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UNPACKING THE POLITICS OF EQUALITY, DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION: THE CASE OF ISRAELI JEWISH AND PALESTINIAN WOMEN IN MUNICIPAL COUNCILS[1]

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Abstract: *This research aims to unpack the politics of gender equality and inclusion in municipal councils, focusing on the patterns of women's political practices; the institutional impact of the national and local cultures on the organizational cultures. It is based on action-research and mixed-method format. Eight municipal councils in small and medium size Jewish, Arab and Jewish-Arab towns in the Northern district participate in the study. Initial findings suggest that women's meaningful involvement in the municipal strategic decision-making is partial. There is a significant gap between the declared strive for gender equality and inclusion and women's actual influence in decision-making. This gap looms particularly large in the Arab towns. The mechanisms of exclusion and potential avenues of counteracting them are discussed.*

Key-words: *politics, equality, inclusion, diversity, gendering in organizations, local government*

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1. Introduction

Confronting the challenges of contemporary societies marked by diversity and social divisions requires representation of all sectors of society. Full-fledged involvement of the highest ranks of leadership in strategic decision-making deems crucial. Participation of women at top echelons can benefit the society at large, especially by sustaining the democratic processes (Moghadam 2010). Moreover, recent research on women in upper echelon positions, indicates that diversity of decision-makers improves the chances of women's promotion to top leadership and fosters female leaders' tenure at the top (Glass and Cook 2016). Yet, actual women's participation in strategic decision-making bodies confronts significant barriers.

This research systematically explores the burning issue of women's limited participation and involvement in upper echelon decision-making forums in Israel, focusing on the municipal government.

1.1. The politics of gender diversity in TMTs

What are the real-life implications of gender diversity? Does it promote gender equality and women's meaningful inclusion in strategic decision-making? What are the overt and implicit political processes of equality, diversity and inclusion (EDI) underlying- women's participation in top management forums?

The Global Gender Gap Report (GGGR) tackles women's inclusion in top management yearly. The last report (2018) points to some progress in women's involvement at upper echelon forums, yet the advancement is slow. Research on the cross-roads of gender, leadership and management suggests that progress in women's entry and involvement at upper echelons encounters significant barriers (Debusscher 2016). Social construction of women's status constitutes an important component of the mechanism implicitly excluding women from meaningful participation in strategic top teams. Their inferior gendered social status exacerbates the persistence of the glass-ceiling (Calas, Smirchich, and Halvino 2014). Extant research substantiates this argument showing that TMTs are not gender neutral, however, its manifestations are largely hidden (Casey, Skibnes, and Pringle 2011; Glass and Cook 2016). Consequently, male elites endure with women hitherto playing their *token* roles (Cook, Ingersoll, and Glass 2019; Desivilya Syna, Palgi and Sabbah Karkaby 2018; Desivilya Syna and Costea 2015; Desivilya and Palgi 2014; Lewis and Simpson 2012).

Research on the nature of women's actual participation in TMTs is scarce. Much attention was given to their numerical representation but less to their substantive participation, their social capital and power relations within

these TMTs. Knowledge gaps pertain to the processes in such groups: the roles actually played by women in these forums. Hence, a thorough explication of women's 'place' in TMTs discerning phenomena such as construction of power relations, gender stereotyping in decision–making processes and networking patterns is deemed important (Cook et al. 2019).

Extant research suggests that women still perform mainly communal functions: facilitating TMTs development, encouraging open debate, enhancing monitoring mechanisms, but have limited impact on actual decisions (Charles 2014; Desivilya Syna et al. 2018; Kossek, Su, and Wu 2016). The perception that women are still unequal partners and the inherent tensions ingrained in gender role expectations with respect to leadership curtail women's influence in TMTs. On the one hand, they are expected to display feminine communal management patterns; on the other hand, their inclusion at the top requires manifestation of the masculine, agentic characteristics ascribed to successful management. Women leaders who are able to engage this paradox of the dual demands are more likely to gain full-fledged entry and involvement in strategic decision-making (Zheng, Kark and Meister 2018).

1.2. Unpacking EDI politics at the local government

Holman's (2017) research on women's representation in the US local governments, indicated that institutional, demographic and local politics factors shape women's participation in top echelons. Thus, women are more likely to be elected in district-related positions than to the mayor's office or city councils, in cities where women had higher incomes and education levels and locations where they could gain local support of the parties. The study also suggested that women differ in the policies they favor and exhibit different practices in policy building. Women tend to concentrate on policy issues related to diversity and equality promotion and tend to work collaboratively with their constituents while enhancing inclusion of multiple stakeholders.

In a similar vein, Charles' (2014) research studying a newly formed devolved institution – the National Assembly of Wales - pointed at marked differences between women's political practices at the devolved new institution and the local councils. The national council of Wales was grounded in the institutional commitment to equality, striving to and actually attaining equal gender representation. By contrast, the local councils maintained the masculine cultures, underscoring the normative gender-role expectations at political decision-making forums and sustained women's underrepresentation. The contextual influences and actual representation

rates were reflected in different interaction patterns in the top decision-making forums: women who formed a "critical mass" at the devolved institution were able to challenge organizational gendering and evince consensual, cooperative political practices; interestingly these patterns were also observed among men. By contrast, the local councils demonstrated strong gendering effects: women and men exhibiting the normatively prescribed behaviors that is, dominance of the masculine, competitive, aggressive stance.

Drawing on Charles' (2014) study, the municipal councils at the Israeli scene highly resemble the local councils in the UK, both in terms of the contextual institutional influences and gender representation rates. Initial evidence in Israel shows that women's participation in local government had insignificant effect on budget allocation even in seemingly "feminine" domains such as education and welfare (Steklov and Reingewertz 2015).

Another study conducted on Israeli women incumbents in the political sphere, showed that they were largely excluded from the prevailing male communication networks. Interestingly, in the rare cases when they were invited into men's networks, women preferred to form their own networks, which allowed in their view a different discourse (Akirev and Ben Horin Naot 2015).

Gendering effects loom even stronger in the Arab society in Israel, due to continuing patriarchal characteristics. The latter pertains to social construction accentuating men's dominance and women's inferiority who are required to abide by stringent social norms. These salient power gaps constitute a significant barrier on Arab women's participation in the political sphere. Women's presence at the political arena is viewed as a severe violation of social norms, interpreted as assimilation in the Western society accompanied by a loss of authentic Arab identity (Barraagan, Erogul, and Essers 2018; Hanif 2016).

Tight patriarchal cultures proliferated by the Israeli institutions and strong conservative emphasis in the local communities impede the possibility of challenging organizational gendering in the municipal councils. This trend is prominent in the municipal councils of the Arab towns, where gendering intersects with patriarchal culture, compounding the influence of the central social institutions and coloring the organizational culture, political representation and practices in the local government (Arar and Abu-Rabia-Queder 2011; Barraagan et al. 2018; Charles 2014; Hanif 2016; Knights and Omanović 2016; Lee and Kramer 2016).

Notwithstanding gendering effects, some evidence from the Jewish and Arab- societies points at changes toward greater involvement of women in

the political sphere including the local government. Until 2013, Israel was among the lowest ranking countries in women's representation in the local government. The 2013 elections marked a turning point in women's involvement at both the national and local political forums. Akirev's and Ben-Horin Naot's (2015) data point at concerted efforts designed to foster women's entry into the political sphere. The activities, led mainly by NGOs, created the necessary infrastructure that enabled women's work in the political arena, especially promoting legislation aimed at increasing their authority in municipal councils. Thus, in 2014 an amendment was introduced to the local government law, which aimed at increasing the rates of women's representation through financial incentives of higher party funding for moving up women candidates to realistic positions (Mizrachi-Simon 2016).

Another empowering mechanism for boosting women's involvement in political leadership was fostering gender awareness and narratives at the public agenda and enhancing women's professional competence in the political sphere. This was accomplished through regional meetings, seminars and specialized training, consequently also creating a support network for consultation and common activities (Akirev and Naot Ben Horin 2015).

Extant findings demonstrate the important role of organizations' commitment to gender mainstreaming into the political realm and its translation to deeds in boosting women's political involvement. Thus, local and national campaigns advocating the importance of women's involvement in the political arena, not only open spaces for women's meaningful participation in the political discourse, but also seem to produce concrete results. They foster women's motivation and actual attempts to step into the local government and raise their actual representation rates in municipal councils (Akirev and Ben-Horin Naot 2015). Drawing on Bourdieu (Husu 2013), such actions contribute to shaping the specific political field where women operate vis-à-vis men through modified social capital and habitus (networking, attaining public credit, resistance to silencing and exclusion) that is deciphering the 'rules of the game'.

In sum, prior research suggests that changing the organizational culture and decision-making practices in TMTs requires multiple emphases. These include developing a cultural framework - mainstreaming gender into the main social institutions (especially into budget planning and distribution); underscoring commitment to gender equality; establishing a critical mass of women in TMTs; and further developing women's capabilities to engage the paradoxes embedded in gender role expectations at upper echelons. Beyond changing the “playing field” of TMTs, Cook et al. study (2018) underscores the crucial role of structural changes, particularly actual women's placement at

formal top leadership positions. Such official elite status allows women to extend their involvement afar their token roles, displaying strategic agency, exerting direct influence on decisions related to gender equality.

The current research attempts to unpack the politics of gender (in)equality, diversity and (ex)inclusion in municipal government. It examines how women actually reach formal leadership positions in the local government by following their career trajectories. We also focus on the dynamics at municipal councils, attempting to elucidate the mechanisms contributing to gender inequalities and ways curtailing women's exclusion - fostering their strategic influence.

The study aims to discern the **subtle and hidden aspects of gender construction** in the municipal government's decision-making bodies and power relations between women and men. Drawing on Kolb's and McGinn's (2009) construction of the term negotiation as an ongoing activity in organizations, we investigate how women engage in negotiating *authority* (their legitimacy), *value* (getting recognition and reward), *support* (developing networks) and *commitment* (impact on definition of "successful" council member). Specifically, this research endeavors:

- to unpack the politics of gender diversity, equality and inclusion in municipal councils,
- to illuminate the patterns of women's political practices,
- to elucidate institutional impact of national and local cultures on organizational cultures of gender EDI,
- to trace women's "success stories" and best practices within respective institutional environments and propose directions for policy makers based on the collected research evidence.

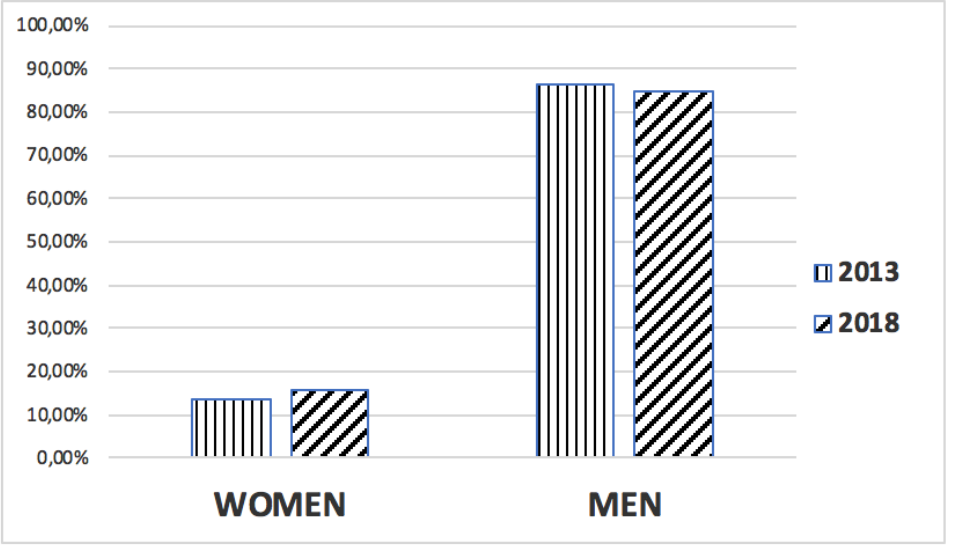
Thus, the current research will expand the knowledge base on women's involvement and participation practices in the local government in both the theoretical and practical realms. At the conceptual level, it will unravel the societal, cultural and organizational mechanisms of exclusion and the counteracting means potentially enhancing women's involvement and equal participation in top management of local governments. In the practical domain, the research will contribute policy-related insights intended at shaping national, regional and local policies, legal and organizational measures designed to promote women's full-fledged participation at upper echelons of local governments. This paper presents initial findings of the research in progress.

1.3. The Israeli Case

This section highlights the Israeli situation with regard to legislation designed to increase women's involvement in upper echelons of local governments and portrays the actual state-of the- art with respect to women's participation in the top forums. The main component of the affirmative legislation constituted an amendment in the Israeli law as a motivating mechanism for local parties to include women candidates. Accordingly, a 15% budget increase was promised to the local parties having at least a third of women candidates for municipal elections. This amendment was implemented in the 2018 local elections. However, only 20% of the local parties reached that quota!!! Another measure designed to enhance women's influence in municipal councils was a legal mandate to appoint a woman advisor to the mayor on women's issues. In actuality, the contribution of the legislative mechanisms to women's representation in municipal councils appears rather limited as can be seen in Figures 1.

Figure 1 presents the percentage of women in Jewish and Arab municipal councils in the 2013 compared to the recent 2018 elections.

Figure 1: Women in the Israeli Municipal Councils - Jewish and Arab Municipalities



Source: Adjusted from Avgar (2019, 12)

The figure clearly shows that women's representation in the Arab municipal councils is barely visible (below 3%) although it has somewhat improved in the last elections. Women's representation in the Jewish situation is significantly higher in comparison to their Arab counterparts reaching 25% in the last elections, however still lagging behind men.

1.4. Research Questions

The main query underlying this study examines how women negotiate *authority* (their legitimacy), *value* (getting recognition and reward), *support* (developing networks) and *commitment* (impact on definition of "successful" council member). The specific sub-questions comprise the following:

- What are women's career trajectories to the top?
- How do women express their voices in strategic decision-making?
- What are the manifestations of gendering and exclusion in municipal councils?
- How do women attempt to circumvent the external and internal barriers to their full-fledged participation in municipal councils?

2. Methodology

In an attempt to respond to our research questions, we focus on women in the municipal councils in the Northern district of Israel. This decision rests on two reasons: a. Similarity of a geographic setting; b. The largest variety of Israeli towns in the Northern district.

The towns in our sample were selected from those that were rated in the DUN'S100 Annual 2016 (Dun & Bradstreet, Israel) according to five components: 1. Rate of surplus/deficit in the ordinary budget; 2. Property tax collection rate; 3. Ratio of grants to regular budget; 4. Ratio of businesses to residents; 5. Socioeconomic ranking.

Our sample is drawn from medium size (50,000-200,000 residents) and from small size (less than 50,000 residents) municipalities. We did not sample any big towns because no Israeli Arab or mixed town in the DUNS 100 is big. The sample includes Jewish, Arab and mixed municipal councils. This allows examining the processes within relatively homogenous versus more diversified councils.

Our methodology is based on action-research approach and on a mixed-method format. The study employs the following research tools: (1) a questionnaire survey administered to members of the municipal councils of the sampled towns; (2) official documents' analysis, observation and

documentation of municipal councils' periodical meetings; (3) in depth interview of two to three members from each municipal council and the mayors' advisers on women's issues and; (4) two think-tanks on issues of municipal policy that came up in the survey and the interviews. A separate think-tank will be organized for each type of the municipal councils: Arab and Jewish.

2.1. The Survey

A questionnaire was administered to all members of the municipal councils in the sampled towns. The questionnaire addresses several issues as follows. (1) Profile of the council member - demography (age, marital status, gender) education, occupation and public service experience; (2) Municipal issues that are important to them; (3) The features of the organizational climate at the municipal council; (4) Transparency of information; (5) Shared objectives; (6) Issues of contention; (7) Subjective evaluation of their council's performance.

2.2. Official Document Analysis and Observation of Municipal Councils' Meetings

We collected and analyzed reports from the municipal councils' meetings and from relevant governmental committees will be collected and analyzed. We also observed and documented 2-3 meetings of the municipal councils' periodical meetings. These meetings are open to the public. Moreover, a recent legislation mandates videotaping the proceeds of the council meetings.

2.3. The in-depth interviews

At the outset of the research process, preliminary interviews were conducted with either mayors, their deputies or CEOs in order to explain about the research, build rapport and facilitate further cooperation in the course of the research process.

The in-depth interviews with the council members constitute one of the main research tools. In each municipality two women council members will be interviewed and one men. In addition, the mayors' advisers on women's issues in the eight sampled towns will be interviewed. In those municipalities that have no women members two men will be interviewed. In the mixed municipalities at least one person from each sector will be interviewed. The interview questions are designed to capture and unravel the following issues: (1) Council members path for entering the municipal council - how they were located and how they were selected, what criteria and procedures were used; (2) Actual communication, conflict management and decision-making

patterns and the overall dynamics at the municipal councils; (3) Issues of interest for the participants which they raise at the council meetings and outside the meeting as well as issues they refrain from raising and the reasons underlying such actions; (4) Perceived transparency in information flow, differences in information, knowledge and expertise; (5) Perceived power asymmetries - differences in position or opinion among council members and perceived differences in control of valued social resources such as pay and status among members; (6) Perceptions with respect to the team climate (openness, cooperative orientation); (7) Opportunities versus challenges/barriers in exerting influence and the reasons underlying these perceptions; (8) Suggestions for changes in the management, procedures and activities at municipal councils and recommendations for policy changes.

2.4. The think-tank

The think tanks are designed to capture the implementation aspects of the proposed research and to emphasize the research/theory-practice interface. They will be based on the data collected from all the data sources and tools: documents, observations, the survey and the in-depth individual interviews as well as ideas which have been expressed in policy papers in different countries. The participants will include representatives of the Federation of Local Authorities as well as representatives from the Israeli municipal councils and women's organizations. The discussions in these forums will revolve around three core questions: WHY? (Vision and Strategic Plan) WHAT? (The issues to be engaged in the future policies promoting gender equality in local governments). HOW? (Action Plans).

3. Initial Findings

The findings presented in the following sections include both statistical data and qualitative data on women's representation and participation in the municipal councils. First, we provide findings with regard to the local governments nationwide, then, we concentrate on the sampled towns.

3.1 Women's representation rates

Research on the trajectories of leadership positions in local government shows that prior membership in municipal councils constitutes a major predictor of attaining the chair's post (The Institute of Democracy, 2018). Women's minority status in these forums constricts their odds to reach top leadership. Indeed, women attained the chair's post only in 5.4% of the local governments that participated in the recent elections.

