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Examining Gaps in Justice and Well Being for Fair Trade Women across Industries

By Tamara Stenn

Hampshire College, United States

Abstract- Short Description: The \$6.8 billion Fair Trade industry holds the premise that producer capabilities and opportunities are enhanced through FT participation. However, undifferentiated FT standards and gender-based limitations on engagement impact how much justice is realized by producers.

Problem: Undifferentiated Fair Trade standards and gender-based limitations on engagement negatively impact how justice is realized by producers.

Solution: Democratize Fair Trade for greater social-economic justice and sustainability by using public reasoning to growing collaboration and transparency between Fair Trade consumers, institutions, producers and government.

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Examining Gaps in Justice and Well Being for Fair Trade Women across Industries

Tamara Stenn

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Intro - Summary I.

Trade brings economic disadvantaged producers by incorporating higher wages, environmental protection and education into the cost of production. The Fair Trade industry is valued at \$6.8 billion with 10% annual growth (WFTO, 2012). It impacts millions of people, 30% of whom are women (WFTO, 2013). Fair Trade guidelines, developed by European and US institutions, are applied to all production with the expectation that capabilities and opportunities are equally enhanced. Yet they are not. This paper examines through comparative study how undifferentiated Fair Trade standards and gender-based limitations on engagement negatively impact how justice is realized by producers. The author suggests that by democratizing Fair Trade though regular public reasoning sessions targeting both genders, greater collaboration and reciprocity can be realized resulting in expanded capabilities and opportunities, economic resilience and an improved quality of life. Looking at this as a case study of development policy in general, an argument can be made that by building gender specific public reasoning into early and ongoing project design and development, a more just and sustainable outcome can be achieved.

BACKGROUND/PROBLEMS

Thousands of Fair Trade women producers are the least studied and known of Fair Trade. Not always visible from their place within the family home and often not present in leadership roles, women are easily overlooked. Though Fair Trade guidelines include an

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equal opportunity clause for both men and women, women do not experience this equally. Fair Trade acts as a catalyst in exposing gender inequality. In addition the Fair Trade experience changes for women in different industries for example, handicrafts and agriculture. Two studies conducted by the author in Bolivia, in 2010 and 2012, capture this difference.

The primary focus of Fair Trade institutions is to improve the lives of the most disadvantaged people in developing countries through market access (Nicholls & Opal, 2006). Fair Trade studies largely find that Fair Trade increases income and economic stability for producers, creates access to credit, organic certification and export markets and brings benefits diversification, structural improvements and market control (Nelson & Pound, 2009). Lives are improved through economic growth. However, economic growth is just one aspect of one's well-being. An individual's advantage, or happiness is also important. Economic gains do not necessarily create happiness. Amartya Sen writes that an individual's advantage is judged by the person's, "capability to do things he or she has reason to value" (2009, p. 231). Happiness is understood as a feeling of self-satisfaction both personally and within one's community, which include one's ability to achieve different combinations of functionings that can be compared and judged against each other in terms of what one had "reason to value" (Sen, 2009). In order for Fair Trade institutions to improve lives, participants' functionings as well as their economic advantage need to be considered. Bolivian women participating in Fair Trade identified six functions that are important to them and affect their well-being. These are: Education, family/management, social, self/gender economic. trade. health/environment (Stenn, 2010, 2012).

The Bolivian women studied are of Aymara and Quechua descent and self-identify as being "original people" the term Bolivians use to indicate a weak or lack of European bloodlines within the family. Calling oneself an original person means that the individual feels connected to Incas and other people originally living in the region prior to the Spanish conquest. The women's reference to their cultural identity as being originales (originals) is an important distinction because it creates a unique experience and world view which is different from that found in popular feminist theory. For example

originales persepctive, gender diferentiation, rather than equality, is seen as necessary in creating a balanced whole. Women are seen as more nuturing and nturally fit for home and childcare work, while men are seen as being strong, less tied to the home and better suited for outside labor and travel (Huanacuni, 2013). However a narrow adherence to original beliefs can create obstacles for women in today's changing times (Copa & Petermann, 2013; Lilja, 2000).

The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) measures the extent to which women and men actively participate in economic and political life and take part in decision-making. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) found that countries with a higher GEM also had a higher Human Development Index This suggests that gender empowerment is (HDI). linked to greater achievements in human development. Bolivia had a 2010 GEM of .50 placing it in the bottom quartile of world rankings (UNDP, 2011). This study examines the dynamic of original culture norms and women's empowerment as specified in Fair Trade quidelines.

METHOD OF STUDY III.

Ethnographic study which focuses on the meanings and concerns of people in their everyday lives including people's social and interactional processes and activities captured the authentic experience of women Fair Trade producers. This type of study is performed over time and is supplemented with additional resources collected in the field such as literature, government reports, data, and artifacts. An ethnographic approach captures the original experience in the context of its own reality and reduces researcher bias. Ethnographic research methods used in the 2010 and 2012 studies cited here included the talking stick, Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), thick description, language studies, and observation (First Peoples, 2011; Chambers, 1997: Emerson et al. 1995).

Language is important in ethnographic study. I knew and worked with many of Bolivia's original people first meeting them as a Peace Corps volunteer in 1996. The women studied spoke Quechua and Aymara as first languages, and Spanish as a second language. There is complexity in Quechua and Aymara such as two forms of the pronoun, "we." There is a "we" (kanchis) that includes everyone and a "we" (kayku) that includes everyone except the person being addressed. Women Fair Trade coffee producers spoke of their exclusion, kayku, from Fair Trade meetings while knitters spoke of the inclusiveness, kanchis, of their meetings (Stenn 2010, 2012). These are important distinctions which will be explored later in this paper.

My study of tejedoras (women knitters) took place in 2010 during women's mandatory weekly Fair Trade knitting meetings with home visits and home stays in the many neighborhoods of El Alto, La Paz and Arani, Cochabamba. Sixty-six women from eight different Fair Trade knitting groups participated. In addition, knitting group leaders gave in in-depth personal interviews and spoke of their organizations' histories.

My study of *cafeteleras* (women coffee farmers) took place in 2012 at educational workshops and organizational meetings. Three of the 30 member groups of FECAFEB were included in this study along with Cafe Pachamama, a direct trade women's coffee project organized through Spanish NGO Caritas and follows Fair Trade guidelines but is not yet certified. In all 33 producers participated in this study with 79 percent being women. The men in the study either worked with the women or were representing a woman who could not attend the meeting. Women agreed to let the men participate but it was made clear that the focus of the meeting was on the women's experience. Additional information was provided from the 2010 Fifth Annual Meeting of Women Coffee Farmers in Caranavi where 90 participants including FECAFEB members, associations, cooperatives, and affiliates contributed to two days of events, discussions, presentations, information, diagnosis, questions and comments revolving around women and Fair Trade coffee.

IV. **FINDINGS**

The two different groups of Bolivian Fair Trade producers studied were from the same socio-economic, cultural background (Andean highlands) but working in different industries; handicrafts and agriculture. Fair Trade handicrafts are part of an older, slow-growing sector which make up just 10 percent of the almost \$6 billion global Fair Trade market (Eversole, 2006). Coffee is a much larger, newer market experiencing 20 percent annual growth for several years (Arnould & Platstina, 2011). Research showed that Fair Trade coffee farming improved the quality of life for families providing children with better access to education and healthcare. communities with better infrastructure through improved roads and bridges, and farmers with technical training and support (Arnould & Platstina, 2011). However no gender distinctions had been made in prior studies and most subjects studied were men. The following is information on each sector, handicrafts and agriculture, with an emphasis on the effect that Fair Trade is having on women. Later in this paper, study results are compared to Fair Trade guidelines to determine how undifferentiated Fair Trade standards and gender-based limitations on engagement negatively impacted how justice was realized by producers.

HANDICRAFTS - KNITTING

In the 1990s micro-enterprise development projects enabled new economies to be realized in the countryside while preserving rural culture, language and traditions (Eversole, 2006). Some evolved to become Fair Trade organizations. Similar to the Mothers' Clubs model used by the International Federation of Red Cross and Crescent Societies (IFRC) and other development and aid organizations, Fair handicraft production was regionally focused, provided peer support, took place in community groups of 20-30 people, and relied on voluntary participation solicited by word of mouth (IFRC, 2012). Women participated in Fair Trade handicrafts such as knitting by invitation from a friend, neighbor or family member. There is no fee to become affiliated with a Fair Trade knitting organization, there is just a commitment to learn, work together, and produce high quality goods. By the 2010 study, rural knitters had moved to El Alto, a large urban sector of La Paz city, returning to their rural communities just a few times a year for festivals, planting and harvesting Though they preferred to live in the countryside, the need for wages and services such as schools and health centers brought the knitters to the cities (Lazar, 2008).

The average Fair Trade knitting group is 15 to 20 years old, has 50 to 250 members 99 percent of whom are women, and is headed by a single woman leader who is democratically re-elected to her post annually. Most knitting group leaders are in their 50s and know each other through the Bartolina Sisa National Confederation of Bolivian Rural Women (FNMCB-BS) leadership development workshops they attended in the 1980s. Group leaders are highly competitive and rarely work together. However, they maintain loose contacts with each other through a vast professional network of development agents and supporters. Leaders share common life themes of living non-traditional lives by choosing to be single or divorced in order to pursue more independent work and leadership roles; identifying as original, speaking native languages, and coming from humble beginnings; and acting as bridges by communicating with foreign customers via cell phones and the internet and organizing work within local, indigenous communities (Stenn, 2010). husband, I could not work," explained Marina Claros, leader of the Alma de los Andes knitting group. "I could not study, I could not leave the house. I waited until my children were older, and then filed for a divorce and left the house" (Stenn, 2010).

A Fair Trade knitter is taught export quality knitting skills, given yarn, and an order. It is expected she participate in two-hour long weekly meetings and complete work properly and on time. In exchange, she is paid a per piece amount that is often higher than minimum wage, invited to a snack of tea and bread, permitted to bring her children to weekly meetings, and taught about women's rights, health, empowerment, child development, time management, and other topics by voluntary visiting nurses, lawyers, administrators, social workers and foreign visitors (Stenn, 2010). Since earnings are based on production, the faster one knits and more time they have for knitting, the more they earn. Skilled knitters with enough time can earn up to \$100 a week, completing an adult sweater every three to four days. Most though, earn about \$40 to \$60 a week knitting a bit more slowly and having less time for knitting (Stenn, 2010). Minimum wage jobs are difficult to find in Bolivia since only legally registered businesses are required to follow wage laws and most Bolivian businesses are not legally registered, forming a large informal economy. Fair Trade businesses however are registered. Bolivian minimum wage in 2010 was \$97 a month reflecting a 35 hour work week for women. This represents an hourly wage of \$0.69. The average woman knitter earned about \$1.14 per hour. Today the knitters earn about the same but the Bolivian minimum wage has more than doubled to \$1.54 an hour so it seems the price of knitting a Fair Trade Bolivian sweater is slated to raise too. Though fair Trade guidelines are the same worldwide, individual country dynamics over time impact the way they are realized.

Knitting is not steady work. Orders are sporadic and there is much competition between Bolivia's handful of export quality knitting groups. Most knitting takes place in the winter months, May through August, when the harvest is complete and spring planting has not yet begun. This also corresponded to seasonal production demands from European and US customers who place orders in April and May for their fall, winter and holiday knitwear sales with August and September ship dates.

Though this is not formally tracked by any of the knitting groups and there is much variance. Knitters in general agree that average annual earnings per knitter can range from \$300 - \$500 per year. The average annual (non knitting) earnings of a knitting family varies greatly but in general is about \$1,800 a year, similar to that of the Fair Trade coffee farmers (Stenn, 2010). Fair Trade knitting income makes up about 22% of the total family earnings. Income is supplemented by additional work in the informal sector in the form of washing clothes, gardening, cleaning, cooking, child care and through the production of the family's own food on their rural highland farms.

When not knitting, artisans farm their family land, visiting on weekends and during school holidays. They consume most of what they grow and sell surplus production in local markets. Being urban based, they now supplement their knitting income by providing services in the cities such as washing clothes, housecleaning or gardening for wealthier Bolivians, or preparing and selling food as informal street venders (Stenn, 2010). As with all Fair Trade, organizations are required to provide equal opportunity for all genders. Men do sometimes join a handicraft group but usually work in a different area such as inventory control, administration or weaving. The organizations are largely women-run and women-centric (Stenn, 2010).

