and almost a prescription in the conceptualization of development interventions. Bottom-up development approaches are numerous but authors and practitioners of participatory methods like Robert Chambers (1999) 'Whose Reality Counts? 'Putting the first last' and Bryant Myers (2000) 'Walking with the Poor: Principles and Practices of Transformational Development', bring real insights into how we look at bottom-up development approaches. Many other theorists and development practitioners have also written books and papers on development with graphic details on how to apply bottom up development approaches. Bottom-up participatory development methods bring to the table the need to consult rural communities and obtain their views when planning, designing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating development interventions. The international development cycle has so many theories, approaches and paradigms that explain what theorists feel is the reality of places of intended development (Deneulin 2009; Edwards and Fowler 2002).

The primary data in Chapter Four identify 'community' (*Tyo*) as a value and a key theme that shapes the 'doing'-capability and functioning of the agent. In this sense, *tyo* (community) and solidarity are valued because they bind members of the same community in interactions. Therefore, understanding *tyo* (community) and understanding how human agency is interpreted across North Central Nigeria is a core component to be considered in advancing the HDCA. The theme *tyo* (community) is valued. So the application of approaches like HDCA will seek to understand the concept of *tyo* (community).

Whose reality attempts to look further beneath bottom-up development theories and participatory methods to identify what people value from their reality using their value framework. It is my contention that the identification of the value framework of places

of intended development is beyond mere 'bottom-up consultation'. The need to uncover the 'undercurrent' that defines what people value in their development aspirations is a priority and task of development endeavour. The approach called 'Human Development' has two concepts of interest: *human* and *development*. In other words, to advance the HDCA we all need to step back and unravel the concept of being and humanity and what it means in the conjecture 'human development'. Clustering the two words *human* and *development* together in a theoretical approach like HDCA requires us to pay attention to how people in places of intended development will interpret these words. Chapter Four presented primary data on what people say they value. I used Chapter Five to deepen the presentation around the understanding of the concepts 'human' and 'development'. This is why defining development is central because (Res. 7-FGDM-1: 14/09/2012) development is seen as 'the opportunities and life chances available to all humans to attain fullness (*shagba, yough-yough)*' while human is described as being humane and humanity.

The analysis offered here in Chapter Five shows a difference between bottom-up development approaches with my conceptualization of 'what people value' in their development. The whole essence of development endeavour (Res. 7-FGDM-1: 14/09/2012) is to expand choices and opportunities for people to attain *yough-yough* (fullness). Therefore, whose reality looked at what those in places of intended development say they value to determine their development. This explores the thesis that 'what people value determines their development'. The question then is 'what do people value? This question cannot be answered by coming up with a shopping list of what individuals want. What people value is embodied in a value framework that is more holistic than itemized. For instance, *tyo* (community) and solidarity are valued themes but cannot be itemized because *tyo* (community) and solidarity embody an

analytical framework in understanding how a people reason and act. Therefore, what people value can be a more nuanced and subliminal discovery that forms the undercurrent that breeds *yough-yough* (fullness). *Yough-yough* (fullness) is identified by the researched places in North Central Nigeria as the end product of 'development'.

The immediate problematic with the thesis that 'what people value determines their development' is: what people value like *tyo* (community) and solidarity should not lead to tensions and sometimes violent conflicts, tribal or religious wars, terrorism and so on. Tribal conflicts, terrorism, disease and corruption in Nigeria have further exacerbated poverty, disease, and an already weak governance (Collier, 2007). For this reason, we must differentiate the understanding of development issues in North Central Nigeria using three kinds of clashes that occur when conceptualizing what people value. First, the clash at the realm of value is the kind of clash that looks at perceived or real attempts to dominate what others value. The second clash is between 'development ideas' models and policies by regimes and 'development expatriates'. The third clash is the change occasioned by natural forces of globalization on places of intended development (Alkire and Deneulin 2009; Meyer and Geschiere 1999). I will discuss the first and second clashes here but will discuss the third clash more extensively in Chapter Six.

Let me try to explain the first two clashes. The encounter by the international expatriate and the driver earlier in the chapter pose a question, 'Why is it that *Insha Allah* (or I will add- the *tyo*) as a valued framework, sense of humanity and solidarity has not translated into 'development'? This question is a good example of how certain 'development expariates' conceptualize development. The question to answer is: what do people value on the one hand and what 'development expatriates' on the other hand refer to as

development. The primary data in Chapter Four define development as 'the opportunities and life chances available to all humans to attain fullness (*shagba, yough-yough*)'.

Kilcullen (2013: 11) explores this problematic when he states that the natural instinct of development practitioners when responding to a humanitarian emergency or carrying out a development intervention is to pour in huge sums of money. The aim is to rebuild broken infrastructure, re-building broken governance systems and service delivery platforms. Kilcullen goes on to conclude that most development practitioners have lots of money to spend but have little understanding, inclination or time to grasp and gain a full analytical conception of local politics and dynamics on the ground. This analysis by Kilcullen is true of North Central Nigeria where this research is conducted. There are latent tensions by ethnic and tribal groupings occasioned by population growth and rapid urbanization that put a strain on scarce resources. These struggles range from struggles over scarce resources like land, forests, water and access to markets to causing violent conflicts between farmers and herdsmen, and increased intra- and inter-tribal tensions. All this has led to many Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) requiring humanitarian assistance.

From the description above, development assistance to a warring section of the communities is often interpreted as favouring one community, ethnic or tribal grouping, while at the same time, putting the others without development assistance at a disadvantage. The North Central part of Nigeria embodies a mix of Northern and Southern features/demographics cutting across socio-cultural, religious, economic and political divides. The important thing to note here is that the historical realities of these ethnic and tribal groupings differ. Kilcullen (2013: 11) describing another similar situation in Afghanistan stated:

> One of the big problems that the contractors face and one reason they get attached is because they bring people from another village as labourers and security guards said Haji Abdul Ahad Khan, an elder who on Friday was attending the funeral of one of the slain security guard. They do not ask our villagers to participate in these projects or hire them to do any of the labor. This makes our people angry, he said. And they start projects in our areas without consulting the village elders. They start cleaning our canals for us, or building a road for us. I don't want a road, why would you build that? We need a school or a clinic.

For this reason, Kilcullen firmly concluded that 'no external aid is neutral'. The infusion of external development aid is good in itself but it also creates rapid and uneven development by making others feel entitled. In the same way, the other section of the community is disadvantaged because they do not get aid. Development 'experts' have imbibed bottom-up development approaches that enable them to listen to project stakeholders. Bottom-up development approaches are now a requirement by bi- and multi-lateral donor agencies that must be embedded in project conceptualization, implementation and management. To this end, participatory methods are used to consult places of intended development, enable community participation, engage stakeholders and make project communities 'have a say in their development'. But there are other intangible development ingredients that lead to *yough-yough* (fullness) and are valued by places of intended development that donor funds are unable to procure or supply from the example of *Insha Allah*. This brings me to the concept of humanity in development as an important aspect that bottom up development approaches must first understand.

There is a relational component to the understanding of human agency, capability and functioning in North Central Nigeria that sees humanity in development as preceding human development. Humanity in development captures the understanding of being and human as it is interpreted through the lenses of cultural reality and value systems of being human and humane summed up as 'humanity in development'. I will argue that the concept of humanity in development is a bottom-up relational understanding that looks at the 'being' from the interpretation of how the human person relates with

'others' and how the human person is regarded. In the conceptualization known as 'humanity in development' lies a deeper understanding of what people value and how what is valued shapes the understanding of being, human agency and social reality.

In Chapter One, I quote Gasper (2002: 444-452) and Taylor (2006: 370) who argue that being and humanity are components of self consciousness gained through social interaction and belongingness.   This is similar to the concept of humanity in development as a relational understanding of human agency and functioning as explained by the respondents during primary data collection. The focus (INDI-10: 29/09/2011, INDI-1: 04/06/2011, INDI-12: 01/03/2012, INDI-8: 27/09/2011) of development is human beings. So, it is humanity before the outcome-development. This is humanity in development because it is the conception of development ideas focusing on the human and the embedded humane consideration of humanity that will lead to human development. Humanity (Taylor 1989) and being are practically realized in social life within the manifestation of institutions.   Taylor concludes that self is both constitutive of, and constituted by, the social order within which it functions to gain self-consciousness-personhood.

Gutmann's (1994: 7) analysis of human identity as a creation that is dialogical in response and relation with others also speaks to this understanding of humanity in development.   Gutmann points to the recognition that communitarian societies have some core value framework that guides the understanding of human agency and functioning within social relationships. The explanation of humanity in development anchors the understanding in human agency and functioning on practical-relational encounters that are akin to the concept of self as belongingness with others as explained by Taylor and Gasper. The discussion of the concept of human development is indeed a

discussion of 'being' and 'doing' (Sen 1999: 87, 1992: 40) and so humanity does not exist in a vacuum but within practical relational encounters where 'being' is understood. The concept of humanity in development also speaks to fairness and being humane within relational encounters and how 'others' within the process of interaction are regarded and considered. Humanity in development is (INDI-10: 29/09/2011, INDI-1: 04/06/2011, INDI-12: 01/03/2012, INDI-8: 27/09/2011) also linked to how people in relational encounters recognize existing accountability mechanisms during social interaction.

In this conceptualization of humanity in development, the concept of *Tyo* (community) is the central unit of analysis and value that lays out how the human person functions, relates and is understood. The analysis and reflections in Chapter Five show that the application of the HDCA will grapple with the understanding of how human agency is shaped by *tyo* (community) as a value. The acceptance of new ideas is shaped by cultural considerations, community beliefs and spirituality as having a strong affinity in shaping the understanding of human agency and functioning. The changing times and encounters experienced by the agent in a fast-moving and globalizing world show that the understanding of human agency keeps shifting in relational spaces.

In Chapter Six, I will return to this concept of 'relational spaces', where I refer to it as co-belligerence and will also define co-belligerence and how I am applying it in this study. Co-belligerence, I argue, is that relational space that allows the agent to engage with others in a respectful and empowering manner without the fear of domination and losing a valued heritage or identity. The discussion in Chapter Six will set out a model tending to the three clashes and suggest a model for understanding human agency and functioning in North Central Nigeria. The functioning of the agent is characterized by

the search for *yough yough,* (self-actualization and or fullness) self-worth and self-esteem as defined. The search for human development approaches that are contextual and iterative will open opportunities to understand human agency, culture, faiths, and functioning and cherished freedoms in the search for *yough yough*. The changing times in the face of a globalizing spaces is a realization we cannot ignore or claim to have all the answers. We live in a relational space where people value what they value and seek opportunities to attain *yough yough,* (fullness or self-actualize) that should be respected.

People do not want to give up their identity even when we do not agree with these identities. The agent is in constant search to harness social relations and economic gains based on what they value and, in most cases, all the agent is asking for is respect for what they value. Therefore, *tyo* (community) as a value becomes part of a body of knowledge in the advancement of the HDCA and human development discourse generally. Again, in Chapter Six, I highlight the need to acknowledge the influence history, institutions and culture have on places of intended development and their lived reality. The history and cultural heritage of a place shape the identity, content, faith, freedom and functioning of the agent during encounters within a relational space in the social milieu wherin the agent operates.

The shift from seeing the world's development measured mostly with quantitative indicators to more qualitative measures has gained significant ground and is championed most effusively by the Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA). One of the most significant discoveries of the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) measures is its ability to highlight the cohesion and relationships that breed happiness, peace and contentment for the said poor (Alkire and Deneulin 2009: 32). Basing the human development paradigm on human beings has taught development

practitioners lessons that non-economic social resources could be harvested for development. The human development approaches have now reversed the starting point from imposing an impression of 'development' to build on what people value and how the result or outcome would then be called development. The human development approaches are more open and avail themselves the opportunity to learn from the poor. In this way, they use what people say they value to form potential and more opportunities for development. That is why the puzzle by Alkire and Deneulin (2009: 32) still remains:

> The capabilities approach raises the issue of what process, group, philosophical structure or institution has the legitimate authority to decide what people have reason to value.

The guiding question for each development endeavour then becomes: what do people value? And the response will certainly vary across social, cultural, political, religious and even philosophical beliefs.

Conclusion

I present reflection in Chapter Five on this immediate quotation above by Alkire and Deneulin. But I also use this chapter to stimulate more insights and discourse into the need to understand how complementary the workings of formal and informal institutions can be. At the Ecumenical World Development Conference (EWDC), Alkire (2011) put forward the initial results of the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI). The findings and results of the initial MPI had religious beliefs, community and interdependence ranking extremely high on the list of what poor people value and what gives them satisfaction, fulfilment, joy, peace and happiness. After the presentation, Alkire put the question: how can we do development without obstructing the musculature of the love for God, community and interdependence on each other by rural communities? She concluded that what the poor say they value like community and

solidarity fosters inner love, peace and harmony even amidst misery, lack and deprivation.

This study is built on the thesis that 'what people value determines their development'. Sen's (1999: 87) assertion that what people value should indeed be the determining factor of their development is in line with the presentation here in Chapter Five. I seek to advance and contribute to the body of knowledge around human agency and functioning built on what is referred to as 'humanity in development'. Humanity in development is anchored in the contribution, understanding and interpretation of *tyo* (community) as a value and the relational sense of solidarity that sets the stage for the attainment of (*yough yough*, fullness) development. The presentation in Chapter Four and further analysis in Chapter Five show that being human has a strong conceptual formulation that is rooted in *tyo* (community) and social solidarity as a relational process. In this way, *tyo* (community) is built around institutions and institutionalized patterns of behaviour in social interaction that are instantiated (Fukuyama 1999). It is this sense of instantiated *tyo* (community) that enables functioning and the expression of human agency through networks of relational solidarity. Being humane is discovered by relational processes and not in isolation or outside interaction or relationships. Being humane is harnessed within the conception of *tyo* (community) and converted into more tangible development outcomes. If 'human' is a strong component of the human development approach, then the conceptual understanding of human agency and functioning within the *tyo* (community) is relational. Humanity is rooted in community solidarity, built around institutions and institutionalized patterns of instantiated social exchanges known as humanity in development.