The recent elections point at continuing upward trend in women's motivation to seek positions in municipal councils. Sixty-eight women submitted candidacy for municipal councils in 2018 in comparison to 42 in prior elections. The outcomes of the recent elections display a similar tendency: 426 women were elected to serve at municipal councils in comparison to 327 in 2013 elections. However, the growth rate in women's representation was merely 3%.

We now turn to women's representation rates in the eight sampled municipalities. No women mayors were elected in any of the sampled towns. No women or only one woman were appointed in two Arab towns, in one mixed town and one Jewish town. In the most 'egalitarian' Arab towns, three women were elected out of 19 council members. In the most 'egalitarian' Jewish town, six women serve as council members out of 17 council members.

In three of the Jewish municipalities there was an increase in the number of women (5-7; 3-5; 1-4) whereas in the other two the number of women decreased (2-1). In two of the three Arab municipalities there was also an increase in the number of women, in one it remained the same (2-3; 0-1; 1-1).

3.2. Gender Division in Decision-Making Forums

The data point at gendered office-holders allocation in all sampled municipalities. Specifically, men are in control of money matters (finance and budget distribution), serving as mayors, treasurers and heads of tender committees. By contrast, women are in charge of welfare and education issues: heads of welfare committees, education departments and legal advisers.

The next section presents initial findings on women's actual involvement in the investigated municipal councils, based on analyses of observations and protocols in the pre and post elections periods and preliminary interviews with mayors, deputes and CEOs of the municipal councils. The latter interviews were designed to establish rapport with the councils' management thereby allowing and facilitating our access as researchers into the research sites. We highlight several main themes that emerged from the content analyses of the research tools indicated above.

3.3. Declared Women's Inclusion

As can be seen in the following quotes, the mayors in Jewish as well as in Arab towns declare the importance of including women in the upper echelons of the municipalities; however, the implementation of these benevolent intentions falls short of actual materialization.

Jewish towns: (Mayor) "*women's empowerment figures prominently in the municipality. I promote it."*

(Mayor): "*we have to appoint also women, we cannot have only men"* upon selecting a diseased woman for an award of distinguished resident, subsequently adding another (alive) woman.

Arab towns: "*the municipality supports women, but gender division is complex; if wish to have equality, need affirmative action…When special activities for women are proposed, the door is always open."*

The findings collected thus far still leave the question as to the change in the temperature and climate for welcoming women at top decision-making forum wide open. Perhaps it is warming up for women's involvement in municipal councils, but as the subsequent themes demonstrate, women still need to surmount numerous barriers and negotiate their full-fledged participation. These negotiation tasks encompass three distinct arenas: negotiating legitimacy, negotiating influence and negotiating competence and commitment.

3.4. Negotiating Legitimacy

Women's presence in municipal councils is certainly not given rather needs to be negotiated, as exemplified by the following quote:

(Mayor): "*women's empowerment figures prominently in the municipality. I promote it."* He also referred to women's municipal forum, allegedly established owing to his support: "*They couldn't determine who will represent them; they meet me each time in representative groups of 3-4."* This statement shows the mayor's difficulty to accept a different mode of involvement, based on direct democracy.

In Arab towns, the task of negotiating legitimacy is even more pronounced as women need to cope with clan politics, engage and overcome the barriers of patriarchal culture, as demonstrated in the statements below:

"There are very dominant and charismatic women with us ...One of them worked very hard to muster support, but it turned out that her brother became a candidate, she was obliged to support him. […] *Restrictions on women while campaigning, such as visiting residents' homes."*

3.5. Negotiating Influence

Surmounting the barriers blocking women's visibility and actual influence in municipal councils requires women's active engagement, as demonstrated in the following exchange between the new mayor and a woman deputy:

S. (a woman deputy): "*I am raising the issue of women's underrepresentation in the committees. Only one woman was appointed as a committee chair*."

Mayor: *"Will give you with pleasure a committee. In all the committees I am present so are you and O. (*another woman deputy*). You know that I am in favor…You are welcome to make suggestions."*

The mayor's condescending expressions substantiate the need to negotiate influence in order to counteract the politics of inequality and exclusion.

Akin to negotiating legitimacy, in Arab towns, negotiating influence is more demanding than in Jewish towns due to the intersection of gendering with patriarchal culture. Such combined influence confines women's roles to the traditional gender division as manifested in the following statement made by a woman activist involved in the local politics:

"*Adviser on Women's Issues is expected to organize ceremonies such as International Women's Day."*

3.6. Negotiating Competence and Commitment

This theme was highly prominent in Arab towns where women's motivation, commitment and competence to participation and involvement in municipal councils were questioned, at best guarded with caution. The following statements made by two mayors substantiate this claim.

Mayor 1: "*I really wanted to have a woman in my party, but no women wished to be in this position. If I find a woman who wants to take part in the public sphere, will support her, but women are problematic"*

Mayor 2*: "Adviser on Women's Issues needs to have more stamina and passion than the current one has."*

Such adverse experiences of doubted competence and commitment were also reported by women themselves: *"The mentality of people in the Arab society is that it's difficult to count on a woman; she does not reveal enough self-assurance. They pursue men and not women."*

3.7. Politics of Exclusion (Silencing Attempts)

Women not only face the need to negotiate their legitimacy, influence, competence and commitment, they also need to resist and rebut both explicit and implicit attempts of exclusion and silencing. These efforts by their male counterparts at times verge on verbal aggression and even physical one. Such experiences were reported in both Jewish and Arab towns.

In one of the Jewish towns, a woman deputy relayed an experience from the initial phase of her political career: *"the fact that you are pretty does not*

mean we will do everything you ask for (mayor) […] *It's difficult to be a woman, there is a barrier*."

Such silencing attempts made her succumb to male culture, reflected in behavior and code of dress.

In Arab towns, a variety of explicit and hidden tactics of exclusion and silencing were reported by both men as well as women. Some of the examples are presented below.

"*One woman council member was attacked verbally and physically, had to protect her and her family." (Mayor)*

"*Abusive posts in social media, a need to cope with vulnerability and disrespect." (A woman activist in local politics)*

"Attempts to exclude the adviser for women's issues - not inviting her to the council meetings; she then made attempts to obtain information and attended the meetings" (A woman activist in local politics).

Is the local government warming-up for women, especially at the upper echelons of decision-making? The results obtained hitherto cast doubts with regard to drastic climate change in the municipal councils. The upcoming section discusses both the query and the initial insights in more depth.

4. Discussion and Conclusions

4.1. Main Insights

This research aims to unpack the politics of gender (in)equality, diversity and (ex)inclusion in municipal government. It attempts to unravel the pathways of women to leadership positions in the local government. The study mainly captures the dynamics at municipal councils, elucidating the mechanisms contributing to gender inequalities and potential ways decreasing women's exclusion that is enhancing their strategic impact.

The current study discerns the **overt** as well as the **subtle and hidden aspects of gender construction** in the municipal government's decision-making bodies and power relations between women and men. We draw on Kolb's and McGinn's (2009) conceptualization of the construct negotiation as a continuous activity in organizations and examine how women negotiate *authority* (their legitimacy), *influence*, *commitment* and *competence* (definition of "successful" council member).

What can we tell about the intricate women's encounters with local politics based on our extant findings? Is the climate at the upper echelons of municipal councils warming up for women's involvement?

The initial findings suggest that women's meaningful involvement in the municipal strategic decision-making is partial at best. Notwithstanding a marked increase in women's motivation for involvement in local politics, candidacies for mayor and council's member positions and actual appointment for these posts in the last municipal election, there seems to be still a significant gap between the declared strive for gender equality, diversity and inclusion and women's actual influence in decision-making.

This gap looms particularly large in the Arab towns, however is also evident in the Jewish towns. Women's still perform mostly the role of token women. In order to move beyond their token position, they need to negotiate legitimacy, influence, competence and commitment and resist the exclusion and silencing attempts by their male counterparts (Kolb and McGinn 2009; Lewis and Simpson 2012). Women still experience difficulty in challenging political correctness, tight patriarchal national, local and male oriented organizational cultures (Desivilya Syna et al. 2018).

In line with prior research, the impediments women face at municipal TMTs subsume structural, political, institutional and psychological mechanisms. Responding to these challenges requires simultaneous attention to each of the means of maintaining inequality, lack of diversity and exclusion (Cook et al. 2019; Desivilya et al. 2018; Lewis and Simpson 2012).

In order to counteract the still prevailing male-dominated politics in local governments and engender transition promoting women's inclusion and influence in the top management forums, implementation of multiple and simultaneous mechanisms deems important. These measures comprise developing a cultural framework - mainstreaming gender into the main social institutions (especially into budget planning and distribution); emphasizing commitment to gender equality; establishing a critical mass of women in TMTs; and further developing women's capacities to engage the paradoxes embedded in gender role expectations at upper echelons. Beyond changing the "playing field" of TMTs, Cook et al. study (2019) stresses the fundamental role of structural changes, particularly actual women's placement at formal top leadership positions. Such official elite status allows women to extend their involvement afar their token roles, displaying strategic agency, exerting direct influence on decisions related to gender equality.

4.2. Next steps

This research in progress will continue to unpack the politics of gender EDI in municipal councils, focusing on the patterns of women's political practices. We aim to elucidate the institutional impact of the national and local cultures on the organizational cultures of municipal councils and in turn on women's

patterns of influence and on gender mainstreaming in the municipal policy-making. We also endeavor to trace women's "success stories", "best practices" and actual "game changers" within the respective institutional environments.

Eventually, our action research can significantly contribute to materializing Julia Kristeva's expectation with regard to women's achievements in 21st century, as cited below.

"The sexual, social, and political liberation of women and their entry into various intellectual and professional domains in the modern polity raises the question of their equality or their difference with regard to men. This was the central question of the twentieth century. However, the third millennium will be the millennium of individual opportunities, or it will not be […]. I've tried to go beyond the well-worn approach to these questions, which sought to define fixed sexual identities. […] Therein lies genius, which is quite simply creativity.

So, is there a feminine genius?

The example of twentieth-century women has made it difficult to avoid the question. And it has led us to consider that the anxiety over the feminine has been the communal experience that has allowed our civilization to reveal, in a new way, the incommensurability of the individual. This incommensurability is rooted in sexual experience but nonetheless is realized through the risks that each of us is prepared to take by calling into question thought, language, one's own age, and any identity that resides in them. You are a genius to the extent that you are able to challenge the sociohistorical conditions of your identity. This is the legacy of Arendt, Klein, and Colette." (Kristeva 2004, 503-504)

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THE INFLUENCE OF ENTREPRENEURIAL SKILLS, EDUCATION AND RISK PERCEPTION ON CAREER CHOICE INTENT: THE CASE OF EUROPEAN STUDENTS WITH FAMILY BUSINESS BACKGROUND

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Abstract: *When confronted with career choice, students with family business background have a specific trilemma. Having an additional career alternative as a potential family business successor, makes their career choice decision more complex compared with their peers. The purpose of this paper is to investigate how entrepreneurial education, risk perception and skill mastering influence career choice intention of this specific group of students. We used a data set from GUESSS 2014 survey. Our sample includes students with family business background from 18 European countries. We used a multinomial logistic regression since our dependant variable has three categorical solutions (entrepreneur, employee and successor). Our findings may be used by consultants, education institutions and more importantly by parents which find themselves in a triple role of an entrepreneur, an owner and a parent.*

Key-words: *family business, students, career choice, education, risk, entrepreneurial skills, succession*

1. Introduction

Career choice is a frequently investigated issue in recent years since our socio-economic environment becomes more and more complex. Young people form an interesting investigation target group since they are close to making a career decision in such an environment. Previous studies confirmed that many factors shape individual's career decision. These studies are usually focused on two major alternatives: entrepreneurial career or an employment's path. This approach, however, leaves a huge research gap when speaking about students with family business background. Their situation is different if compared with their peers, since they are confronted with a trilemma with an additional career alternative of accepting the role of a family business successor. There are no instruments in the existing

literature, which directly address this topic (Birley 2002). We lack a deeper understanding of potential heir's career choice intention, which precedes the decision itself (Ajzen 1991). That is one of the reasons for the importance of recognizing individual's entrepreneurial intentions in modern economies (Wennekers et al. 2005). Yet another argument strongly supports the need for investigating young potential family business heir's career intentions. Previous investigations found that there is a big gap between existing owners' expectations toward their children succession intention where 67% expect that potential heir will accept the role of a successor and their children where only 22% is actually considering that career alternative (Ernst&Young 2012).

Family business played an important role throughout development of civilizations. Nowadays families are running small businesses as well as large multinational corporations (Bird et al. 2002). They all contribute significantly to countries GDP (Bindu Kota and Singh 2016). Given this worldwide economic and social relevance provided by family firms, understanding a potential heir's career choice motives is highly important for insuring the long-time business stability (Astrachan and Carey Shanker 2003). The lack of potential successor's motivation is the most frequent reason for unsuccessful family business transition process (De Massis, Chua, and Chrisman 2008). Family succession is of critical importance for family firm's transgenerational sustainability (Sharma, Chrisman, and Chua 2003).

Several factors influence career choice intentions. They can be categorized into three groups: individual, social and economic (Dyer 1994). The succession process should be analyzed through the prism of the owner, the successor and the environment (Lucky, Minai, and Isaiah 2011). In this paper, we are focused on individual factors of the potential young successor. Students are particularly interesting target group, since they are approaching a point where an actual career decision has to be made. We already know that most people will likely start their own business between the age of 24 and 44 (Liles 1974).

If universities are providing entrepreneurial knowledge, students are keener to choose entrepreneurial career path (Turker and Selcuk 2009). From this perspective, universities may be a potential source of new entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurship is not suitable for all young people, despite the fact that it is full of opportunities. This problem requires considering several aspects like entrepreneurial skill mastery, family legacies, labor market and political environment (O'Reilly et al. 2015). Entrepreneurial skills are gaining importance in today's competitive environment. Being able of controlling organization development, accumulation, innovations and other tasks is of crucial importance. A capable individual with a range of well

controlled entrepreneurial skills will more likely successfully manage the company on turbulent market. Individuals also strongly consider risk when making their career decision since self-employment intention is significantly related to individual's risk attitude (Douglas and Shepherd 2002). Risk taking in closely related to entrepreneurship. Its impact on family business is particularly strong since family business success and family wealth constantly interlace. Since ownership and management are usually not clearly separated in family businesses, these firms handle the risk in a specific manner (Senegović, Bublić, and Ćorić 2015). Since family firm is already developed to a certain level, it is considered to be less risky than a new start-up (Laspita et al. 2012).

In this paper we investigate the influence of entrepreneurial education, individual's risk perception and individual's skill mastering on European student's, potential family business heir, career choice intention.

2. Literature review and hypotheses

Transition process is understood to be one of the most sensitive challenges for a family business (Blumentritt, Mathews, and Marchio 2012). Attracting and motivating a potential heir for succession is a difficult task (Neubauer and Lank 2016). Children with family business background are raised in a very specific environment. Their parent are usually owners and managers of a family business. They dedicate most of their time to the firm since it is the source of family wealth, which should insure a longtime financial stability. Time spent with children is forcefully limited. This situation may influence the heir's perception of family firm or even entrepreneurship, if we recognize a family firm as a proxy for the entrepreneurship. The perception can be positive or negative since they could feel neglected and blame the firm for their situation (Carr and Sequeira 2007). Family businesses long-term goal is to grow the family wealth. This fact differentiates it from other companies. It is also a responsibility for a potential successor at the same time and it could be perceived as an opportunity or a heavy burden (Schröder, Schmitt-Rodermund, and Arnaud 2011). Taking over the family firm comes with important limitations like working closely with other family members and not being able to implement all of the ideas. A new start-up on the other hand, allows choosing the area of interest independently but also requires more skills, more resources and involves a higher level of risk (Schröder, Schmitt-Rodermund, and Arnaud 2011). From the heir's perspective, making a career choice is struggling, since they are torn between the natural need for helping

their family and choosing the career path, they really want (Murphy and Lambrechts 2015).

Psychology literature proved intention to be the best predictor of planned behavior. That is the reason why career choice models focused on intentions have been the subject of interest in entrepreneurship research (Krueger and Carsrud 1993). Career intention in these models is recognized as an immediate antecedent of behavior. Intentions themselves are determined by attitudes and attitudes are formed by exogenous influences like traits and situational variables (Ajzen 1991). Our study positions entrepreneurship education, risk attitudes and entrepreneurial skill mastering as exogenous influences on career choice intention.

Entrepreneurship is a learning process and entrepreneurial intentions are not spontaneous activities. They are created and so they can be influenced (Krueger Jr., Reilly, and Carsrud 2000). Intentions are the best predictors of actual behavior (Ajzen 2002). Entrepreneurial intentions are consequently important for understanding the entrepreneurial process (Wang and Wong 2004). University environment and its support for the entrepreneurial behavior play an important role for student's entrepreneurial motivation. Education is recognized to be an important factor influencing career intention (Donckels 1991). Specialized courses in entrepreneurship may give people confidence the need for starting-up a new venture (Dyer 1994). Entrepreneurhip education should improve the perceived feasibility for entrepreneurship by increasing the knowledge of students as well as building self-confidence (Krueger and Brazeal 1994). It also should improve the desirability for entrepreneurship by showing students that entrepreneurial activities are highly appreciated. Still, previous studies mostly focused on the effect of general education and just few of them targeted entrepreneurial education, particularly at university (Byabashaija and Katono 2011). In addition, most of the previous studies have focused on the classical career choice dilemma and did not found a significant correlation between entrepreneurship education and student's career choice intention (Wu and Wu 2008). Entrepreneurship education is the process of providing individuals with the concepts and skills to recognize opportunities overlooked by others and to act where other hesitated (McIntyre and Roche 1999). In this context, we refer to entrepreneurship program as a broader concept than just a number of courses. Moreover, we address entrepreneurship education as a portfolio of complementary activities, which offer a formal entrepreneurial education and an informal support for individual's entrepreneurial attitude. Based on that background we propose our first hypotheses:

H1: More entrepreneurial supportive educational programs results in preferring new venture to the family business succession and succession to the employment.

An entrepreneur clearly needs to master a wide range of skills for successfully managing the entrepreneurial opportunity and the company. Without them it is difficult to start a business. Previous research confirmed that social values regarding entrepreneurship as well as personal skill perceptions, both influence individual's entrepreneurial intentions. The role of perceived skills is confirmed to be more relevant from both (Liñán 2008). There is an obvious connection between skills and perceived behavior control which results with the fact that individuals who believe they have a high level of skill mastering will more probably feel capable of creating a new firm (Liñán 2008). Entrepreneurial skill perception indicates the level of confidence in relation to entrepreneurial activities. The specific skills we considered in this paper have been taken from previous studies (Zhao 2005; Chen, Greene, and Crick 1998; Liñán 2008; Kickul et al. 2009). These skills can be associated with higher individual's attraction to entrepreneurship. In this context we proposed our second hypotheses:

H2: Higher level of individual's entrepreneurial skill mastery results in preferring new venture to the family business succession and succession to the employment.