VI. COFFEE

In contrast to Fair Trade handicraft's simple beginnings, longevity and small scale operations, coffee is a new area of development with millions of dollars of investment, infrastructure and world market support. Many impoverished farmers from the high, cold altiplano regions moved down to the warm, rich, fertile lands of the Bolivian Yungas hours away in search of a better way of life (Kay & Urgiose, 2007). The roots of Bolivia's Fair Trade coffee lie in the \$4 billion drug eradication Plan Colombia from 2000-2006 (Jackson, Bathrick, Martin & Rodriguez-Schneider, 2003). Plan Colombia included a social development program to expand markets for crops such as coffee as an incentive for farmers to reduce or end their (illegal) coca production. A \$291 million five-year agreement was signed between the US Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Bolivian government to support the Integrated Alternative Development (IAD) program in the Yungas and Chapare regions through a Market Access and Poverty Alleviation (MAPA) program to improve conditions through alternative crop development, starting with coffee (Calvo, 2005). The MAPA team trained (male) farmers to better care for and manage their coffee and marketed the Bolivian coffee to outside buyers, introducing farmers to Fair Trade and helping to form the 8,491 member Federation of Cafetaleros of Bolivia (FECAFEBEB), the country's large \$16 billion-ayear Fair Trade coffee cooperative (Choquehuanca, 2012).

Through improved farming methods, farm families who once were paid just \$.10 a pound for their raw coffee beans now earned \$.39 a pound in the common market and \$1.10 a pound in the export markets with Fair Trade and organic certifications (Stenn, 2012). The average farm family had a husband, wife and five children. Families joined a Fair Trade coffee organization by cultivating at least one hectare of coffee (2.47 acres). Most Yungas farmers already owned 10 to 15 hectares of land which they received from the government's 1970 and 1990 land reforms. For those who did not own land yet, a hectare of land with road access could be purchased for \$1,000. This was more than what a family earned in six months however financing, guaranteed by coffee production and cooperative membership, could be found via credit cooperatives and lending programs which offered a 15

percent annual interest rate (Stenn, 2012). The average Fair Trade coffee producer grew 10 acres of coffee, harvesting 154 pounds of dried, green beans per acre valued wholesale at \$1,700 (Stenn, 2012). Average perfarm family costs associated with the harvest included \$243 for additional labor, \$350 for Fair Trade commissions and membership fees (up to 25 percent of the total harvest), and \$30 for transportation (Fig. 1). This left the farm family with \$1,077 earned over a threemonth period of time representing 56 percent of their average annual income of \$1,919 (Stenn, 2012, FECAFEB, 2011). In Caranavi, the coffee capitol of the Yungas, women and men over the age of 50 rarely participated in Fair Trade, preferring to relay on familiar farming methods of the past. However, the people of Caranavi were young. Eighty-three percent of its population was under the age of 60 with almost 40 percent of its population under the age of 19 (FECAFEB, 2011).

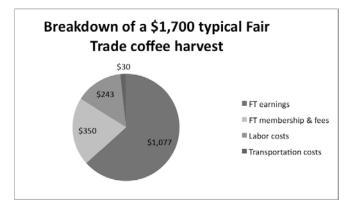


Figure 1: (Stenn, 2012)

VII. FAIR TRADE EXPERIENCES

Both male and female Fair Trade coffee farmers took pride in how they worked alongside each other, the men being the organizers and the women the homemakers, together in the original tradition, making a complete unit. Traditionally decisions were made jointly by the man and woman in the home and communicated to the community via the male. However women Fair Trade coffee growers reported not knowing enough about things to be able to make decisions since they were unable to attend educational workshops and presentations due to their home duties. Because of this, they were not given the opportunity to engage in decision making about coffee production in the home. Women Fair Trade coffee growers reported feeling inferior and left out (Stenn, 2012). In contrast the female Fair Trade knitters did not work with males at all and were in full control of decision making surrounding their production - deciding themselves when, how and what to produce. Many were from non-traditional households with an absent spouse who traveled for months as a migrant worker leaving them home alone. Others were

widows. These women struggled with their difficult role of being "mother-father" to their children and community (Stenn, 2010). Their knitting work was seen as a respite from this and as a way to earn money and skills to help them in their new roles. Their Fair Trade connection empowered and supported them in these new roles. However, while Fair Trade guidelines valuing women's independence and their pursuit of opportunity helped many knitters, it created strife for the women coffee farmers who functioned in conservative households were isolated from the education and empowerment Fair Trade brought producers (Stenn, 2012).

Fair Trade guidelines require that there be no gender bias. Never-the-less gender bias existed as one moved around different Fair Trade industries. Bolivia's Fair Trade coffee training workshops are co-ed with women as equally welcome to participate as men, however workshops are dominated by men who have time to leave their farms for meetings hours away, while women stay home and care for the children. The few women who were at the workshops were reluctant to speak describing themselves as "timid" and preferring to give space for the men to speak. They felt men were more organized and could talk about the topic better (Stenn, 2012). These women were young, single, teens, daughters of coffee growers, and reflecting the median age of the local population, 15 to 19 (Velasquez, Vargas, Terrazas, 2011). In contrast, knitting meetings were set up to accommodate women. They were held near-by at a convenient time when older children were home from school and could watch the younger children and dinner did not need to be prepared yet. The knitting meeting had very few male participants not just because of its timing, during the workday when many men were out at jobs, but because it did not involve a skill many men had or were interested in learning. However, this lack of inclusion of men in knitting, created feelings of mistrust and jealousy amongst conservative communities leaving women challenged and criticized for working on their own outside the home.

Women coffee growers called cafetaleras were secondary beneficiaries and participants in coffee development, gaining greater household earnings through coffee sales but rarely realizing these sales themselves. Women participated in agricultural labor and received some training on coffee care, harvest and processing, but were not recognized in any part of the MAPA project nor given memberships to Fair Trade coffee associations. Because of this, women were not used to nor expected to be organizing, assuming leadership roles or developing and speaking their own opinions. Membership was assumed through husbands, who were required to attend regular meetings and play active roles in decision-making, production and organizational development.

Despite valuing their work alongside the men, some cafeteleras wanted to have a direct say in decisions as well. They felt this would provide balance and add to the strength of the organization. In 2006, a Women's Committee was formed by the wives and daughters of the Federation of Bolivian Coffee Exporters (FECAFEB) to strengthen women's participation in coffee production. FECAFEB is Bolivia's principle Fair Trade coffee exporter. The women's committee held elections, annual regional meetings and built a network of 36 local women's organizations though with scant results (FECAFEB, 2011). They did not have funding or male support for their efforts. Meetings continued to be held at inaccessible times and places and decisions made without women's direct input. In 2010 FECAFEB's Women's Committee drew up a resolution that demanded women's full participation in all parts of FECAFEB, including individual memberships, equal representation on the board, participation in the general assembly, transparency, access to financial data and the commitment of the new FECAFEB directorate to support the Women's Committee (Copa & Petermann, This was adopted by the FECAFEB directors. However, when I arrived at the FECAFEB offices in 2012 with a scheduled appointment to talk specifically about women and coffee, I was greeted by five male directors who assured me that women and men worked together in coffee production and benefitted equally from the activity though they failed to include the Women's Committee located across the hall, in our meeting. When I later spoke with the Women's Committee, they did not agree with the male directors' claims of equal benefits (Stenn, 2012).

FAIR TRADE AS JUSTICE VIII.

As strife and contradiction arise from Fair Trade gender challenges, taking a larger view of Fair Trade as justice becomes important. Since happiness, according to Sen, is realized by one being able to engage in the things they value, their advantage, and Bolivian women from two different Fair Trade industries identified the following functions as forming their advantage: education, family/management, social, self/gender economic, fair trade, and health/environment, one must look closely how they are realized in Fair Trade (2009). All Fair Trade institutions such as the Fair Trade Federation, World Fair Trade Organization (WFTO) and Fair Trade USA provide similar guidelines to grow economic and social justice amongst the world's most impoverished. Fair Trade guidelines ensure that producers receive fair and timely payment for their products; goods are produced in an environmentally safe and culturally appropriate way; producers are given the skills and opportunity to direct their own development; and proper labor practices are followed including non discrimination, gender equality and the prohibition of child or slave labor (WFTO, 2014, FTF 2014, FTUSA 2014). Handicraft producers with more varied production methods pledge to adhere to these guidelines while coffee producers who have more systemized production apply for a certification and pay for the ongoing monitoring of their compliance with these same guidelines. The challenge is that though Fair Trade guidelines were created with the intention of growing justice, they were developed without the consent and input from the very people they were supposed to be benefitting and lacked a feedback mechanism. So while universal Fair Trade guidelines were helpful in many ways, they were not achieving all they had set out to do.

IX. A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Taking a comparative approach to better understand the economic gains and valued functions that Fair Trade does and does not help women to achieve enables one to think about justice in new ways. A comparative approach, explains Sen, looks at a variety of methods which shared a common interest in order to see the differences in which people's lives may be influenced by institutions and peoples' own behavior and social interactions (2009). The benefit of a comparative approach is to make comparative judgments about the relative justice or injustice of particular outcomes. However, identifying perfect justice is neither necessary nor sufficient for making comparative judgments about the relative justice or injustice of particular proposals. Women's Fair Trade experiences explored in a comparative manner, exposing the flaws and benefits that Fair Trade brings without proposing or disputing that Fair Trade is perfect justice. Fig. 2 is a comparative analysis of the functions Bolivian women working in Fair Trade identify as being important to them and affecting their well-being. Percentages represent the positive responses in each category by women working either in Fair Trade knitting or coffee production. For example, all women Fair Trade knitters recognize the benefits of Fair Trade's education and training while 68 percent of cafeteleras feel Fair Trade provides positive education benefits, though about a third feel Fair trade education has its negative effects too such as uncertainty with the continuation of technical assistance and training.

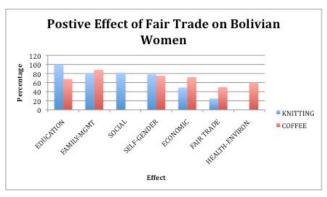


Figure 2: (Stenn, 2010, Stenn, 2012)

The economic effects of Fair Trade, though the main focus of institutions and most researched in other studies, is not as positively significant as other functions such as education, family/management and social. Almost three-quarters of the women working in coffee, a larger and more established Fair Trade industry than knitting, recognize Fair Trade's positive economic returns though just half of the Fair Trade knitters feel the same. Many of the other functions such as family and self, benefit from the income created through Fair Trade though functions have other meanings for women as well. One of the overarching similarities that women in both knitting and coffee production faced is conflict within their gender roles. At the same time that women's leadership and rights are recognized by both the Bolivian constitution and Fair Trade institutions, women feel restricted in realizing their full Fair Trade participation by home and child care responsibilities. One knitter refers to this as the "double burden" of being a Fair Trade knitter, mother and homemaker (Stenn. 2010).

Sen's work on gender and cooperative conflicts illuminates ways in which Fair Trade influences women's realization of justice and they way in which this is affected not just by institutional guidelines but by the political environment of each country where Fair trade is realized as well. For example, Bolivia has a high level of female deprivation. Maternal mortality in Bolivia is one of the highest in the world with 887 per 100,000 in the rural areas (UNICEF, 2013). Women also suffer from greater mal-nutrition and anemia than men (UNICEF. 2013). In addition women are uneducated and highly discriminated against socially. According to the Human Development Report on Gender, "Bolivia treats men better than women." The report explains, "men receive more and better education than women, receive increased and better health assistance than women. and have the possibility to generate greater income while working less...if we consider that women, as opposed to men, also have...the almost exclusive responsibility for domestic work." (PNUD, 2003). Until recently, women were denied education, being required to stay at home and help with household chores rather

than go to school. "Your husband will read, write, work and care for you. What do you need to know that for?" mothers would tell their daughters (Stenn, 1998). In 2001, illiteracy in rural areas was 38 percent for women while it was just 14 percent for men (Instituto Nacional de Estadistica, 2001). Bolivia's new constitution now requires that girls and boys both go to school and social programs award financial benefits to families whose children have perfect school attendance. Never-the-less, decades of non-education and discrimination resulted in high female deprivation in Bolivia. The lack of education leaves women with a lack of job opportunities as well.

Deprived groups may be habituated to inequality, unaware of possibilities of social change, be hopeless about fulfillment and be resigned to fate (Sen, 1987). Bolivia's women often sighed, threw up their arms, looked skyward and declared that something would happen, "si Dios quiere" (if God wants it). I worked with Bolivian women in Fair Trade 13 years before the new constitution was passed granting women legal rights and recognition. Certified Fair Trade's emphasis on gender equity, and non-certified Fair Trade's emphasis on women-run organizations, gained national context in Bolivian as women's leadership, education, health and well-being become important. The women engaged in Fair Trade activities whether knitting or coffee production, are more aligned with Bolivia's new reforms and are better off economically than those not affiliated with Fair trade. The functions the Fair Trade women value; education, management, self and gender, than their counterparts who are affected solely by Bolivia's reforms and do not have the extra support of a Fair Trade institution. The two pillars of government and Fair Trade institutions worked together to support the women producers. Fair Trade does not happen alone, culture and governance have a direct effect in how it is experienced.