Chapter Six

Reflections on doing Development: My Learning Curve

Introduction

What is development? Try asking people either in groups or individually to paint a mental picture or physically draw a picture of what they feel about development, as an end product and the same for the concept of 'human'. The best way to answer is to de-construct our mental perceptions and reconstruct them from the reality of those we seek to study.

This chapter contains my personal reflections on the findings from primary sources and cross-referencing primary data with secondary materials. The central thesis of this work is that what people value determines their development. An immediate problematic is: how do we determine what people value? My immediate response is: we can discover what people value mainly from primary data sources. However, I am also open to cross-referencing primary data sources with secondary materials to check theoretical conceptualizations against identified primary themes by the respondents during primary data collection. This is the difficulty involved in the broad paradigm shift to view development from the reality and perspective of what people value. This chapter and indeed the entire study seeks both theoretical and analytical insights to highlight these important shifts in the context of North Central Nigeria.

It is to this end that the beginning of Chapter Six explores what people say they value should not become an exclusion barrier and or antithetical to development (*yough yough*). I identify what I call 'a compassionate co-belligerent space to communicate and dialogue' what people value in a mutual way. This is because what people value in a multicultural setting or space is bound to differ whether culturally or historically (Nussbaum 2000, 2011). The second part of the chapter focuses on how the application of co-belligerence to cultural and historical/social realities in social encounters shape what people value. The concluding part builds on certain themes identified in Chapters Four and Five to make the connection with how human agency is understood as time changes. I then argue that there is a need for a co-belligerence space that allows people to assert what they value but also recognizes that differences exist. It is my contention that monolithic development approaches can benefit from the understanding and interpretation of human agency and functioning based on contextual realities.

A Co-belligerent Framework to 'what people value determine their development'

The thesis: 'what people value determines their development' has an immediate problematic or antithesis in a place like Nigeria with multiple tribal and ethnic nationalities. There are two words: value and choice that empower but they can also become essentialist if not properly operationalized or situated in context during relational encounters or social exchange. Taylor (2015) warns that advocates of communitarian approaches should be honest and realistic about the evidence. He stresses that the communitarian school of thought should also recognize that solutions that work elsewhere might not necessarily produce the same result in another context when transplanted. Taylor uses the three elements of the communitarian approach by RSA of individualism, hierarchy and solidarity to explain the complexity of applying

communitarian solutions. He states that 'while individualism and authority are in large part about the difference about people, solidarity is about what we share with others in terms of identity, culture and fellow feeling'. Taylor calls this approach a 'whole system' approach and I adopt this whole system approach in Chapter Seven to see how a complementarity model of top-down functional theoretical and bottom-up practical relational approaches can become a bottom-up perspective for the Capability Approach.

My learning in the process of this research shows that there is a difference between value and values. For example, some people may value living in a countryside that is rural and has more fields and vegetation while some people value staying in cosmopolitan urban settlements. The choice of where migrants choose to settle is based on what a person values given that the opportunities and options are at the disposal of the individual. However, when the choice to live in the countryside or rural area is driven by the desire to live close to people sharing the same value system or belief then values become the guiding rule. Therefore, those that do not subscribe to the said values immediately become 'outsiders' to those holding the same values and this can create encounters based on 'us' and 'others'. Managing differences has always been a challenge in development discourse and produces values of the developer and those of places of intended development (Edwards and Fowler 2002: 6). This is where I argue that a co-belligerence framework can be a helpful model that provides space to compassionately negotiate differences.

Co-belligerence is a framework that provides a respectable space for expressing differences, airing divergent views and understanding of worldviews, faiths, freedom and what people value (Strange 2005; Mouw 2002; Schaeffer 1982). In co-belligerence, there is the understanding and deep acknowledgement that differences exist. These

differences are openly recognized and respected but not emphasized as absolutes while expressing divergent value standpoints (Nussbaum 2006; Sen 2009). Co-belligerence opens up a compassionate space to engage and work closely with others having and holding onto different viewpoints, worldviews and beliefs even if there are disagreements on some 'secondary matters' (Schaeffer 2002). Strange (2005) and Schaeffer (2002) emphasized that in co-belligerence there is no neutrality or necessity to become an ally. Strange and Schaeffer say the process of building relationships with or gaining the trust of others holding different viewpoints is not automatic but a gradual journey. I make bold to say that the co-belligerent framework overcomes the challenges faced by earlier frameworks like 'political correctness' that led to holding onto 'total absolutes'. The political correctness framework is more interested in the principle of 'tolerance' while the co-belligerence framework is interested in the principle of 'respect' for others. Political correctness feeds on tolerance and produces concealed resentment that pushes people to descend into holding onto 'total absolutes' without openly voicing it. Political correctness mute's debates about differences and almost gags dissent into 'forced acceptance'. Political correctness pushes people with different value standpoints to hold onto absolutes but have a tolerant disposition towards 'others' rather than genuinely respecting what others value.

Co-belligerence as a framework to consider while advancing human development approaches looks at the operational mechanics of human agency in space, time and context. What people value should not lead to conflict with others resulting in violent conflicts, communal clashes and tensions in Nigeria. It is my reflection that there is a need for a co-belligerence framework that will become a synthesis for the dynamic Nigeria faces. Co-belligerence as a framework seeks to bring to the fore and opens up a relational space in development discourse of process, form and content of development.

In North Central Nigeria, I demonstrate that the application of the co-belligerence framework confirms the idea that what people value determines their development. Moreover, it will unravel the inherent antithesis where what people value should not result in civil unrest, terrorism, disease and corruption. This inherent antithesis has further exacerbated ethnic and identity politics, poverty, disease, and weak governance in Nigeria (Nmodu 2015; Soludo 2015; Uzodinma 2015; Odunsi 2015).

In North Central Nigeria, it is important to note and isolate the kinds of clashes if the co-belligerence framework is to be applied. First, the clash in the realm of values and perceived or real attempts to dominate others; secondly, the un-complementarity of development models and policies applied causes tensions; and thirdly, clashes in the realm of natural forces of globalization and the influences of a globalizing world on places of intended development. I state here that tensions, clashes and conflicts are an integral part of human existence and will always manifest most especially when values and choices are involved. It is against this background that I argue that what is needed is a framework that manages dissent, and provides the 'space to vent and positively channel anger'. This is what Strange (2005) emphasized by talking, listening, constructive communication and dialogue to defuse tensions and find workable solutions through common grace. These clashes or antitheses do not vitiate but confirm the thesis that what people value should be respected. If what people value is not respected, civil unrest becomes a rallying point and struggle by people with a similar fate to actualize what people value. Co-belligerence offers that space through common grace for people to find common ground in constructively managed spaces.

In Chapter Three, I used the social constructionist theory as a theoretical framework because it enables the search and construction of social reality from a context. I

acknowledge that the focus of the HDCA on the concept of 'human' or humanity, and humanness in development is extremely crucial. However, I also state clearly that the HDCA approach has limitations and does not seem to explicitly acknowledge what Warner (2003) calls the institutionalist and culturalist school of analysis in explaining 'human agency', 'capability' and 'functioning'. According to Warner, the institutionalist school focuses on the importance of historical and political structures that influences human agency and development in time. Warner says the culturalist school focuses on variances in values across cultures when human agency and development issues are discussed. The co-belligerence model will then become part of the social constructionist approach and school of thought that sees social reality evolving from the historical, political, cultural and value orientation in places of intended development.

Alkire and Deneulin (2009: 27) agree that the application of the Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA) cannot be stand-alone but will benefit from the combination of various theories to explain social reality. Layder (1995: 186-7) also agrees and states that humans operate in institutional arrangements that are systemic and guide the way humans communicate, interact and relate. Layder says this depends a lot on human communication or communicative rationality that is concerned with human agency and how humans reach common understanding through interaction. Richardson (1976) in '*Peace Child*' also stated that communication and compassion are principles needed to exchange ideas meaningfully and in a non-threatening way. Richardson noted that relating to others is based on the institutional, economic and cultural structure of the society in which the interacting parties live. Key principles of the co-belligerence model are communication, compassion and respect. This is because gaining the trust of others

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holding different worldviews and viewpoints is a gradual process and takes time since the parties are not neutral (Strange 2005; Schaeffer 2002) actors.

The way human agency is expressed in relation to development varies from place to place based on what people value. What 'development experts', on the other hand, tend to refer to as development will benefit from the understanding of what people say they value. The primary data presented in Chapters Four and Five show that development is defined as 'the opportunities and life chances available to all humans to attain fullness (shagba, yough-yough)'. *Shagba* is associated with 'fullness' called '*yough-yough*' and *yough-yough'* is interpreted to mean self-actualization (Res. 7-FGDM-1: 14/09/2012).

Self-actualization (*yough-yough*) is intrinsic and attained by individuals in different ways. The discussion of *Insha Allah* in Chapter Five is linked to *yough yough* because it is associated with faith and belief and this could be a source of fullness. *Insha Allah* is also an institutionalized pattern of social accountability that reminds community members that they are not self-contained or self-accounting. From the primary data, this is referred to as *'tyo hemba'* (community is supreme) and '*Or hembe tyo ga'* (the individual is not above the community (Resp. 7, 4, 1, 2, 3 and 6 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010, Resp. 1 and 8 FGDF 2, 15th/09/2010). This is similar to *Ubuntu* meaning 'I am because you are' (Louw 2004: 84-85). This is part of a relational value framework I refer to as +*accountability* (meaning vertical and horizontal accountability) in Chapter Five. The encounter described earlier above between the driver and the International Development expatriate is significant in showing what the driver values.

Brian Griffiths (Stott 2006; 176) stated that while all cultures deserve respect they do not all deserve equal promotion and protection. He asserts that the causes of Majority

World poverty concern people and their political, economic and cultural behaviour. The political factors include mismanagement, the expulsion of racial minorities, extravagance and corruption on the part of governments and their leaders. Then there is the economic system that they choose and operate. But above all, there is the cultural factor that is the profound effect of people's cultural background on their motives, thoughts, aspirations and actions. Griffiths asks the question: how can we wish to 'promote and protect' cultures that actively hinder development, for example, by inculcating a spirit of fatalism and apathy? He was reacting to the report of the Brandt Commission that highlights that all cultures deserve equal respect, protection and promotion.

While Griffiths did not offer a definition or description of development, his optimism of development has a clear idea of what requires promotion and protection and what does not. This is the same arrogance, ignorance and attitude the International Development expatriate adopted while instructing the driver in the dialogue about *Insha Allah* in Chapter Five. Both Griffiths and the International Development expatriate will benefit from the definition of development from primary data from North Central Nigeria in Chapters Four and Five. Development is defined as 'the opportunities and life chances available to all humans to self-actualize, (Res. 7-FGDM-1: 14/09/2012) attain fullness'. The crucial words to underscore are 'fullness' ('*yough-yough'*) and 'self-actualization'. Myers (2000), on the other hand, is more modest in his view of development as a spiritual, social and economic transformational process. Although Myers uses the word 'development', he adds the caveat that it is often associated with Westernization or modernization. Myers (2000) concluded that the poor and non-poor have different challenges:

> The poor suffer from marred identities and the belief that they have no meaningful vocation other than serving the powerful. The non-poor, and sometimes development facilitators, suffer from the temptation to play God in the lives of the poor, and believe that what they

have in terms of money, knowledge and position is the result of their own cleverness or the right of their group. Both the poor and the non-poor need to recover their true identity and their true vocation.

Stott (2006: 176) is of the opinion that if a country's prospects are to be transformed from being impoverished to flourishing much more is at stake than economics. He advocates the need to look at the influence of culture and indeed the way in which people view themselves since true development cannot be imposed from above but must start with the people themselves. This statement from Stott opens up a co-belligerent space for respect and dignity of the values of the people and places of intended development. Stott says development experts need to recognize that what the non-poor lack (interdependence) the poor have in abundance. In using the human development approach to identify what people value as the base to search for 'development', the tag or label 'poor' can be an identity badge or seal for both those that are poor and the non-poor.

A co-belligerent model to understanding human agency in the context of global social and economic changes over time is important in evolving development approaches in North Central Nigeria. The concept of *tyo* (community) and solidarity identified as valued in North Central Nigeria has implications for human agency. The term development is defined in Chapter Four as opportunities to attain *yough yough* (fullness) and so development interpreted in purely economic terms can lead to social or cultural disarticulation. Socio-cultural disarticulation is the dislocation of a pattern in the social fabric that has been in existence and determines the way human agency operates, signals solidarity bonds and community functioning. A good example of social disarticulation is recorded during primary data collection in Chapter Four by a respondent (INDI-1: 04/06/2011) answering to the question 'what does it mean to be human':

> The 'government' has come to support and reinforce this system which has destroyed the cardinal principle of '*ya na angbian*' and looking out for each other and replaced it with self-seeking individuals that are not only corrupt but plunder and arrogate community resources like land and trees (timber) to themselves. There is no longer fairness. They do not know what it means to be human.