Risk taking is another inseparable dimension of entrepreneurial activity. Uncertainty play an important role in every economic decision (Caliendo, Fossen, and Kritikos 2009). Understanding individuals' attitude towards risk is correlated to economic behavior prediction (Dohmen et al. 2011). Since family wealth and business constantly interlace in family firms, risk-taking affects these firms significantly. Individuals consider risk levels whenever evaluating career choices. Higher tolerance towards risk leads to more intense self-employment intention (Douglas and Shepherd 2002). Perception of risk in a specific situation may differ widely from one individual to another. We can conclude that more experienced people with greater knowledge in the field of self-employment tend to perceive a lower level of risk in connection to certain decisions (Caliendo, Fossen, and Kritikos 2009). We presume that students with family business background are more knowledgeable and more experienced since they grew up in family business environment. Family business is already developed to a certain level, so it may be perceived as

more stable than a new start-up. Based on that we propose our third hypotheses:

H3: Higher level of perceived risk related to entrepreneurship results in preferring employment to the succession and succession to the new start-up.

3. Data and methodology

We used dataset from GUESSS 2014 (Global University Etrepreneurial Spirit Student's Survey). The survey in its part covers family business succession. The complete data set has more than 109.000 valid responders from 34 countries. With the goal of preventing a potential multiple response bias, the anonymous survey was carried as an on-line identification-based data collection. For the purpose of this paper we isolated 23.485 student responders from 18 European countries (Great Britain, Germany, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Switzerland, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, Finland, France, Italy, Portugal, Slovenia, Romania, Poland, Estonia and Hungary).

Table 1: descriptive statistics

		N	Percentage
Dependand value	Employee	8.828	88,7%
	Entrepreneur	632	6,3%
	Successor	495	5,0%
Gender	Male	3.742	37,8%
	Female	6.161	62,2%
All participants		9.955	100%

Source: own research

Since there still isn't a commonly accepted definition of family business we adopted the definition according to which family business is a business where majority share is owned by one or more members of the same family (Barnes and Hershon 1976). Our study includes only students with one or both self-employed parents. We also excluded all students who already have their own company to avoid survivor bias characteristic for retrospective studies (Gartner 1989). The question, which targeted our dependent variable, had four possible answers (an employee, an entrepreneur, a successor or I don't know yet). Student, who could not decide for career choice intention, were also excluded from the study. In this way, we prevented forced decisions. After the data reduction, we obtained 9.955 valid questionnaires. Descriptive statistics is presented in table 1.

Since our dependent variable is categorical and has more than two possible solutions, the multinomial logistic regression was selected as the most appropriate method for data analysis. The method allows us to compare two solutions with the referential solution. Since the main scope of the study is to analyze family business heir's career choice intention, our reference value for dependent variable is "successor". For the same reason, all our hypotheses have succession intention as a central category. Methods applied in this study were previously successfully used for investigation of similar issues (Zellweger, Sieger, and Halter 2011).

Our regression model consists of three independent variables: Entrepreneurial education measured with 5 items (Souitaris, Zerbinati, and Al-Laham 2007), risk perception measured with 3 items (Pennings and Wansink 2004) and self-assessed entrepreneurial skills measured with 8 items (Liñán 2008; Zhao 2005). All independent variables are measured using 7-point Likert scale from 1 (minimum) to 7 (maximum).

Table 2: Pearson's Correlations

	Career	Education	Skills	Risk perc.	Risk att.	gender	Study succ.
Career	1	0,053**	0,118**	-0,013	0,141**	-0,058**	-0,021*
Education	0,053**	1	0,385**	0,001	0,220**	-0,036**	0,095**
Skills	0,118**	0,385**	1	-0,057**	0,470**	-0,044**	0,128**
Risk perc.	-0,013	0,001	-0,057**	1	-0,038**	0,067**	-0,006
Risk att.	0,141**	0,220**	0,470**	-0,038**	1	-0,107**	0,053**
gender	-0,058**	-0,036**	-0,044**	0,067**	-0,107**	1	0,044**
Study succ.	-0,021*	0,095**	0,128**	-0,006	0,053**	0,044**	1

Source: own research

We added three control variables to the model: gender, self-assessed success during studies and general risk attitude. We included gender as a standard control variable. Previous studies showed that mails are more likely to follow the entrepreneurial career compared to women (Zellweger, Sieger, and Halter 2011). We measured study achievements with 7-point Likert scale from 1 (very bad) to 7 (exceptional). We captured risk attitudes with a general risk question: "I am generally a person who is fully prepared to take risks" also measured on 7-point Likert scale (Dohmen et al. 2011).

Variance inflation factor (VIF) was calculated for each independent variable: entrepreneurial education (VIF=1,003), entrepreneurial skills

(VIF=1,000) and risk perception (VIF=1,172). Variance inflation factor is very close to 1 and never even approaches the marginal value of 10,0, which leads us to the conclusion that multicollinearity does not appear to be a problem (Hair et al. 2010). Pearson's correlations between variables are displayed in table 2. Our respondents were also assured a strict confidentiality to avoid the influence of social desirability concerns (Podsakoff et al. 2003).

4. Results and discussion

Results of our regression model are displayed in table 3. Our reference value is "succession" as a career choice. We can see that entrepreneurial oriented education has a highly significant impact on potential heir's career choice intention. Individuals which are exposed to entrepreneurship supportive environment on their university will choose to continue a family business compared to both career alternatives. We can only partly confirm our first hypotheses since we expected that they will prefer a new start-up compared to succession.

As previous studies confirmed, career decision is a complex issue. We could assume that individuals are considering entrepreneurial education in combination with the perception of family business as an already developed and stabile entity. It already has a product, in most cases a vision of the future development, all necessary networks, sales and purchase markets, etc. Once recognizing that they have enough entrepreneurial knowledge, they will prefer a stable family business environment for application of that knowledge. It is possible that a new venture is recognized as much riskier and as such, it does not offer many opportunities to apply specific knowledge. At least in a starting phase when all efforts are focused on market testing, product testing, technology development and highest possible level of flexibility. In our opinion, this question is worth investigating more in detail. It is important to know why students with family business prefer succession compared to a new start-up when exposed to entrepreneurship supportive and oriented educational programs.

Entrepreneurial skills mastering is a highly significant predictor when comparing succession career alternative with employment. Students with higher level of skill mastering will choose a succession path. We can confirm our second hypotheses in this part. The result was expected. On the other hand, we did not obtain a significant result when comparing succession with a new venture start-up. We may conclude that entrepreneurial skills mastering doesn't influence career decision in this part. Once an individual think that he achieved a successful level of entrepreneurial skills mastering,

other factors jump in for choosing between family business succession and a new start-up.

Table 3: regression coeficients

	Variable	Coefficient B	Significance
Employement	Intercept	3,748	0,000
	Entrepreneurial education	-0,071	0,040
	Entrepreneurial skills mastering	-0,240	0,000
	Risk perception	0,034	0,339
	Success during studies	0,160	0,000
	Risk attitude	-0,231	0,000
	Gender (male)	-0,209	0,027
New start-up	Intercept	-0,294	0,542
	Entrepreneurial education	-0,109	0,013
	Entrepreneurial skills mastering	-0,001	0,993
	Risk perception	0,063	0,169
	Success during studies	0,105	0,064
	Risk attitude	0,100	0,048
	Gender (male)	0,150	0,217

Source: own research

This finding is important for parents and business consultants. It is important information to keep in mind when planning the inter-generational transition of a family firm. Skill mastering is by far not enough. It can assure that family's heir will choose an entrepreneurial career path, but it cannot guarantee that he will accept to continue family tradition by taking over the family business. It is worth remembering Ernst&Young (2011) findings we mentioned in tour introduction. 67% of existing owners of family firms expect their heirs to continue the legacy, while only 22,7% of their children actually even think about that possibility. Future research should focus on this gap having in mind our results which clearly shows that entrepreneurial education as well as skill mastering doesn't offer an answer. Parents usually tend to offer a good entrepreneurial education in combination with skill learning (preferably in family firm) with the goal of assuring the successful transition process. Our study shows that it could push the potential heir towards a new start-up. It could give him or her just enough self-confidence for such a move.

Risk perception emerged as not significant factor in our model. Consequently, we reject our third hypotheses. This result is surprising. We expected that risk perception would influence individual's career decision. However, we must admit that we only measured respondents risk perception in relation to entrepreneurship. We didn't measure risk perception related to

family firm or employment. In our opinion, future studies should think about the survey, which would give a clear answer to this problem. It is possible that in some environments, employment career could be recognized as even more risky compared to an entrepreneurial career path. We can think about family firm succession in similar way.

Our control variable for general risk attitude emerged as highly significant. Respondents, which are keener towards risk will more prefer succession compared to employment and a new start-up compared to succession. This result is expected and as such, it only confirms our previous conclusions related to risk perception. Since general risk attitude significantly influence career choice, specific situational risk perception has to have some influence. Future studies should address this problem obviously with a more complex approach.

We found out that more successful students will prefer both career alternatives compared to family business succession. We could speculate that successful students are more self-confident and as such, they are keener to achieve independence. It should be said that our result for the comparison between succession and a new start-up isn't significant, but it is worth mentioning since the significance level is 6,4%. It is still low probability of making the first order mistake. This result is also interesting for parents, educational institutions and business consultants. Of course, we are not saying that it is better not to motivate a potential heir for successful studying. It is just important to be aware of all factors influencing heir's career choice intention and of the manner in which they influence the choice.

According to our results men, compared to woman are more likely to choose a succession career than employment. We didn't detect a significant relation when comparing succession and a new venture start-up.

5. Conclusion

Every entrepreneurial process starts with an entrepreneurial intention in some point of time. Students are expected to make their career choice after the studies. This period could be very challenging for students with family business background. Their families struggled to keep the family business healthy and to enable them to finish their studies. The family usually expects them to help and to eventually take over the whole business. Students, potential successors, also feel a natural tendency to help their family. However, there are several other factors influencing a young individual career choice intention, which doesn't necessarily coincide with family expectations.

Our paper contributes to better understand the motives for potential successor's career choice intentions. We focused on entrepreneurial education, entrepreneurial skills mastering and individual's risk perception. Results obtained with our analysis are useful for family business owners (parents), business consultants and institutions, especially universities. This relatively narrow scientific field is gaining importance with the globally growing importance of family businesses and SME in general.

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THE PROBLEMATIC OF BUDGET IMPLEMENTATION IN NIGERIA: A STUDY OF DELTA STATE GOVERNMENT

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Abstract: *This study examines the problematic of budget implementation in Nigeria using Delta State as a case study. The design of the study was descriptive survey. The population of the study comprised of 2383 senior staff in the Delta State Ministry of Basic and Secondary Education, Ministry of Economic Planning, Ministry of Works, Ministry of Housing and Ministry of Finance. The sample of the study consisted of 350 senior staff drawn from level 10-16 using stratified and simple random techniques. The instruments used for data collection was budget implementation questionnaire. The data were analyzed using mean rating and chi-square. The findings of the study revealed that there is significant relationship between politics of accommodation, poor commitment, compromised budget monitoring, culture of corruption and budget implementation in Delta State. The study also recommended among others that approved budgets should be religiously implemented without considering or accommodating the personal or selfish interests of different stakeholders in the political system, there should be genuine and high-level commitment to the execution of budgets after their approval so that such budgetary allocations and provisions can translate into concrete development in all the envisaged sectors, and there should be an efficient and effective monitoring of approved budgetary projects as well as zero tolerance for corruption.*

Key-words: *problematic, budget, implementation, Nigeria and Delta State*

1. Introduction

Globally, budgeting which an integral part of public or government is financing is the nerve-center of governance at all levels. This is particularly because of its central role in the determination of government revenue and expenditure. It therefore follows that without budgeting; the multi-layered levels of government cannot raise revenue and engage in public expenditure. Budgeting is therefore at the heart of the execution of government policy and the actualization of its various programmes, projects, operations and activities. Moreover, as far as budgeting is concerned with the allocation of funds to different sectors of government, it is critical to sectorial and national development. Also, in so far as the generation of such funds and their allocation for governmental activities has to be authorized and checked, budgeting is a key instrument of public financing management (Adetayo 2017).

It is instructive to note that budgeting encapsulates budget preparation, authorization, implementation, accounting and auditing. Implicitly, budgeting does not terminate at preparation stage; rather, it covers the above range of functioned activities in such a manner and fashion that the process can be explicitly describe as cyclical. As a consequence, budget planning should be accompanied with appropriate implementation after authorization by the relevant legislative authorities (Plebn 2009). The truism of this assertion is evident in the fact that budget plans cannot be translated into concrete realities regardless of how beautifully crafted they are. In fact, budget plans are dormant until they are activated through implementation into the envisioned tangible projects, programmes, operations and activities.

The importance and critical role that budgeting is expected to play in the development of all nations largely explains why several scholars and experts have devoted a growing attention to the academic discourse on the topical issue. For instance, Ianna (2018) examined budget implementation and governance in Nigeria and contended that poor governance results to poor budget implementation which occurs when the desired result on the target beneficiaries is not actualized. Onho & Zayol (2017) also explored budgeting and budgetary control in the public sector using ministry of finance in Benue State as a case study. The findings of the study revealed that budgeting and budgetary control in the public sector is weak and despite the effort of government, budget and budgetary control has failed because of dependence on federation account, untrained budget staff, non-adherence to budgetary control measures, corruption, inflation and political environment.

In a similar vein, Onyiah, Ezeamama, Ugwu and Mgbodile (2016) studied the impact of budget implementation and control reforms of the Federal

Government of Nigeria and the findings showed that poor project conceptualization, design or planning practices by Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) resulted into low resources management. Ekhator and Chima (2015) equally investigated the efficacy of budget as instrument of realizing the goal of public policy and the study indicated that the factors responsible for the failure in budget implementation were delay in preparation, late submission and appropriation, cumbersome bureaucratic process of securing release of funds, short fall in revenue, poor implementation plan and above all corruption.

However, the contention of this study is that at the heart of effective and result oriented budget implementation are proper budget planning, genuine commitment to budget plans, budget monitoring and control as well as executive-legislative synergy and collaboration. All the same, budget implementation in Nigeria has over the years been constrained and plagued by factors including politics of accommodation, poor budget implementation, compromised budget monitoring and the culture of corruption. These factors have not only constituted a cog in the wheel of budget implementation, they have equally negatively affected the translation of budget plans into action programmes and projects. As a consequence, there exist commonly gaps between approved budget plans and actual implementation in such a way that the needs, yearnings and aspirations as well as the expectations of the Nigerian states and its teeming citizens are largely not met.

2. Operationalization of the research

2.1. Statement of the Problem

In the face of the globally acceptable and recognized importance of budget planning, budget approval, budget implementation, budget control and budget evaluation as critical aspects or stages the functional governmental budgetary activity, it appears that budget implementation in Nigeria has over the decades faced several challenges. Such challenges have arguably affected the effectiveness and quality of budget implementation as well as the act actualization of budgets plan in the context of government programmes and projects. The contention of this study is that the problematic of budget implementation in Nigeria, particularly in Delta State, is the product of politics of accommodation, poor budget implementation, compromised budget monitoring and the culture of corruption.

2.2. Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study is to examine the problematic of budget implementation in Delta State Government, while the specific objectives are to:

1. Assess if there is any relationship between politics of accommodation (the dysfunctional system whereby the stakeholders of the executive and legislative arms of government protect and accommodate each other's interest) and budget implementation in Delta State Government.
2. Examine if there is any relationship between poor commitment to budget implementation and budget implementation in Delta State Government.
3. Investigate if there is any relationship between compromised budget monitoring and budget implementation in Delta State Government.
4. Assess if there is any relationship between culture of corruption and budget implementation in Delta State Government.

2.3. Research Questions

The following research questions were raised to guide the study:

1. To what extent has politics of accommodation (the dysfunctional system whereby the stakeholders of the executive and legislative arms of government protect and accommodate each other's interest) affected budget implementation in Delta State?
2. To what extent has poor commitment to budget implementation affected budget implementation in Delta State?
3. To what extent has compromised budget monitoring affected budget implementation in Delta State?
4. To what extent has culture of corruption affected budget implementation in Delta State?

2.4. Research Hypotheses

The following null hypotheses were formulated for testing at 0.05 level of significance:

1. There is no significant relationship between politics of accommodation (the dysfunctional system whereby the stakeholders of the executive and legislative arms of government protect and accommodate each other's interest) and budget implementation in Delta State Government.
2. There is no significant relationship between poor commitment to budget implementation and budget implementation in Delta State Government.
3. There is no significant relationship between compromised budget monitoring and budget implementation in Delta State Government.

4. There is no significant relationship between culture of corruption and budget implementation in Delta State Government.

3. Empirical Review on Budget Implementation

Nwaorgu, (2018) investigates the effect of dominant individuals on budget implementations in Nigeria. The methodology used in the study is content analysis method. The literature and empirical review reveal that the activities of dominant individuals range from manipulation of budget items before and after approval of annual estimate: embezzlement and fraudulent activities: lack of proper budgeting processes is responsible for the failure of budget in Nigeria. The recommendations therefore include the need for budget reform in Nigeria. Budget should be based on thorough evaluation of revenue and needs and the issue of probity, transparency and accountability should be properly addressed in the budget process. The implication of findings includes high level of youth unemployment, poverty and corruption as well as causing underdevelopment of Nigeria.

Ianna (2018) examine budget implementation and governance in Nigeria. In any polity, be it developed, developing or under-developed, the idea of governance conjures a theoretical undertone of the social contract and the common good which budget implementation is expected to assure. This paper contends that poor governance results to poor budget implementation which occurs when the desired result on the target beneficiaries is not actualized. The paper after analyzing several ways through which governance can improve budget implementation in Nigeria, went further to recommend among other things, that all the parties concerned especially the target beneficiaries should be involved at the formulation stage of the budget so as to accommodate all inputs. This will go a long way in providing the needed commitment by all parties who will see the budget as originating from them.

Onho & Zayol (2017) explored budgeting and budgetary control in the public sector using ministry of finance in Benue State as a case study. To ascertain the effectiveness of budgets control and the problems affecting budgeting and budgetary control, the writers used literature review as their main source of data using ministry of Finance, Makurdi as a case study and also made use of personal observations. The writers found that budgeting and budgetary control in the public sector is weak and despite the effort of government, budget and budgetary control has failed because of dependence on federation account, untrained budget staff, non-adherence to budgetary control measures, corruption, inflation and political environment. The author recommended among others that there is a need for budget culture in the

public sector, sharpening the budget monitoring and implementation procedures in the public sector, sustaining greater accountability and transparency and making the need for budgeting realistic and not just a formality.