Fair Trade brings women new opportunities and ways of approaching work that did not previously exist. Despite radical reforms, redistribution of wealth and growth in democracy, Bolivia is still the poorest country in South America. Sen explains that poverty is the lack of one's capability to function. Reducing poverty is related to positive freedom, which comes from a person's capability to do things they have reason to value. "What's important to people," explained Sen, "is to be able to do and be" (Steele, 2001). Understanding women's deprivation and taking a comparative approach to their Fair Trade experience enables women's needs and freedoms to be more visible. Knitters are more autonomous in their work than coffee farmers. Knitters move freely about their environments, attending weekly meetings with other women, creating their own products and earning their own income directly from the sale of these products. There is a positive correlation between their work and its immediate benefit. Knitting also brings personal responsibility. The women have to self-direct their own production and find time for it amongst other responsibilities. Unlike coffee farming which is done together, knitting is done alone. Coffee farmers have a stronger, more complex Fair Trade infrastructure with many dependencies. Coffee farming can not be done alone and earnings are shared.

A cooperative conflict, explains Sen, is a type of disagreement that actually helps to move a group along with its task or activities. Bolivia's producers have identities such as being a woman, mother, family member, community citizen and Fair Trade group member. One's individuality co-exists with a variety of such identities and one's understanding of interests, well-being, obligations, objectives, and behavior is affected by the various and sometimes conflicting influences of these diverse identities (Sen. 1987). Some identities exert such a strong influence that it is difficult for one to determine their own individual welfare. For example, Bolivian women are expected to identify strongly with their identity as a mother. Women speak positively of the, "sacrifice of the mother for her children," and see a woman sacrificing herself for the good of her family as "valiant" (Stenn, 2010). Sacrifices are made in terms of health where the most nutritious food is served to the children and husband first, and economically where women worked for the "good of the children" and money earned is first spent on children's needs (Stenn, 2010). Women often speak of their own well-being in relation to that of their children. causes much of women's own needs to go unmet or become invisible. However multiple identities within an individual exist. Though a woman may traditionally identify strongly with being a mother, her other identifies are still there and are not resistant to social development (Sen, 1987). For example, Fair Trade with its specific focus on gender equity speaks to women's gender identity freeing her to focus on that aspect of herself and enabling her to desire to participate more in decision making and leadership.

However there can be conflict with one's different identities as well. The inequality in intra-family divisions where women see themselves as sacrifices, creates deep negative impacts on their well-being and Inequalities are perpetuated by women encouraging their daughters to be humble and selfsacrificing, just as they had been encouraged by their mothers. The well-being of a person can be seen in terms of one's functioning and capabilities. Functionings are what one is able to do and capabilities are what one has the capacity to do, but may not be doing (Sen, 2009). For example realized functionings with an unrealized capability may be to be well-nourished, read, write, communicate and but not be able to take part in community decisions. Though a person may report a

satisfactory level of well-being, it may not actually be present. For example a woman may report being wellnourished, but upon further scrutiny it is found that the family is well nourished but the woman is not. Because she identifies herself through the family, she associates their well being with her own. Although opportunities may arise for one to shift one's identity, one may not choose to do so. An example of this is seen in the cafetelaras' resistance to assuming leadership roles, discussed below. The functionings and the capability to function have to be evaluated. "There is a need," explained Sen, "to go beyond the primitive feelings that a person may have on these matters, based perhaps on unquestioning acceptance of certain traditional priorities" (1987, p. 8). While Fair Trade creates new places for women's participation, not everyone finds it easy or desirable to participate. "I don't have time to go to meetings and learn be a representative," said one cafetelera. "I'm scared, afraid," stated another, "I am not secure in my words" (Stenn, 2012). Twenty-percent of participants spoke negatively of the pressure they feel to participate more fully in Fair Trade as they experienced resistance from family members and themselves to take on a different identity. However, many other women embrace these new leadership opportunities and reached out to other women to bring them along.

It is possible to distinguish between a person's well-being and agency, argued Sen. A person might have various goals and objectives other than the pursuit of their own well-being. For example, one's agency may be to create greater opportunities for one's children. The agency aspect is influenced by a person's, "sense of obligation and perception of legitimate behavior" (Sen, 1987, p. 9). Politics and education can influence a person's agency aspect but it can also have a strong social-cultural relevance of its own. One's agency aspect should not be confused with one's well being or be seen as evidence that a person in incapable of determining their own well-being. The coffee growers who felt more conflict in their gender identity and tension between being a mother and being an active community found their well-being member, compromised. However, they easily embraced the agency aspect of Fair Trade with 70 percent of the positive education comments referencing Fair Trade's educational opportunities.

SOLUTION X.

Fair Trade institutions set the standards and image of Fair Trade. They provide their seals of approval educating both producers and consumers about what Fair Trade is and means. They provide the oversight, accountability and different ways in which to meet the demands and needs of an ever changing world and a growing consumer market. The Fair Trade industry holds the premise that producer capabilities and opportunities are enhanced through Fair Trade participation, leading to greater socio-economic justice for producers. This message is conveyed to consumers equally across diverse industries and producer countries. However, as seen in the Bolivia case study, undifferentiated Fair Trade standards and gender-based limitations on engagement impact how much justice is realized by producers. The political economy of a country also impacts the degree of justice a producer can realize. Fair Trade guidelines' incongruences at first may appear conflictive, confusing or inadequate. Upon further scrutiny they are building greater justice than neoliberal alternatives which offer minimum producer and environmental protections, though Fair Trade's justice can be further enhanced. Undifferentiated Fair Trade standards and gender-based limitations on engagement negatively impact how justice is realized by producers. As stated earlier, Fair Trade guidelines were set up by institutions with limited or no producer input and no system of checks and balances.

Producers from all Fair Trade industries expressed the desire to have more accountability from Fair Trade retailers that Fair Trade standards are being followed throughout the entire supply chain, especially at the retail level, and that there is more transparency in the distribution process of Fair Trade goods including pricing at all distribution points right to the consumer (FECAFEB, 2011, Stenn, 2010). Handicraft producers would also like to have more interaction with consumers, knowing who purchased the product they spent so many hours creating (Stenn, 2012). Consumers too have expressed interest in having a more direct relationship with producers (Stenn. 2012).

Fair Trade can be democratized for greater social-economic justice and sustainability by using public reasoning to grow collaboration and transparency between Fair Trade consumers, institutions, producers and government. Public reasoning is an open discussion that all participate in. It brings about greater justice by enabling inequalities to be known and discussed resulting in shared solutions and greater understanding, or continued debate. Public reasoning gives voices to those who are not commonly heard and creates a sphere of equality where ideas freely flow (Sen, 2009). The ability of issues of contention to be discussed in an open arena enables ideas to be shared, different views and sides to be seen, new perspectives to be heard, and creates a place for discussion, debate, and, in time, understanding (Sen. 2009).

An open discussion that all participate in brings about greater justice by enabling inequalities to be known and discussed resulting in shared solutions and greater understanding, or continued debate. democratic discussion gives voices to those who are not commonly heard and creates a sphere of equality where ideas can freely flow and grows democracy (Sen, 2009). Democracy, suggests Sen, can be best understood as "government by discussion" (2009, p. 324). There is disagreement in Fair Trade over women's roles, leadership, opportunity, market access, and self determination. A functioning democracy ensures all citizen voices can be heard with respect at all levels, especially up to the top level, and one in which tolerance and public reasoning takes place (Sen. 2009).

Public reasoning is the ability of issues of contention to be discussed in an open arena. It enables ideas to be shared, different views and sides to be seen, new perspectives to be heard, and creates a place for discussion, debate and, in time, understanding. Participatory governments, such as democracy, are rooted in public reasoning. Fair Trade institutions can benefit by engaging in public reasoning to form stronger relationships with producer groups and together plan the steps needed to help to grow capabilities and opportunities across industries and governments to grow and strengthen justice.

Engaging in plural grounding allows a tolerance of contradictions to take place, a diversity of approaches to be realized and the movement towards greater justice to emerge. As large steps are taken, for example, by including coffee estates in Fair Trade certification, new spaces are opened for further expansion as well, as in the emergence of the Small Farmers Symbol (SPP). This enables Fair Trade to move forward down many different paths driven by a diverse array of missions geared towards achieving greater sustainability and justice, with each arriving in its own time and way.

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The Urban Poor and Health Seeking Behavior: The Healthcare Seeking Behavior of the 'Poorest of the Poor' in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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Abstract- With unprecedented growth of urbanization, the issue of health and health seeking behavior (HSB) among the urban poor is spiralling. Taking prompt and appropriate health measures becomes unlikely to the urban poor due to the prevailing socioeconomic reality. Illuminating Healthcare seeking behaviour of the Poorest of the Poor (PoP), who are under healthcare safety net, in Gullele Sub City of Addis Ababa was the objective of this study. To meet the objective, a mixed approach was employed. A total of 168 PoP who are eligible for fee waiver were surveyed through multistage cluster sampling. In addition, eight PoPs and six key informants which were selected through purposive sampling were interviewed. To analyse the quantitative data, Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 20 was used. Beyond descriptive statistics that was used to summarize the data, further statistical tests such as t test, one way ANOVA, Pearson's Correlation and Chi Square were employed to see differences and associations. 95 % confidence interval (CI) and 5% margin of error was considered during the statistical analysis. The qualitative data was analysed thematically and integrated with the quantitative one.

Keywords: fee waiver, healthcare seeking behavior, poorest of the poor, and urban poor.

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Abstract- With unprecedented growth of urbanization, the issue of health and health seeking behavior (HSB) among the urban poor is spiralling. Taking prompt and appropriate health measures becomes unlikely to the urban poor due to the prevailing socioeconomic reality. Illuminating Healthcare seeking behaviour of the Poorest of the Poor (PoP), who are under healthcare safety net, in Gullele Sub City of Addis Ababa was the objective of this study. To meet the objective, a mixed approach was employed. A total of 168 PoP who are eligible for fee waiver were surveyed through multistage cluster sampling. In addition, eight PoPs and six key informants which were selected through purposive sampling were interviewed. To analyse the quantitative data, Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 20 was used. Beyond descriptive statistics that was used to summarize the data, further statistical tests such as t test, one way ANOVA, Pearson's Correlation and Chi Square were employed to see differences and associations. 95 % confidence interval (CI) and 5% margin of error was considered during the statistical analysis. The qualitative data was analysed thematically and integrated with the quantitative one. Accordingly, self-care, spiritual healing, traditional healer and trained allopathic are the major treatment alternatives of the PoP. A statistically significant difference in prompt healthcare utilization was found among the categories of sex, religion, religiosity and income, but insignificant for others. Though the fee waiver scheme has resulted in progress in the HSB of the PoP, the paradox behind low prompt utilization of healthcare has to be researched for evidence based practice.

Keywords: fee waiver, healthcare seeking behavior, poorest of the poor, and urban poor.

Introduction

Background and Justification of the study

oor health remains a leading problem among poor many countries' urban population (Malanyaon, 1995). The poor are extremely vulnerable in terms of their health needs and HSB. Poor are known for their excelled mortality rate due to poor quality and quantity of water and sanitation, inadequate hygienic practice, poor ventilation dependence on hazardous cooking fuels; the transmission of disease among densely settled slum dwellers; and the city's highly monetized health system, which delays or prevents access to modern health services for the poor (Montgomery, 2009). Aside from unsanitary living

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conditions, the spiralling costs of hospitalization, medical consultation and medication prevent the urban poor from seeking health services. Moreover, the poor's misguided health practices and their lack of knowledge and information on health promotion and diseaseprevention contribute in worsening their health situation (Malanyaon, 1995).

Evidences underscored the two way causal relationship between poverty and health: poverty breads ill health and ill health keeps poor people poor (World Bank, 1993, Wagstaff, 2001). Similarly, it is indicated that poverty will create ill health because it compels people to live in an environment that make them sick, without decent shelter, clean water or adequate sanitation. Poverty creates hunger, which in turn leaves people vulnerable to disease (WHO, World Bank & Voices of the poor, nd). As a matter of fact, as per the study conducted by Corno (2008), much of the African poor communities seeks medical care in traditional health sector or doesn't receive any health treatments. These all implies that poverty affects the HSB of the poor by deterring or delaying health care utilization or promotes use of less effective healthcare alternatives thereby adversely affecting the health status of the poor.

There have been several studies that were conducted on the issue of HSB in Ethiopia. To mention, Zewdie Birhanu et al. (2012) conducted a qualitative study concerning the HSB of women for cervical cancer in Ethiopia and pinpoint that the perceived benefits of modern treatment were very low. The finding indicated that women with cervical cancer were excluded from society and received poor emotional support and all these caused delays in seeking any health Traditional remedies were the most preferred treatment option for early stage of the disease. A more general study which was conducted by Anagaw Mebratie, et al (2013) on the healthcare seeking behavior in rural Ethiopia found out the existence of a strong preference for modern healthcare among study participants. In addition, the study also demonstrated variations across socioeconomic status by which the rich households two to three times more likely to seek modern care as compared to the poor households. This inequality also has an effect the choice of health care provider, and the timing of seeking care. Households in the lowest consumption quintiles are generally more likely to resort to lower level care and postpone seeking care compared to better off households.