When efforts to bring about 'development' do not avoid social disarticulation, it tends to be counterproductive because it destroys *tyo* (community), the social fabric and the understanding of human agency. The quotation by the respondent (INDI-1: 04/06/2011) above shows that community is both a social and economic unit that embodies complex livelihood systems. Disarticulation results in key social and economic risks from such government policies as privatization (Mkandawire and Soludo 1996: 3) of common property resources such as forests, arable and grazing land, ground and surface water, and fisheries. The loss of these livelihood and income sources, especially tied to agricultural activity, affects income, social security and safety nets and general living standards. This is the crisis at the policy level if the policies adopted are not complementary to social articulation of the intended development.

In Chapter Two, I made reference to Mkandawire and Soludo (1996: 3) and their affirmation that the economic crisis in Nigeria, and indeed Africa, requires much more fundamental adjustments. They assert that there is a growing convergence that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) austerity measures and Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) have not worked very well in Nigeria. Mkandawire and Soludo point to the fact that more self-assurances in SAP and other economic deterministic theories of development may have caused social disarticulation. The IMF and World Bank now agree the SAP policies did not yield the desired results and there is a need to have a productive dialogue in search of broader approaches towards development alternatives. These alternative development frameworks must be from within countries based on their value orientation and institutions. This is why the exchange between the

driver and the international development expatriate on the use of the phrase *Insha Allah* is another good illustration of social disarticulation. Community beliefs and spirituality have strong attachments to self-worth and self-esteem leading to *yough yough* (self-actualization and or fullness). If development efforts apply co-belligerent approaches they may open opportunity to realize what people value. This will lead to harnessing these opportunities that will result in discovering social and economic worth and respect for places of intended development.

Co-belligerence becomes a model to facilitate the understanding of human agency, faith, freedom and functioning as a process of negotiation between the state and places of intended development. This goes beyond mere bottom-up participation but borders on humanity in development and self-actualization in development. It also borders on accountability and governance within changing state legal and policy instruments. In a similar way, Warner's (2003: 2) institutionalist and culturalist schools as framework for analysis look at the place of culture in development. According to Warner, the institutionalist school focuses on and analyses the importance of historical and political structures that influence development processes. The culturalist school, on the other hand, focuses on variances in values across cultures. Warner, however, uses the term 'cross-cultural learning' (Nussbaum 2006) as a means to integrate both the institutional and cultural schools for analysis. Warner sees this as useful because it follows that there would be differences in management and organization between different cultural and national systems. The resultant output will also be based on cultural environment of the given economy and social performance.

Applying Co-belligerence to Collisions between Globalization, Culture and Human Agency in North Central Nigeria

There is an acknowledgment that the world is in flux and things are generally changing in time and space. Globalization, to a large extent, is one of the conveyer belts that represent this change or changes in time and relational spaces. The term 'globalization' is used largely to describe a phenomenon that suggests 'homogeneity' (Meyer and Geschiere 1999) in ways of life across cultures. Globalization also represents, in some quarters, an assumption that the impact of technology on mass communication, ease in transportation and flow of people, goods and materials across national boundaries making people 'one'. This global ease, it is assumed, will then erase or cause cultural heterogeneity to melt and disappear into a homogeneous life style.

Meyer and Geschiere (1999) state that it is this same process of globalization in itself that appears to lead to a hardening of cultural contrasts or even engenders new oppositions. Meyer and Geschiere go on to suggest that there is tension between globalization and identity (sen 2008) and between what they call 'flow' and 'closure' with violent implications in many parts of the present-day world. In one sense, globalization is portrayed positively as a 'global village' when enjoying the flow of useful information. This information can be through the internet, media or telecommunications or medical and scientific breakthroughs in preventing and combating the spread of the Ebola or the HIV/AIDS virus. In another sense, globalization as a term is negatively referred to as 'Western Imperialism' that must be rejected (Meyer and Geschiere 1999). There is tension between globalization and identity irrespective of whichever view one holds. The internet, popular or mainstream

media and telecommunications are now key socialization components for individuals because the level of access to information and disclosure online is phenomenal.

The understanding of human agency and functioning of the agent in North Central Nigeria is governed by *tyo* (community) as a theme people said they value. Therefore, human agency in North Central Nigeria is viewed within the framework of *tyo* (community) as a value and the norms that guide social relations and exchange. *Tyo* (community) in North Central Nigeria becomes identity, the agent bears that guides social interaction and encounters with those considered as 'others'. The modified Venn diagram during primary data collection shows this relational taxonomy in Chapter Four. The modified Venn diagram below depicts the operational and social mechanics and functioning of *tyo* (community) and the agent as shown in fig. 4.6 (see chapter 4, page 142).

This modified Venn diagram tool shows the diagrammatic representation of entities and functioning as seen in Fig.4.6 of *tyo* (community) and how *tyo* (community) encircles the extended, nuclear family and the individual. The respondents (Resp. 7, 4, 1, 2, 3 and 6 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010, Resp. 1 and 8 FGDF 2, 15th/09/2010) say this cycle shows relationships, interaction and interdependence amongst the entities. T*yo hemba'* (community is supreme) and '*Or hembe tyo ga'* (the individual is not above the community) are terms for how the individual functions.

From the FGDs and field data (Resp. 7, 4, 1, 2, 3 and 6 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010), '*Or hembe tyo ga'* is not explained to mean that the individual was not 'free' to develop. Freedom is known as *'tseeneke'* (meaning self-reliance). But the respondents (1, 7 and 5, FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010, 2, 1 and 8, FGDF 2, 15th/09/2010) also say *tseeneke* can

represent a positive image when it is 'earned' because a community member who owns a farm, builds his hut (house) and so on has earned himself *tseeneke*. So, community members attain *tseeneke* (self-reliance) by showing some level of responsibility like cultivating and owning a farm, building a house, getting married, bearing children. Reference to *tseeneke* (self-reliance) entails responsibility and is welcomed because it is within the framework of *tyo* (community), interdependence and fits community mechanics.

The primary data in Chapter Four clarify the meaning of freedom of the agent and puts the freedom of the individual in perspective. The argument by human rights proponents about the freedom of the individual can be right if we look at the advent of Christianity and its spread in North Central Nigeria because Christinity found congruence in the value system of *tyo* (community) and '*Or hembe tyo ga'*. The FGD respondents (Resp. 7, 4, 1, 2, 3 and 6 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010) say freedom is called '*tseeneke*' (self-reliance or independence or freedom) but can also be referred to as *'ian'* (free or space). *Tseeneke* and *ian* have the same meaning but differ in usage because *tseeneke* is self-reliance, freedom and independence that the agent earns towards *yough yough* (fullness or self-actualization). *Tseeneke* is associated with rite of passage conferred on the agent as they move towards assuming more community responsibility.

Ian (free or space), on the other hand, even though it is used interchangeably with *tseeneke,* slightly differs in meaning and usage. *Ian* refers to *'craving'* (premature, unwarranted or unearned) freedom and independence without earning it. Therefore, the agent earns *tseeneke* (self-reliance) as a right to make personal decisions or make individual choices (5 FGDM-1, 7 and 5 14th/09/2010) in line with *tyo* (community) mechanics. *Tseeneke* in itself as a concept is valued and aligns with the value for community when it is earned but not premature craving (*Ian*) to lead a 'life style' that is

directly at variance with *tyo* (community) or '*Or hembe tyo ga* (community is supreme). FGD respondents (5 FGDM-1, 7 and 5 14th/09/2010) made reference to *'Ayaatutu ka se'* meaning interdependence is used to repel unacceptable behaviour. This is where co-belligerence becomes useful as a model to understand differences in value and uses compassion to negotiate differences.

From the discussion above, the introduction of 'new' ideas are viewed within the system of *tyo* (community) and how these 'new ideas' will enable functioning. This is similar to Lui's (2013) description that the acceptance of ideas, including development and cultural ideas outside of China, first found expressions in Chinese Confucian values before they were fully accepted. The acceptance of a way of life or religious practice takes time (Ogbeche 2015) because most people tend to see the proponent of human rights as a guise and 'globalization' as a vehicle to spread 'negative' ideas (Urbanski 2015; Ameh 2015a; Bittenbender 2015; Otuchikere et al. 2013). Ogbeche (2015) Meyer and Geschiere (1999) analysed tension between the globalizing influence on culture and identity as the fear of domination and radical uncertainty which globalization's flux creates about the true identity of a people. Besides the fear of political dominance by the West, the attitude and arrogance exhibited can make people invoke a militant form of nationalism to reject certain ideas that are considered imposed. This perception can be harmful to co-belligerence as a model.

Co-belligerence in the HDCA can be adopted to minister to divergent cultural and religious beliefs and the understanding of human agency and functioning. In the application of co-belligerence, the principle of respect for difference is acknowledged, meaningful communication is emphasized and compassion deployed. In North Central Nigeria, *tyo* (community) is identified as highly valued. So the acceptance of cultural or

religious ideas will first find expression in the overall value system of *tyo* (community) and *yough yough* (fullness or self-actualization) in North Central Nigeria. This is because the understanding of human agency and functioning is mirrored through the value and institutions that have a lot of influence on social relations, belongingness and exchange. But there is a recognition that cultures shift and become accepting of other traditions, values and way of doing things over time if not imposed and if they fit their social mechanics. According to Meyer and Geschiere (1999), the advent and acceptance of Christianity in North Central Nigeria and indeed African societies can be referenced where Africa was seen as 'formerly open' and permeable to external ideas.

Co-belligerence as a 'safe relational space' that is compassionate and allows people to air their worldview while respecting differences and otherness will suffice. A good example is the compassionate tone emerging amongst the ranks of Catholic Bishops in Nigeria towards gays and lesbians. From the Catholic Bishop Conference of Nigeria (CBCN) in an article entitled, *'Still on Same-Sex Union and the Stand of the Catholic Bishops,'* in 2015, the bishops called on Nigerians, especially the media, to stop condemning gays and lesbians. Chris Anyanwu, the director of social communication of the CBCN, however, thanked the Nigerian government for upholding the dignity and sanctity of marriage defined as a union between man and woman even in the face of all sorts of pressure (Ameh 2015).

Also, the assembly of over 200 Catholic bishops released a document known by its Latin name *relatio* and called on the Church to challenge itself to find 'a fraternal space' for homosexuals. The document, however, emphasized that this should be done without compromising Catholic doctrine on the family and matrimony. The document, in a more compassionate language, further stated 'homosexuals have gifts and qualities to offer

the Christian community: are we capable of welcoming these people, guaranteeing to them a further space in our communities? Often, they wish to encounter a Church that offers them a welcoming home' (Eze 2014). Pullella (2015) quotes Pope Francis in his address to a Roman Catholic meeting on family issues to humbly and empty themselves of conventions and prejudices and not to point fingers at the others to judge them or feel superior to those with different ideas. This is how co-belligerence starts with acceptanceand respect (Fennell and Arnot 2008; Fennell 2013).

The attempt to explain social reality, especially in the face of the collision between the understanding of human agency, cultures, and globalization, is a complex endeavour. Alkire and Deneulin (2009: 27) appreciate the application of the Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA) but reiterated the fact that the HDCA cannot be a stand-alone approach. That is why the selection of the social constructionist theory makes use of contextual models like co-belligerence to explain reality. This is done to support the empirical search to explain human action and the institutional systems and arrangements that shape human agency and guide social interaction. Co-belligerence is a social constructionist framework that leverages HDCA but digs beneath mere bottom-up participatory development models to identify what people value and use such identified themes to draw empirical conclusions.

Conclusion and Reflections

The primary data in Chapter Four highlights the concept of *tyo* (community) as one of the key themes that people value. This is because the understanding of human agency, capability and functioning is mirrored from the concept of *tyo* (community) known as *'Tyo hemba' 'Or hembe tyo ga'*. A key qualitative analytical method adopted in Chapter

Three is cross-referencing. According to Schensul et al. (1999: 3), cross-referencing in ethnographic research on concepts like culture requires isolating themes earlier on to build references, themes and meaning from the context one is researching.

Johnson (1998: 132) also agrees that to create this initial direction to the research requires the selection of one or more paradigms to structure the research/inquiry and the creation or building of a formative theory. Another key theme during the presentation of primary data is *'tseeneke' (freedom)*. Sen identified freedom as the central and overarching objective development efforts should be advancing. Sen (1992: 31) concluded 'to counter the problems that are faced, we have to see individual freedom as a social commitment…expansion of freedom is viewed in this approach both as the primary end and as the principle means of development'.

The emphasis on '*freedom*' of the agent by Sen led me to create a data collection section on freedom (*tseeneke*) during the FGD primary data collection process. The respondents agree that *tseeneke (self-reliance or freedom or independence)* is a vital component of 'human development' but differentiate *tseeneke* from *ian* (craving for freedom). *Tseeneke* is viewed through the 'passage rite' lens where the agent earned self-reliance by accepting community responsibilities like marriage, bearing children, training them and owning a farm. The emphasis on freedom of the agent and individual choice is also analysed side by side with how fullness is attained within the concept of *tyo* (community) as a value. A key difference between Sen's (1992: 31) conception of freedom and *Tseeneke* by the respondents is the concept of *'tyo hemba'* (community is supreme) and '*Or hembe tyo ga'* (the individual is not above the community). The respondent's recognition of the independence of the agent and acknowledges it but they state that the agent is not above *tyo* (Community) because his capability and functioning

is guided by the *tyo* (community). Taylor (2015), citing Richard Dagger, stated 'the virtuous citizen must be free, but not simply free to go his or her own ways. Instead the citizen is free when he or she participates in the government of his or her community'.

Therefore, 'human development' in its conceptualization and application must be understood through the eyes of the places of intended development if their realities count. For these reasons, a starting point is to define development and poverty as themes from the context of the research. The meaning of poverty from primary data shows internal and external intervening factors that cause poverty and impede fullness and self-actualization (development). Human development as a concept to the respondents presupposes two things: it is humanity in development that eventually leads to human development and closely related to it is the creation of opportunities to enable the agent to attain fullness based on choice and what they value. This shows the need for more analysis of factors and conditions necessary to attaining fullness.