Adekunle (2016) assess the factors responsible for budget failure in Nigeria. To achieve this broad goal, the econometric model of Analysis of variance (ANOVA) regression test was employed for analysis and time series data span from 2010 to 2015. The finding shows that budget in the public sector of Nigeria has almost become a ritual or a yearly affair which though good in content but without appreciable result. The issue of budget failure in Nigeria is of concern to the general public. The dependent variable was represented by budgeted amount for the selected period, while the independent variable were gross domestic product (GDP) which represent the economic planning, and poverty index represents social development. The results revealed that budgeting has a strong relationship with Nigerian GDP. The results further showed a strong relationship between budgeting and poverty index (PI). The study recommends that government should enact an enabling law that will ensure the workability of its budgets according to plans and increase the proportion of capital expenditure to recurrent expenditure so that the budget can have impact on economic planning and social development; budget preparation should start in good time; more capital expenditure should be included in the budget plan to speed increase in the value of social development; money not accessed during the period of budget implementation could be moved to a more viable project.

Onyiah, Ezeamama, Ugwu and Mgbodile (2016) studied the impact of budget implementation and control reforms of the Federal Government of Nigeria with a view to analyzing their impact on resource management, level of productivity and efficiency and personnel and overhead costs in Nigeria. The study employed ex-post facto descriptive research design. The respondents comprised of Accountants and Economists who are in the federal civil service in Enugu state. The primary data were collected with the aid of a structured 5-point likert scale questionnaires. Secondary data were generated from journals, and other scholarly publications. Three Hypotheses were formulated and tested in this study. The questionnaires were distributed to a sample size of 308 from a population of 1338 using Taro Yamane (1967) formula while Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was also employed to test the hypotheses. The findings showed that poor project conceptualization, design or planning practices by Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) resulted into low resources management. Respondents also perceived that there is no significant reduction in the personnel and

overhead cost budgets allocated to the public service. The study concludes that the effectiveness of Medium Term Revenue Framework and Medium Term Expenditure Framework can be achieved through budget discipline. Participatory monitoring and assessment of government projects by host community-members and identifications of opportunities/Challenges for Government Services are recommended.

Ekhator and Chima (2015) investigated the budget as instrument of realizing the goal of public policy. Using data generated from secondary sources, it was found that the goals of most policies were not accomplished in Nigeria due to incessant budget failure at the stage of the formulation and implementation. Critical among the factors responsible for the failure were; delay in preparation, late submission and appropriation, cumbersome bureaucratic process of securing release of funds, short fall in revenue, poor implementation plan and above all corruption. Consequently, the paper suggested the way forward which includes; effective monitoring, timely submission of the budget to legislature by the presidency, discouragement of unnecessary lobbying of National Assembly by MDAs and avoidance of temptations of allocating huge amount to new projects while the on-going projects are starved of funds.

Asogwa (2015) assessed the measures that would stem the tide of low budget implementation in Nigeria public sector using South-East geopolitical zone of Anambra, Enugu, Abia, Imo, Ebonyi and Enugu States as case study. To achieve this aim, conceptual, historical and theoretical framework was adopted in literature review. Three research hypotheses were formulated and tested in empirical setting using chi-square (x2) statistical tools. Findings of the study revealed that poor budgetary implementation in the Nigerian public sector have had significant negative effect on the Nigerian economy. The study showed that factors such as late presentation and passage of appropriation bills, delay in release of funds for capital projects, ineffective planning, corruption in the public sector amongst others have contributed to low budgetary implementation in Nigeria. The study concluded by highlighting that effective planning and the adoption of responsibility accounting system will assist in enhancing budget implementation in Nigeria.

Njokwu (2015) assessment of the impact of budget implementation in the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) – Related programmes in Anambra State, with the sole objective of examining how the state's policy and spending autonomy significantly enhance the achievement of the MDGs – related programmes. It is based on the above objective that the study hypothesized that if there is effective implementation of budget in Anambra State, and then there is the likelihood of achieving the MDGs –

related programmes in the State. Another hypothesis of the study was that the spending patterns of the state negatively affect achievement of MDGs – related programmes in the state. In the course of the study, we applied descriptive research methodology in making use of primary and secondary data collection techniques. For the primary source, In-depth Individual Interviews (IDIs) was used. Purposive sampling technique was used because MDGs are sector-specific from where a sample size of 250 was drawn. These were the core leadership of ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs) of the State. In the analysis of the data collected, appropriate statistical techniques were adopted in the study to test the study's hypotheses. Some of these statistical techniques were percentages, correlation coefficient and Canonical Correlation Analysis (CCA). The use of these methods in analyzing the study's x objectives and hypotheses give rise to the findings of the study. The findings border on the fact that the state's budget implementation has significantly positive correlation with the MDGs – related programmes of the state in education and health sectors but more of the achievement was in the later and that myriad of factors among which was that the state lacked strong institutional framework needed to effectively mobilize and utilize public resources for effective service delivery for the MDGs. It is from these findings and conclusion that the study made some suggestions on how to improve public spending for effective and efficient delivery of MDGs – related programmes. One of the proffered solutions includes the need for institutional capacity building in Nigerian states. With these suggestions properly implemented, the study believes that, the 2015 target could be met.

Oniore (2014) investigated budget implementation and economic development in Delta State from 1991 to 2010. The study was prompted by the low level of economic development in the state. The study was guided by three research objectives which apparently transmitted into three research questions. The study is descriptive in nature. The data were analyzed using these statistical tools; simple percentage, graphs, and pie charts. Primary and Secondary data were sourced for this study. The major findings of the study are on the factors which have been responsible for budgets failures in the state, which includes budget indiscipline, lack of accountability, non-consideration of reasonable suggestions from interest groups while preparing the budget, inadequate monitoring instruments, political instability, non-usage of accurate data, inconsistent economic planning and policies etc. In order to arrest such unpleasant situations, the following recommendations were advanced; strict observance of budget discipline, creation of enabling operational environment, putting in place of adequate supervisory machinery, positive consideration of reasonable suggestions

from interest groups, introduction of remedial measures at the appropriate time and the use of accurate data in the cause of preparing the state future budget(s). In conclusion the State budgets have not been fully implemented since the creation of the state. However, the study reveals that the budgets have made meaningful contribution to the socio-economic and political development of the state.

Achi (2013) investigated poor budgetary performance: Causes and implications for development. The research was a case study and data were sourced from government workers using a questionnaire. A total of 150 questionnaires were distributed and 119 retrieved. Data obtain were analyzed using descriptive and empirical analyses. The descriptive analysis employs the use of tables, percentages and charts to describe the characteristics of the responses in the questionnaires. The empirical analysis employs the use of multiple regressions of the ordinary least square and covariance and correlation analyses. The results of the analyses show that factors such as poor planning, fraudulent manipulation, lack of adequate professional knowledge, delay in passage of budget, late release of fund are all responsible for poor budget performance in the state. The implication is that it discourages investors due to poor condition of the state infrastructures, it reduces the standard of living of the people of the state, and it slows down economic development through wasteful spending, extra budgetary spending and debt accumulation.

Oke (2013) investigated the effect of budget implementation on the Nigerian economic growth and provides panacea to the problem of budget allocation and its implementation. To achieve this broad goal, the econometric model of ordinary least square (OLS) regression test was employed for analysis and time series data span from 1993 to 2010 was considered. Budget in the public sector of Nigeria has almost become a ritual or a yearly affair which though good in content but without appreciable result. The issue of budget implementation has long been a source of concern to the public and also considering the important impetus of budget implementation on economic growth and development in Nigeria. The dependent variable was provided by gross domestic product (GDP), while the independent variables were public total expenditure (PEX), public recurrent expenditure (PRE), public capital expenditure (PCE) and external debt (EXD). The results revealed that budget implementation has a positive effect impact on Nigeria economic growth. The results further showed a positive relationship between GDP and public total expenditure (PEX), public recurrent expenditure (PRE), public capital expenditure, external debt (EXD), while public capital expenditure (PCE) shows a negative relationship to GDP. The study

recommends that government should enact on enabling law that will ensure the workability of its budgets according to plans and increase the proportion of capital expenditure to recurrent expenditure so that the budget can have growth and development inducement among others.

Ugoh & Ukpere (2009) investigated the problems and prospects of budgeting and budget implementation in local government system in Nigeria Local Government has historically provided services of importance to its citizens in rural and urban areas in Nigeria. These services include provision of basic amenities like water, roads, health facilities, education, etc. Of late, the role of local government in providing these services has attracted public concern. Furthermore, it has generated national crisis as a result of increasing rate of poverty among the rural people. Some scholars view this development to poor budgeting and implementation while others associate it to the federal and state government's interference. In this work, we are focused on budgeting as it relates to the local government in Nigeria. The paper therefore, examines the sources of finance of the local government and its autonomy considering the nature of fiscal federalism in the country. It also tries to investigate the difficulties in budget process and implementation in Nigeria with emphasis on the local government.

4. Presentation of Results

Research Question One:
To what extent has politics of accommodation affected budget implementation in Delta State?

Table 1: Mean rating showing the extent to which politics of accommodation has affected budget implementation

S/N	A	SA	D	SD	X
1	192	170	54	200	**1.79**
2	154	358	195	96	**2.33**
3	179	154	207	80	**1.79**
4	179	172	75	220	**1.87**
5	179	154	222	60	**1.78**
Grand mean					**1.91**

Source: Field Work 2018 Criterion Mean= 2.5

Table 1 shows a grand mean of 1.91 and a criterion mean of 2.50. Since the grand mean is less than the criterion mean, it implies that majority of the respondents agreed that politics of accommodation has affected budget implementation. Hence, it can be concluded that the Uduagha-led government projects in the works, housing as well as basic and secondary education sector of the 2008 to 2015 Delta State was affected by politics of accommodation.

Hypothesis 1 (Ho_1)
There is no significant relationship between politics of accommodation and budget implementation in Delta State Government.

Table 2: Chi-square analysis of questionnaire for the relationship between politics of accommodation and budget implementation

Items	SA/A	SD/D	Total	Df	X^2-cal.	X^2-cri.	Decision
1	80	20	345	3	161.19	7.82	Ho_1 is Rejected
2	74	26	345				
3	74	26	345				
4	76	24	345				
5	74	26	345				

Source: Field Work 2018 P>0.05

In table 2 above, with alpha level of 0.05, the degree of freedom (DF) of 3, the critical value is 7.82 while calculated value is 161.19. Since the calculated value is greater than the critical value, the null hypothesis is therefore rejected. This shows that there is a significant relationship between politics of accommodation and budget implementation in Delta State.

Research Question Two:
To what extent has poor commitment to budget implementation affected budget implementation in Delta State?

Table 3: Mean rating showing the extent to which poor commitment has affected budget implementation

S/N	**A**	**SA**	**D**	**SD**	**X**
1	150	240	180	60	**1.83**
2	160	280	180	60	**1.97**
3	150	300	90	60	**1.74**
4	130	280	180	60	**1.88**
5	100	300	210	100	**2.06**

Grand mean					**1.89**

Source: Field Work 2018 Criterion Mean= 2.5

Table 4 shows a grand mean of 1.89 and a criterion mean of 2.50. Since the grand mean is less than the criterion mean, it implies that majority of the respondents agreed that poor commitment has affected budget implementation in Delta State. Hence, it can be concluded that the Uduaghaled government projects in the works, housing as well as basic and secondary education sector of the 2008 to 2015 Delta State was affected by poor commitment to a low extent.

Hypothesis 2 (Ho_2)
There is no significant relationship between poor commitment to budget implementation and budget implementation in Delta State.

Table 5: Chi-square analysis of questionnaire for the relationship between poor commitment and budget implementation

Items	SA/A	SD/D	Total	Df	X^2-cal.	X^2-cri.	Decision
1	78	22	345	3	145.99	7.82	Ho_2 is Rejected
2	87	13	345				
3	87	13	345				
4	78	22	345				
5	72	28	345				

Source: Field Work 2018 P>0.05

In table 5 above, with alpha level of 0.05, the degree of freedom (DF) of 3, the critical value is 7.82 while calculated value is 145.99. Since the calculated value is greater than the critical value, the null hypothesis is therefore rejected. This means that there is a significant relationship between poor commitment and budget implementation in Delta State.

Research Question Four:
To what extent has compromised budget monitoring affected budget implementation in Delta State?

Table 6: Mean rating of the response of sampled staff on the relationship between compromised budget monitoring and budget implementation

S/N	**A**	**SA**	**D**	**SD**	**X**
1	100	240	240	180	**2.20**
2	130	300	150	60	**1.86**
3	110	200	210	260	**2.26**
4	90	280	150	260	**2.26**
5	120	230	240	120	**2.06**
Grand mean					**2.13**

Source: Field Work 2018 Criterion Mean= 2.5

Table 6 shows a grand mean of 2.13 and a criterion mean of 2.50. Since the grand mean is less than the criterion mean, it implies that majority of the respondents agreed that compromised budget monitoring has affected budget implementation. Hence, it can be concluded that the Uduagha-led government projects in the works, housing as well as basic and secondary education sector of the 2008 to 2015 Delta State was affected by compromised budget monitoring to a low extent.

Hypothesis 3 (Ho_3)
There is no significant relationship between compromised budget monitoring and budget implementation in Delta State.

Table 7: Chi-square analysis of questionnaire for the relationship between compromised budget monitoring and budget implementation

Items	SA/A	SD/D	Total	Df	X^2-cal.	X^2-cri.	Decision
1	63	37	345	3	62.95	7.82	Ho_3 is Rejected
2	81	19	345				
3	61	39	345				
4	67	33	345				
5	68	32	345				

Source: Field Work 2018 P>0.05

In table 7 above, with alpha level of 0.05, the degree of freedom (DF) of 3, the critical value is 7.82 while calculated value is 62.95. Since the calculated value is greater than the critical value, the null hypothesis is therefore

rejected. This means that there is a significant relationship between compromised budget monitoring and budget implementation in Delta State.

Research Question Five:
To what extent has culture of corruption affected budget implementation in Delta State?

Table 8: Mean rating of the response of sampled staff on the relationship between culture of corruption and budget implementation

S/N	**A**	**SA**	**D**	**SD**	**X**
1		230	195	280	**2.32**
2		200	252	144	**2.09**
3		260	225	140	**2.12**
4		190	210	260	**2.25**
Grand mean					**2.22**

Source: Field Work 2018 Criterion Mean= 2.5

Table 8 shows a grand mean of 2.22 and a criterion mean of 2.50. Since the grand mean is less than the criterion mean, it implies that majority of the respondents agreed that culture of corruption has affected budget implementation. Hence, it can be concluded that the Uduagha-led government projects in the works, housing as well as basic and secondary education sector of the 2008 to 2015 Delta State was affected by culture of corruption to a moderate extent.

Table 9: Chi-square analysis of questionnaire for the relationship between culture of corruption and budget implementation

Items	SA/A	SD/D	Total	Df	X^2-cal.	X^2-cri.	Decision
1	61	39	345				
2	65	35	345				
3	68	32	345	3	216.42	7.82	Ho_4 Rejected
4	60	40	345				
5	65	35	345				

Source: Field Work 2018 P>0.05

In table 9 above, with alpha level of 0.05, the degree of freedom (DF) of 3, the critical value is 7.82 while calculated value is 216.42. Since the calculated

value is greater than the critical value, the null hypothesis is therefore rejected. This means that there is a significant relationship between culture of corruption and budget implementation in Delta State.

5. Discussion of Results

The study showed that there is a significant relationship between politics of accommodation and budget implementation in Delta State. This is evident to the fact the executives and legislators who are supposed to ensure that the projects in the budgets are properly and timely implemented are compromising because of politics of accommodation. This finding gives credence to Onho & Zayol (2017) who reported that budgeting and budgetary control in the public sector is weak and has failed despite the effort of government because of political environment, non-adherence to budgetary control measures, dependence on federation account, untrained budget staff, corruption and inflation. The study is also in line with Inna (2018) who opined that factors such as late presentation and passage of appropriation bills, delay in release of funds for capital projects, ineffective planning, corruption in the public sector amongst others have contributed to low budgetary implementation in Nigeria.

The study showed that there is a significant relationship between poor commitment and budget implementation in Delta State. One plausible explanation for this finding is that budget in the public sector of Nigeria has almost become a ritual or a yearly affair which though good in content but without commensurate appreciable results. This finding is in congruence with Onyiah, Ezeamama, Ugwu and Mgbodile (2016) who reported that poor project conceptualization, design or planning practices by Ministries, ineffective planning, poor commitment and delay in release of funds for capital projects, corruption in the public sector amongst others have contributed to low budgetary implementation in Nigeria.

The study revealed that there is a significant relationship between compromised budget monitoring and budget implementation in Delta State. This finding concord with Ekhator and Chima (2015) who found that the goals of most policies were not accomplished in Nigeria due to incessant budget failure at the stage of the formulation and implementation. Critical among the factors responsible for the failure were; delay in preparation, late submission and appropriation, cumbersome bureaucratic process of securing release of funds, short fall in revenue, poor implementation plan, compromised budget monitoring and above all corruption.

The study revealed that there is a significant relationship between culture of corruption and budget implementation in Delta State. This finding is in agreement with Ekhator and Chima (2015) who asserted that the goals of most policies were not accomplished in Nigeria due to incessant budget failure at the stage of the formulation and implementation. Critical among the factors responsible for the failure were; delay in preparation, late submission and appropriation, cumbersome bureaucratic process of securing release of funds, short fall in revenue, poor implementation plan, compromised budget monitoring and above all corruption. The study is also in consonance with Inna (2018) who asserted that factors such as corruption in the public sector, late presentation and passage of appropriation bills, delay in release of funds for capital projects, ineffective planning amongst others have contributed to low budgetary implementation in Nigeria.

6. Methodology

The study adopted descriptive survey research design. The use of descriptive survey design is predicated on the fact that the researcher used a questionnaire to obtain information on the variables under study from the sample that was drawn from the population. This design enables the researcher to collects detailed information that describe existing phenomena in their natural setting, make comparism and evaluation, as well as identify problems or justify current conditions and practices as well as determine what others are doing with similar problems to solutions and benefits from experience making future plans and decisions (Nwankwo 2000).