Fitsum Girma, Chali Jira & Belaineh Girma (2007) conducted a study on health services utilization and associated factors in Jimma zone and found that the utilization level was not satisfactory. Their finding revealed that sex, marital status, household income, socioeconomic status, presence of disabling health problem, presence of an illness episode, perceived transport cost, perceived treatment cost and distance to the nearest healthcare facility were found to be the major influential factors shaping healthcare utilization of the study participants. Similarly, Assesfa Amenu, Nash, Tefera Tamiru & Byass (2000) has also clearly articulated the patterns of HSB amongst leprosy patients in the former Shao province and found that 77% of the participants waited for longer than one year before going a leprosy clinic and during their first symptom, 68% of the cases went to traditional healer. An unpublished study by Suadiq Sufian Ali (2011) has also assessed the HSB of Dubti district at community level and found out various determinant factors. CSA (2011) survey also showed that only ten percent of women delivered in a health facility.

At this stage, it is straightforward to notice that the existing empirical researches resemble on the following issues. There were researches (Assesfa Amenu, Nash, Tefera Tamiru & Byass, 2000; Zewdie Birhanu et al, 2012) that focused on the HSB of people for a specific type of health concern as cancer and leprosy. Others (Fitsum Girma, Chali Jira & Belaineh Girma, 2007; Suadiq Sufian Ali, 2011) focused on the HSB and healthcare utilization of a specific geographic community. Some others also focused on the general healthcare seeking behavior of rural Ethiopia irrespective of their socioeconomic status (for example, Anagaw Mebratie et al., 2013) and still others (Karim et al., 2010) on maternal HSB for child illness.

Despite the existence of researches on HSB in our context, neither of them had an emphasis on urban poor populace though this section of the society is vulnerable to different kinds of health problems. There are also scant researches which underscored the factors that determine the HSB of the poorest urban dwellers. It is also important to note the absence of empirical works which shows the rural-urban poor difference regarding their HSB. From the unstudied parts of the issue, this study was concerned with systematically articulating the HSB of the urban PoP living Addis Ababa which has not been addressed previously. Therefore, the study aimed at to find out when and where the PoP seek treatment during ailment and describe the healthcare seeking behaviour of the PoP across different socioeconomic and demographic

characteristics of the PoP in Addis Ababa, specifically in Gullele Sub City.

b) Objectives of the Study

The study has the following specific objectives

Identify the treatment alternatives sought by the PoP to manage ill health

Describe the healthcare seeking behaviour of the study participants in relation to various demographic and behavioural variables

c) Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study was conducted in Gullele Sub City of Addis Ababa. The issue of HSB is a broader concept by which all of the issues were not addressed by this research. The study was delimited to describing when, where and how do the PoP in the study area seek healthcare when they face health concerns. In addition, the study only incorporates those households who are beneficiary of the healthcare safety net program designed by FMoH. Moreover, the study highlighted the attitude and perception of the PoP to their health and healthcare and how these elements inform when and where to seek healthcare.

Research is not free from limitations. Though the researchers tried to minimize them, a number of issues are out of the reach of this study. Among the many limitations; this study focused on the HSB of the PoP in Gullele Sub City which doesn't' show the reality in the other parts of the city, Addis Ababa. So, it is hardly possible to generalize the finding to the PoP of Addis Ababa since the reality might differ. In addition, the finding of this study can't represent the reality of the PoP in the rural setting which was out of the concern of this study.

The study has no ability to show the predicting factors that crucially shapes the HSB of the PoP in the study area. It can't show which variable to what extent predicts healthcare utilization that calls for a more sophisticated quantitative regression analysis. In addition, the researcher felt that the study was not holistic enough in gathering data from all healthcare options sought by the PoP especially the study didn't incorporate the perspectives of traditional healthcare providers and spiritual healers.

d) Definition of Concepts

Fee waiver. It is a right conferred to a household or individual that entitles the household/the individual to obtain health services in certain health facilities at no direct charge or at reduced price (FMoH, 2012).

Health seeking behavior. It is a state or decision making process of an individual or a household is actively seeking ways to alter his/her/their habits or environments to move toward a higher level of health and the decisions made encompass all available options.

Poorest of the Poor (PoP). Who is poor is difficult to define and the indicators that are used to measure are relative to contexts. But here in this research, the concept PoP, is used to represent those households/individuals identified as Poorest of the Poor through mechanisms put in place and eligible for fee waiver by FMoH (2012). The parameters are: individuals or households who earn less than minimum wage, households depending on petty trades and unable to meet their daily subsistence, orphaned children who have no financial support from relatives or no adequate pensions from parents, and those who are homeless. These people are termed as PoP, in the case of urban areas, and are eligible for healthcare services with fee waiver.

Urban poor. Are those urban dwellers experiencing a range of deprivations such as limited income to subsist themselves/their family, inadequate and insecure housing, high informal sector activities, few social protection mechanisms, less access to basic services, marginal geographic location, unhealthy and even violent environments (Muggah, 2012).

II. Research Methods and Design

a) Study Population, Sample Size and Sampling **Technique**

The study has followed a non-experimental study design. More specifically, the researcher found more imperative of using mixed approach because it could mitigate the disadvantage of the one by the other.

Defining the study subjects is very important in conducting research (Creswell, 2007). The city of Addis Ababa has ten Sub Cities (administrative units of the city Addis Ababa) and the extent of poverty is quite relative across the Sub Cities, though it prevails in all. Of these, the study was conducted in Gullele sub city due to various reasons. From the exploratory interview that was made, it is in Gullele sub city by which more PoP exist. Relatively speaking, it is this Sub City which is used as a residential area for people having lower socioeconomic status. In addition, there are also more NGOs working to address the health needs, sanitation and hygiene, of the poor in this Sub City (Personal communication, November 2012). Moreover, from the day to day exposure of the researcher, the researcher was initiated to entertain the issue in the Sub City. Above all, the researcher selected one Sub City for the purpose of manageability.

Gullele Sub City is one of the Sub Cities, located from northeast to north-west of Addis Ababa and is the fifth most populous Sub City having the total population of 267,381 with 129,239 male and 138,142 female (CSA, 2007). The Sub City is further divided in to ten Wereda (an administrative structure in Ethiopia which is lower than Sub City) and each Wereda has its own health centre except one of the Wereda's health centre not yet functional.

As per FMoH (2012), households/individuals identified as PoP through mechanisms put in place are eligible for fee waiver (p. 26). It further explains that every Wereda/district has the responsibility to identify those people who are termed as POP by the parameters determined by the MoH and should have a bilateral agreement with the health centres found in each Woreda. It also underscore that if there is no any health centre in that specific Wereda, the Wereda should have an agreement with the nearby health centre found in another Wereda and hence those POP who are eligible will get the service in health centres which are not located in their Wereda in case there is no facility in theirs. Accordingly, the target population of this particular study was those heads of the household who are identified as POP and get medical service within the scheme of the fee waiver in Gullele Sub City in the year 2012/2013, excluding those PoP ineligible by revision.

Sample size. According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007, p.107), "how big a sample must I obtain?" is how accurate do I want my results to be?" For them, sample size depends on the purpose of the study and the nature of the population under scrutiny. Harris (1985) stated that to see relationship and difference for a study involving six or more predictors, an absolute number of ten subjects per predictor is recommended and the equation to calculate the sample size is given by n > 104 + m where n is the required sample size and m is the number of predictors. Accordingly, there were 16 predictors which were used for analysis in this study. Substituting the number of predictors in the above equation, the minimum sample size would be 120 and it was 168 PoP households that were included in the study which is more than ten participants per predictor. In addition, it is believed that the data which was collected from 168 survey participants is valid enough, accurate and enabled to see the difference and relationship of the predictors with the dependent variables since the study population is homogeneous, relatively speaking. By homogeneous, the study population is the PoP by the parameters of the MoH, living in low socioeconomic status. Most of them had large family size; their educational status was low, living in a deteriorated condition, and above all, they are homogeneous since they all are eligible for free healthcare. This was supported by Yount (2006) who stated the greater the variability in the population; the larger the sample needs to be.

Sampling technique. After determining the sample size by the procedure explained in the previous paragraph, the required samples were recruited by multistage cluster sampling. The reason of using multistage cluster sampling was the failure to get compiled sampling frame of the Sub City's PoP households and since multistage sampling is the right option to address large geographical area which is clustered. Of the total ten *Weredas* which are found at Gullele Sub City, *Wereda* 03 and *Wereda* 06 were selected randomly. The *Weredas* were further divided in to either Kebele (the lowest administrative structure of Addis Ababa previously) or zone (an administrative structure below Wereda).

From Wereda 03, three Kebeles (08, 09 & 19) were selected since the list of the PoP exists by the previous governmental structure, Kebele. Similarly, as Wereda 06 was structured by Zones and the list prevailed in terms of Zone; three Zones (Zone 01, 02 & 05) were included. There are 1296 and 629 PoP in Wereda 03 and 06 respectively. After selecting totally six clusters (Kebele 08, 09 & 19 from Wereda 03 and Zone 01, 02 & 05 from Wereda 06), simple random sampling was conducted proportion to the size of each cluster (14% from each cluster was taken to reach the sample of 168). Accordingly, of the total 158 PoP (n=23), 290 PoP (n=41), 208 PoP (n=30), 301 PoP (n=43), 94 PoP (n=15), and 108 PoP (n=16) households which were found at Kebele 08, 09, 19, Zone 01, 02 & 05 respectively, a sample of n which is within the parenthesis was taken from each cluster randomly. Hence, of the total 168 PoP included in the sample, 94 were from Wereda 03 and 74 were from Wereda 06.

On the other hand, for the qualitative part, purposive sampling technique was employed to select participants for in-depth interview (8 PoPs in the two Weredas) and key informants (6 informants). The key informants were health extension workers, officials and staffs of Addis Hiwot and Shiromeda health centre (health centres found in Wereda 06 & Wereda 03 respectively). The number of participants was determined by the concept of data saturation. The selection of participants continued till data reaches at the optimum level. However, it was at the early stage that the data seems saturated and at that juncture I continued interviewing with the hope of obtaining a different idea.

b) Data Collection Methods, Development and Procedure

In this study, questionnaire and interview were used to elicit data from participants. Questionnaire was employed to collect evidences from the heads of the PoP households. Closed ended questions having mutually exhaustive and exclusive categories that could measure the indicators of the HSB thereby gather information necessary to answer the research objectives were established.

In-depth interview was used to elicit more detailed data from research participants. In- depth interview is an ideal method to obtain detailed information on particular cultural beliefs and practices from the perspectives of the participant (Kikwawila Study Group, 1994, p.10). In-depth interview was made with 8 PoP who are eligible for fee waiver system and an indepth and supportive understanding was generated concerning the attitude and perception of the PoP to health and healthcare, healthcare options and care seeking behavior, and the meaning that the fee waiver scheme had on the health and healthcare utilization behavior of the PoP. Key informants interview was also the tool used to get qualitative data. According to Kikwawila Study Group (1994), the purpose of key informant's interview is to learn about people's view on the topic of interest, to learn their terminology, and judgments and to understand their perceptions and experiences. Hence, key informant interview was conducted with health extension workers (one from each Wereda), and officials and staffs of the health centers found in the study area, Addis Hiwot and Shiro Meda health centers (two from each health centre). Through key informants interview, detailed data on when and where do the PoP seek healthcare, how the PoP perceive their health and the implication of the fee waive scheme on their HSB was gathered. So as to substantiate the primary date, empirical works, books and policy documents were consulted. The English version of the questionnaire and the interview was translated to Amharic twice by two different individuals so as to validate its correct translation and piloted for fifteen respondents within the study population before actual data collection.

c) Data Quality Assurance

Reliability is concerned whether or not research findings would be repeated if another study conducted using the procedure or instrument (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003, p. 271). The instrument was piloted with 15 PoP and the reliability was checked through Cronbach Alpha procedure since it is important to estimate the internal consistency/reliability.

The validity of findings or data is traditionally understood as the correctness or precision of a research findings (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003, p, 275). In relation to the validity of the quantitative data, the instrument, content wise, was checked with the advisor. Each items of the questionnaire were commented by the advisor and some items were discarded since the items were either repeated or unrelated with what was intended to measure. In addition, the pilot study has also contributed to improve the quality of the questions, formats, scales and the language used thereby enhanced the validity of the data Robert (1997).