The concerns of theorizing poverty and defining poverty by experts led the World Bank to carry out a Participatory Poverty Assessment study of 60, 000 poor men and women in 50 countries. This was meant to get a first-hand definition of poverty as documented in *Voices of the Poor: Can Anyone Hear Us*? by Narayan et al. (2000: 31). The book pointed out that many factors converge to make poverty an interlocking multidimensional phenomenon. But routinely, poverty is defined as the lack of what is necessary for material well-being, especially food, but also housing, land and other assets. In other words, poverty is the lack of multiple resources that lead to hunger and deprivation. Narayan et al. emphasize that the goal of development is poverty reduction, while the task of development is to ensure improved social well-being. An exceptionally important feature of the World Bank exercise is not only the discovery of the

multidimensional face(s) of povertybut also the fact that the causes of poverty vary from place to place, gender, age, culture, social and economic context. This is why defining poverty and development and seeking the understanding of these concepts from the communities researched are extremely important and an invaluable bottom-up exercise.

My reflections in this chapter and learning in the process of conducting this research are anchored on the fact that there are differences between value, value systems and choices that people make. The difficulty has always been to find a model that seeks to understand these differences and negotiate dissent in a constructive manner that is meaningful and acceptable by all parties in the development endeavour. I have demonstrated in this chapter how co-belligerence can be applied to complex development solutions as part of a 'whole systems' approach. Advocates of communitarian approaches, like RSA and Charles Taylor, are in favour of focusing on community capital, networks of relationships for development to expand citizenship and inclusion. However, the communitarian school of thought is also aware of the value of marrying top-down functional theoretical approaches with bottom-up practical relational approaches. This is because creating an exclusively communitarian model is inadequate in complex and multicultural settings like Nigeria. I will now use Chapter Seven to conclude by presenting a model that attempts to marry top-down functional theoretical approaches and the bottom-up practical relational approaches.

<center>**Chapter Seven**</center>

<center>**Towards a Model for Understanding Human Agency and Functioning in**</center>

<center>**Communitarian Settings in North Central Nigeria**</center>

Introduction

In Chapter Seven, I build on my analysis in Chapters Five and Six around the theme of humanity in development to draw conclusions and recommendations. I will divide Chapter Seven into 2 main sections: Conclusion and Recommendations. In the first section, I will show a diagrammatic representation of how top-down functional theoretical approaches and bottom-up practical relational approaches can complement each other. This analysis has been made easier by my presentation in Chapter Five, where I addressed the criticisms levelled against the Capability Approach: incompleteness, abstract and lacking reference to historical reality and, secondly, lacking ontological grounding and not concrete. Also in Chapter Five, I addressed the second aim which is to demonstrate that the presentation by Sen and Nussbaum of a Capability Approach (development theory) that is 'fully human' is an important starting point but they pay one-sided attention to 'doing' (that is at the functional-theoretical realm) and only pay marginal attention to 'being' (which is at the practical-relational realm).

Another key conclusion in Chapter Seven is the question of applicability and commensurability (Sen 1999: 87, 1992: 40). Here I argue that the ideas of capability and functioning of the agent anchored in freedom to enjoy what they value 'being' and 'doing' cannot be answered by a single approach. According to Alkire (2002, 10-11),

the incompleteness of the HDCA is deliberate to allow development researchers to work out some of the important development issues using research. With this realization in mind, I touch upon the concerns of Alkire and Deneulin on applicability by using themes from primary data by the respondents to translate the abstract ideas into a more concrete and relatable model of the Capability Approach.

The last part of this chapter will reflect on the recommendations and dwell on how the themes from primary data show how human agency is viewed and evolves in time and space. Again, this will highlight and acknowledge the weight history places on lived reality and how the content, freedom and functioning of the agent is shaped by evolving realities from the context where the agent lives. I conclude Chapter Seven on the evolving views on human agency, functioning and capability within multicultural and communitarian settings.

Section one: Conclusion

The Intersection between the Top-down Functional Theoretical Realm Approaches and the Bottom-up Practical Relational Realm Approaches

In Chapter One, I put forward the position that there are functional theoretical approaches that are intellectual and try to explain 'human development' in highly abstract academic terms. The Human Development Reports (HDR) used by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) are a good example. HDR make use of what it calls the Human Development Index (HDI) that has variables to measure human development using life expectancy at birth, adult literacy, and GDP per capita. Stiglitz (Abubakar et al. 2016) state that the HDI does not measure human development in a comprehensive way because the key indicators focusing on aspects of human life such as longevity, knowledge and real purchasing power are inadequate. Stiglitz emphasizes

that these measures are not entirely wrong but have two weak points: they lack distinction of economic opportunities and assume that everyone will benefit.

In drawing conclusions, I make the point that there is need for the complementarity of approaches in explaining human development. I use a schematic to bring together my conceptualization of top-down functional-theoretical realm approaches, on the one hand, and bottom-up practical relation realm approaches, on the other, to buttress this point. The way to do this, I argue, is by creating a complementarity balance in the abstract theoretical thinking that shapes the global human development framework by looking at practical relational categories like being, belongingness and community that the HDCA at the moment does not capture. There are two main conclusions I am drawing for this study: first, how development is defined from primary data in Chapter Four and its implications on how development is understood in North Central Nigeria. The primary data in Chapter Four define development as 'the opportunities and life chances available to all humans to attain fullness (*shagba, yough-yough*)'. Secondly, the view from primary data in Chapters Four and Five is that 'humanity in development' precedes human development. The focus on humanity speaks to their understanding of being, belonginess, community and what I refer to as +accountability.

The central word to underscore in this definition of development form primary data is 'fullness'. Further elaboration on 'fullness' from primary data in Chapters Four and Five expanded on the idea of fullness to include the understanding of 'Being' as a human person, humanness, belongingness and humanity. This is embedded in +*aacountability* as a relational process I highlighted in Chapter Five that individuals enter into during encounters based on their understanding of being, humanness, belongingness, humanity, what they value and how what is valued leads to fullness. The

relational encounters between individuals within the community are based on institutionalized patterns of beliefs and social relations that are valued. These valued social beliefs are the rules that explain humanness in the course of social exchange. Therefore, the manifestation of humanity in the process of social exchange builds community and as a result enables the attainment of fullness or self-actualization which in itself equals development'. This goes back to my thesis that 'what people value determines their development'. This is because the categories itemized as valued by the primary data like community (tyo), and solidarity are built on certain beliefs referred to as rules of the game (North 1990) that explain what is valued. Therefore, the search for complementarity that pulls together what people value and other differing understandings of human development is a key conclusion I present in the schematic.

I use the schematic below with the two cycles to depict the intersection between top-down functional theoretical realm approaches and bottom-up practical relational realm approaches. In this schematic, the upper cycle labelled (A) represent the top-down functional theoretical realm approaches explaining social reality or 'development'. The lower cycle in the schematic labelled (B) represents the bottom-up practical relational realm approaches explaining the reality and development aspirations of people from places of intended development and what they feel about their development. Where the lines of the two cycles (A) and (B) intersect is a narrow small space, this is the 'what people value determine their development' space where the top-down and bottom-up definitions of the term 'development' need to complement each other. The expansion of this narrow space (I will call 'complementarity space') based on what people value in their development aspiration is or ought to be the substantive goal of development endeavour.

Fig. 7.1 Schematic of two cycles depicting the intersection between top-down functional theoretical realm approaches and bottom-up practical relational realm approaches

A:

Top-down functional
theoretical realm
approaches

B:

Bottom-up practical
relational realm approaches
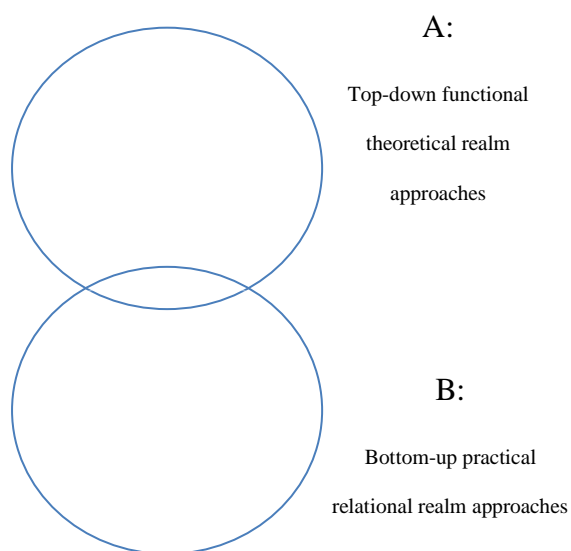
The coinage 'people-centred' has become the mantra in development discourse because human beings ought to be the focus of development. This is an indication of the desire to see that income and material resources should not be the de facto measures for human development but the well-being of human beings themselves. This is where the central idea that what people value determines their development becomes germane to ensure development meets the aspirations of people of the intended development. The expansion of the 'complementarity space' (intersection between cycle 'A' and cycle 'B' above) is a complementary process. My starting point is to come up with a bottom-up definition of development from the context using primary data from the people researched. Development (Res. 7-FGDM-1: 14/09/2012) is defined as 'the opportunities and life chances available to all humans to attain fullness *(shagba, yough-yough)'*. This

is a bottom-up definition of development and within it is also the stated development aspiration in the term *yough yough* (fullness or self-actualization).

Fullness and self-actualization (*yough yough*) are key categories and themes emerging that require contextual understanding for us to say one has attained 'fullness'. The attainment of *yough yough* (fullness or self-actualization) depends on choice and what the agent values. Fowler (2002: 6) acknowledges that the question of values poses a deep dilemma for development experts but this is why it is important to address it. From the definition of development as expanding 'opportunities and life chance', I present Fig. 7.2 to see how the narrow space where cycle (A) and cycle (B) intersect can become a complementary expansion based on compromise between top-down functional theoretical realm approaches and bottom-up practical relational realm approaches as shown below.

Fig 7.2 The expansion of the intersection between cycle (A) and cycle (B) depicting the expansion of 'opportunities and life chances' based on what people value

A:

Top-down functional

theoretical realm

approaches

B:

Bottom-up practical

relational realm approaches
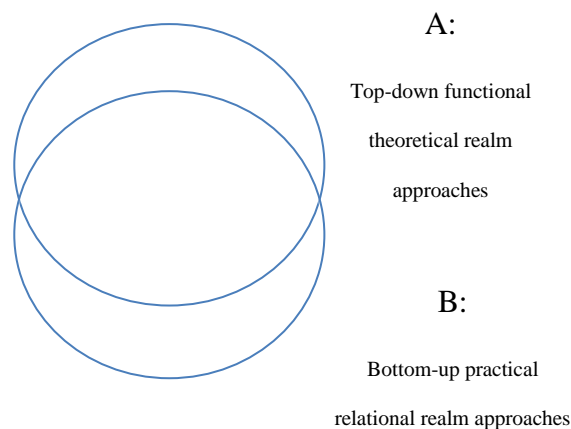
I argue that the attainment of *yough yough* (fullness or self-actualization) depends on

the choices of the individual and it is also based on what the agent values. However, this is not to say our development model will seek to satisfy each and every individual's aspirations. What this model will do is look for the value framework of a people that cuts across vast geographic and cultural regions for our development theorization to thrive. North Central Nigeria as a region with various cultural and ethnic nationalities is where the value framework recognizes *tyo* (community) and *Jamaa* as central to understanding human agency and functioning. Again, this is why the complementarity schematic in Fig. 7.2 becomes compelling because the goal of development is to expand opportunities and enable people to attain fullness based on what they value.

The depiction in Figs. 7.1 and 7.2 is my conceptualization of top-down functional theoretical approaches and bottom-up practical relational approaches and the need for complementarity. What is not clear is how this proposed model works in practice. Johnson (2009: 162) stated that formal and informal institutions are distinct but complement themselves. Williamson (2000: 567) also acknowledges that informal institutions at the level of norms, values, culture and beliefs have not been explored to see how they complement formal constitutional policy frameworks like property rights. I revisited Williamson's table in Chapter Two of the literature review of institutions by levels (see Table 2.2, p. 56).

Williamson emphasized that the first level in the table above is those institutions that relate to the underlying social structures and is not a level that theorists have considered greatly. This first level by Williamson is my bottom-up practical relational realm in Fig 2.2 of my conceptualization. The second level in the table relates to the rules of the game such as property rights and the judiciary. These define the overall (formal) institutional environment or what can be exchanged (in the context of markets). The third level in the second table is about rules that relate to the playing of the game, such

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as contracts and the fourth level in the second table is about rules that relate to resource allocation mechanisms, such as social security systems. Williamson's second to fourth levels represent my top-down functional theoretical realm in Fig 2.2 in the schematic I present above.

The presentation by Williamson in the table above supports my top-down and bottom-up conceptualization. Taylor's (1989, 2006) communitarian school of thought is a bottom-up practical relational approach that uses practical anthropological analysis in his study of being (human beings). According to Taylor, this is why being is only realized in social life within the manifestation of institutions. The human being becomes self-consciousness as self manifests in choices about which personality that individual chooses to become. This type of ccommunitarian approach by Taylor holds that the individual is located in particular social contexts and networks with group identity and network of relationships. The weak governance systems (Collier 1997: 51) and inability of the formal government in Nigeria to provide social services mean rural communities use community and social capital networks to provide needed services. The applicability is that community members turn up to contribute towards the repair of a washed away local wooden bridge by flooding, mend the roof of a local community school blown away by storm or support the sinking of a well for drinking water and so on in the name of community development. The community members all unite in solidarity to pursue and attain what they value by contributing to the common well-being of the community. The coming together of community members to pursue and achieve this common good is the realization that this will expand the opportunities and life chances of all community members.