The population of the study comprised all senior staff in the Delta State Ministry of Basic and Secondary Education, Ministry of Economic Planning, Ministry of Works, Ministry of Housing and Ministry of Finance. The total populations of the Senior Staff in the five ministries are three thousand, two hundred and eighty (3208). The sample of the study consists of three hundred and fifty-five senior staff that was drawn from level ten (10) to level 16 from five (5) ministries in the Delta State Civil Service. Stratified sampling technique was used to group the staff into different departments in the ministries and then department of planning, research and statistics was selected from the five departments, department of project supervision and monitoring was selected from the ministries of works, housing and basic and secondary education. Then departments of budget and finance (Accountant General Office) were selected from the ministries of economic planning and finance. Three hundred and fifty staff were randomly selected from the two departments in all the five sampled ministries using simple random sampling

technique. The choice of stratified is to ensure equal representation of all the ministries in the civil service. Simple random sampling technique was used based on the fact that every staff in the two sampled departments have equal chances of been selected.

The instrument that was used for data collection is budget implementation Questionnaire. The budget implementation questionnaire is made up of three sections and it contains sixteen (16) items which enabled the researcher to spread the questions/items across the independent and intervening variables. The various indicators used were based on politics of accommodation, poor budget implementation, compromised budget monitoring and the culture of corruption. The face and content validity of the budget implementation questionnaire was carried out by three experts in the department of Political Science and Public Administration. The members of the panel were given the instrument, the topic under investigation, the research questions and hypotheses needed for the validation. The members made corrections, recommendations and suggestions as appropriate. On receipt of comments, corrections were made as recommended by the panel.

The data were collected by the researcher and ten (10) research assistants. Before the commencement of data collection, the researcher and the research assistants went through the contents of the instrument to enable them understand the kind of data to collect and thus guide the respondents properly. All the respondents to the questionnaire were given a maximum of 15 minutes to respond to the items in the questionnaire. All the questionnaires were collected on the spot from the respondents immediately after 15 minutes. All the research questions were answered using mean rating. All the research hypotheses were tested for significant difference at 0.05 level of significance using Chi-Square.

7. Conclusions and Recommendation

The following conclusions were drawn based on the major findings of this study:

Since there is a significant relationship between politics of accommodation and budget implementation in Delta State, it is concluded that politics of accommodation has a significant negative effect on budget implementation in Delta State. Besides, in so far as there is a significant relationship between poor commitment and budget implementation in Delta State, it is concluded that poor commitment on the part of different stakeholders and departments to budget implementation has undermined budget implementation in Delta State. Also, to the extent that there is a significant relationship between

compromised budget monitoring and budget implementation in Delta State, it is concluded that compromised budget monitoring by different departments and stakeholders in charge of budget monitoring has negatively affected budget implementation in Delta State. Finally, considering that there is a significant relationship between culture of corruption and budget implementation in Delta State, it is concluded that ingrained culture of corruption has constrained budget implementation in Delta State.

In the light of the above, approved budgets should be religiously implemented without considering or accommodating the personal or selfish interests of different stakeholders in the political system. There should also be genuine and high-level commitment to the execution of budgets after their approval so that such budgetary allocations and provisions can translate into concrete development in all the envisage sectors. In addition, an efficient and effective monitoring of approved budgetary projects should be put in place so as to ensure that they meet the standards and yearly budgetary provisions. Essentially too, there should be zero tolerance for corruption as well as an appropriate and result-oriented evaluation system and practice that will seek to compare the level of results of achievement with the stated and desired objectives.

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SOCIAL CHANGE IN CONTEMPORARY NIGERIA: A THEORETICAL DISCOURSE

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Abstract: *This paper examines social change in Nigeria between 1960 and 2015 using the theoretical stance of some classical and contemporary theories of change. Also, the paper focuses on the interpretation of the process of social change in terms of what makes change happen, the characteristics of change and managing change in a given society. The explanatory research design was employed in explaining the socio-cultural, political and economic dimensions of change in Nigeria. The paper concludes that the dynamics and realities of social change in Nigeria could best be explained and understood through a triangulation of change theories with strong empirical roots in sociology.*

Key-words: *challenges, social change, theory, triangulation, Nigeria*

1. Introduction

Social change is a challenge for social scientists (Huntington 2003). It is a ubiquitous feature of social reality that widely described and explained the evolution of human societies as well as the transformation in the basic components of human society right from the traditional to modern-day societies (Olagbeju 2015). As a matter of fact, human societies have experienced constant alterations in social values, norms, institutions, relationships and stratification as a result of internal and external forces of social change. The external forces are events that occurred on a large scale, affecting an entire nation or several nations altogether such as climate change. While internal forces are events that occurred on a small scale causing internal structural re-arrangements with far-reaching influences on the social fabric of the society, i.e. demographic change. By virtue of the tenacity of internal and external forces, social change will always attract the attention of sociologists and social-scientific theorists, regardless of its conceptual starting point to address it (University of California Press 2004). This is an undeniable fact even in the current era of the hyper-differentiation of theories- in which many theories are competing for attention and space -not

that they compete for head-on- with each other as much as they coexist- but because the intellectual arena can, at best, manage very few out of the many theoretical approaches (Turner 2001). However, an examination of the academic literature revealed that the theory of social change is still the weakest branch of sociological theory (Huntington 2003). This is due to the lack of general theory as the basis for understanding the dimensions of change across human societies (Huntington 2003; Turner 2001). Against this backdrop, this paper discussed the dimension of the changes in socio-cultural, political and economic conditions in Nigeria between 1960 and 2015, through a theoretical discourse. The paper also examined the impacts of social change in the social relations and survival of people in contemporary Nigerian societies.

The importance of understanding social change in Nigeria stems largely from the fact that there are unresolved social problems in Nigeria which are occasioned by constant changes in social structure, social relationships and social institutions. And the sociological theories which are supposed to provide a theoretical and practical guide on how to resolve these problems, both in time and space, are puny and unthinkingly applied. Therefore, a study of this nature is significant in many ways in that, it will reveal the strengths and weaknesses of various theories of change and their complementary tendencies in building a robust theoretical solution for the problems confronting sustainable social, economic, political and environmental development in Nigeria.

In addition, this study would assist in improving the understanding of the dynamic nature of social change, its driving forces and inevitability in the current global integration of socio-cultural, economic and political conditions. The study will help social scientists, academicians, politicians and professional development planners to design better policy interventions and socio-political reforms. It would also help the Nigerian government, at all levels, to formulate policies that would enhance the efficacy of managing the internal and external forces of change in order to bring about desirable socio-economic development for the populace in the contemporary world.

2. What is Social Change?

Defining the term 'social change' is highly controversial particularly among sociologists. This is because the object is a social phenomenon, a social process that tends to have diverse dimensions and facets, unfolding at different levels of generality (Morariu and Ignat 2011). However, social change can still be defined as the alteration within the social structure,

characterized by changes in cultural symbols, rules of behaviour, social organization or value systems (Olagbaju 2015; Morariu and Ignat 2011). Put differently, the social change appears when there is a momentous shakeup in social and cultural elements that form an enduring network of relationships in which interaction between people, organizations, communities, and nations became restructured (Ololube, Dudafa, Uriah, and Agbor 2013). Indeed, social change is either positive or negative in nature. Positive social change connotes desirable development and improvement in the entire or some parts of societal institutions which include culture, economy, education, family, international affairs, law, population, politics and religion, which invariably enhance human and social conditions (Ololube 2011; Ololube, Dudafa, Uriah, and Agbor 2013). While a negative social change depicts dysfunction in the entire or some parts of social structures and institutions which in turn destabilize human and social development.

Consequently, the occurrence of social change in any society (developed or developing) has a significant impact on the social, economic, environmental and political conditions. Socially, social change often alters the social elements (i.e. norms, values, culture, and behaviour patterns) and social arrangements (roles, status, structure and institution). Economically, social change impacts on the process of industrialization, commerce, trade formation, as well as work, human and material administration. Politically, social change influences the political organization and administration of power, resources and governance. Environmentally, social change alters the way natural and mineral resources are being managed and utilized by the people. In essence, social change changes people's behavioural patterns, how they think, and their attitudes of legitimacy and authority. It also alters social structures, economic systems and social values (Giddens and Duneier 2000).

In Nigeria, for example, a lot of modifications have occurred in the social structures (i.e. the shift from three regions to thirty-six states, agriculture-based economy to oil-based economy, military rule to democratic system of government etc.) and cultural patterns (i.e. the gradual shift from the traditional African culture to Western/European culture) over time; some of which have generated series of social problems like bribery and corruption, child labour, family instability, election irregularities, examination malpractices, unemployment, religious conflict, environmental degradation, poverty, insecurity etc. in contemporary Nigerian societies. Meanwhile, the existence of social change in Nigeria has promoted civilization, acculturation, formal education, industrialization, public-private partnerships, globalization as well as technological advancement. Therefore, social change in Nigeria and

perhaps in other developing countries has brought about positive and negative transformations.

2.1. Characteristics of Social Change

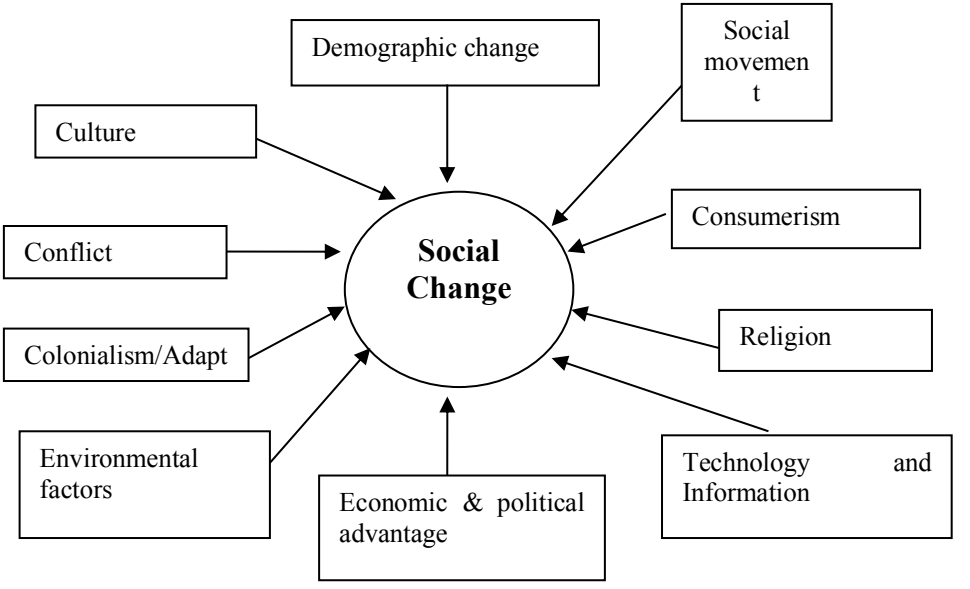
Obviously, social change has some characteristics that distinguished them from other forms of social events. An extensive review of the literature showed that there are four main characteristics of social change. These four characteristics are briefly explained with some insights from Nigerian society in order to explain various social, economic and political dynamics of social change in Nigeria between 1960 and 2015. Against this background, the first characteristic that was identified in the literature lies in the belief that social change occurs everywhere naturally- since human society is never static and social, political, economic and cultural changes occur repeatedly- nevertheless, the rate of change varies from time to time and place to place. For example, Nigeria and other Third World countries with limited access to up-to-date technology and information communication systems might experience a slow process of change compared to the United States, United Kingdom and other developed countries where there is unlimited access to advanced information communication technology. The second characteristic of social change is the notion that change can be intentional yet often unplanned. For instance, the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) which was introduced in the 1980s by the World Bank and IMF as a strategy to recuperate funds from owing countries of the South (developing countries) was a deliberate action, however the way SAP would affect the socio-economic development of other developing countries was perhaps not envisioned along with the strategy. Hence, social change can have general impacts on entire social institutions, communities, societies or nations.

The third characteristic depicts that social change often generates controversy. For example, the motion from developed countries (United States, Canada and so on) that homosexual rights (i.e. same-sex marriage) should be accepted in Nigeria and other developing countries has caused controversy involving the government, military, religious leaders, and the society at large. In addition, the fourth characteristic posits that some changes matter more than others do. For example, the invention of personal computers was more important than Cabbage Patch dolls. This is because the computer serves many more vital purposes for human development than the latter.

2.2. Causes/Agents of Social Change

The causes of social change across human societies are essentially linked to either internal or external forces; natural or non-natural events; historical or contemporary issues. This perception is supported by the diagram presented below on the factors that can bring about social change in society.

Figure 1: Causes of Social Change



Source: own research

As illustrated above, social change may arise from an alteration in population size, structure and composition (which can arise from migration, mortality or fertility). A change in the population could be unavoidably influenced by the movement of people from rural areas to urban areas, where jobs are easier to find or into previously uninhabited areas where natural resources are plentiful (causing population decrease in rural areas and population increase in urban areas). The city of Lagos is a comical example of this social reality. Population density is Lagos State, Nigeria has engendered the idea of division of labour, speciality and competition among people living in the area. This scenario tallies with the postulation of Durkheim who argued that when the population of a society increases or becomes denser; the only viable way in which the people can survive is through resource/task sharing, specialization and complementarity of roles (Motoi 2017). More so, the losses

and gains of cultural components are vital proxies of social change. The erosion of Nigeria's cultural values due to colonialism cum neocolonialism, capitalism and its affiliates; democracy, borderless economy and ICT revolution became incompatible with local realities and negatively plunged the country into diverse socio-economic and political crises. This is correct to an extent as argued by Mimiko: For him,

The social fabric was completely devastated and a new culture of violence was implanted. Traditional African systems of conflict resolution were destroyed and, in their places, nothing was given. The democratic process, rudimentary though it was, with great potential as accompanies every human institution, was brutally uprooted and replaced by the authoritarianism of colonialism. A new crop of elites was created, nurtured, and weaned on the altar of violence and colonialism armed with the structures of the modern state to continue to carry out the art and act of subjugation of the mass of the people in the service of colonialism (Mimiko, 2010 cited in Arowolo, 2010).

The above assertion revealed that colonialism serves as a vehicle for the implantation of cultural imperialism in Nigeria. This is also supported by many pieces of evidence to show that colonialism is an imposition of foreign rule over the indigenous traditional political setting and foreign dominance and subjugation of African people in all spheres of their social, political, cultural, economic and religious civilisations (Arowolo 2010). One of the most profound consequences of colonization, as shown by scholars, is the political and economic rape of the colonies which led to what can be regarded as an unbridgeable cultural gap between the nations that were the beneficiaries of colonization and those that were the victims of the colonial assault (Omobowale 2013; Arowolo 2010). The era of colonial pillage and plunder led to the relative stagnation and often precipitous decline of traditional cultural pursuits in the colonies (Arowolo 2010). In the current dispensation, notwithstanding, peoples' cultures have been changed through *invention* (production of new products, ideas and social patterns), *discovery* (seeking something that has never been established before, or finding something new in something that already exists) and *diffusion* (circulation of ideas and objects from one society to another)**.**

Similarly, social tension, social unrest and conflict (between two or more races, religious sects, social classes, political parties, communities etc.) can cause social change. As a result of social unrest or conflict, the general population becomes uneasy, restless and discontented. For example, the Niger-Delta militancy created huge public tension in Nigeria and this forced the federal government into granting amnesty to Niger-Delta militants

through an amnesty programme. Furthermore, the need for adaptation within social systems may result in social change (Greenwood 2008). For example, the development and adoption of *Green Practices* in many Nigerian manufacturing companies serve as an adaptive response to climate change. Moreover, another viable source of social change is environmental factors such as earthquake, diseases and climate shifts and other situations produced by people, such as pollution or the overuse of natural resources. Any of these factors could produce a change in the economic base and social ties of a group. For instance, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) reported in 2010, that climate change has pushed approximately 240 million people (i.e. one person out of every four) in sub Saharan Africa (SSA) out of adequate food security and a quality lifestyle into malnourishment, hunger and extreme poverty (Ozor, Umunnakwe and Acheampong 2014). In another dimension though on a lower scale, it is significant to note that the increasing environmental pollution in the Lagos metropolis of Nigeria has forced a majority of the residents, specifically those living in polluted environs, to develop a culture of coping with pollution with concomitant socio-economic implications (Solaja, Omobowale and Alliyu 2015).

Of great significance is the gradual shift in industrialization, social and economic opportunities from the developed countries to the developing countries in recent times. This shift has generated development in bilateral ties between and among countries of the world (such as US-Cuba, US-China, Sino-Africa relations, to mention a few) and a number of multinational corporations in developing countries. For example, China's share of exports from Africa increased from 3% in 1998 to 15% in 2008, and it had already outplayed the United States as Africa's largest trading partner since 2009 (Whalley and Weisbrod 2011). Significantly, social change has occurred in Nigeria due to the 'westernization consumerist ideology' that projects the assumption that man's wellbeing is best achieved by amassing extreme wealth (legal or illegal) as quickly as possible, in that African social value and culture are being shaped to the benefit of capitalist system, with emphasis on the idea that economic growth is suitable for the development of human and society. The western ideology has often been used in a normative way to indicate that foreign-made goods are of a high standard, and have better features, with longer life-span than locally made goods. As such, an average Nigerian would prefer to buy everything (new or old) made overseas and refuse to buy anything made in Nigeria. This act has gradually institutionalized a status quo which can be called the *Tokunbo* phenomenon and the second-hand economy in Nigeria with concomitant socio-economic and environmental implications (Omobowale 2013). Western consumerist

ideology, therefore, is a particular way of life, considered as superior and advanced identifiable with the West.

Furthermore, social change can occur from people joining together for a common cause. This is called a social movement. Social movements are classified according to the kind of change they seek, which may range from social, religious, political, human rights to economic changes. In Nigeria, the Association for Better Nigeria (ABN) and Safe Nigeria Movement (SNM) stand as pressure groups opposing government policies, plan and agenda at one point or the other. As a matter of fact, social change materialized in response to the contact and interaction between human beings and their material, social and intellectual environment, religion is a vital factor of social change. Religion and society influence each other through the process of secularization. This is partly true because religion deals with beliefs about creation, purpose, destiny, life, and love. Hence, it significantly shapes the behaviour of people (particularly believers). It, therefore, follows, that religion can influence people's attitudes and social ethics, either positively or negatively. For instance, the works of Weber on *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism* sufficiently explained the connection between religion and social change only in Europe. Though, much of Weber's works on the role of religion in social transition has been criticized on the ground that one cannot understand Weber's ideology outside the particular social context in which he wrote. Without going too far, the nexus between religion and social change is also apparent in the anti-social and terrorist ideology of the Boko Haram sect in Nigeria aimed at the general acceptance of Sharia law and opposing other man-made laws, of which hundreds of thousands of lives have been lost and property worth millions of naira have been damaged by Boko Haram (Eme and Ibietan 2012). In addition, the growth rate in access to information and communication technologies plays a significant role in improving the quality of decisions to effect social change. To be sure, in the current age of information, non-material and material resources such as information and technology remain critical ingredients in social change (Mutekwe 2012).