The quality of the qualitative data was assured by different mechanisms. Among others, building good rapport, clarifying the objective of the research to respondents, approaching friendly and getting trust, respecting the cultural values of the participants and staying long with interviewees were some of the procedures done to improve the trustworthiness of the data. Moreover, colleagues-check i.e. presenting the data to the colleague and understand what it mean Triangulating the data collected through different method of data collection were also utilized to confirm the trustworthiness of the data.

d) Analytical approach

Obviously, the raw data has no meaning by itself unless it is arranged and analysed properly. First, the quantitative data were cleaned, coded and entered into SPSS for windows version 20 and analysed. Descriptive statistics was employed to summarize the sample characteristics. Keeping in mind assumptions of each test, statistical tests as t-test, ANOVA, Pearson's Correlation Coefficient, Spearman Correlation and Chi-square were used to see differences and associations. Using these statistical tools, association among variables or differences among groups were seen.

Analysing qualitative data is not a simple or quick task. Done properly; it is systematic and rigorous, and therefore labour-intensive and time-consuming (Pope, Ziebland & Mays, 2000). The analysis of the qualitative part has passed with a serious of tasks. After the collection of the data, the researcher transcribed the tape recorded data and immersed with raw data by listening tape records. Reading the transcripts and studying the notes, all of the key issues, concepts, and themes were identified and the raw data was rearranged according to the appropriate part of the thematic framework to which they relate. Subsequently, based on the similarity of the themes, it was integrated with the quantitative one.

e) Ethical Considerations

In the progress of research, researchers need to respect the participants and the sites for research (Creswell, 2007). Since the inception, there were situation considered assuming that it might put participants at risk during different stages of my research. Initially, after the approval of the proposal, a support letter was received from the school of Social Work, Addis Ababa University; the purpose of the research was clearly communicated to participants and let them know to withdraw if they get discomfort in the progress of their participation. In doing so, after giving the necessary information that enables the respondents to participate or withdraw, informed consent was obtained from them and at least oral agreement In addition, individuals in authority were reached.

contacted and created a smooth relationship before the researchers begun the actual data collection. These created trust by approaching respondents friendly and doing all these, a maximum response rate was achieved.

III. FINDINGS

This part of the article presents the finding of the study obtained both from the quantitative and qualitative data collection methods. 168 PoP were surveyed, 8 PoP were interviewed and 6 key informants were interviewed from two districts, 03 and 06, of Gullele sub city (see the appendix for the details). The researchers presented both the qualitative and the quantitative data together and didn't merely put the data but also interpreted meaningfully, what the data really meant. Hence, readers need to be clear that the result of the study, both the quantitative and qualitative, is presented concurrently. Generally, it is in this part, the basic research objectives are answered and discussed in relation to the existing empirical works.

a) Alternatives of Healthcare of the PoP

The poor sought different healthcare options whenever they get health breaches and all of the surveyed and interviewed participants had the experience of visiting any type of healthcare. Consequently, all of the survey participants reported they had visited professional allopathic, 50% of them spiritual healing, 44.6% used self-medication, 14.3% visited traditional healers, and 1.8% bought medicines from pharmacy. From the data it is easy to grasp, though all the PoP had gone to modern healthcare facilities, the PoP had significantly used other healthcare alternatives concomitantly, alone or one after the other. The upcoming table clearly depicts the treatment options used by survey participants.

Table 1: Healthcare Alternatives of the PoP

Healthcare alternatives: Multiple		Percent		
Response	N	Percent	of Cases	
Self-medication	75	21.2%	44.6%	
Spiritual healing	84	23.7%	50.0%	
Traditional Healer	24	6.8%	14.3%	
Pharmacy	3	0.8%	1.8%	
Professional Allopathic	168	47.5%	100.0%	
Total	354	100.0%	210.7%	

Correspondingly, the qualitative data showed that participants have a tendency of using different kinds of healthcare options, such as self-care, professional allopathic, traditional healthcare and spiritual healing either concomitantly or alone. But most (five) of the interviewee and all of the key informants conveyed that there is a tendency of utilizing home treatment and spiritual healing, holy water treatment, as a prime option. Similarly, an informant from *district* 06 stated that seeking healthcare at professional allopathic is the last option by the PoP in the district. She said:

As the district is the outskirt of the city, it is people having lower socioeconomic status are living in the area. Compared to people living in the heart of the city, the PoPs" attitude to their health is insignificant. Thus, the health concerns of the PoP are treated at home or waited expecting recovery as days in and out or seek holy water treatment if not recovered. If not yet recovered, at the end, they will seek from modern healthcare institution and hence to sought healthcare from professional allopathic is the last option of the PoP in the district.

From the qualitative finding, it is evident that though the PoP are eligible for free healthcare services. they are not such motivated to look for healing from medical professionals that could be explained through diverse factors. Two beneficiaries reported that they used holly water concomitantly with the prescription of the medical professional and felt are suited. One participant said "physicians even do everything with the help of almighty, so no problem to take them parallel." On the other hand, there are also participants who said the treatment option depends on the type of illness. There are illness which could best resolved by professional allopathic as diarrheal disease, malaria. typhoid, etc. However, some chronic illnesses as cancer, hypertension and diabetic cases would be treated by traditional and spiritual healing. Unlike others, a single participant whose sero-status is HIV positive has a strong trust on professional allopathic. She

explained the issue as:

Nothing would escape from science, all health problems can be cured by physicians and nothing beyond them. For example, you can take my friends who thrown their Anti Retro-Viral Treatment (ART) and seek holy water treatment but they didn't recovered rather their immunity was compromised and some died. There are a lot of people who didn't get this chance, so we have to utilize the fruits of science.

With respect to the decision making power in the process of selecting the treatment options sought, the majority participants responded that it is the mother (43.5%) and father (31.5%) who has the power to decide on the treatment alternative to use. While 16.1% of the participants said all member of the household have equal voice in the process, the remaining 5.4%, 2.4%, and 1.2% of the participants revealed brother/sister/child, the household member who gets ill, and aunt respectively. From the data, it is straightforward that still heads of the household have the lions share in deciding crucial issues of the household, health issues in this case, without accommodating the voice of other members of the household.

research participants were concerning the frequency of visiting modern healthcare institutions. 65.5% of them seek healthcare at health centres or hospitals once and more in six months, 27.4 % once in a year, 6.5 % once in the past five years, and a single participant had never visited in the past five years. Unlike the survey participants, the PoP who were interviewed, especially those who are diabetic and have hypertension case, regularly visit professional allopathic for medical follow up, even more than ten per a year. Literally, it could be possible to say that the PoP in the study area are vulnerable to health problems since the majority of the PoP had the experience of seeking healthcare in professional allopathic for once or more per a year.

b) Healthcare Seeking Behavior of the PoP

This section presented to what extent the study participants seek healthcare promptly. Various tests have been used to test the association between demographic characteristics and behavioural variables with healthcare seeking behavior. In addition, the qualitative data was included to substantiate the quantitative one.

Table 2: Binomial Test of Healthcare Seeking Behavior of the PoP

Question		Category	N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Exact Sig. (1-tailed)
Do you seek	Group 1	Yes	55	0.327	.003	.000
healthcare	Group 2	No	113	0.673		
immediately your sickness?				1.00		
	Total		168			

As the SPSS output indicates, of the total surveyed population, only 32.7% of them seek immediate healthcare, whereas, the majority, 67.3 % didn't. To compare this figure with the national standard (0.003) taken from the health development indicator of Ethiopia (2008) binomial chi square test was used. The binomial test indicates that there is significant difference in seeking immediate healthcare between the surveyed population and the national standard (p=0.00 < 0.05).

c) Relationship between Demographic characteristics & healthcare seeking behavior

Table 3: Healthcare Seeking Behavior and Sex

Cross Tabulation		Sex			Pearson	
			Male	Female	Total	X ² Corr- elation
	Yes	Count	18	37	55	0.033
		Expected Count	24.6	30.4	55	
Do you seek		Residual	-6.6	6.6		
healthcare	No	Count	57	56	113	
immediately		Expected Count	50.4	62.6	113	
your sickness?		Residual	6.6	-6.6		
Total		Count	75	93	168	
		Expected Count	75.0	93.0	168	

The cross tabulation of sex and healthcare seeking indicates that of 75 male participants, 18 of them seek immediate healthcare while it is 37 out of 93 male participants who seek so. But, is there a statistically significant difference in prompt healthcare utilization between females and males? To compare the healthcare seeking behavior of females and males, Pearson Chi Square Correlation was used. From the test result (p=0.33 < 0.05), we can understand that there is difference in seeking prompt healthcare among female and male participants. Female are more likely to seek prompt healthcare than males but the extent of relationship is weak since (phi = -0.167).

Education is presumed to have an association with healthcare seeking behavior. To confirm it, Chi Square test of independence was used. The SPSS output (Table 12) signified that there is no a statistically significant association between education and seeking

prompt healthcare (p=0.095 > 0.05). The other demographic characteristic that was thought to have an association with healthcare seeking behavior was age of the heads of the household. The Chi-square test output signified that there is no a statistically significant association between age and seeking prompt healthcare (p=0.657 > 0.05). Similarly, there was no a statistically significant difference in immediate healthcare utilization across household size since the p value is greater than the significance level considered in this study.

Alike the quantitative result, the qualitative result indicated the absence of difference in prompt healthcare seeking behavior among the PoP across household size. But one key informant from Addis Hiwot Health centre reported that prompt healthcare seeking behavior among the PoP, sometimes, decline as household size of the PoP increase since there is a fixed frequency of visiting healthcare for free. In her own words:

A PoP is allowed to get healthcare service for free for four visits per a year. In the fifth and sixth visit, he/she is expected to pay 15% of the cost of the service. For seventh and more visits, the PoP has to pay 50 % of the service. In addition, if the household size is two and more, ten visit (all the visits by each member of the household added) is the maximum per a year. Otherwise, for the next two visits (11th & 12th) visits, they would pay 15 % and for the 13th and more, they have to pay 50% of the service. Hence, as the size of the household and the frequency of illness in the household increases, the likelihood to seek healthcare will be adversely impacted since the PoP are liable to be charged.

Chi Square test of association between place of origin and healthcare seeking behavior depict that there is no association between them. It was also found the absence of a statistically significant difference in healthcare seeking behavior among the married, never married, widowed, divorced and separated (p=0.186 >

0.05). Similarly, the statistical summary that shows the relationship between monthly income and immediate healthcare behavior demonstrates that there is no a statistically significant association between them, having the significance level of 0.282.

With ten items, the religiosity of participants was measured and found out that 35.02 (SD=5.616) with a minimum of 13 and maximum of 49. After preparing three cut points (20, 30, & 40), the distribution was categorized as very weak, weak, religious, and very religious. Accordingly, more than 72% of the participants are religious and very religious. Is there any association between of religiosity and the option of healthcare that participants sought? The Chi Square test of independence was computed to see whether there is any relation between the type of healthcare options and the level of religiosity. Consequently, it has been found that there is no significant association between the type of treatment options that the PoP sought and religiosity having all p values greater than 0.05. Do religious people immediately seek treatment? The subsequent table focused on this issue.

Table 4 : P	ssociation	between Relig	iosity and F	Healthcare Se	eking Behavior

Do you seek healthcare			Religiosity of respondents			Tot	Pearson x ²
						al	Correlation
immediately your sickness?		Very	Weak	Relig ious	Very		
		Weak			Religious		
Yes	Count	2	2	41	10	55	0.015
	Expected	1.0	8.5	38.0	7.5	55	
	Count						
	Residual	1.0	-6.5	3.0	2.5		
No	Count	1	24	75	13	113	
	Expected	2.0	17.5	78.0	15.5	13	
	Count						
	Residual	-1.0	6.5	-3.0	-2.5		
Total	Count	3	26	116	23	168	
	Expected	3.0	26.0	116.0	23.0	168	
	Count						

To check the association between healthcare utilization and religiosity, Chi Square test of independence was used. As table K tells, there is statistically significant association to seek prompt healthcare and the religious levels (among very weak, weak, religious, very religious) of the PoP in the study area (p=0.015 < 0.05). The test statistics Phi and Cramer's value (0.25) depicts that the association between religious level and immediate healthcare sought is moderate.

IV. Discussion

In this part of the research, an attempt was made to relate and compare the finding of the study with existing knowledge and the tenets of the model used as a conceptual frame work. But, due to the existence of scanty empirical works on HSB of the poor in Ethiopian context, the findings of the study was, utmost, discussed in line with works which were done abroad.

People are likely to use various types of healthcare options to resolve their health problem. For Alam, Khanam & Hossain (2000), relevant issues in the process of solving health problems are: What is the process of decision making? Where to go? Are there any preferences? Is it possible to discern any pattern in the choice for health services? An understanding of these issues could play a pivotal role since the use of different health services depends on it. In this study,

HSB of the PoP in light of the issues raised above was uncovered.