There is a value system that all the community members that turn out to support community developments subscribe and adhere to. This value system becomes a point

of socialization for younger community members to learn acceptable and unacceptable ways of social exchange. The identification of what is valued during the FGDs (Resp. 4, 6, 5, 11 and 1, FGDM 4, 15th/09/2010, Resp.7 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010) is to know and understand the core of these value systems that unite all community members. This was done to determine what is valued based on a system rather than individual wants. What is considered valued is presented in table 4.4 (see Table 4.4, Chapter Four, p. 142).

The network of relationships within the community is built around the *tyo* (community) as a governance system that maintains order, stability and regulates the arrogation of common community resources. The need for complementarity between top-down and bottom-up approaches is in scale, spread and impact. The ability of rural communities to leverage networks of community and social capital relationships to support themselves is a good starting point signifying what people value from the bottom-up. Once the identification of what people value is done, the macro-development policy framework that will enable the scale and spread of these ideas and potential impact of identified values will be a top-down planning effort.

However, my review of literature in Chapter Two about the implementation of top-down Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) of Liberalization, Privatization and Deregulation policies accepted from the World Bank and IMF has defects. I argue that the implementation of the SAP undoubtedly produces huge wealth but the challenge has always been that the wealth has not trickled down to end poverty as anticipated. McCulloch et al. (2001; 10) also assert that liberalization policies increase income but also increase or exacerbate poverty. They advise that implementing trade liberalization policies requires a good deal of political skill. Corruption and misappropriation has been identified as reasons why SAP policies have not worked to end poverty in Nigeria. I

agree with this assertion but also argue that the design of top-down functional theoretical approaches can benefit from small but successful models against vices like corruption and the misappropriation of community resources.

In a communitarian setting like North Central Nigeria, a community pooling together resources to mend a washed away bridge or renovate a school or provide a community drinking water point will not have their money embezzled because of a shared sense of responsibility. For instance, the Nyifon (INDI-7: 26/09/2011) people greet each other by saying *ingyeni* (this man or this human). This is the recognition that other fellow community members are humans too and we are responsible for each other. The socialization process instils in younger community members a sense of responsibility towards each other and to a deity (+*accountability*). This is where the concept of humanity in development that is linked to deeper concepts of fairness, and compassion towards others plays a part. Communitarian values of sharing common community resources and collective decision-making become a reference point. Corruption, corrupt practices and other social vices exist in communitarian rural settings as well but the mechanisms and sanctions for checking such social vices have far reaching implications that serve as deterrents to community members.

The applicability of communitarian ideas has been viewed with suspicion and erroneously labelled or called 'egalitarianism'. In Chapter One I clarified and made a distinction between social capital and 'Community Capital' applied in communitarian approaches to human development. Social capital emphasizes collective action almost without isolating the role of the individual in community development. But the communitarian approach by RSA (Taylor 2015) uses three attributes that make up the ideal of a community: 'Shared values and beliefs, direct and many-sided relations and the practice of reciprocity'. In communitarian approaches, the role of the individual in

community capital is recognized. The emphasis is on what is called 'connected communities' as an approach of working with local people not only to invest in 'community capital' but also to create a range of significant individuals and collective benefits (Parsfield 2015). Taylor (2015) echoed the fact that communitarian approaches yield modest gains when compared with top-down interventions but also agreed that communitarian approaches open up the space for active citizenship.

Parsfield (2015) and Taylor (2015), writing for the RSA, argue the case for both communitarian and top-down approaches to policy making without rejecting the value of other approaches. This they call the 'whole system' approach where the wider goal is to build community resilience and capacity referred to as 'collective efficiency'. Collective efficiency means a combination of both cohesion and agency. The communitarian school of thought using the whole system approach invests in interventions that build and strengthen networks of social relationships and has four social values or dividends: first is subjective well-being which is a feeling of being part of a community. This leads to the second social value or dividend of expanding citizenship. The third is a capacity dividend that looks at concentrating resources on networks and relationships rather than on what they call 'troubled' individual as end-user. Fourth, is that it generates economic dividends where the interaction in social networks improves connectedness, employability and improves health, thereby assisting in saving resources invested in medical care. Community capital, like all other forms of capital, can be increased because reserves of it can be unlocked and put to use to bring about greater social, economic and personal benefits.

Communitarian approaches are adaptive and use research and innovation where evidence and contextual insights respond to changes in the society. Communitarian

approaches draw from cultural theory to see how best to produce solutions to complex societal problems. Taylor (2015) stated:

> Our application of the theory sees human behaviour in groups, organization and institutions emerging from the complex interaction of three active elements. These elements are foundational sources of our ways of seeing the world, of being in the world and of seeking to change the world. Because the three elements generate both insight and energy, because they operate at every level from individual decisions to global treaties, and because they combine and react against each other in many different ways, understanding how they operate in any particular context can be difficult and open to many interpretations. However, despite this complexity and despite the difficulty of achieving and maintaining balance between the elements, in most circumstances the most effective people, organizations, policies and institutions combine them…we call the three elements 'individualism', 'hierarchy' and 'solidarity'.'

Taylor explains that individualism can be understood as the element associated with self-interest, competition and enterprise. Hierarchy is associated with the need for social order in the world. Solidarity, on the other hand, is associated with belonging, believing, altruism and trust. This corresponds with the emerging theme from the FGDs, where we notice a shift in interaction and relationship by the agent who values 'independence' called *tseeneke* (self-reliance) and increasingly wants to be 'free' (Resp. 7, 4, 1, 2, 3 and 6 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010). The theme *tseeneke* (self reliance) in the local language was identified to mean 'self-reliance' or 'freedom' or 'independence'. The understanding by the respondents of *tseeneke* (self reliance) as a concept literally depicts 'someone who is self-reliant'. *Tseeneke* can closely be associated with Taylor's individualism, which relates to self-interest, competition and enterprise. The theme of *tseeneke* is a powerful reminder that rural communities and villages are not 'egalitarian' as they were once thought of. Application, applicability and commensurability of communitarian approaches will benefit from this understanding for our bottom-up and top-down public policy in context.

I argue that the idea of 'whole system' approach using communitarian interventions is not the easiest when dealing with complex issues of what people value, culture, norms

and belief systems. However, creating the right balance between top-down approaches and communitarian approaches in policy-making is now a reality that development theorists cannot avoid. According to Taylor (2005), 'communitarian solutions both rest upon and encourage what Richard Dagger refers to as civic virtue: the virtuous citizen must be free, but not simply free to go his or her own way. Instead the citizen is free when he or she participates in the government of his or her community'.

The need to expand and make wider the 'complementarity space', where the lines of cycle (A) and cycle (B) in Fig. 7.2 above intersect, is increasingly being acknowledged by development theorists. Dia (1996:1) says 'indigenous institutions anchored in local culture and values can count on the sound pillars of legitimacy, accountability, and self-enforcement'. This also saves transaction costs and can be a serious area to explore in the application and ensure commensurability of the HDCA. Community capital, the network of relationships and rural institutional patterns can be potential decentralization approaches to development using their embedded rural governance mechanisms. This agrees with Williamson (2000: 597) that 'development studies may not have explored very well the themes of informal institutions, values, norms and belief systems'. Furthermore, I argue that formal government (constitutional provisions and policy frameworks) and informal institutions (embedded in the *tyo*-community) can act to reinforce development aspirations of people based on what they value. The definition of development is a vital bottom-up entry point to understanding what people value and their aspirations for their development.

The attainment of capability or the prioritization of 'threshold' or the concept of social minimum of capabilities (Nussbaum 2000: 12) are good ideas. But the question remains: are they bottom-up ideas and how well are they understood by rural communities? Top-down approaches have good value but can also benefit from what

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people say they value and the things needed to enable functioning and capability are based on what the people say they value. This approach of defining and understanding issues of development from bottom-up is different from Nussbaum's (2000: 70) assertion that 'these capabilities are then presented as the source of political principles for all liberal pluralistic society'. Top-down constitutional provisions, as Nussbaum (2000: 70) put it, can be well written showing that citizens have rights and can make demands of their government. However, if these ideas do not have a system of fairness that all community members understand, it may not be applicable nor will they be commensurate with existing practices.

The application of the Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA) will grapple with contextual interpretation and understanding of human, development, agency and functioning. The idea of focusing development on the human being is part of a broad paradigm shift to view development from the reality and perspective of what people value. Nigeria faces the reality to search for inclusive theories and complementary models that are grounded. Expanding the 'complementary space' in Fig. 7.2 requires understanding *tyo* (community) and the solidarity and cohesion that drives participants to voluntarily come out and undertake a community project. I contend that the *tyo* (community) embodies that value system of belongingness, believe and trust and opens up opportunities and forms the bases for thinking, social exchange and local governance or organization.

Warner's (2003) Institutionalist and Culturalist school of analysis helps to overcome the limitation of the HDCA in explaining 'human agency', 'capability' and 'functioning'. Warner's explanation of the Institutionalist school focuses on the importance of historical and political structures that influences human agency and development

overtime. Warner's Culturalist school, on the other hand, focuses on variances in values across cultures when discussing the issues of human agency and development. The concept of *tyo* (community) is a rallying point of identity for the agent and human agency. The primary data in Chapter Four (Resp. 7, 4, 1, 2, 3 and 6 FGDM 1, 14th/09/2010, Resp. 1 and 8 FGDF 2, 15th/09/2010) identify *tyo* (community) as a value. This is a key theme that shapes human agency and functioning known as *'tyo hemba'* (community is supreme) and '*Or hembe tyo ga'* (the individual is not above the community).

The functioning of the agent is guided closely by *tyo* (community) and breeds the solidarity that binds members of the community in interaction and relationships within it. The concept of *tyo* (community) is relational because it is what defines 'humanity in development' in the process of human development. Development (Res. 7-FGDM-1: 14/09/2012) defined as 'the opportunities and life chances available to all humans to attain fullness (*shagba, yough-yough)*' has community as an integral part of fullness. *Tyo* (community) is the hub that ties human relationships and all interacting entities and, therefore, *tyo* (community) is people-centred but not place-centred.

The social structure and operational mechanics of tribes and ethnic groupings within North Central Nigeria is not homogenous. This has implications on how the concepts of 'community', 'self' and 'accountability' operate in centralized and decentralized social structures in Nigeria. A centralized social structure is that which kingship and governing responsibility is bestowed on a lineage or 'ruling houses' that produce successive kings or chiefs from particular descendants. A decentralized social structure, on the other hand, is that which has no central kingship structure but the oldest persons from autonomous family units that make up the village constitute the ruling elders in a

particular village. The advent of colonialism meant that most of the decentralized tribes like the Tivs (North Central Nigeria) and Igbos (South Eastern Nigeria) were difficult to colonize and govern because their leadership was largely made up of autonomous family units.

The centralized kingship social structures suited the policy of indirect rule by the British colonizer and occupying force. This was because the centralized social structure had an accountability structure that had both religious and traditional leadership responsibility that subjected community members to a central authority. The decentralized social structure, on the other hand, had an accountability structure that was autonomous and leadership within the village was based on a value framework that connected all family units within the village. In this way, the federating family units retained a lot of power and authority knowing that the leadership of the village was only popular when directing the affairs of the village in accordance with the acceptable value framework. Leadership was held to account and had to be transparent to earn legitimacy in both the centralized and decentralized social structures in Nigeria.

The advent of colonialism meant that the coercion of people groups under 'centralized leadership' irrespective of understanding their operational social mechanics and this led to domination and subjugation within Nigeria (Torkula 2007). The subjugation of the historical and institutional realities of smaller ethnic and tribal groupings resulted in natural tensions on two fronts: first, the smaller ethnic and tribal groups were made to submit to a different value framework and accountability system; second, the fairness and transparency of leadership in distribution of scarce resources equitably was called into question because the subjugated people had different value frameworks. These

struggles over scarce resources continued to cause violent conflicts with increased intra- and inter-tribal tensions over resources' control in Nigeria leading to violent conflicts.

The identity crisis in Nigeria meant the functioning of the agent is defined by certain elements of cultural heritage and ethnic identity (Sen 2006b). People respect and hold onto sectional identity over nationalism or national citizenship (Ugwuanyi 2015b). The pronouncement of independence from the British colonizers seemed like a unification baptism bestowing 'full citizenship' to minority groups in Nigeria. But the structure of governance in Nigeria still bears the scars of subjugation. This has seen the resurgence of ethnic nationalism by those tribes and ethnic groups in Nigeria striving to free themselves from cultural and political domination internally (Torkula 2007).

Kilcullen (2013: 11) also alludes to this in that development practice is beyond pouring in huge sums of money to rebuild infrastructure but should also be about understanding the local politics and dynamics of places of intended development. Stott (2006; 176) noted similar attitudes by development pundits when responding to Brian Griffiths' assertion that all cultures deserve respect but not all deserve equal promotion and protection. According to Griffiths, some cultures actively hinder development by inculcating a spirit of fatalism and apathy. This prescriptive attitude to 'development' by certain development pundits tend to be oblivious of Warner's (2003) Institutionalist and Culturalist schools of thought about history and cultural variations. There is a word of caution here suggesting that the application of HDCA to different local governance contexts needs to appreciate the existing dynamics and value framework within the contexts where applied. According to Haruna (2010), social structure and social mechanics plays an important role in local governance based on the prevailing institutional arrangement, value framework and belief system.