2.3. Major Perspectives on Social Change

The development of social change theory by classical and contemporary sociologists has been based on two distinct viewpoints which dominate the theoretical circles to date. Some theorists take a change in structure (the establishment of new institutions), composition (inter-group migration) and function (specialization of labour, industrialization, authority relations) as the phenomenon to be explained (Mesure 2009; Chiribuca 2004). While other theorists believe that stability or the re-establishment of some stable state

(social inequalities) are worthy of examination (Vlasceanu, Miroiu, Paunescu, and Hâncean 2011). These two views were clearly exemplified by Rusu (2008) as the systemic approach and the modern, process-oriented, dynamic – or constructivist– approach. However, the simple truth arising from the two divergent approaches on social change is that it gives the paradigm of social change the feature of *Trifunctionality* (the theoretical propensity to describe, explain and evaluate social changes).

2.4. Classical Perspectives on Social Change

The outstanding works of prominent scholars like Comte, Durkheim, Marx and Weber on social change constitutes the classical viewpoints. The majority of the classical works on social change were published in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Comte's analysis of the evolution of human society marked the beginning of classical studies on social change. According to Comte, human society is a living organism hence, it is dynamic in nature and social change occurs as a result of the constant progress in intellectual or knowledge production. Comte's assumption is largely based on the view that human thoughts, knowledge and intellectual properties are principal factors that drive scientific advancement and other forms of progress that had been transmuting human society from one stage to another. Comte emphasized that since human society is practically a social organism, all the fragments of human society are symbiotic, in the sense that any change that occurs in one of the fragments will facilitate significant changes in the entire social organism and, by extension, propel the movement of human society across the three essential stages of civilization namely; theological (refers to the period when people are yet to discover the natural causes of various phenomena and they attribute them to a supernatural or divine power), metaphysical (refers to the period when people believe that an abstract power or force determines social events) and positive/scientific (refers to the period when people base their explanations about social events on observation, experiment and comparison). Based on the above views, Comte strongly argued that all forms of social change that occur in human societies are engineered by their social progress which can be divided into two categories; progress in scientific knowledge and economic knowledge. In contrast, the notion that social change occurs as a result of social progress had been disputed on the grounds that not every social evolution depicts social advancement.

Furthermore, the work of Emile Durkheim on the division of labour in society advanced another classical perspective to the concept of social change. Durkheim put forward the view that social change emerged from the

increased division of labour that became necessary as human societies continued to develop from agrarian/mechanical ones to modern/organic ones. In the context of social evolution, as argued by Durkheim, there was a need for human integration as a means to coordinate activities or tasks performed by individuals on the division of labour platform. Furthermore, Durkheim affirmed that it is easy or more convenient to coordinate the interactions of a small group of people (e.g. family) or population that is spread across a particular geographical location with joint dependence on the same resources and modes of operation because they (individuals) are not likely to upset each another, while coordinating the interactions of a large group of people or population is more tedious and only achievable through the division of tasks, specialization and interdependent functions. Consequently, the process of breaking down the whole task into smaller tasks or specialities is usually done in proportion with the size and form of societies as well as the rate at which the population in these societies are growing. This particular view suggests that increased population size might not be the only factor responsible for the division of labour in a given society. Durkheim conceptually explains this viewpoint by submitting that the nearer individuals are to each other, the more their interactions are increasing, diversifying and strengthening, and there is a gradual construction of moral density, better creativity, as well as an improved civilization in the society.

Moreover, other works published by Karl Marx (1818 - 1883) and Max Weber (1864 - 1920) propelled a new direction and perspective to understanding social change. According to them, social change is a product of social conflict which inevitably happened between or among people of different interests and purposes in a given society. This proposition is based on the postulation that people are in a continuing conflict with each other, in the struggle over scarce resources and higher status. For a fact, the three social classification factors that Marx and Weber deeply examined in their works on social change are; the social class (centred on economic differences), the status (based on prestige), and the party (based on political power). Thus, Marx and Weber's perspective to social change is entrenched in the assumption that through social conflict people (especially the marginalized group) are able to rotate access to resources of power, prestige, and material wealth, which invariably do translate to social change and a new social order. An example of the use of conflict by some individuals or a group to engender a change in the social status quo was extensively detailed by Weber (1905) in his popular book entitled *Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism* in which the Protestants went up against the Catholic practices in the early nineteenth century and brought about the progress of

Protestantism, to the detriment of Catholicism, along with progress in industrialization. Similarly, Marx (1848) in his philosophical expression argued that the ambiguity and alienation between labour and capital, or between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are the social realities that triggered class struggle or social uprising that often led to social change in the history of human societies. Having examined the classical perspectives on social change, it is also imperative to examine contemporary perspectives on social change.

2.5. Contemporary Perspectives on Social Change

The contemporary perspective on social change was pioneered by the dependentist, modernist and post-modernist scholars. Proponents of the contemporary perspective on social change include Parsons (1991), Sorokin (1957), Merton (1949), Dahrendorf (1959), Bourdieu (1972), Giddens (1984), Smelser (1995), Alexander (1998), Habermas (1998), Beck (2000), Bauman (2001), Cohen (2003), and Baudrillard (1992). These scholars variously conceptualized social change from different perspectives, however, the heart of their arguments focused on the dynamics of scientific knowledge, division of labour and culture of the society which is closely connected to the classical point of view.

Realistically, proponents of the contemporary social change theories have exclusive and opposing ideologies from that of the classical scholars as it relates to what could bring about social change and how it can be managed in the modern-day societies. For instance, Parsons (1991) believed that the main causes of social change are differentiation and integration. According to him, differentiation arises in as much as human societies continue to develop, and the existential needs of people begin to increase; society strives to meets the needs by creating new social institutions and joining them with the existing ones so as to function as a system. As a whole system, Parsons further argued that when human societies become more modern, the adaptations among the various social institutions could designate growing distinctions, but the functions they perform remain uninterrupted. Hence, human societies frequently ensure the maintenance or modification of their social institutions regardless of external influences. In the same vein, Smelser (1995) submitted that modifications or alterations in social structure could be expedited through differentiation within and outside the system itself. In the view of Merton (1949), changes within a society occurred due to the failure of the social system to work correctly. This scenario can emerge from several factors, however, he stresses the effect of conflict between cultural goals and

institutional norms in bringing about internal change in society (Merton, 1949).

Furthermore, Dahrendorf (1959) succinctly opined that social change is a product of the division of classes in capitalist societies. This is based on the assumption that as the division of classes increase, the class situations also become intense. In another point of fact, Alexander (1998) noted that the conflict between classes is not the main cause of social change rather it is the competition and polarization of opinions that arise between classes in capitalist societies. For Bourdieu (1972), social change happens when there is a disconnection or fragmentation between habitus (internalized objective structure, history and practices) and the field that inspires the development of critical consciousness and other causal factors of societal transformation. According to Giddens (1984), the cause of social change is an intrusion into what is often overlooked; which could arise as a result of alterations in external conditions, or attention and consideration on the side of the people that, in turn, lead to a modification in the social structure. In this regard, Habermas (1998) perceives the cause of social change to include population growth, increase in productivity, technological improvements, scientific progress and globalization. For Bauman (2001), the effect of the interaction between the agency and the self-confidence of individuals in contemporary society is the cause of social change. Beck (2000) conceives the unplanned upshot of neoliberal free-market ideals as the factor responsible for social change, while Cohen (2003) opined that social change occurs due to entrepreneurship activities and the creative destruction of the capitalist system and Baudrillard (1992) maintained the opinion that there is no real social change however what exists in contemporary societies is a repetition of history and an impression of change.

2.6. Synthesizing Classical and Contemporary Theories of Change

The theoretical tour of social change began with the classical evolutionary theorists. The evolutionary theorists like Auguste Comte, Saint Simon, Frederick Hegel, Herbert Spencer and Emile Durkheim who launched the theorizing exercise of social change by transposing the ideological stance of biological evolution theory (from a simple process to complex processes) propounded by Charles Darwin in 1859 into the social sciences being confident that society and culture experienced changes similar to the laws of biology and organism growth (Mesure 2009; Badescu 2005). The evolutionary proposition presents a linear conception that all societies move from a simple stage to a complex stage of social progress. Since that was the way social changes occurred in the Western world. This assumption simply

means that every society will inevitably move from a simple to a complex stage, as expressed in Europe. However, it is to be pointed out that evolutionary theory has been seen to suffer some serious drawbacks; mainly the conception of being ethnocentric in the sense that it uses Western societies as the standard of construction. Equally, it has been pointed out that, it is not in all cases that social evolution represents social progress. Also, critics have pointed out that evolutionary models do not tell us why societies like Great Britain have declined from the heights of imperial power or why the ancient civilizations of Egypt, Greece and Rome flourished, declined and ultimately became material for courses in ancient history and classics.

In the effort to explain the rise and fall of human societies, cyclical theorists like Oswald Spengler (1918), Arnold Toynbee (1946), Vilfredo Pareto and Pitirim Sorokin (1948) submitted that social change appears in three stages of a life cycle namely, growth, development and decline. The West is believed to have passed through its maturity in the 18th century and is now moving in the direction of decline. While this proposition is quite convincing as an explanation of history, it says little about any challenge a particular society may expect in response to changes in its environment. However, the revolutionary/radical theorists' like Karl Marx and Ralph Dahrendorf are of the opinion that social change occurs basically by a succession of modes of production, being tense with ambiguities of an economic and social nature (Popescu 2009; Valade 2006; Marx 1964). Conflict theorists were criticized for focusing mainly on the *role of social tensions*, or dysfunctions of a predominantly economic nature, ignoring the role played by technological progress or external influences in the area of social dynamics such as population, inequalities etc.

The structural-functionalist theorists like Bronislaw Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, Talcott Parsons and Robert. K. Merton set to answer some of the criticisms levelled against the conflict theory of change, by submitting that social change occurs as a result of population growth, changes in technology, inequalities among classes and status groups, and efforts by different groups to meet their needs in a world of scarce resources. In this view, there is no prediction of rising and fall or uni-linear social change like it is found in early evolutionary conception or even classical Marxian theory. The main criticism advanced against the functionalist perspective is that it focuses less on social change and conflict. And it was equally criticized for its failure to give adequate account for the sources and causes of social change. However, modernization theorists appeared to give account for sources and cause of social change which functionalists failed to do.

To modernization theorists, "societies develop in fairly predictable stages through which they become increasingly complex" (Johnson 2007). More emphatically, Walt Whitman Rostow claimed that every society must undergo a sequence of five stages (*The traditional society, The preconditions for take-off, The take-off, The drive to maturity and the age of high mass-consumption*) and ascribed the dominant agent of development to technological progress and industrialization (Popescu 2009). The most viable criticism of modernisation theory is the mistake of treating less developed countries (LDCs) as homogeneous (i.e. as having the same characteristics). With this, the theory fails to understand that value systems and institutions tend to be culture-specific. For example, Nigeria and Ghana may be neighbouring countries but their cultures are quite different from one another and may each require different development strategies. Some sociologists, therefore, argued that each LDC needs to be analysed and understood independently. In light of this, it is important to note that all these classical approaches have been the subject of disagreements and have been attacked by many sociologists which drives us to contemporary theories of change.

As part of contemporary theories, dependency theory emerged to attack the modernization theory which held that all societies progress through similar stages of development. Dependency theorists like Walter Rodney, Bauer Prebisch and Andre Gunder Frank believed that developed countries are responsible for impoverishing the less developed countries. Thus, social change occurs due to deteriorating trade terms in the periphery regions which favoured countries belonging to the core regions of the world. As such, dependency theory argued that a marginal number of underdeveloped nations are dependent for their trade and investment on the core of industrialised countries, which maintain the advantages of trade for their own interest (Morariu and Ignat 2011; Giddens 2010). The integration into an increasingly globalised capitalist economy has limited the potential for improvement in the living standards according to the culture of underdeveloped countries (Morariu and Ignat 2011). The dependency theory is criticized for failing to interrogate the applicability of externally imposed development initiatives (Mantuhu 2011). This situation perhaps informed some theorists (especially free-market economists like Bauer and Wolf) to criticize the dependency theory on the basis of corruption, lack of competition, sustainability, and domestic opportunity cost.

In expanding the scope of dependency theory, Immanuel Wallerstein subsequently developed the world-systems theory, premised on the relations between developed countries (*core* nations) and less developed countries (*peripheral* nations), shaped by political, economic, historical and

geographical factors (Morariu and Ignat 2011). Wallerstein argues that in understanding social change the world capitalist economic system should be analysed as a single unit, comprising four overlapping elements:

i. A world market for goods and labour;
ii. The division of the population into capitalists and workers;
iii. An international system of formal and informal political relations among the most powerful countries, whose competition with one another helps shape the world economy;
iv. The carving up of the world into three unequal economic zones (core, periphery and semi-periphery), with wealthier zones exploiting the poorer ones.

The world systems theory was criticized on the grounds that it focused on the economy and not enough on culture, and for being too core-centric and state-centric. Similarly, the positivists criticize the approach as too prone to generalization, lacking quantitative data and failing to put forth a falsifiable proposition. While the orthodox Marxists see the world systems approach as deviating too far from orthodox Marxist principles, in that it does not give enough weight to the concept of social class.

In the same worldview, globalisation theory (a derivative of world systems theory) responds to modernisation theory by seeking to account for present-day development. Globalization theorists stressed the global integration of complex social systems, with a strong emphasis on the economic and cultural transactions as drivers of social change (Capello și Resmini 2011; Lechner 2009). Baltasiu (2009) and Lechner (2009) argued that global communication and the increased access to information are now transforming the complex social systems which generate visible consequences on the social, economic, political and cultural levels, in every country, creating the premises of the emergence of a global culture and development of a global consciousness. The duo analysed globalisation from two perspectives:

i. *Horizontal globalisation,* as an *external process*, dealing with the geographical expansion of the modern world system;
ii. *Vertical globalisation,* referring to the unification of spaces, determined by the spiritual integration of societies, in other words, the spiritual fulfilment of man.

Furthermore, globalization theory has been criticized for the scepticism of the appealed benefits of globalization (Manfred 2009; Ritzer 2010). Also, anti-globalization theorists' (mostly economists and policymakers) believed that globalization is a process of bringing prosperity to few people and not to the

majority of people all around the world. Their claim of causation was supported by the success of the Asian tigers as a result of their own policies, and the failure of many of the African states as a result of the opposite policies (Bradhan 2003).

Having reviewed some classical and contemporary theories of change above, it is pertinent to stress that classical theories of change focused on two main perspectives, i.e. social evolution and social revolution which were built on the general assumption that social change was common to all societies, irresistible and it occurred in an undeviating manner (unilinear, multi-linear and universal dimensions) with a fixed life-cycle. However, contemporary change theories see social change as a multi-dimensional phenomenon. Therefore, proponents of contemporary theories of change are of the view that any theory must contain three main elements that should stand in definite relation to one another. The elements are:

1. Structural determinants of social change, such as population changes, the dislocation occasioned by war, or strains and contradictions.
2. Processes and mechanisms of social change, including precipitating mechanisms, social movements, political conflict and accommodation, and entrepreneurial activity.
3. Directions of social change, including structural changes, effects, and consequences.

3. Methodology

The paper employs the use of an explanatory research design in which information is gathered from published articles, journals, newspapers, as well as texts on social change as of 2019. The articles used in this paper were sourced from reputable databases such as Google Scholar, directorate of open access journals (DOAJ) and science direct. Also, the paper focused on the empirical literature that explained the classical and contemporary theories of change; on the one hand, and studies that analysed the forms of sociocultural, political and economic change in Nigeria between 1960 and 2019; on the other hand. The data gathered from the literature is thematically presented in the paper for easy the interpretation of the process of social change in Nigeria.

3. Theoretical Discussion on Contemporary Nigerian Social Change

Nigerian social settings can be situated between the two consortiums of social change perspectives (classical and contemporary perspectives). Going by the classical view, it can be said that modern Nigerian society emerged having

passed through the multi-linear process of social change. By moving from simpler forms based on similar segments (like villages) to more complex forms characterized by specialization and division of labour (Durowade 2002). This is partly true as noted by Olagbaju (2015) and Dike (2008), who reported that Nigeria has experienced a shift from regions to states, from farms to cities, from agriculture to organization, and now political-power shift from the north to the south, however not just by a naturalistic and universalistic foundation, but also by struggle (social movement). This fact tallies with the evolutionary and conflict perspectives that successive stages of change are higher than the preceding stage, i.e. evolution is progressive and non-reversible. The shift from an agriculture-based economy to the organizational-based economy in Nigeria depicts a progressive direction of change from simple to complex, from homogeneity to heterogeneity, from undifferentiated to differentiated, in form and function (Parsons 1991). Yet, functional theorists affirmed that when society becomes more differentiated new institutions are produced yet they must be integrated and incorporated with the other institutions as a part of a whole in order to maintain the equilibrium, stability and social order in society (Parsons 1991).

From a Functionalist perspective, Nigerian society is composed of interdependent components working together to keep up the balance of the whole. Thus, social evolution occurs alongside major changes in social institutions such as political, social, cultural, economic and religious, which further affects the family system, trade formation, value system, dress code, hairstyle, religion and other mundane acts. It also affects everything from education, population, law and administration to the environment and international affairs (Ololube 2011). Unfortunately, all these changes in social institutions are yet to be properly integrated and incorporated in order to ensure desirable socio-economic development and social order. For instance, a majority of Nigerians still practice the culture of pollute-now and clean-up later which continues to create environmental imbalances and socio-economic challenges in which proactive efforts are now being made to communicate to the coming generation the importance of conserving the depleted natural resources like water, soil, vegetation, wildlife and fisheries.

Coming from the functionalists route, the cyclical theorists, having observed the civilization of Egypt, Greece, Rome and many others affirm that social change has its rise, development and fall, which was demonstrated in the theory of challenge and response- depicting that society that can cope with a changing environment, survive and the one that cannot die. This theory perfectly describes modern Nigerian social evolution where many states still struggle to catch up with a changing business environment due to lack of

adequate energy, water supply, good roads, health care centres and other social amenities and infrastructure, to bring about a better social structure in the society. In a simple sense, it can be argued that the lack of basic amenities and ineffective government policies to properly integrate the fragmented cultural elements into a whole according to their logical significance will continue to hinder the process of desirable socio-economic development with concomitant implications on human and social improvement.

The greatest implication of this is the upsurge in social problems like corruption, declining quality of education, environmental pollution/degradation, family problems (increased divorce and family abuse/struggle), gender discrimination, governmental abuse of power, limited energy supplies, poverty, racial discrimination, unemployment, and weakening social institutions (Ololube, Dudafa, Uriah, and Agbor 2013). Moreover, cyclical theorists are of the view that every society has a predetermined life cycle of 120 years, i.e. growth, development and decline years (each stage lasting 40 years), and after passing through all these stages of the life cycle returns to the original stage and starts the cycle again.