As per the quantitative study conducted by Diop, Seshamani & Mulenga (1998), 34 percent of the survey participants used self-medication only. The prevalence of self-care does not vary much by demographic characteristics of the individual or the socioeconomic characteristics of the household (p.14). Similarly, but in different way, it was found that 44.6% of the study participant used self-care but concurrently with other healthcare options in my study. In addition, the study also confirmed that there is no significant difference in seeking self-medication across demographic characteristics of the study participants.

Unlike the research findings (Gupta & Dasgupta, nd and Diop, Seshamani & Mulenga, 1998), in this study, spiritual healing is the second most preference of healthcare alternative. It is 50% of the participants who are experienced in using spiritual healing either alone or concurrently with other healthcare options. Surprisingly, some of the study participants had also the interest to use spiritual treatment, especially holly water treatment, for chronic illness and professional allopathic for treating acute illness which makes this study quite different from the studies mentioned above.

A study conducted by Gupta & Dasgupta (nd) revealed that irrespective of all socioeconomic categories in 'the study, allopathic treatment was preferred. A more general study conducted by Anagaw Mebratie et al (2013) on the healthcare seeking behavior in rural Ethiopia found out that there is a strong preference for modern healthcare. Keeping in touch the issue to this study, the situation is quite different. Though the PoP had a preference for allopathic treatment during illness episode occurred, they were indifferent in utilizing professional allopathic alone rather they are likely to utilize other types alongside, as selfcare, traditional healer, spiritual healing or buying medicine from pharmacy without the prescription of a physician. In contrary to the studies (Anagaw Mebratie et al, 2013 & Gupta & Dasgupta, nd) which highlighted allopathic treatment as the prime preference, the qualitative evidence of the study produced that the PoP are likely to use one option after the other and found that allopathic treatment was given the last precedence. It is after self-care and visiting spiritual healthcare, and when these options are not bringing recovery or the illness gets severe that they sought modern healthcare. So, the pattern of seeking healthcare, as per the qualitative fact, is self-care, spiritual healing and then to professional allopathic.

Another point to note is that, as per the research done in urban Delhi, poorer households don't rely much on traditional healers; nor are they relying much on the charitable facilities. Private hospitals are also completely out of reach of the poorer people (Gupta & Dasgupta, nd). But in this study, though the PoP in the study area had also the experience of visiting traditional healers including spiritual healing, unlike Gupta & Dasguptas' finding, the PoP had also relay on the modern healthcare [public] since they get the service for free. Generally, from this and other findings, it is possible to say that the poor incline various types of healthcare alternatives as professional allopathic, traditional healer or self-care but the way the use is quite different. For example, in the case of this study, it is after the trial of other healthcare alternatives that the poor seek treatment from professional allopathic. And they [the PoP] mostly use the treatment of professional allopathic parallel to other options.

In relation to socioeconomic characteristic, age, sex, marital status, education, occupation, etc. were explained as factors that shape the health seeking behavior of people (Pillay, 1993). Similarly, Diop, & Mulenga (1998) revealed Seshamani, socioeconomic characteristics of the household could affect the use of the modern health sector. Sick individuals who are members of households headed by a male have a higher probability of entering the modern health sector (p. 14). Inconsistent to this, this study has found females are more interested to visit immediate healthcare than males.

The study also found out that there was no marked difference in seeking immediate healthcare across the different educational categories which is inconsistent with what was found by Diop, Seshamani, & Mulenga (1998). Their empirical evidence indicate that while sick persons from households headed by individuals with no schooling or with a primary level of education have a comparable likelihood of entering the modern health sector, those from households headed by individuals with secondary level of education or higher have a significantly higher probability of entering the modern health sector (p.14). On the other hand, there was a study which illuminated maternal education has no any association with seeking immediate healthcare for child illness (Sreeramareddy, Shankar, Sreekumaran, Subba, Joshi, & Ramachandran, 2006).

A study conducted by Waweru, Kaabiru, Mbithi, and Some (2003) disclosed with advancing age, the proportion of those seeking health care reduced. Likewise, Diop, Seshamani, & Mulenga (1998), age operates as a variable affecting the likelihood of entering the modern health sector for curative care. Children and voungster do have more likelihood of seeking entering the modern health sector than people who are above the age of 65 years old. But in this research, healthcare seeking behavior has no a difference across the age of the research participants, though the study incorporates people from the age of 19 to 83. In addition, a study conducted in urban Delhi indicated that a higher

household size has a negative relationship with probability of falling sick and lower probability of seeking healthcare (Gupta & Dasgupta, nd). Meaning, people having more household in urban Delhi were more vulnerable to ill health and their motivation to take an aversive health action was insignificant. But, unlike the case in urban Delhi, this study, the quantitative of course, depicted the existence of insignificance difference in the healthcare seeking behavior of the PoP having different household size. Hence, from this we can understand that the size of the household has no association with the likelihood of the PoP to seek prompt healthcare. But as the qualitative evidence informs household size has a detrimental relation with household healthcare seeking behavior, in some instances.

In relation to religiosity and healthcare seeking behavior, it is assumed that the more the religious, the more to seek spiritual healthcare and delay to seek immediate modern healthcare system. Consistently, the study verified the existence of a statistically marked difference in healthcare seeking behavior [professional allopathic] across the level of religiosity was observed among the participants of the study. Client-provider interaction is recognized as playing a major role in health seeking behavior. An essential factor in determining whether a person seeking health care, complies with treatment and maintains a relationship with the health facility and/or provider is client satisfaction (Olenja, 2003) by which the sound client provider interaction, the better treatment process and seeking healthcare. But the finding of this study completely contradicts with Olenja (2003). Both the qualitative and the quantitative data disclosed that the interaction that they have with the service providers has nothing to do with their care seeking behavior. For example, from the qualitative data, it is possible to understand that providers sometimes disempowered them and even prohibit them from getting medicine and as a result they [the PoP] nag with them. Though they noticed that they are mistreating them against their right, they will never hesitate to visit healthcare by another time.

Health expenditure and budget is one of the indicators of HSB. A study from urban Delhi verified that there is no much difference in health care expenditure among low, middle, and high- income households contributed almost equally to total health expenditure (Gupta & Dasgupta, nd). But in this study, most of the health expenditure of the PoP is covered by the government except when the PoP are requested to buy medicine out of their pocket, rare though. Moreover, all of the PoP in the study didn't budget healthcare costs in either their monthly or yearly expenditure.

V. Conclusion and Implications of the STUDY

a) Conclusion

The PoP in the study area used diverse healthcare options including modern healthcare that they can use for free. From the qualitative and quantitative evidence it is possible to paint the healthcare seeking options of the study participants. As it is clearly presented in the result and discussion section, the PoP are indifferent in utilizing professional allopathic immediately especially for mild illnesses rather they were keen to use self-care or ignore the symptom. It is when the illness episode gets severe that they sought the help of professional allopathic. The PoP in the study area, therefore, are not interested to opt for trained allopathic immediately to respond to their sickness rather they seek for other options or ignoring the symptoms and it is at the last stage that the PoP seek help from trained allopathic. Moreover, using overthe-counter drugs is not as such used among the PoP in study area.

Socio demographic factors are believed to have an effect on prompt healthcare seeking behavior (Diop. Seshamani, & Mulenga, 1998; Pillay, 1993). Socio demographic characteristic like education, marital status, age, household size, religious affiliation and place of origin has no any association with prompt healthcare utilization among the PoP in the study area. Though the extent varies, religiosity, sex and income of the PoP has a relationship with seeking immediate healthcare among the PoP.

b) Implications of the Study

Education is believed to have a paramount role to bring a progressive behavioural change especially formal education has an association with the attitude of one's health and is an input to bring progress on one's health status. Educating the PoP about the causes of diseases, mechanisms of preventing illness, health extension, etc would advance their attitude to their health in a positive direction thereby the likelihood of doing a prompt action on their health problems will be improved. Formal education is, however, a long-term investment, as an alternative and in the short term, therefore, a special health literacy program that targets the PoP has to be applied if an authentic change in the health status of the PoP is needed.

It is apparent that addressing the bio-psycho social and spiritual needs of clients is important for the progress of clients. It was observed the absence of Social Worker at the health centres and community which could best help clients holistically. They [the PoP] are treated one dimension of their health and other parts are not given due emphasis. Thus, Social Work, a profession which claims standing in favour of the

vulnerable, the PoP in this case, has to produce more Social Workers which could boost the rejuvenation process of the poor, even at diploma and certificate level that could be hired as a social worker in each health centre and community. Moreover, the biomedical model has dominated the process in the health setting. Therefore, Social Wok practice in the health setting has to challenge the biomedical model and need to advocate for the contemporary model in the area-bio psychosocial and spiritual model.

It is lucid that residing in a poverty trap could potentially contribute to different type of health problems, especially to communicable disease. Therefore, it is important if evidences are revealed concerning the predominant diseases that mostly affect the PoP and the healthcare seeking behavior of the PoP to specific types of illness has to be verified. In addition, still traditional healing is significantly being used by the PoP as a solution for their health problem and needs future research regarding their effectiveness of course.

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The Zimra Scatter Gun Approach Synonymous with Sexual Harassment (2014)

By Dr. Silas Luthingo Rusvingo

Great Zimbabwe University, Masvingo, Zimbabwe

Abstract- The objective in this Paper is to investigate if the revenue collection methods employed by ZIMRA 2 are in compliance with the concept of human rights as defined by the United Nations after which the Author will proffer a Summary, Conclusion, Recommendation, key assumption and a short prayer for Zimbabwe to benefit its suffering masses.

Keywords: zimra scatter, gun, approach, revenue, sexual, harassment.

GJHSS-H Classification: FOR Code: 950407



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INTRODUCTION

ccording to the Finance Minister Honourable Patrick Chinamasa, the Zimbabwe Revenue Authority (ZIMRA) will continue issuing garnishee orders to companies that evade tax. Honourable Minister Patrick Chinamasa had told parliament in mid September 2014 that ZIMRA's mandate is tax collection and that the Revenue Authority will do all it can to fulfill this mandate.

"Although Cabinet has not deliberated on ZIMRA's garnishee orders. ZIMRA is given a mandate in terms of the Statute that sets it up and that mandate is to collect revenue," the Treasury Chief said. This comes as Zimbabwe is hard pressed, after failing to secure budgetary support and was footing its wage bill and recurrent expenditure from tax collections.

"Unless ZIMRA collects taxes, there will be no budget," Chinamasa said.

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- · collect revenue
- · facilitate travel and trade
- advise government on fiscal and economic matters
- · protect civil society

The ZIMRA Vision:

· A beacon of excellence in the provision of fiscal services and facilitation of trade and travel.

The ZIMRA mission:

• To promote economic development through efficient revenue generation and trade facilitation

This is achieved by:

- · Developing competent and motivated staff
- · Using environmentally sustainable processes, and
- Engaging with the global community in a socially responsible way

"What we should say is not to discourage ZIMRA from collecting taxes, but to encourage them and also to give advice that when doing so, they should be friendly," he said.

Honourable Chinamasa was responding to a question by Gweru Legislator, Honourable Amos Chinaya about the tax collection garnishee orders that were seemingly leading to company closures.

"We all know from Biblical times that tax collectors are never a liked class. They are always despised and you can read throughout the Bible. I understand the concerns of people who are being levied taxes. Generally, people do not like to pay taxes," Chinamasa said (Business Live 2014)

Early this year (2014) the Gershem Pasi led ZIMRA descended on companies defaulting in their tax obligations imposing garnishee orders on their bank accounts. Of those defaulting companies, over ten have dragged the taxman to the fiscal court of appeal over Despite some companies voluntarily the orders. disclosing their arrears to the tax collector and proposing payment plans, they were not spared the garnishee orders. Other companies had approached the High and Constitutional Courts after the filing of their appeals at the Fiscal Court of Appeal failed to bar ZIMRA from garnishing their accounts. Recently, Pasi had said garnishee orders were only used as a "last resort" for "truant and non-compliant" companies and was not the modus operandi of ZIMRA in collecting revenue. He also said ZIMRA will soon launch a scheme to issue garnishee orders to State enterprises (Business Live 2014).

This is for you the ignition to the discourse in this Paper. Up next is a statement on the relevant literature Review and the Research Methodology adopted by the study to expose the Research Findings from which to deduce the appropriate Summary Conclusion and Recommendations for the study.