The application of top-down functional theoretical approaches in Nigeria proposed by international development partners under the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as a global development framework has seen mixed gains. Ajakaiye et al. (2016) state that the application of human development policies in Nigeria has experienced robust economic growth between 2005 and 2014 but ironically this has not led to a decline in the poverty levels. The National Bureau of Statistics (2016) reported a total of 22.45 million persons in the Nigerian labour force in the fourth quarter of 2015 were either unemployed or underemployed. Human capital development indices have continued to be poor together with high unemployment.

My conclusion about the 'development' paradox in Nigeria where there is robust economic growth and increased poverty with poor human development indices is twofold: the need to understand how human agency and functioning is interpreted in Nigeria generally and North Central in particular. My second point relates to the incompatibility and commensurability of such top-down functional theoretical approaches. I join Stiglitz (Abubakar et al. 2016) to stress that top-down functional theoretical approaches maybe intellectually sound but lack the distinction of economic opportunities between how they are applied in communitarian settings like Nigeria. Stiglitz faults the application of development policies on the assumption that everyone will benefit. I make the case in Chapter One with reference to the geo-political configuration of North Central Nigeria and the political term 'Middle Belt'.

Middle Belt is a political term denoting liberation by groups considered as 'minorities' who are seeking liberation from political, social and economic domination. The calls for the restructuring of Nigeria (Iriekpen 2016; Abubakar 2016) emanate from the deep

desire by agitating groups in Nigeria to self-actualize (attain fullness). It is my contention that the application of a practical-relational approach based on a predominant value framework will breed belongingness. The paradox in Nigeria where there is increasing economic growth side by side with increased poverty can be explained to mean that growth is not inclusive. This questions of belongingness and humanity in development have resulted in groups like the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger-Delta (MEND), Indeginous People of Biafra (IPOB) expressing dissatisfaction with the 'human development question' in Nigeria (David-Chyddy 2016; Opejobi 2016).

The present development theory in Nigeria as Stiglitz (Abubakar et al. 2016) points out may have worked well in Western societies but lacks the distinction of economic opportunities between how they are applied in communitarian settings like Nigeria. Stiglitz argues that the application of development policies on the assumption that everyone will benefit is not the case in Nigeria. The North Central also referred to as the 'Middle Belt', as explained in Chapter One, is an embodiment of agitation for inclusion and inclusive development. The schematic I present in this chapter demonstrates the need in understanding the transition from the abstract top-down functional-theoretical ideas and how these abstract ideas can be applied to real life using what people value in communitarian settings. The achievement of the newly conceived Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) will benefit from understanding this transition between top-down functional theoretical approaches and bottom-up practical relational approaches.

Section two: Reccommendation

Towards a Top-down and Bottom-up Theoretical Model: Bringing it all together

The schematics in Fig. 7.1 and 7.2 argue and demonstrate not only the need of expanding the complementary co-belligenance space but also give insights on how to understand the transition from the latent abstract and top-down functional-theoretical ideas to manifest practical-relational interactions in communitarian settings. This dilemma relates directly to the research question: how can more people and communities play a bigger part in making the changes they value? This section edges towards illustrating a top-down and bottom-up theoretical model that brings together my contribution to Humanity in Development. To this end, how abstract theoretical ideas can be applied to practical-relational life encounters using what people value in communitarian settings is depicted in Fig. 7.3 below.

Fig. 7.3 The Humanity in Development Cosmos in North Central Nigeria
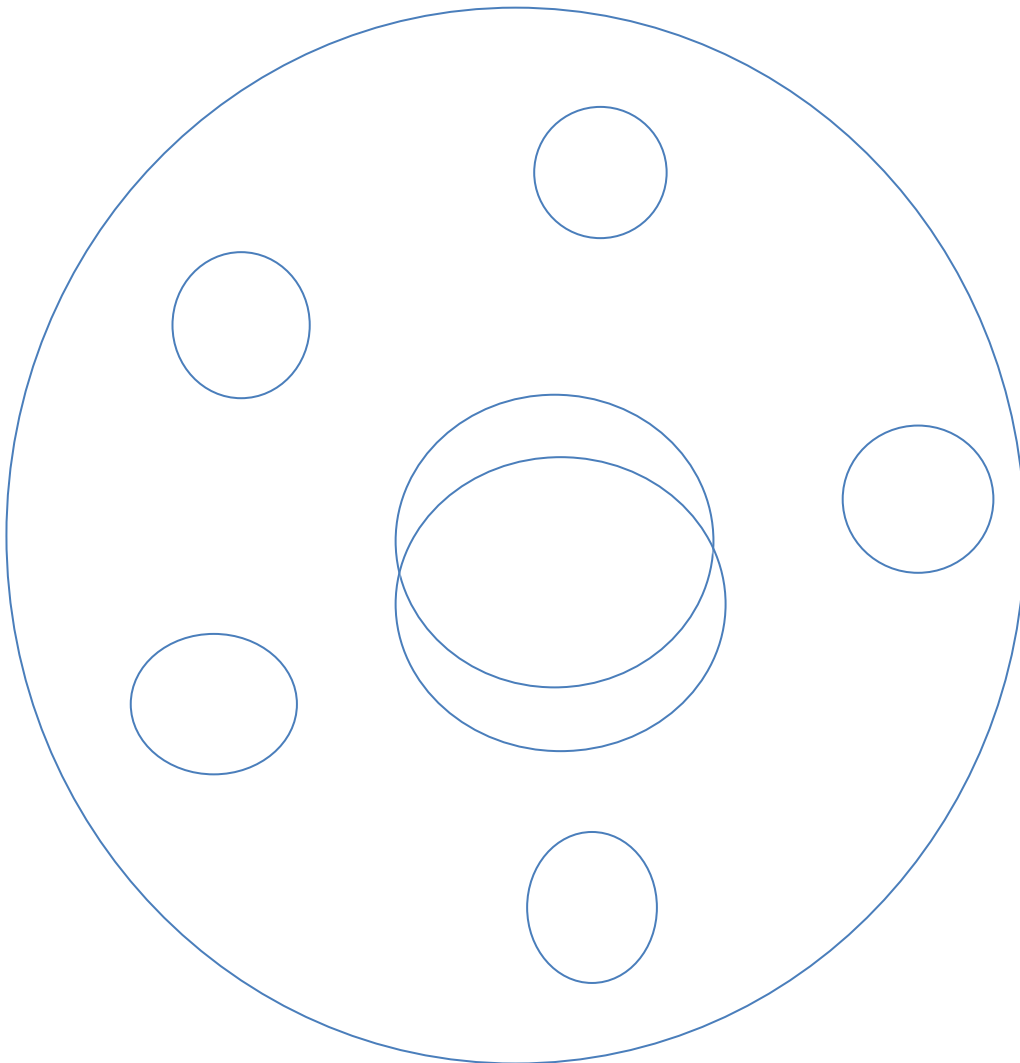
The big outer circumference of Fig. 7.3 is the Comos (space, universe) in North Central

Nigeria. The five smaller rings within the big outer cycle represent different groups and

groupings, differences, multiplicity and distinctiveness of the thousands of ideas,

people, beliefs, cultures, tradition, interests and essence that exist in North Central

Nigeria. The two intertwining rings in the middle of the 'comos' already described in

Fig 7.2 depicts the 'coming together' of and expanding the top-down/bottom-up

complementarity space/ideas that are the core and central idea to self-actualize. It is the

expansion of this intertwining co-belligerent space in the 'centere' that opens up

opportunities and life chance based on what people value that leads to Humanity in Development.

The depiction in Fig. 7.3 schematic show that there is a comos (space, universe) in North Central Nigeria where ideas, people, beliefs, cultures, tradition and humans interact to find essence in life and to self-actualize (develop, attain fullness). Self-actualization commences with a sense of self, consciousness and understanding of 'who are my' (identity) which connects to self-consciousness of the agent to make choices in life based on what the agent values. Therefore, Agency, Functioning and Capability have a soul connected to the identity of the agent based on a value system (identity, connectedness). So, 'who are my' (self) develops and finds belongingness (connectedness) to 'others' and consciousness grows due to 'value', co-existence and mutual interests to self-actualize. The focus is first on self, the Being (Human Being, humanity) before other externalities that result in what is known as 'development' or Human Development.

In this analogy, my contribution to knowledge is the conceptualization of 'humanity in development' as preceding 'human development'. What this means is that humanity in development is self-realization (being, self, self-consciousness, belongingness and connectedness) and then the desire to self-actualize (*yough yough,* fullness, opportunities and life chances) within encounters and networks of relationships the individual harnesses to expand citizenship as part of a social contract and social dividend. I make bold to conclude that it is the sum total of 'humanity in development' that amounts (or should amount) to human development.

The analogy in Fig 7.3 above is still abstract. The question is: how can this theoretical and abstract idea be applied to practical-relational life encounters using what people value in communitarian settings of North Central Nigeria? It is my reckoning from primary data that the actualization of this process of self, self-consciousness and understanding of the Being is a relational process within an interactional platform or social milieu known as *tyo* (community) that defines 'who are my' as (identity). The freedom (*tseeneke*) of the agent to function and self-actualize is within this hierarchy and networks of solidarity within the *tyo* (community). At the centre of communitarianism is *Tyo* (community), commune, collective, belongingness (connectedness). *Tyo* is an embodiment of rules of the game (institutions), regulations, the idea of what is just to all its members, fairness and common good. There is an unwritten social contract that binds to form social cohesion based on value. Community capital, in this sense, is not just a geographic expression but the core of the informal institutional communitarian existence within a value system.

The importance of Fig. 7.3 for the applicability and commesurability question is the fact that within this whole communitarian value system there are differences. So applying 'development' solutions will benefit from a de-centered (decentralization of local governance) approach that is commensurate and agreeable to members of *Tyo*. One of the biggest problems functional-theoretical approaches face is the label it attaches to places of intended development in its application. A label like 'Nigeria', Northern or Southern Nigeria forgets that there is multiplicity in the abstraction 'Nigeria'. Therefore, the focus on North Central Nigeria is this very point. North Central Nigeria also known as the 'Middle Belt' is the rejection of this monolithic notion because differences exist as a result of the hundreds of belief systems, cultural patterns, traditions, ideas, norms and so on. There is a melting pot and the constant search and

negotiation for complementary spaces become the mechanics, organization and mobilization towards a 'common good'. *Tyo* (community) also known as *Jamaa* (People or community) in Hausa language spoken across Northern Nigeria, West to Central Africa functions as a bottom-up practical relational mechanism that forges this Humanity in Development.

The applicability of my complementarity schematic in Fig. 7.2 and 7.3 focuses on the reality of the huge informal institutional system that characterizes the urban-rural divide in North Central Nigeria and indeed Nigeria as a whole. There exists an urban-rural governance dichotomy even as Nigeria operates a single constitution. So, the application of formal rules in communitarian value systems struggles with the commesurability question. There is an acknowledgement in Table. 2.2 (p. 56) of my literature review (Williamson 2000: 597; Johnson 2009: 168) where Williamson and his categorization of institutions by levels clearly states that the first level is not a level that other theorists have considered greatly.

The encounter between the expert and the driver on the concept of *Insha Allah* is a good example to buttress this commensurability question. The advantage my complementarity model in Fig. 7.2 and 7.3 has is not only the bottom-up approach but the bottom-up understanding of 'value' based on the value system of the people. *Insha Allah* is a value that defines 'who are my' and the epistemological question of how the driver knows, thinks, and reasons at the heart of his ontological framing. The encounter between the expert and the driver show both ignorance and arrogance on the part of the expert. The expert is ignorant of 'value' and the need to understand the value system for development interventions to be accepted. In his ignorance, th expert thinks 'development' comes before Humanity in Development and talks down on the driver as

to why *Insha Allah* has not 'developed' the village of the driver. The expert is also arrogant and disrespectful to the worldview of the driver and by forgetting that there is instantiation linked strongly to informality and worldview.

In dealing with both the applicability and commensurability questions my conceptualization in Fig 7.2 and 7.3 attempts to deal with a huge problematic: that some 'development' practitioners easily see and relate with macro level political and economic structures, development policy and legal frameworks but find it difficult to understand micro level influences. My conceptualization helps to shed the bottom-up light on informal affinities and identities like *Tyo* (community), family and kinship ties, rural associations, leadership, local production systems, value and belief system. Therefore, my functional-theoretical and practical-relational realms focuses on the first level presented by Williamson in Table 2.2 (p. 56) that relates to the practical-relational realm. However, there is no gain saying that I am also interested in the other three levels by Williamson in Table 2.2 which are in the functional-theoretical realm and how they are complementary in the process of humanity in development (Johnson 2009: 163).

This brings me back to my earlier review of literature in Chapter Two around the concepts of democracy, democratization and decentralization (Crocker 2008). The concept 'democracy' is presented as a mantra that is based on representation, representative governmnce, inclusion and encourages participation of all in governance. But the ideals of democracy such as representation, rule of law, social justice are not exactly yielding the dividends if they are not deliberative. The philosopher, Richard Rorty (Friedersdorf 2017), in a series of lectures on the history of American civilization, alludes to the idea that democratic institutions are failing to serve social justice. So

electorates are seemingly looking outside democratic institutions to find someone that will 'provide social justice'. The election of Donald Trump is explainedthus:

The nonsuburban electorate will decide that the system has failed and start looking for a strongman to vote for—someone willing to assure them that, once he is elected, the smug bureaucrats, tricky lawyers, overpaid bond salesmen, and postmodernist professors will no longer be calling the shots.