With this theoretical stance, Nigeria as a country now stands at 58 years, yet it seems to be having certain features across all the three stages of the cyclical theory of change. Nigerian social settings are powered by leaders with limited creative skills, who often see the country's population size (less than 200 million) as a challenge and factor impeding national development even with the huge amount of revenue (money) earned from crude-oil trade and natural resources embedded in the country. The Nigerian government (federal, state and local) continues to maintain the ideology that population size is the cause of the pervasive nature of poverty in Nigeria. In Nigeria, studies have shown that the proportion of people living below a dollar per day stands above a hundred million (Afolayan, Ikwuyatum and Abejide 2008) with a significant number of people losing their children to illness brought about by hunger, lack of shelter, being sick and not being able to see a doctor among other social problems. Meanwhile, some countries like India and China are not as resource-rich as Nigeria with a population that is thrice that of Nigeria, yet they are making remarkable progress in the human and social development process. For example, China continues to be a momentous and dynamic development player in Africa. From 2000 to 2005, China-Africa trade rose from $10 billion to $25 billion and had reached US$198.49 billion by 2012 (Whalley and Weisbrod 2011). Whereas Nigerian governments are fraught with corruption, they are strategically weak in ensuring tax compliance, and the majority of Nigerians are involved in tax avoidance and evasion. This phenomenon portrays the individualistic thinking, serving of

selfish interests and corruption that exists between the government and the people. In the same context of corruption and contradictions at individual and government levels, the burdensome taxes, dynastic disputes among the ruling elites, the extortionist policy of the various governments and rampant maladministration of government serve as drawbacks and decline forces which may lead the Nigerian society back to where it started years back if care is not taken.

The current Nigerian social settings can also be pictured from a modernization perspective. In the sense that, the recurrent contact between relatively modernised societies and the relatively non-modernised societies acts as a trigger of social change towards a single direction, shaped by the model of the modernised society. Nigerian social structure has been moving from time to time toward foreign and Non-African ways (Olagbaju 2015). The acceptance of a democratic system of government in Nigeria which arose from the need to maintain mutual economic, social and political relationships with the developed countries has brought about the double tragedy of change (social progress and social problems) in modern Nigerian society. The social progress is the notch of enlightenment (which appears in terms of the introduction of democracy, self-freedom, material growth, security etc.). While the social problems are the accompanied social milieu (such as poverty, marginalization, political corruption, cultural devaluation, insurgency, environmental pollution, unemployment, homosexuality, dependency and many other social issues) with varying degrees of consequences for Nigeria's development pursuit (Ololube, Dudafa, Uriah, & Agbor 2013).

Consequently, dependency and world-system theorists commented that moving Nigerian social structures and culture in the same direction with developed countries will continue to cement Nigeria's dependency on foreign developed countries. The proponents of these theories argued that poverty in low-income countries like Nigeria stems from their manipulation by wealthy countries and multinational corporations based in wealthy countries; in their view "global capitalism locked in a downward spiral of exploitation and poverty" (Giddens 2010). It is also argued that the relations between developed countries (core nations) and less developed countries (peripheral nations) shaped political, economic, historical and geographical factors which do promote exploitation, dependency and poverty in peripheral regions (Wallerstein, 2000). For instance, many wealthy states (United Kingdom, United States, Russia, Germany and recently, Asian Nations.) established factories and companies in Nigeria, using local cheap labour and raw materials in order to minimize production costs and maximize profits with minimal government interference (especially in pollutant industries) and

repatriate profits to their home country. This, in effect, affected the Nigerian government (federal, state and local) by accumulating profits that are necessary to pursue industrialisation and desirable development. As a result, the Nigerian government is constantly lured to sign or adopt foreign-baked policies and conditionalities (i.e. same-sex marriage, deregulation, subsidies removal, trade liberalization, etc.) in the attempt to borrow from the wealthy ones, thus increasing the country's economic, social and political dependency wherein the need for social change becomes both obvious and inevitable.

Following this view, globalisation theorists are progressively relevant in accounting for social-economic gaps such as gender inequality, level of democracy, and so on, among the countries and regions of the globe. For instance, the acceptance of information communication technology and the integration into the global economic system have continued to put Nigeria under the watch and control of powerful countries of the world (United States, United Kingdom, Russia, France, Germany etc.). This situation has equally put the country in a subordinate position in which social, economic and political institutions can no longer stand or act on their own. Without an iota of doubt, the dimension of social change in Nigeria seems to be following the Neopopulism perspective. Neopopulism perspective has its root in political science. Although the perspective is still relatively young, its popularity is growing, particularly in understanding the dimension of social change in Nigeria. According to the Neopopulists, the rising rate of dependency and exploitation facing developing countries- Nigeria inclusive, will give rise to the redistribution of political power, economic dominance and/or cultural leadership away from what are seen as corrupt, greedy, over-centralized, urban-based oligarchies in favour of empowering, "the common people," particularly those who live in rural or small-town areas (Pantelimon 2015; Payne 2011; Vladimir 2000; di Tella 1965). This fact can simply be inferred from the voting pattern and behaviour of many Nigerians during the April 2015 elections where the call for 'change' overshadowed that of 'power' even though, the recent political change is yet to be felt by the masses.

4. Conclusion and Summary

Nigerian society has witnessed a sequential progression from a traditional society to a modern society with a certain level of advancement in the institutions that make up the social system. To be sure, social, political, economic, religious, educational and family institutions have undergone a series of stages of development and change. For example, the Nigerian economy has moved from agriculture-based to crude-oil based which has

helped to increase the gross domestic product (GDP), purchasing power propensity and national income generation. However, social-economic improvement is yet to be felt by the majority. More so, tertiary education has taken a new dimension from 'free education for all' to 'money education for few' through deregulation policies like privatization and commercialization. The religion practised by Nigerians was formerly traditional religion but it has changed to include Christianity and Islam, and now people with no religion. In addition, the family pattern is getting more nuclear and less extended in Nigeria. This is due to the growing rate of the neo-local mentality among the majority of newly married couples in Nigeria The culture of carrying money around as well as spraying money at occasions has equally changed in the era of the cashless economy. All these evidence-based issues buttress the primary assumption of evolution theories that social change is an inevitable, natural and irreversible phenomenon. Hence, the modern Nigeria social setting is not an exception.

The trend of social change in Nigeria appears in a multi-dimensional pattern deviating from a linear process of change as projected by the majority of classical theorists. This is because the dimensions of social change in Nigerian society cut across different sectors of the economy and society. For instance, the deregulation exercise that took place in the telecommunications sector brought about consequential changes in political administration, healthcare delivery, education, economy, as well as the social condition in Nigeria. However, the social realities of social change in contemporary Nigerian societies have both positive and negative impacts on human and social development. While some sectors of the economy (i.e. communication and technology, education, political participation, financial management, culture diffusion) are experiencing positive improvements (employment opportunities, infrastructural amenities, environmental management, transparency, unity, social and internet security), others are rather witnessing negative changes which cannot be explained in detail by using a linear approach or classical theories alone.

Based on this reality, this paper supported the argument that classical theories of change reflect the dominant thinking of men in a particular socio-historical setting, most of which are speculative and somewhat subjective when compared with contemporary analysis. True, Durkheim and Sorokin used some empirical indicators but these were exceptions. The others failed to quantify their research by using scientific methodology and empirical data in their studies. Also, the concepts adopted in building classical theories of change can be said to have surplus meanings; they are vague and somewhat ambiguous. Again, some of the classical theorists failed to account for the

extraneous or intervening variables that come to play in the process of change. This may be due to the fact that proponents of classical theories were social philosophers and not social scientists. Thus, theories as objective, scientific, and positive explanations of human behaviour were not developed. Most were a historical comparison on a broad macro-level of analysis.

However, contemporary theories of change which are based on isolated studies appeared to be foreign-based focusing on global dependence, interrelatedness and exploitation paying little or no attention to indigenous/local forces of social change. Based on this reality, the paper advocates for the application of combined theories (classical and contemporary) of social change which can capture the social dynamics and complexities of Nigerian social settings and give theoretical insights for mapping out the path to true development in Nigeria, Africa and across the world.

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WOMEN'S STATUS IN TUNISIA POST REVOLUTION, LEGAL ACQUIS AND REAL ACHIEVEMENTS

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Abstract: *Under the umbrella of democratic transition, a new constitution was written which encourages more for gender equality and provides Tunisian women with further rights, mainly the political ones, to improve more the status of women within the complexity of the Tunisia society. This paper intends to focus on the Gender Gap Index, a methodological approach for the measurement of gender equality published by the World Economic Forum, to examine the regulations on women's rights in the Tunisian constitution and to connect the statistics with legal achievement in order to try to answer the main research question: to what extent laws about Tunisian women's rights are translated in practice?*

Key-words: *Tunisia, post-revolution, women's rights, laws, achievements*

1. Introduction

Tunisia leads the Arab world in terms of human rights in general and women's rights in particular. Since the independence, the Tunisian government guaranteed equal rights for all Tunisians regardless their gender, race or religion. Therefore, Tunisia has faced political, social and economic changes over time which have had a deep influence on women's status in the Tunisian society. On 14 January 2011, the Tunisians were protesting on the streets, men and women, hands in hands, to put an end to the authoritarian regime of Ben Ali. Under the umbrella of the democratic transition, women gained more rights. In fact, the Tunisian society faced dramatic changes that have created new challenges for Tunisian citizens and mainly Tunisian women. Therefore, women's role during the revolution was highly appreciated by all parties and the civil society actors who welcomed the gender parity law in the constitution. However, in post revolution, gender parity law was undermined and most of leading positions are controlled by men. Even though women in Tunisia have achieved many rights, their number still represent less than men in labor force and in politics. The main concern of this article is to analyse the

status of women in Tunisia according to four key areas which are: economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival and political empowerment introduced by the World Economic forum with a special focus on legal text, articles in the constitution in order to answer the main research question: to what extent the laws on women's rights enforced in practice in post 2011 revolution?

2. Theoretical framework

Feminist theorists highlight that all that prevent women from progress, is the tradition and the custom of the society and not biological or physiological aspects. Society has a great impact on women's issues. Culturally and historically it has created a specific image for both male and female and endowed them with specific roles that gave men many privileges and advantages over the women who are treated as inferior. From childhood, both boys and girls were treated according to their biological differences which derived from the ideology that inherited from generation to another. There are different obstacles which prevent women from being equal with men on the labor market, from participating in political issues or from being decision makers in any field in many countries in the world. In fact, gender issues differ from one country to another, these differences displayed according to the country's social, economic and cultural conditions also on its applicable laws. Therefore, the image of gender identity is changing according to the time and the place. Meanwhile, the concept of gender is defined through the social roles, behaviors, and relationships between males and females. Besides, women in many countries are exposed to various forms of pressures such as ethnic, cultural, religious and other forms of discrimination (Chanter 2006, 6-17).

In her book Gender and power R.W. Connell (1987) states that in order to develop the theory of practice, the concept of "structure" must be edited. According to her, there is no one structure rather there are structures of substructures. More than that, she added that it is essential to differentiate between various types of structural analysis that use many notions such as the 'sexual division of labour' and "gender order" which must be changed into 'structural models" and "structural inventories". The sexual division of labor is depending on the social rules. Therefore, a specific type of work is given to a specific category of people. Some jobs are set to be for women and others for men. In labor force, the two different categories of people are provided with different payment, of course in the favor of men. Cavandish, Women on

the line, writes "it was obvious ... "that the only qualification you need for a better job was to be a man"". In this context, Connell says that the sexual division of labour is reflected upon the technical division of labor to be strongly connected to each other. Furthermore, women are suffering from not only unequal pay but also from unpaid work imposed by the sexual division of labor such as housework and childcare (because of discriminatory employment and the educational and training system). Power relations serve as social structure and used as an object social practice. According to Connell, there is a difference between gender regime and gender order. Indeed, both are controlled by the state. Whereas gender regime determines the gender relation in certain institutions such as the workplace using specific regulations, gender order works on macro level of politics, it is the various relation between the gender regimes (Connell 1987, 99).

In all over the world, men have an important position in society. They enjoy a high position in different fields such as economic, political and social fields. Compare to women, men benefit from many privileges in society. Men are usually representing the dominant and the powerful individual in society and women is the subordinate who must take care of her family and made all domestic services (Ruxton 2004, 8-9). The concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' is defined by Mike Donaldson (1993) as

"a culturally idealized form, it is both a personal and a collective project, and is the common sense about breadwinning and manhood. It is exclusive, anxiety-provoking, internally and hierarchically differentiated, brutal, and violent. It is pseudo-natural, tough, contradictory, crisis-prone, rich, and socially sustained. While centrally connected with the institutions of male dominance, not all men practice it. though most benefit from it. Although cross-class. it often excludes working class and black men. It is a lived experience, and an economic and cultural force, and dependent on social arrangements. It is constructed through difficult negotiation over a life-time. Fragile it may be, but it constructs the most dangerous things we live with. Resilient, it incorporates its own critiques, but it is, nonetheless, "unravelling"". (Donaldson 1993, 4)

'Hegemonic masculinity' constructed by the society's culture and engendered it in its institutions such as schools, media and all different public and private institutions and enterprises. In fact, if change tends to be, it should be focused not only on individuals but also on institutional transformation (Ruxton 2004, 8-9). The ideals or the heroes of a certain culture who serves as public faces are continuing to live in people's world of fantasy, they are the regulators who control the majority of male's personalities, the main argument of these figures is that; the most important is not how much

powerful they are rather how much they could exercise the power. The men enjoy exercising this power inspired from heroes even though they are not unheroic figures, as it is beneficial for them and it provides them with a superior status. In a different context of culture and ideals, hegemonic masculinity means the practice of the structure of dominance by using the oppression tool in the gender order (Donaldson, 1993).

In recent decades, women in many countries in the world have succeeded to achieve many goals. In fact, the rate of illiteracy among women decreased. Thus, women of all ages and from all classes became present in schools, universities, workplaces. In addition to that, women also participate in parliaments and in political parties. Indeed, the concept of gender equality constructed in many societies but this harmony between men and women is relative and not widespread. Despite all progress of gender equality worldwide, gender discrimination still practiced in all countries but with different degrees (World Economic Forum 2016).

3. Methodological approach for measurement of gender equality

Gender equality is a goal that strongly connected with women's rights. In fact, the concept of women's human rights appeared in 1792 but a debate about women issues took place since the beginning of the fifteen century that was named by the French feminists "the querelle des femmes". Some believed that it is important to cut with the tradition of that one group exercise the others which create discrimination but other claimed that women's 'natural vocation' is being responsible of the household and taking care of children. Therefore, in the mid of the twentieth century, the United Nations was established, at that time, educated women raised and women's participation in the economic and political field increased. Due to this advance and due to women delegates "the phrase "equal rights of men and women" was inserted in the UN Charter" and the usage of "his" in many of the organization's articles changed into "everyone". Moreover, in 1979, the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) drafted and adopted the CEDAW treaty, the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women. They focused on the debate which took place for five centuries about the status of women and notion of equality was deeply highlighted (Fraser 1999, 857).

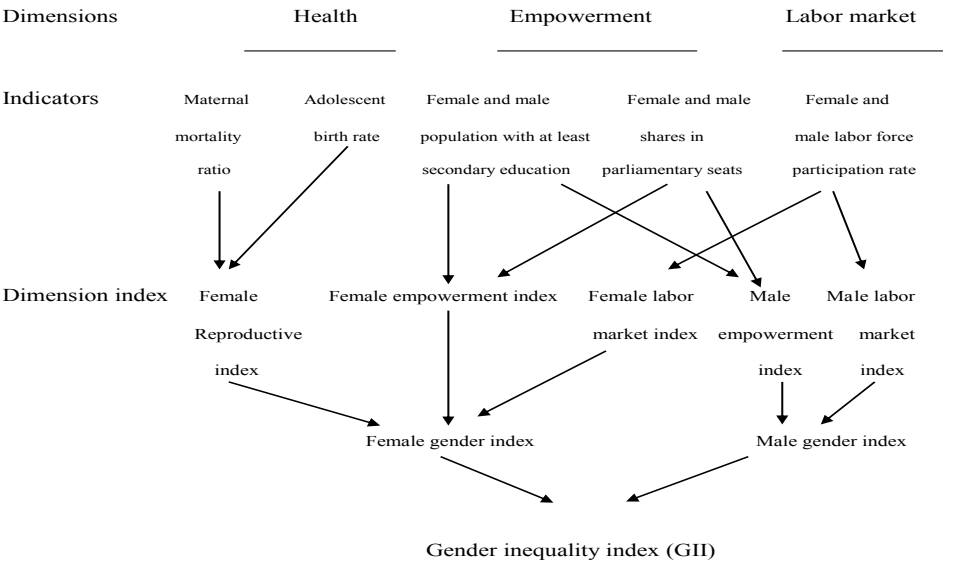
To measure gender equality there are many statistical tools. Accordingly, for the measurement of gender equality, inequality or gender gap specific indicators are needed. In fact, the measurement of gender index is an important means which gave a clear idea about women's situation in many countries. Therefore, these approaches analyze and evaluate gender equality

from different perspectives. In this context, the writer Hidasi Judit states: "There are two sides of the coin: to look at the situation from "the glass half empty" perspective – that is to identify gaps or to look at the situation from "the glass half full" perspective – that is to measure gender equality" (Hidasi 2016, 10-11). Based on one approach which is gender gap index, I am going to analyse the status of women in Tunisia post-revolution.

3.1. Gender inequality index (GII)

The United Nations Development Programme's Human Development report measures annually gender inequality in 159 countries. It is the fifth sustainable development seventeen goals of the United Nations. Therefore, Gender Inequality Index is one of the alternatives that measuring gender inequality. The higher the gender inequality index the more the gap between men and women is larger and human development is lower. The gender inequality index measures the gender inequality based on three main elements related to human development which is the reproductive health, empowerment, and economic status. In fact, the reproductive health is measured by adolescent birth rate and maternal mortality. The empowerment is measured by the number of seats of females in the parliament and the proportion of male and female aged more than 25years old with at least some secondary education. The economic status is measured by the participation rate of male and female aged 15 years older and more in labor force. The gender inequality index highlights the status of women in 159 countries (UNDP 2016, 1-2).