II. The Literature Review and Research METHODOLOGY ADOPTED FOR THE STUDY

To expose the Research Findings the Author will, in his relevant Literature Review and Research Methodology line up a list of prominent journalistic personalities from the private media and then search for what each one of them had said about the topic under

¹The Zimbabwe Revenue Authority derives its mandate and vision from the Revenue Authority Act (Chapter 23.11) and other subsidiary legislation. The ZIMRA mandate is to:

discussion in this Paper. Without much ado Bere and Maguchu (2014) from the Zimbabwe Independent have a contribution to make on the topic under discussion. Details on this coming your way in just a moment.

a) Heavy taxation a violation of human rights (Bere and Maguchu 2014)

To spite his audience Finance Minister Honourable Patrick Chinamasa had on 11 September 2014 presented the mid-Term Fiscal Policy review themed Towards an Empowered society and a growing economy. A growing economy really? To the Author, the Finance Minister must have been joking because were it in developed countries like the UK for example he could have been heckled to shut up. Because in Zimbabwe by end of September 2014, the Zimbabwe economy was not growing but regressing as measured against companies closing shop. The review among other measures increased with immediate effect taxes on fuel, employee benefits, meat, detergents, blankets, data and voice transmission and many other items and the charter in revenue enhancing measures. There were two things that worried many people in this nationally condemned Mid-Term Fiscal policy review and these were the non attentiveness of the current government to its relationship with its citizens which was in tatters because of poor governance as well as the failure by government to link its tax policy with its performance on the ground. It is important for a government when crafting a new tax policy to take some time and reflect on its relationship with the suffering people it intends to This will include a thorough introspection and holding public seminars to share and explain how the cashless government had made use of public resources. There should be some thorough debate and dialogue at the very bottom where the tax burden was felt most. An explanation of this kind will certainly need to be more detailed, breaking down government expenditure and analyzing what percentage of the budget went towards essential services and how much fund the purchase of unnecessary luxury cars for government officials. The evaluation must certainly askhow much of the taxpayers' money was used to fund violence against the taxpayer? The 2013 Global Peace index ranks Zimbabwe on number seven in terms of violence containment cost in the world. We are ahead of such countries as Iraq, South Sudan, Republic of Congo. We are spending much more than countries that are at war. Our expenditure on violence containment is not only criminal but seems to suggest that we are a country at war not with another country but with its people. And who is funding that when the economy is not only functioning but dead a long time ago? The suffering people? Mwari Rambai (meaning God Forbid!) (Bere and Maguchu 2014).

For a number of reasons such a reflection must help the people realize that there is a major link between taxation, lack of accountability and poverty in the face of heavy taxation, the risk of political instability in the country increases especially when people feel that the burden of taxation is totally unmatched by government performance and accountability as is the case in poorly governed Zimbabwe. Fiscal and taxation policies of an accountable government are intertwined with the politics of the state and can have an impact on the enjoyment of human rights and access to justice for the generality of the population. When the government spends much of its collected tax revenue on violence containment, if follows that much will be deployed to essential services like hospitals and the building of institutions that support quality human life. The Honourable Minister Patrick Chinamasa is the only Minister talking about the comatose economy in the current ZANU PF2 administration while his colleagues are only worried about succeeding the ageing His Excellence President Mugabe, 91, next February 2015. Some weeks ago in September 2014, The Standard had reported that government was cashless and suffering because resources were then directed to dealing with the ZANU PF succession wars which have been going on for a very long time because His Excellence does not want to shed light on when he wants to relinquish Power. So when the government grinds to a halt, it is just for the government to raise taxes on the same suffering people who are adversely affected by the government's incompetence. (Bere and Maguchu 2014).

With the increase in fuel Zimbabwe will certainly witness an increase in the cost of living as the suppliers and other service providers pass on the burden to the hapless consumers, the majority of whom are unemployed in a country with an unemployment rate of +/-85% benchmarked against neighbouring South Africa's unemployment rate of +/- 25%. In these circumstances human rights will be seriously eroded, as the state will start enforcing its tax policy. Rent seeking will become the order of the day. (the Sate seeking the piece of the cake it did not contribute in making.) People will be accused of committing dubious economic crimes and will have their properties confiscated to boost the resources of the starving State. (Bere and Maguchu 2014).

Taxation is a double edged knife when it comes to human rights. On one hand it has been realized that taxes provide the most sustainable source of revenue to governments to help them fulfill their primary duty of

² ZANU PF is an acronym for Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front which in 1977 was born from the ashes of the Ndabaningi Sithole led ZANU formed in 1963 after a breakaway from ZAPU led by the now late Joshua Nkomo affectionately known as Father Zimbabwe. ZANU PF has been the ruling party in Zimbabwe since independence from Britain in 1980 to date.

ensuring the progressive realization of a range of human rights of citizens, schools, hospitals, water and sanitation, electricity and roads, transparent democratic institutions are all essential to the fulfillment of human rights and constitute fundamental pillars in the architecture that holds together a civilized society. On the other hand indiscriminate heavy taxation and an unaccountable government is a serious violation of people's human rights as the fruits of heavy taxation never find themselves at the service of the people but rather are siphoned away by corrupt Cabinet Ministers and government officials (Bere and Maguchu 2014).

Modern day fiscal policies should always be in sync with government's human rights obligations, like the right to know (access to information for purposes of accountability as enshrined in Section 63 of the New Constitution.) According to the United Nations Special Rappoteur on extreme poverty and human rights, Magdalena Sapulveda Carmona, (June 2014) fiscal and tax policies (revenue raising and tax expenditure) are an essential tool for states to meet their human rights commitments and combat poverty. A human rights based assessment of fiscal policy is particularly necessary due to the ongoing repercussions of the global financial and economic crises and their impact on the enjoyment of human rights worldwide. Zimbabwe's sinking economy, the impact of a poor fiscal policy that rests primarily on taxation is deeply felt by the poorest and most vulnerable group of the society through cuts to budgets for social protection and public services and a reduction in aid budgets. accountability measures, the new tax policy is most unlikely going to see the rehabilitation of Mpilo and Harare Hospitals. But we are likely going to see the government ordering vehicles for its officials. We are most unlikely going to see an increase in the salary of civil servants. But we are likely going to see more armed police officers running battles with young people demanding jobs in the streets. (Bere and Maguchu 2014).

It is critical therefore as we reflect on the new Mid-Term Fiscal policy review that we also reflect on the effect of a punishing tax policy to ensure a just tax policy that rakes into consideration its own performance and its relationship with its suffering citizens. In addition it must put in place measures to ensure that the public remains informed on how it is making use of public resources. (Bere and Maguchu 2014).

When the Author expected joy from Mambo (2014) of the Zimbabwe Independent newspaper called upon to do duty on the topic of this Paper all the frustrated Author could read and see was more tax spikes piling on more misery for the suffering employees. Details on his dreadful contribution on the suffering workers including the Author coming your way in just a moment.

b) Tax spikes pile on more misery for suffering employees (Mambo 2014)

Heart-wrenching stories are awash in the Zimbabwe private media³ with heart wrenching stories of church leaders in Zimbabwe who have turned to their female church congregates for sexual harassment. The unpalatable story that readily comes to mind is that of Robert Gumbura (57) married to six young wives aged between 20 - 25 years of age. He raped four of his congregants and was sentenced to 40 years in jail without the option of a fine. Impeccable sources in his Independent Time Message Pentecostal Church say that all the female congregants in his church are his girlfriends and any one found resisting his sexual harassment is threatened with death. The same can be said about ZIMRA in its scatter gun approach to revenue collection which is synonymous with sexual harassment. (Daily News Live 2014).

The recent tax hikes by the ZANU PF government which is desperate to boost its dwindling revenues left most employees worse off as their paltry salaries were not enough to look after their immediate families and hard pressed relatives in an economy with unemployment rate estimated at over 84% against a SADC⁴ region of unemployment rate of about 25%. In the absence of social security nets, the employee is now left with no option but to cater for relatives that include the aged, disabled and orphaned. To add to the employees' woes, Finance Minister Honourable Patrick Chinamasa introduced a raft of new taxes which resulted in the increase of fuel tax, employee benefits, detergents, meat and also introduced excise duty on airtime and mobile phones. Presenting his Mid - Term Fiscal policy review statement in the National Assembly, Honourable Chinamasa said:

"Excise duty on diesel and petrol is currently pegged at 25 cents and 30 cents per litre, in order to raise additional revenue to finance inescapable expenditure, I propose to increase excise duty on diesel and petrol from, 25 cents and 30 cents per litre to 30

³ Private Media in Zimbabwe comprises of 2 prominent dailies circulating in Harare which are the Newsday and the Daily News. On the Weeklies The Standard, The Financial Gazette and The Zimbabwe Independent newspapers are the most prominent circulating in Harare. Unlike the public media in Zimbabwe, the private media is famous for saying it as it is on the ground without fear, favour or prejudice. Whereas the public media in Zimbabwe such as the Herald and The Sunday Mail, owned by the government are notorious for not stating the truth but propaganda which the paranoid ZANU PF government of His Excellence President Robert Mugabe wants to hear. For this reason, many people flock to the private media where editorial policy is balanced reporting.

⁴ SADC is an acronym for Southern African Development Community whose mission is to promote sustainable and equitable Development, economic growth and socio-economic development through efficient productive systems, deeper co-operation and integration, good governance and durable peace and security so that the 14 member regional bloc emerges as a competitive player in international relations and the world economy (Staff Reporter 2014)

cents and 35 cents per litr respectively with effect from September 15, 2014). Government faces a challenge to raise additional revenue to finance non discretionary expenditure and I therefore propose to levy excise duty of 5% on air time for voice and data with effect from September 15, 2014," Honourable Chinamasa said. (Mambo 2014).

Zimbabwe has no social protection nets such as unemployment benefits, old age benefits and disability benefits, which exist only on paper as the broke government does not have the funds to meet such obligations. This is despite the fact that employees pay a portion of their salaries to the National Social Security Authority (NSSA). As its mission, NSSA was constituted and established in terms of the NSSA Act of 1989 and aims at providing social security to protect an individual in life situations or conditions in which his or her livelihood and well being may be threatened, such as those engendered by sickness, workplace injuries, unemployment, invalidity, old age, retirement and death. However NSSA has always been at pains to explain the insignificant pension it pays to pensioners and its failure to carry out its mandate as a social security provider. In an interview in early October 2014, NSSA General Manager James Matiza had said his organization's schemes are employment based and the funds can only be disbursed when one reaches 60 years old.

"Our services are for those who once worked and contributed to this fund," Matiza said, "We pay a minimum of \$60 and a maximum of \$1900 to the pensioners, depending on how much they were being paid when they were still employed," Matiza said, adding "Those who had never worked and had reached a certain age where they are not able to look after themselves can approach Social Welfare Department for assistance"." (Mambo 2014)

Matiza also said NSSA Schemes were based on the principle of social solidarity and pooling of resources and risks involving drawing of savings from periods of employment earnings and good health to provide for periods of unemployment, old age, invalidity and death. About 20% of Zimbabwe's population is economically active and pays taxes to government. It is this same workforce which is underpaid but overtaxed and should at the same time take care of the less privileged in extended families. Despite celebrating the growth of the informal sector which in a way mirrors the country's deindustrialization, government has mechanisms for collecting taxes from this sector. Contrary to the Zimbabwean situation, regional neighbours like South Africa pay a number of grants which in South Arica's case include foster child grant, child support grant, care dependence grant, old age grant and disability grants to mention a few as it seeks to provide social security to its citizens who cannot afford to look after themselves. The

South African government pays an old age grant of R1350 (US\$135) to any person 60 years or older a citizen or permanent resident of South Africa and must be living in South Arica at the time of applying for the grant. (Mambo 2014).

Zimbabwe Youth Forum Director Wellington Zindove, said government was killing an already overburdened employee through over taxation despite the fact that employee has other responsibilities which should be taken care of by government.

"The taxes leave citizens without the opportunity to save and develop themselves and the economy." Zindove said.

"Our natural resources, if responsibly managed, will enable the country to raise enough money to offer society across age groups the elderly, the unemployed, youth from colleges and the differently disabled in our society. It is a shame that this matter is not being debated by the public and political parties do not seem interested in pushing such matters."

Zindove also said that when one adds up all the forms of taxation in the Southern African country, the average Zimbabweans will soon end up paying about half of their income in some form of taxes to finance government expenditure. Local economist Godfrey Kanyenze said the cashless government has always left the task of providing social security to the donor community.

"There has always been a parallel process with government giving the task to the donor community such as the United Nation Children's Fund which has been paying school fees through the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) and other responsibilities," said Kanyenze.

"As government it should lead in providing social security nets to its citizens and make sure the overtaxed employees' burden is catered for especially in the upkeep of the vulnerable people in our society," he said in a move that typifies government's future to meet its social obligations, nearly 10 000 primary school children were forced to drop out of school in August 2014 after government failed to pay its part of BEAM despite the maligned UK government playing its part by availing US10 million to assist the vulnerable pupils." (Mambo 2014).

In black and white there is for you the magnitude of the misery and suffering that the hapless Zimbabwean worker is being forced by circumstances to live through. With a heavy heart from the nerve wrecking experiences exposed in this Paper the tired looking Author has no option but to declare time for the Summary to start the process of wrapping up the stressful discourse in this Paper. So the Summary of the Paper coming your way in just a moment.