The disillusion with government and governance in North Central Nigeria by the rural divide tends to invoke a feeling that democratic institutions are only serving the elite, rich and powerful leading to apathy and withdrawal to the comfort informal institutions provide. Apathy in Nigeria is evident in the agitation of self-determination because they feel the elite through corruption hijack democratic institutions for their self gain thereby denying social justice. But the potential of my schematic in Fig. 7.3 in using the same as a model for democratization is an effort to decentralize and focus on local governance as a political unit or unit of analysis. Nigeria is a federation with three tiers of government; federal, states (36) and local governments (774) that are further split into political wards (9, 994 political wards in Nigeria) to make up the entity known as Nigeria.

It is interesting to note that villages at the political ward level constitute and act as horizontal 'federating units' within the wards that make up the local governments. These federating villages in the political wards decide how common community resources like land, forest resources, grazing reserves, water resources and so on are allocated and used fairly for their various community members. Disagreement may arise once in a while but the mechanisms for dispute resolution have often been deployed. Even when disputes arise, the villagers have never been embroiled in agitations to secede from their clan or village to become members of another clan or village due to unfair distribution of common community resources (Uzodinma 2017). Democratization

at the political ward level built around workable local governance mechanism can become a unit of political analysis in North Central Nigeria. The schematic in Fig 7.3 showing the five cycles depicting difference that exist within the wider cycle (comos) has coping mechnisms that lead to the expansion of the co-belligenrance space and create opportunities for community members to self-actualize.

There is a top-down structure over the bottom-up 'federating villages' in the political ward. The Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Budget and Economic Planning at federal and state levels are the top-down government and governance structures. The development and economic policy frameworks received from International Financial Institutions like International Monetory Fund (IMF) and the World Bank are implemented in the villages at the political ward levels through the local government as the third tier of government. Stiglitz (2002a; 2002b) Collier (2007; 1997) all state that top-down policies coerced on countries using conditionalities yielded negative results. Stiglitz blames it on lack of debates by places of intended development to understand the policies. Collier, on the other hand, chides the 'aid for reform' conditionality as coercion. The blend between this top-down and bottom-up approach is to expand the complementality space at the centre of Fig.7.3 schematic by asking and answering my research question: how can more people and communities play a bigger part in making the changes they value? The answer to this research question will not only be based on what the people value in their development but can indeed become a 'communiterian manifesto' stating and affirming 'this is how we wish to be governed'.

The idea of the Middle-Belt as it relates to the choice of North Central Nigeria for this research and the relevance of Fig. 7.3 is apt in explaining the clamour for self-determination and restructuring in Nigeria. The very essence of creating a state

(Nwachukwu 2017) is to ally the fear of domination by minority ethnic and tribal groups by the so-called majority ethnic groups. The clamour for self-determination highlights the fact that the structure of Nigeria as it exists today does not provide a platform for opportunities for citizens to self-actualize and attain fullness. The renewed calls to see the relevance of the local government system in Nigeria (Olu 2017) is exactly what Fig 7.3 addresses. If the budgeting system is left to the villages at the political ward levels, the budgets will be drawn based on what the people need. In my work with International Development Organizations, I have come to realize that the budget for the construction and furnishing of a classroom block, for instance, may cost four million naira (NGN 4 million). But if the federal, state and local government officials are to draw up the budget for the same size, shape and standard of class room block and furnishing it often costs forty million naira (NGN 40 million).

Olu (2017) makes the point that statutory budgetary allocation is not focused on addressing poverty and development related interventions at the local government levels but an avenue for the elite to make money through corrupt means (Inyang 2017a; 2017b; 2017c; 2017d; Odunsi 2017). The revelations of high level official corruption in Nigeria have literally defeated the aim of the federal system of governmet where local government is meant to be close to the people (Adebayo 2017). Agency (citizenship), capability and functioning are all impaired but this also make citizens feel cheated leading to social disarticulation, dislocation of social contract and affects belonginess (Wolff and De-Shalit 2007). The application of my complementarity model in Figs 7.2 and 7.3 will enable decentralization to include areas like participatory budgeting based onneeds and what the people value. This way the focus is not on democracy but the gradual democratization process that is deliberative (Crocker 2008; Sen 2009) using my

complementarity model to assist in negotiating, building consensus and closing the distance between the government and the citizens (Ibrahim 2017).

Another key relational aspect of note in the Fig 7.3 schematic is +*accountability* closely tied to Humanity in Development as a process of relational encounters between man and a deity or supernatural being, man and fellow men and man and the created order within the *tyo* (community). The encounter between the expert and the driver around the concept of *Insha Allah* is a good example of +*accountability. Insha Allah* becomes a cognitive formative stage of 'who are my' that constructs the image of the driver (self) within a value system. This is manifest in 'doing development' or functioning according to what the agent values (Gasper 2002: 444-452) (Taylor (1989; 2006: 370). The driver as a Being becomes self-consciousness and this manifests during his interaction within and outside his immediate networks. Identity is important to communitarian systems. So once a people get the sense that their identity, instutions (pattern of social interaction) and value are disparaged or belittled it can lead to latent or manifest tensions. This recognition that people hold onto their beliefs and or worldview gives an indication of value, belongingness and choices they are likely to make. Self-actualization (fullness, *yough yough*) may not be obvious but intrinsic and is a drawn from a whole value system that focuses first on the human, humane, Humanity in Development which according to my primary data precedes 'development' or 'Human Development'.

Rethinking Human Development Approach by focusing on *tyo* (community) as a Social Determinant in Communitarian Settings

There is a growing recognition that (Andrews et al. 2012) development theory and practice may have gotten it wrong:

> Why has building state capability been so hard? In past work we argued that development interventions—projects, policies, programmes—create incentives for developing country organizations to adopt 'best practices' in laws, policies and

organizational practices which look impressive (because they appear to comply with professional standards or have been endorsed by international experts) but are unlikely to fit into particular developing country contexts. Adapting from the new institutionalism literature in sociology, we suggested that reform dynamics are often characterized by 'isomorphic mimicry'—the tendency to introduce reforms that enhance an entity's external legitimacy and support, even when they do not demonstrably improve performance. These strategies of isomorphic mimicry in individual projects, policies and programmes add up to 'capability traps': a dynamic in which governments constantly adopt 'reforms' to ensure on-going flows of external financing and legitimacy yet never actually improve. The fact that the 'development community' is five decades into supporting the building of state capability and that there has been so little progress in so many places (obvious spectacular successes like South Korea notwithstanding) suggests the generic 'theory of change' on which development initiatives for building state capability are based is deeply flawed.

Development aid focusing on pouring in money to induce flourishing has in itself succeeded in breeding unaccountable systems and has fallen short in its search for *yough yough* (fullness). In the 1980s (Collier 2007), the international financial institutions tried to coerce governments into reform through 'conditionality'. Collier states that a government could get extra aid only if it agreed to change some of its economic policies. According to Collier, 'nobody likes being coerced, least of all newly powerful local elites that are hypersensitive about sovereignty and see their gravy trains threatened'. Conditionality turned out to be a paper tiger because regimes discovered they only needed to promise to reform, but not actually do it. Collier clearly stated that these neo-liberal policies do not fit the social mechanics in Africa but are coerced and promoted more for ideological reasons than economics. Collier (1997, 51) summed it up when he wrote:

> The aid 'instrument' and conditionality intended to induce African governments to reform policies have been misguided. Aid has not augmented growth and may indeed have contributed to the usually low rates of growth that Africa has experienced since the mid-1970s.

But interestingly, Collier asserts that the key issue for developing countries is what is meant by a good and bad policy environment because Africa does not have even minimally adequate economic policies. Stiglitz (2002a) argued that the interconnected nature of financial markets has served to undermined state sovereignty or interrupted

democratic consolidation in the developing world. He was responding to a question on globalization, the emphasis on free trade, and the increased mobility of capital.

According to Stiglitz, on returning to Africa after becoming the chief economist of the World Bank, he witnessed striking developments such as the spirit of *uhuru,* the Swahili word for freedom, and *ujamaa,* the word for self-help brewing (Stiglitz 2002b: 39-40). Stiglitz stated that the West acting through the IMF and World Trade Organization (WTO) has seriously mismanaged the processes of privatization, liberalization, and stabilization. By following its advice, many Third World countries and even former Communist states, are actually worse off than they were before. Kilcullen's (2013: 11) assertion that 'no external aid is neutral' begs the question of who benefits from development aid and whose reality should count in development endeavour. Development practitioners, like Kilcullen, echo in many quarters that external development aid is good in itself but it also creates rapid and uneven development. Kilcullen makes the point that development aid makes certain sections feel entitled while the other sections of the community are disadvantaged because they did not get aid. Kilcullen also makes the point that besides development aid creating entitlements, the astronomical population growth and rapid urbanization have put a strain on scarce resources and exacerbated tensions between ethnic and tribal groupings.

The human development approaches reopened the space in development discourse to respect differences based on what people value. The advancement of the HDCA approach needs a complementarity attitude and framework as presented in Fig. 7.2 above that respects differences in culture and values. This complementarity attitude in the overall development discourse would inadvertently touch on issues of the process of development, form of development and content of development. This study builds on the twin concepts of form of development and content of development: the form of

development relates not only to wider human development principles like equality, efficiency, empowerment/participation and sustainability but also gives room to be adaptable to context-specific subjects. The content of development refers to the subject matter , the human being, and speaks about 'humanity' in development as the subject (not object of development) that primarily forms the rallying point for development discourse.

Stott (2006: 176) is of the opinion that if a country's prospects are to be transformed from being impoverished to flourishing, much more is at stake then economics. He advocated the need to look at the influence and place of culture and indeed the way in which people view themselves since true development cannot be imported and imposed but must start with the people themselves. The human development approaches have also opened up the space for respect and dignity of the values of the people and places of intended development by recognizing that what the non-poor lack (*tyo*, or community, solidarity, interdependence) the poor have in abundance. Stott concluded that in using the human development approach to identify what people value as the basis to search for development, the label 'poor' can be a badge or seal for both non-poor and poor countries.

From the primary data in North Central Nigeria, I argue that the essence of 'development' is located in the *tyo* (community). This point about *Tyo* agrees with Ibrahim's article *From Individual to Collective Capabilities: The Capability Approach as a Conceptual Framework for Self-help* by emphasizing collective capabilities (Ibrahim 2010). Ibrahim argued that the Capability Approach with its emphasis on freedom and agency, is a suitable - however insufficient – conceptual framework for self-help analysis. The importance of this point by Ibrahim in relation to my

contribution in developing the communitarian model is located in my argument throughout this thesis that the Capability Approach is incomplete as a functional-theoretical and top-down approach. The limitations of the Capability Approach in capturing the interactive relations between individual capabilities and social structure constitute my contribution of a practical-relational communitarian model of Capability Approach. This point is picked up by Hodgett and Clark (2011) in their work on *Capabilities, Well-Being and Multiculturalism: A New Framework for Guiding Policy* as part of the wider recognition that there is a need to incorporate a 'collective' dimension within the Capability Approach. The practical work of Ibrahim on self-help initiatives among the poor in Egypt that emphasizes the intrinsic and instrumental value of a social structure within the context of collective action, institutions and social capital fits in very well with my conceptualization of the communitarian model as an integrated analytical framework. The work of Stewart (2013) and Nussbaum on the Capabilities Approach also highlights the need for collective capabilities by examining capabilities through groups as against earlier conceptualizations of an individual's capability.

The *tyo* (community) encapsulates networks of communitarian relationships and existence called humanity in development as the humane treatment of others. To commune is expressed in ideals like *Tyo (community), Tyo hemba (community is supreme), yough yough (*self actualization or fullness*) ayaatutu, 'ya na angbian', ubuntu, Jamaa, sadaka* that (Alkire and Deneulin 2009: 23) point to a relational process: *'I am because you are or interdependence'*. In this way, development has an inner soul in the concept of *tyo* (community) that is latent but manifests itself in the humane content of our common humanity. Wealth, riches, infrastructural developments are manifest outcomes of development endeavour considered as important results/ingredients that enable the content of development i.e. human beings. It is

important to emphasize the discussion of +*accountability* as a component of community earlier discussed in Chapter Five.

There are broad areas that *tyo* (community) relates to social and the natural environment, political and civil participation and economic well-being that complete the relational content of the Human Development Approach. Alkire and Deneulin (2009: 32) elaborated further and said the Capability Approach becomes a descriptive term that relates to the real/actual and imagined possibilities and choices open to a given person. Alkire and Deneulin identified the term 'choice' and concluded that the Capability Approach needs to deal with the challenges surrounding 'choice' itself. This is because the desirability of individual choices varies by culture as people may sometimes value making some choices together as a family or as a community and not individually.

The Complementary Roles of the State and Community Participation in advancing what People Value in Human Development

An important insight into the conditions that are necessary for individual and community development touched on internal and external categories. The internal conditions are those within the control of the individual. The external conditions are causalities that are not necessarily within the control of the individual. A key section of the FGD, during primary data collection, seeks to know the conditions people perceive as necessary for human development in North Central Nigeria. The responses are compiled in table 4.3 (see chapter 4 p. 139).

This section of the data collection focused on how to identify and establish conditions that would support individual and community development. The respondents (Resp. 6 and 2, FGDF- 2: 15th/09/2010) stated:

> Values develop the individual first and then the community. A certain farmer that is hard-working never lacked food for his family and other members of the community also get food from him. He can provide money for community development too.