Figure 1: Gender inequality index



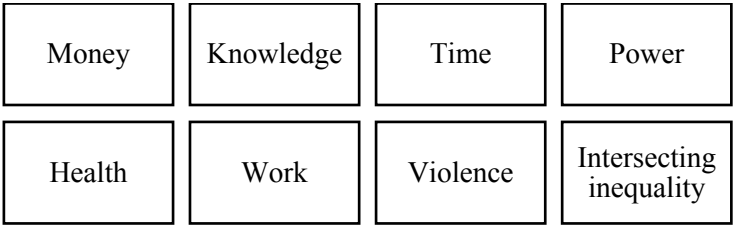
Source: UNDP 2016

This figure highlights a variety of dimensions, indicators, and dimensions index used to measure gender inequality index. In order to measure the dimension of health both maternal mortality ratio and adolescent birth rate indicators are used to determine the dimension index of the female reproductive index which used to calculate the female gender index. For the empowerment dimension, the indicators of female and male population, with at least secondary education, and female and male shares in the parliamentary seats index are used both to calculate the dimension index of female and male empowerment index. The third dimension is the labor market, the indicators of female and male labor force participation rate are used to determine the dimensions index of female and male labor market index. Then, on the one hand, the dimension index of female reproductive index, female empowerment index and female labor market index are used to determine the female gender index. On the other hand, the dimension index of male empowerment index and male labor market index are used to determine male gender index. After all, female gender index and male gender index are used to highlight the gender inequality index (UNDP 2016).

3.2. Gender Equality Index: "the glass half empty"

A gender equality index is an approach used to measure and evaluate the status of women in European Union countries. The European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) was launched in 2010. Therefore, the European Council adopted Gender Equality Index in order to offer a new measure for assessing and interpreting the complexity of gender equality in the European Union over time. The European Institute for Gender Equality used the gender equality index as a composite indicator to presents the scores of Member states in terms of gender equality for the years 2005, 2010 and 2012. The European Institute for Gender Equality used six core domains and two satellite domains to evaluate gender equality in European Union states which are work, money, knowledge, time, power, health, violence and intersecting inequalities. This measure of domains and satellite show that the European Union was half-way toward equality (EIGE 2015, 9).

Figure 2: The eight domains of the gender equality index



Source: EIGE, 2015, 12 *(Gender Equality Index 2015 Measuring gender equality in the European Union 2005-2012*)

Each domain of the six core domains is divided into sub-domains. In the domain of money statistic made to determine the indicators of financial resources and statistic situation. The domain of knowledge covers the attainment segregation and lifelong learning indicators. The time domain is subdivided into economic activity, care activities, and social activities. In the domain of power political, economic and social power are measured. In the domain of health three subdomains are measured which are status, behavior, and access. The domain of work is divided into three subdomains which are participation, segregation, and quality of work (EIGE 2015, 12).

The gender equality index used data from different sources such as Eurostat, Eurofound and DG Justice. All available data were used to calculate the gender equality index by using a solid analysis called principal component analysis (EIGE 2015, 13).

3.3. The Global Gender gap index (GGI): "the glass half full"

The World Economic Forum was established in 1971 in Geneva. It is using the Global Gender Gap Index as a tool to measure the gender equality in 145 countries. The Global Gender Gap Index was created in 2006.For measuring gender gaps it uses four key areas indicators which are: health, economy politics, and education. Based on these criteria, they ranked countries in order to spread awareness among people in the whole world. These quantitative analyses are used to reduce gender gap and promote for equity and parity (World Economic Forum 2015).

Table 1: Structure of the Global Gender Gap Index

Sub-index	Variable
Economic Participation and Opportunity	Ratio: female labor force participation over male value
	Wage equality between women and men for similar work (converted to female-over-male ratio)
	Ratio: female estimated earned income over male value
	Ratio: female legislators, senior officials, and managers over male value
	Ratio: female professional and technical workers over male value
Educational Attainment	Ratio: female literacy rate over male value
	Ratio: female net primary enrolment rate over male value
	Ratio: female net secondary enrolment rate over male value
	Ratio: female gross tertiary enrolment ratio over male value
Health and Survival	Sex ratio at birth (converted to female-over-male ratio)
	Ratio: female healthy life expectancy over male value
Political Empowerment	Ratio: females with seats in parliament over male value
	Ratio: females at ministerial level over male value
	Ratio: number of years of a female head of state (last 50 years) over male value

Source: World Economic Forum 2015, 5 (The Global Gender Gap Report 2015)

The Global Gender Gap Index quantifies the countries according to the outcomes and not to the inputs which displys the tools such as rights, policies, tradition or custom etc. In all sub-indexes, the highest score is (1) which means equality and the lowest is (0) which means inequality (World Economic Forum 2015).

4. The Status of women in Tunisia

I choose the Global Gender Gap Index approach for analysing the status of women according to four key areas which are: **economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival and political empowerment**.

4.1. Tunisian women in education

Enormous efforts to encourage Tunisians to enroll at schools and Universities have been made, mainly through imposing compulsory education up to 16 years children and maintain an equal access to all Tunisians to education by eliminating all forms of discrimination (Tunisia Constitution 2014).

Education right

In recent years, women in Tunisia have continued the positive trajectory in terms of education. The Tunisian law strongly acquires an education for both girls and boys. According to the article 39 of the constitution

"Education is mandatory until the age of sixteen. The State shall guarantee the right to free public education at all stages and shall seek to provide the necessary means to achieve a good quality of education, teaching and training, as it shall work to embed youth in their Arab-Islamic identity and national belonging, and to strengthen and promote the Arabic language and expand its usage, and openness to foreign languages and human civilizations, and spreading the culture of human rights" (Tunisia Constitution 2014, 13).

Since the fifties, the access to schools and universities increased. In fact, education became compulsory until the age of 16. According to the 1956 census, 84.7% of the Tunisian people aged more than ten years old were illiterate. Therefore, illiterate men represented 74.5 % of the population and illiterate women represented 96 %. Based on the 2004 census, the illiteracy rate decreased to become 22.9 %. Illiterate men represented 14.8 % and 31.1% of illiterate women. In 2007 census, in primary schools, 95.5 % of boys have enrolled in full-time primary education and the percentage of girls

enrolled in primary school represented 96.7 % which is higher than boys. The literacy rate of Tunisian aged between15 and 24 had increased to become 97% of boys and 94.3 % of girls. Not only at primary school but also at universities, the number of girls has been much higher than the number of boys. During the academic year 2007-2008, the number of female students enrolled in higher education universities represented 59, 5% and male represented 40.5%. Indeed, the female has depicted the majority of students in many institutions and universities in Tunisia such as medicine, social science, and Arts. More than that, The National Program of Adult Education provide basic education for adults both in the urban and rural area and encouraged illiterate adults to join the basic courses. This program registered more attendance of women than men with a high percentage (Ben Salem 2010, 14).

4.2. Tunisian women in labor force

There are two main elements that have played a crucial role in enhancing the status of women in Tunisia and facilitated for women its integration in labor force. The first element is the education and the second element is the demographic policy. In fact, education is one of the most important and profound societal projects in Tunisia. Also, the demographic policy has a fundamental effect on the social changes in the country since the independence.

4.2.1. Economic rights

The Tunisian law guarantees for women equal pay for equal work. According to the article 40 of the Tunisian constitution:

"Work is a right for every citizen, male and female. The State shall take the necessary measures to ensure work on the basis of competence and fairness. All citizens, male and female, have the right to adequate working conditions and to a fair wage" (Tunisia Constitution 2014, 13-14).

No one can deny the role of women in the economic development of Tunisia during several decades as employees and as businesswomen. Since years ago, Tunisian women have been able to participate in many different areas. They have succeeded to prove their capability to work in both inside and outside the home.

4.2.2. Equal opportunities

The number of graduates from schools and universities in Tunisia is increasing every year, this number of graduates from university needs an increase in jobs offers. But, unfortunately, the labor market cannot absorb them. As a matter of fact, the gap between education output and employment opportunities became wide. To add more, the salary is the same for women as for men who work in public and it is stated in the constitution but not in private sector (Baliamoune 2012, 18).

Table 2: Evolution of the unemployment rate in Tunisia between 2005 and 2015

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Unemployment rate as a percentage	12.5	12.4	12.4	12.3	13.0	18.3	17.6	15.9	14.8	15.2
Men						15.0	14.6	13.3	11.4	12.4
Women						27.4	25.6	23.0	22.2	22.2
Unemployment rate of young people aged 15 to 24										
Men						40.8	35.7	33.4	33.7	34.0
Women						45.5	41.8	37.7	37.6	37.4
Total						42.3	37.6	34.7	34.9	35.0

Source: Author/INS Tunisia (United Nation, Economic Commission for Africa, 2016)

The unemployment rate in Tunisia remains high in Tunisia. This table above shows the evolution of the employment rate in Tunisia between 2005 and 2015. After the revolution the unemployment rate increased from 12.3% in 2009 to became much higher with 18.3% in 2011, the revolution year, and reduced four years after the revolution to become 15.2% which is considered

very high and higher than in 2009 (less than two years before the revolution).I am going to review briefly the unemployment rate of men and women in post-revolution. During the year 2011, the unemployment rate of men is high with 15.0% but it is higher among women with 27.4%. Five years after the revolution, in 2015 the unemployment rate decreased but still considered high. In fact, for men, it becomes 12.4% and for women 22.2%. When we examine the unemployment rate of young people aged between 15 years old and 24 years old, we notice that the rate of the unemployment of women is 45.5% and 40.8% in 2011 which decreased for both men and women to become 34.0% and 37.4%. It is noticeable that parity in the unemployment is near to be achieved between man and women aged between the 15years old and 24 years old. This could be justified, for the reason, that men and women have relatively equal rights to have a job. Therefore, in Tunisia, there are national exams which must be taken after graduation in order to have a job in public sector. Women and men aged between 15years old and 24years old, the majority of them, are newly graduated from universities. In fact, those who succeed in the national exams, they have offered job in public sector regardless if they are women or men.

Accordingly, a deeper study of the status of women is needed in order to construct a useful research for the development of human resources. Therefore, the number of females at the Tunisian universities is higher than the number of men. This is considered as a cause for the low female employment rate comparing to male. Some Tunisian women, especially the uneducated women are fnding difficulties to get access to the labor market. In fact, they work in the agricultural sector within the family framework without pay or with other farmers with low income (comparing to men) or in factories and services sector in precarious conditions. The Tunisian government put many efforts to help women who work in agricultural sector. However, since the last decade no step has taken to enhance women' condition in that sector. Therefore, the government has introduced many social policies to overcome the precarious condition of women who work in illegal sectors without any social security. But, unfortunately, those policies remain unimplemented for a structural condition. "These structural conditions include the domestic market size, abundance or scarcity of labor, asset inequality and openness of the international economy". Some of the main reasons are manipulation of social insurance, economic crisis and the political dynamics (Sinha 2011, 198).

4.3. Tunisian women's political participation

A special attention was devoted to Tunisian women's participation in political life. After the revolution, for the first time, Tunisian people became able to criticize the government freely. Therefore, women activists in polictics and the civil society such as Radhia Nasrawi, Maya Jribi, Mbarka Lebrahmi, Samia Abbou and many others in Tunisia played a crucial role for painting the country's democratic transition and political progress.

4.3.1. Political empowerment

After the revolution, women in Tunisia have offered more opportunities to be more active in political life and take part in social activities. Nevertheless, their participation still considered lower than the men's. In august 2016, a new government was inaugurated. Therefore, in this government, the number of women in the ministerial positions increased, six women were appointed as ministers: Hela chaikrouhou, the minister of Energy, Mining and Renewable Energy, Lamia Zribi, the minister of Finance, Samira Merai the minister of Health, Selma Elloumi Rekik, minister of Tourism and Crafts, Naziha Laabidi, minister of Women, Family, and Childhood, Majdouline Charni, minister of Youth and Sport (Tunisian government portal 2017).

4.3.2. Political right, parity's system in the election

In post-revolution, women in Tunisia actively participated in political life. Before 2011 election, women's organizations pronounced their demand for parity law. The High Authority of election set a rule which insist on all parties to apply the parity principle and to use alternation (man/woman) in the electoral lists for the election of October 2011 in order to promote gender equality and to provide women with more opportunities to participate in political domain. In Tunisia's new constitution, the article 46 state that:

"The State commits to protecting women's achieved rights and works to promote and develop them. The State shall guarantee equality of opportunity between men and women in the bearing of all responsibilities and in all fields. The State shall strive to achieve equal representation for women and men in elected councils. The State shall take the necessary measures to eradicate violence against women." (Tunisia Constitution 2014, 15)

Unfortunately, during the election of 2011, many parties did not respect the gender fully parity. Ironically, only the Islamist party Ennahdha applied the parity law in the electoral lists during the election. Accordingly, 42 out of 49 women from Ennahdha party were elected as representatives in the

National Constituent Assembly out of 217 deputies, the total number of representatives in the National Constituent Assembly (Marks 2013, 2).

4.3.3. Women in Parliament

The 2011 election's results were a bitter disappointment for women in Tunisia. Despite the Tunisian constitution states for parity in the election, Tunisian women in parliament represent only 29 % (CREDIF 2014, 10). In this context, Mighahed and Lack (2013) reported that:

"Half the candidates were women … In all, more than 4,000 female politicians ran for office. And when the results were tallied, 27 percent of the seats went to women. It was far from an equal share … but it was also far better than the international average; a mere 17 percent of seats in the U.S. Congress are held by women." (Mighahed and Lack 2013, 206-207)

It is right that the percentage is still above the world average which is 19% in the same year and the country still ranked the first in the Arab region, but it was unsatisfactory to achieve equity.

In 2014 election, the number of the seats of women in parliament increased to became 33, 18%. In this election, parties respect the parity law by inserting alternation (men/woman) in the electoral lists. In the National Constituent Assembly, women played a crucial role in debating and discussing articles in the constitution. They are representing their parties' opinion and ideologies. They have discussed many important topics such as the country's security, freedom of conscious, women's rights and many others. Despite their important role in the National Constituent Assembly, Tunisian women are facing many challenges and difficulties. One of the most challenges is to protect their rights (Amroussia, Hernandez, and Goicolea 2016, 190).

Women's political challenges

For the first time in Tunisia, five women applied as candidates for the presidential election of 2014, but only one entered the race of the election, the judge Khalthoum Kanou. The first one who applied was the politician and the activist Emna Mansour Karoui. The presence and the participation of women in the presidential election is very important to improve their status in political life. The candidates were pretty much sure that they will never win the election for several reasons. But, the aim of this application is symbolic, in order to encourage more women to participate in the political scene and to apply for leadership position. In this context, the political activist Kalthoum Kanou said: "Ma candidature est un message fort pour ceux qui cherchent à nous renvoyer plusieurs siècles en arrière" it means: my candidacy is a very

good message for those who are trying to return us centuries of the past (translated by the author). By saying this, she would like to refer to the extremist Islamist who would like to manipulate women's rights based on religious discourse. Also, Torkiya Ben Khether, who is the Secretary General of the League of Tunisian Electors, was a candidate. In this context, she said: "Notre souci est la formation des femmes candidates pour une professionnalisation de l'action politique" it means that: our concern is the training of women candidates for being professional in political action (translated by the author). Accordinglly, her initiative to apply for the presidential election was to be an example to be followed by other women and to motivate Tunisian women to be courageous enough to perform in leadership positions (CREDIF 2014, 13-16).

4.4. Tunisian women and health care

Tunisia population increased from more than four million during the 1960's to become more than Ten million in 2007.This rise in the population rate has been combined with evolution in health care infrastructure, services, programs, and policies (Gataa 2011, 223).

4.4.1. Healthcare right

In Tunisia's law, women's reproductive health rights are protected. These laws are the first step to implementing reproductive health's policies, programs, and strategies which basically formulated on a legal framework. According to the article 38 of the constitution:

Health is a right for every person. The State shall guarantee preventive treatment and health care for every citizen and provide the necessary means to guarantee the safety and quality of health services. The State shall guarantee free health care for those without means and those with limited income. It shall guarantee the right to social assistance in accordance with the provisions set out by law" (Tunisia Constitution 2014, 13).

The new constitution guarantees for women the access to healthcare and provide them with the right to receive good services.

4.4.2. Reproductive health

Since 1961 women in Tunisia have been allowed to take contraceptives. And since 1973, the women have enjoyed the right to abort, under the family planning program. Since that time women in Tunisia have the right to access freely to abortion, have provided with contraceptives also have enjoyed other healthcare services for free in all hospitals. In addition to that, pregnant women are enjoying five prenatal consultations and two postnatal

consultations in order to reduce maternal and neonatal mortality. More than that, another policy was implemented to protect and cured Tunisian women from breast cancer. For instance, the country is using a national cancer control plan. In 2010 the Ministry of Health in Tunisia expanded 15% of the national budget to allocate and implement health care programs such as reproductive health care. But, in 2012, the total government expandenture on healthcare was only 7% of the national budget. This downfall of the expenditure in health care sector is because of the economic crisis in the country after the revolution. In 2014, the government expendenture on healthcare increased to become 10% of the whole budget of the country used to implement healthcare programs, but, it remains low percentage (Amroussia, Hernandez, and Goicolea 2016, 184).

Due to the family planning, Tunisia has succeded to control the fertility rate in the country. Also, it has achieved a balance between the economic and population growth. Following the independence of Tunisia, women in Tunisia have enjoyed a better status in the society. In fact, the strong link between the improvement of women status and the implementation of the family planning programme culminated the society toward modernity. The abolition of polygamy and repudiation, the education of women and many other key elements gave the Tunisian women a privileged position in the society and created more stability in the Tunisian families (Gataa 2011, 223-224).

5. Conclusion

Women in Tunisia gained same rights as men in education, labor force, political and health care domains. But in practice equality has been achieved only in education and health care. Despite of the legal documents guarantee for them equal rights, in political and economic participation, women still represent less than men in these domains. The question that should be asked in this context, either women are suffering from structural discrimination in these domains or other economic and cultural reason impede them from being active in these domains? To identify the structural discrimination, Fred L. Pincus (1996) states that: “structural discrimination refers to the policies of dominant race/ethnic/gender institutions and the behavior of the individual who implement these policies and control these institutions, which are race/ethnic/gender neutral in intent but have a differential and/or harmful effect on minority race/ethnic/gender groups” (Pincus 1996, 186). There is no evidence about structural discrimination of women’s participation in labor force except the one which is about women who are working in agricultural sectors. Indeed, the government initiated some social

policies to improve women situation in that sector, but, those policies had not been implemented. In political domain, the structural discrimination is obvious, as the manipulation of the parity law was crystal clear, women were excluded from political participation as many parties did not respect this law during the election of 2011. To sum up, women's economic and political participation remain low. Both sectors are strongly connected to eachother, so the first affect the second. I think, if the number of women increase in labor force, their number will increase also in leadership position in politics, to be president, prime minister or ministers. The different institutions of the state play a major role to increase women's representation in leadership position mainly in politics. These institutions should redistribute gender roles, to recognize women's work and to put more efforts to implement effecient policies in order to enhance more the status of women in political and economic domain.

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