It is important to restate the definition of 'development' (Resp. 7-FGDM-1: 14/09/2012) as 'the opportunities and life chances available to all humans to attain fullness (*shagba, yough-yough)*'. Therefore, using the table above, the respondents (Resp. 6 and 2, FGDF- 2: 15th/09/2010) say the conditions external to the individual are causalities identified as the opportunities needed by the individual to attain fullness. The external conditions are beyond the control of the individual and could impinge fullness. The expectation of the individual in the social contract with the state, simply put, is that the state or government should create the enabling environment that ensures mechanisms are in place to make the external causalities surmountable. On the contrary, Barber (2014) makes the point that the state has become highly 'unsuited' because it is a failed promise and unable to deal with the external causalities that limit opportunities for individuals to attain fullness. People feel the concept of *tyo* (community) is the only structure that still retains people's trust, has in-built systems of safety nets and resilience to shocks, and enables participation and community cooperation. This growing frustration with government and the state was captured in the primary data in Chapter Four and analysis in Chapter Five by a respondent (INDI-1: 04/06/2011) answering the question 'what does it mean to be human?':

> The 'government' has come to support and reinforce this system which has destroyed the cardinal principle of '*ya na angbian*' and looking out for each other and replaced it with self-seeking individuals that are not only corrupt but plunder and arrogate community resources like land and trees (timber) to themselves. There is no longer fairness. They do not know what it means to be human.

The state is seen with distrust as a regulatory system that ought to act to ameliorate the impact of the external causalities mentioned above and their potential to drive poverty. Retrenchment (known as 'lean government') in Nigeria has increased unemployment already put at 40% and further increased inequality between the rich and poor. Poverty exists side by side with an obscene display of corrupt and ill-gotten wealth by the political class and looting of the treasury (Odunsi 2015; 2016; Ugwuanyi 2015b). Jegede (2010) cited Lamido Sanusi, the former Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), who blamed Nigeria's snail speed development on the wrong policies and corruption. In a lecture at the 8th convocation ceremony of Igbinedion University Okada, Edo State, Sanusi wondered why a country where over 40% of its graduates are unemployed spends 25% of its capital budget on the National Assembly (recurrent expenses of the federal parliament). He noted that the country requires urgent policy redirection that would bring about real development:

> If you look at the budget, the bulk of government spending is revenue; that is a big problem. 25 percent of overhead of federal government goes to the National Assembly. We need power, we need infrastructure, so, we need to start looking at the structure of expenditure and make it more consistent with the development initiative of the country… a country like Ethiopia, which came out of war just yesterday, is growing at 11 percent per annum and by 2012, Ethiopia will be generating 4000 megawatt of electricity; which is more than what Nigeria is generating today. It is one thing to complain about Nigeria's problem, the situation is heightened when you see pocket of successes around Africa.

For these reasons, Habermas (Haralambos and Holborn 1995: 889) asserted that crises in the society were largely within the realm of ideas rather than within the economy. For instance, if the state fails to show that it is willing to promote justice and equality using the power it has demonstrated in controlling the economy, the population will cease to believe that the state reflects the interest of all members of the society. Habermas summed up by saying the state exposes itself as the representative of ruling class interest and so threatens social stability. By so doing, an economic crisis is diverted but a legitimacy crisis is created. Alkire and Deneulin (2009: 3-5) argue that a development analyst might describe how many poor households exist in a country and then try to

predict or extrapolate how much a 5% annual economic growth over 5 years will reduce the number of households living below the poverty line. Policy and development planning recognize the existence of winners and losers in development and uses trade-offs called normative approaches. For Africans, there is a difference between policy trade-offs dealing with how many rural children will have access to education given scare resources and other sectors like healthcare systems and agriculture. For the African, child education and health care are needs and rights and cannot be traded.

The concept of community participation is not new (Alkire and Deneulin 2009: 23) but what the capabilities approach of the human development paradigm brings to the table is the need to demonstrate clarity between form and content of development. First, form is an operational outline of how the capabilities approach will allow communities and the social context to shape the process of participation (Frediani 2006). Second, how the subject matter (human beings-people) will lead in deciding their development choices that lead them to *yough yough* (fullness). The clarity between form and content is important because the Human Development and Capability Approach is not the first of development theories emphasizing that the ultimate goal of policy and development is human flourishing. According to Deneulin (2009; 51), the basic needs approach held this idea in the early 1970s. Equally, the human rights approach holds core human development ideas are sacred. Again, the ideas of human security with its emphasis on freedom from violence, fear and insecurity have all been central to the Human Development Approach.

Having said that, the focus on freedom by the human development paradigm is very clear on freedom as a concept (Sen 2009). But there is no clarity on the dividing line between individual freedom and group freedom (*tyo*-community). However, there is a

nuanced feeling that the human development approach pictures and promotes the agent as an isolated atom of the community. In North Central Nigeria, the individual is culturally located and the functioning of the agent is based on community norms and values. Functioning is institutionalized and indeed defines, constrains and shapes the agent. The Human Development Approach points to the fact that earlier approaches were a prescription and were not suited to the context.

The Human Development Approach explores greater avenues to answer the development question: how can more people and communities play a bigger part in making the changes they value and want to see? The question of applicability and commensurability, highlighted earlier in this chapter, speaks to more inclusive community participation in their development process. The RSA (Patterson 2012) connected communities in a practical example of how people and communities can play a bigger part in making the changes they value and want to see happen. In their publication of five years of practical research and programming, community capital approaches explored the importance of social relationships. The research explains how these relationships can be understood in order to tackle the problems of social isolation and low mental well-being. In a survey of 2,840 people, the variable most consistently associated with having higher well-being was discovered to be 'feeling part of a community'. Again, one pilot study a social group set up by and for single mothers in County Durham (Clark and Qizibash 2008) found that strengthening people's social networks reduced their use of certain health services by up to 34%. Parsfield (2015) emphasized 'we arrive at these findings not through theorising, but through extensive on-the-ground practical experience gained from working with communities'.

This point by Parsfield above using practical on-the-ground experience in working with communities is exactly how bottom-up practical relational approaches can be a powerful tool. This approach can be a tool to generate what people value in their development aspirations. From the primary data in Chapter Four, I adopt the same approach by Parsfield to identify networks of community capital and relationship that support individual and community development. Table 4.5 (see p. 155) is the result of this practical approach to identify informal networks and relationships that can complement the formal governmental public policy frameworks.

The answer to the research question of how can more people and communities play a bigger part in making the changes they value and want to see can be found in the communitarian approaches like the RSA (Patterson 2012) and the approach of existing social networks in the table above. Community capital supports community members to attain their aspirations. This is found in the concept of *ihumbe* (farm labour support groups) as a form of social assistance formation or self-help community network. These social networks operate as safety nets, social assistance or social insurance schemes supporting the interdependence of members. The *ihumbe* system operates on the same principles as formal insurance, where community members pay a premium by investing their time to build the social formation. These social formations, as Parsfield puts it, become the safety nets and operate within informal institutional arrangements. But these community capital formations serve as substitutes to 'formal', constitutional and governmental run social benefit schemes (like pension and retirement schemes) that are only accessed by those employed in structured white-collar work sectors.

The academic debates about decentralizing development, community driven development and community oversight of state initiated projects and programmes can

greatly benefit from this community capital approach. This is because communitarian approaches, as seen by RSA and the presentation of primary data in Chapter Four (Table 4.5, p. 155) all corroborate this point and show bottom-up practical relational methods. To tap into the network of community capital and volunteerism as a social value and dividend is an approach to see how the formal state can enforce rules and reduce its transaction costs. This is also an aid to expanding citizenship and inclusivity because the more networks and relationships pooled, the more social values and dividends will spread as a result.

The exploration in this study generally concerns itself with issues of form and content in the processes of community inclusion in development processes. Development is then defined from primary data as the determination and expansion of choices, potential and opportunities by individuals based on the realities of their social context. This bottom-up definition relates to the goal of development and how a complementary role will ensure inclusive participation leading to the attainment of *yough yough* (fullness). Secondly, the complementary means reaching development goals is identified as participation and the *tyo* (community) is the vehicle in exploring these development needs. Thirdly, the social milieu unveils which potentials and opportunities there are to efficiently catalyse and enlarge choice. In this way, willingness and motivation relate to intrinsic individual drives towards set goals while capacity and knowledge are both intrinsic and extrinsic to enlarge options and opportunities therein. The social contexts, therefore, consist of the values, norms, beliefs and institutions that shape social interaction and exchange. In this market place of ideas, social mechanics are related to individual and community functioning based on norms and values of the place of intended development.

Exercising and enlarging choice is essential in the process of understanding development and what development is or means from the viewpoint of rural communities in North Central Nigeria. In this way, if there is a blockade to choosing what development is for rural communities, then it negates participation and removes decisions from the place of intended development. I take into cognisance the fact that social phenomena are not only constructed internally for a people but are also influenced by external factors. However, while the external environment also plays a role in shaping the understanding of rural communities, their interpretation of things is certainly not external to their experiences (Donnelly-Roark and Ouedraogo 2001, Hayami and Gōdo 2005).

Conclusion

Chapter Seven presents a model for understanding human agency and functioning in North Central Nigeria. I argue that there is need for a complementary model between top-down functional theoretical approaches and bottom-up practical relational approaches to foster development based on what people value. The complementarity question is at the heart of ensuring approaches find solutions to complex societal problems. This is because communities, social network formations, and agents can come together to create community capital and generate social value and dividends. This is where I strongly contend that the answer to the research question, how can more people and communities play a bigger part in making the changes they value and want to see, can be found.

Communitarian values focusing on *tyo* (community) are identified as the operational mechanics of the people and show how people understand and interpret 'human agency' and functioning. The mantra of the HDCA of 'people centred' meaning the human

being is the centre of development has huge potential. However, the need to have concrete processes for inclusive participatory development based on what people value as a central theme in the application of top-down and bottom-up model is also identified. This process is known as humanity in development that looks at fairness in the process of development and allocation and distribution of scarce common community resources.

What the agent values in being and doing is a complex realization that is based on some causalities that are not entirely within the immediate power of the agent. There is also the question of choices the agent makes that are dependent on the value framework that shapes functioning. Agency, capability, functioning and freedom are theoretical conceptualizations of the micro component of social structure. Promoting or enhancing the functioning, freedom and capability of the individual relies on rationality. It is important to note that rationality is not a component of social structure so much as a quality of social agency. The instability of rationality does not make it suitable for the central focus of evaluating functioning and the construction of the operational bases of the agent.

My contribution to knowledge is the conceptualization of 'humanity in development' as preceding human development. What this means is that humanity in development is self-realization (being, self, self-consciousness and belongingness) and self-actualization (*yough yough,* fullness, opportunities and life chances) within encounters and networks of relationships the individual harnesses to expand citizenship as part of social dividends. It is the sum of 'humanity in development' that amounts to human development. The definition of development during primary data and the understanding of development are seen from this background. Another contribution of this study is my

presentation of +*accountability*, closely tied to humanity in development as a process of relational encounters between man and a deity or supernatural being, man and fellow men and man and the created order within the *tyo* (community). The process of self-consciousness, self and understanding being is a relational process within an interactional platform or social milieu known as *tyo* (community) that defines acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. The freedom (*tseeneke*) of the agent to function and self-actualize is within this hierarchy and networks of solidarity within the *tyo* (community). This community capital is the core of a communitarian value system and all academic efforts that seek a complementary blend of top-down functional theoretical approaches with bottom-up practical relational approaches will learn that this will be more commensurate in application.

The application of the Human Development Approach in places of intended development should recognize community capital, the network of relationships and the value system as lines of accountability and local governance. The application of top-down functional theoretical approaches will be a valuable contribution to development discourse by seamlessly blending with bottom-up relational practices. This study is one possible demonstration of how the top-down functional theoretical approaches and bottom-up practical relational approaches lead to humanity in development. From the primary data, this is the relational component that touches on belongingness, feelings, and emotions and lends meaning to being. It is this relational process that produces humanity in development by opening and availing the agent opportunities inherent in the ecosystem to attain fullness (*yough yough*) and flourish.

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Focus Groups

Key:

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FGDM – Focus Group Discussion Male

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2. FGDF 2 – Focus Group Discussion Female number 2 conducted 15th/09/2010, Tse Agera, Mbaadigam

3. FGDF 3 – Focus Group Discussion Female number 3 conducted 15th/09/2010, Dagba, Mbaadigam

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Key:

RESP.-Respondent;

INDI.-Individual Interview

Contributors:

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Appendix

FGD GUIDE

(SECTION ONE)
QUESTION 1
1A. What is the local name for poverty in this community?

ANALYSIS (building consensus or divergence):

1B. OPPOSITE OF POVERTY
CATEGORIES OF POOR, POORER AND POOREST (POOR=P1, POORER=P2 AND POOREST=P3) RESPONSES
CATEGORIES OF RICH, RICHER AND RICHEST (RICH=R1, RICHER=R2 AND RICHEST=R3)

ANALYSIS (building consensus or divergence):

QUESTION 2
What makes other people rich and others poor? (Using the example of 4 children:2 boys and 2 girls born on the same day).
What makes other people rich and others poor?
ANALYSIS (building consensus or divergence):

QUESTION 3
How is development understood or defined in this community?

SECTION TWO
QUESTION 1
From the above discussion and reasons, how can people pursue what they value in this community?
  RESPONSES
ANALYSIS (building consensus or divergence):
QUESTION 2
Will these values develop the individual or the community?
ANALYSIS (use Modified Venn diagram to build consensus or divergence):

USE DIAGRAM OF THE INTERACTION WITHIN A COMMUNITY
Key
C = community
E = Extended family
N =Nuclear family
I = Individual
QUESTION 3
Describe types of associations and networks you have in this community.

ANALYSIS (Use a table):
QUESTION 4
Where do your values come from?
ANALYSIS (building consensus or divergence):
QUESTION 5
What are those values that have been borrowed from neighboring ethnic groups?

SECTION THREE
QUESTION 1
How can conflicts be resolved?
QUESTION 2
what is government?
QUESTION 3
How do you collaborate with the government?
ANALYSIS (building consensus or divergence):