SUMMARY III.

Honourable Finance Minister Patrick Chinamasa was adamant that ZIMRA would continue with its infamous scatter gun approach in collecting revenue because he said that without revenue there is no budget (Business Live 2014).

To expose the research findings of the study there is a statement on Literature Review and Research Methodoloav.

According to Bere and Maguchu (2014) the pair argued that heavy taxation on taxpayers already suffering other economic challenges such as the liquidity crisis, among others, was a violation of "human rights".

Mambo (2014) quite rightly argued that tax spikes piled more misery to workers already suffering from other challenges in an economy which was not performing to the people's expectations. The narrative so far had left the Author to conclude as per the title of the Paper that ZIMRA's action in revenue collection was synonymous with a church leader who turns to sexual harassment of his female church congregants.

With the Summary out of the way up next was the Conclusion of the study which is coming your way in just a moment.

IV. Conclusion

Kenkel (1984:342)defines research hypothesis as:

"a statement about the value or a set of values that a parameter or group of parameters can take."

According to the same Kenkel (1984:343)

"The purpose of a research hypothesis testing is to choose between two conflicting research hypotheses about the value of a population parameter. The two conflicting research hypotheses are referred to as the Null Research Hypothesis, denoted Ho and the Alternative Research Hypothesis, The two Research Hypotheses are mutually exclusive so that when one is true the other is false."

Turning to the definition of the Null and Alternative Hypotheses these are:

"The Null Research Hypothesis represents an assumption or statement that has been made about some characteristic (or parameter) of the population being studied. The Alternative Research Hypothesis specifies all possible values of the population parameter that were not specified in the Null Research Hypothesis. (Kenkel 1984:343).

For this study: The ZIMRA scatter gun approach to revenue collection synonymous with sexual harassment (2014) and in accordance with a survey which was carried out under the auspices of the same study here are the two Research Hypotheses. It follows therefore that there will be one Null Research Hypothesis and one Alternative Research Hypothesis as below stated.

The ZIMRA scatter gun approach to revenue collection is not synonymous with sexual harassment.

The ZIMRA scatter gun approach to revenue collection is synonymous with sexual harassment.

Given the overwhelming evidence given elsewhere in this study the overwhelming Conclusion to be adopted for this study is obviously to resoundingly reject the Null Research Hypothesis denoted, Ho as clearly spelt above and resoundingly accept without preconditions whatsoever the Null Research Hypothesis denoted H1 again as clearly spelt above.

With the Conclusion now conveniently out of the way up next are the Recommendations designed to eliminate or reduce the risks so that we do not in Zimbabwe have a ZIMRA with a scatter gun approach to revenue collection which is synonymous with sexual harassment.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

Traditionally, Recommendations are about what we as a people have not done right. What is that, if the Author may ask?

- The genesis of our problem in Zimbabwe tisingarove imbwa takaviga mupingi (meaning without beating about the bush but to hit the nail on the head) are the unattractive investment policies that we have in Zimbabwe compared with our regional peers in the SADC region. Chief among these are the yet to be finalized Fast Track Land Resettlement Programme of 2000 and the Indigenization and Economic Empowerment Law of 2007. Given better investment alternatives in the region such as South Africa, Mozambique and Botswana, to name just a few, no sane investor will take his money to Zimbabwe even if the sun were to rise in the West and set in the East. Zimbabwe is just not competitive enough to last the distance in the race for foreign direct investment in the SADC region.
- And with the intensifying succession and factional wars to succeed His Excellence President Mugabe taking its toll on the comatose economy now in its 14th year of economic meltdown the Author's escapable conclusion is that His Excellence President Mugabe could be riding a hungry tiger at his own peril. It is now as evident as the sun rises in the East and sets in the West that the once lovely pet was now showing its teeth ready to pounce. (Sibanda 2014) Ndambakuudzwa akaonekwa nembonje pahuma (meaning ignore wise counsel at your peril). And all

this happening in our corridors is to the detriment of our economy which has been in limping performance for a long time. Dai Mwari machitipawo tsitsi nenyasha rikave zita regotwe rangu (meaning God please have mercy upon us) (Sibanda 2014).

Thirty four years of uninterrupted rule by one party ZANU PF is a sign the country is now thirsting for change and fresh ideas not to mention a break from the Mugabe dynasty which is all about domination, domination and domination by one family!. Sadza nema veji mazuva ose hazvipe utano (meaning a diet on vegetables alone without change is not good for one's health).

For today the Author will park his bus right here.

With what to be done right now done and conveniently out of the way up next is the key assumption given to reassure the beloved Reader that any word uttered or picture sighted in this Paper had a special meaning.

KEY ASSUMPTION

In presenting this Paper the Author would right from the outset, wish to reassure the beloved Reader for the sake of his/her peace of mind that all the facts and figures as herein contained are stated as they are on the ground, without fear, favour or prejudice.

There is no doubt that from a Christian perspective that it is as obvious as the sun rises in the East and sets in the West that Zimbabwe in particular the clueless ZANU PF are in need of a short prayer which the Author⁵ shall lead that prayer as below. The short prayer is to inform the clueless ZANU PF to do what is right for the generality of the suffering Zimbabwean masses both urban and rural.

THE AUTHOR LEADS IN SHORT PRAYER VII. FOR ZIMBABWE

Mwari makatendeka mwanakomana wenyu kutambudzika pamuchinjiko kuti aponese vanhu vose tiitei kuti isu takziwa zvakaitika izvi pano pasi tigashire ruponeso rwe denga. Kuburikidza naJesu Kristu mwanakomana Wenyu anogara nokutonga nemi naMweya anoyera. Mwari Mumwe narini narini. Ameni.

(meaning O God, who willed that your only begotten son should undergo the cross to save the human race, grant we pray that we, who have known his mystery on earth, may merit the grace of his redemption in heaven. Through our Lord, Jesus Christ, your Son who lives and reigns "with you" in the unity of the Holy Spirit one God, forever and ever. Amen. (Pew paper 2014).

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⁵ The Author, Dr Silas Luthingo Rusvingo is a member of the Church of the Province of Central Africa (CPCA) of the Anglican Avondale Parish, Diocese of Harare, Zimbabwe.



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Parallel Presentation of Positive and Negative Sides of Igbo Culture in *Things Fall Apart*

By Md. Mahbubul Alam

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Abstract- Chinua Achebe's magnum opus *Things Fall Apart* reflects authentic presentation of the Igbo society. Various social, political, economic, religious, psychological and personal issues of the Igbo people have been put forward by the author in this ethnographic novel. Achebe has depicted these issues from the perspective of both an observer and a critic. The ethnographic depiction of the Igbo life indicates that Chinua Achebe has tried to maintain his objective stance in the novel. He is not biased at all. It is evident in his contrastive presentation of the culture and beliefs of the Igbo; in one hand, he presents the constructive and rational side of the Igbo, on the other hand, he highlights their follies and irrational beliefs too. Achebe as an original Igbo expectedly presents the riches and potentialities of the Igbo society. But at the same time he is not uncritical of the limitations of his society where he belongs to. The present study has dealt with Achebe's audacious attempt to present the limitations and follies of Igbo life in *Things Fall Apart*.

Keywords: igbo, objectivity, parallel, duality, multiple voices etc.

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Parallel Presentation of Positive and Negative Sides of Igbo Culture in *Things Fall Apart*

Md. Mahbubul Alam

Abstract- Chinua Achebe's magnum opus Things Fall Apart reflects authentic presentation of the Igbo society. Various social, political, economic, religious, psychological and personal issues of the Igbo people have been put forward by the author in this ethnographic novel. Achebe has depicted these issues from the perspective of both an observer and a critic. The ethnographic depiction of the Igbo life indicates that Chinua Achebe has tried to maintain his objective stance in the novel. He is not biased at all. It is evident in his contrastive presentation of the culture and beliefs of the Igbo; in one hand, he presents the constructive and rational side of the Igbo, on the other hand, he highlights their follies and irrational beliefs too. Achebe as an original Igbo expectedly presents the riches and potentialities of the Igbo society. But at the same time he is not uncritical of the limitations of his society where he belongs to. The present study has dealt with Achebe's audacious attempt to present the limitations and follies of Igbo life in Things Fall Apart.

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I. Introduction

hinua Achebe (1930-2013) is a Nigerian novelist, poet, short-story writer, critical thinker and essayist, and one of the leading intellectual figures in the contemporary pan-African region, as well as the whole world. He is one of the most original literary artists writing in English. Achebe is well known all over the world for having played a germinal role in the founding and developing of African literature. Things Fall Apart is his first novel which "shatters the stereotypical European portraits about the native Africans" (Alam 105). Since the publication of *Things Fall Apart* in 1958, Chinua Achebe has been credited with being the key progenitor of an African literary tradition.

Though Achebe belongs to Igbo culture and tradition, he has not exaggerated the pictures of Igboland in Things Fall Apart. He describes both positive and negative aspects of the Igbo people and provides the pictures of society, religion, politics, economy etc. without any attempt to romanticize or sentimentalize them (Nnoromele 147). Whittaker and Msiska rightly observe that the novel ends with an elegiac tone but Achebe is not uncritical of Igbo culture that he both celebrates and mourns (15). This attitudehelps make the credibility of his being objective in the novel.

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II. DIFFERENT FACETS OF SHOWING Oppositions in Things Fall Apart

In Things Fall Apart Achebe shows that good in the Igbo is not their exclusive identity, rather, bad is not alien to them. There are people who are wicked and try to do harm to others. In the market of Umuike there are thieves who "can steal your cloth from off your waist". Obierika warns Nwankwo against those thieves while selling a goat for the feast in his daughter's marriage. He tells a story that there was once a man who went to sell a goat at the market. He led it on a thick rope which he tied round his wrist. But after a while he looked back and saw that what he led at the end of the tether was not a goat but a heavy log of wood. (80). This simple story tells us a lot. It signifies that Achebe does not partially show us that the Igbo are free from all kinds of vices. Rather, his project is to expose the reality that as human beings the Igbo have merits as well as shortcomings.

Kortenaar asserts that the Igbo's belief in iba, a spiritual disorder, is made doubtable by Achebe when we see a reference to a mosquito buzzing in the ear of Oknokwo in the same chapter which, "by making mosquito and iba contiguous" may make Achebe and his reader know that Ezinma's fever (iba) would be diagnosed as malaria (34). The Igbo strongly believe in the spiritual significance of iba. But ironically Achebe uses the mosquito as the collocation of iba, and intentionally attempts to weaken the Igbo's belief that iba is linked with the world beyond our day to day experience. It is because Achebe knows, as Sengupta says, that African societies have their own contradictions and spiritual crises before the colonial advent. While rewriting African history he does not idealize it. His stance contrasts to the Negritude writers such as Senghor. Lave and others, whose artistic works idealize Africa. (16)

Even Okonkwo, the protagonist, is not without flaws. He may represent Umuofia but he is inflicted with his own follies. He commits suicide and the seeds of his self-destruction are buried "in his desire to be the antithesis of his feminine father" (Strong-Leek 29). Strong-Leek's comment is considerable. Okonkwo always tries to be opposite to his father. Even as a little boy he resented his father's failure and weakness. He is possessed by the fears of his father's contemptible life and shameful death. But Igbo sense of morality does not allow it. That's why Okonkwo is a contradictory character- in one hand, he is the representative figure of Umuofia, and on the other hand, he hates his father. Umuofia is disciplined but Okonkwo is undisciplined. Umuofia is afraid of supernatural power i.e., gods. But Okonkwo is not afraid of the gods. He breaks the Week of Peace intentionally and makes Ezeani, the priest of the earth goddesses, angry. He fears the anger of the priest. But the fear does not make him a religious person rather it makes him go against the rules of religion (Owoyemi 178). Perhaps, this is the reason why Okonkwo maintains that in the novel Okonkwo is both challenger and carrier of chaos (86).

An additional noteworthy occasion in the novel is unmasking *egwugwu* by an *osu*. The *egwugwu* are masked spirits of the ancestors of the Igbo and revered highly. Unmasking an *egwugwu* is a dangerous offence. A converted Christian, originally an outcaste or *osu*, commits this offence and thus the real man behind the mask is discovered. This incident of unmasking an *egwugwu* is a hit upon Igbo spiritual belief. Had Achebe been emotionally biased to the Igbo metaphysics, he might not have referred to such awkward (for the Igbo) incident in the novel.

Things Fall Apart consists of "oppositional structures" (Coker and Coker 21). The Igbo try to lead a life which contains parallel structures in every sector of life, whether the life is material or spiritual. By showing two opposite structure Achebe intends to show that the real structure in Igbo life does not consist of anything absolute, rather, it has contradictions too. For instance, Ezinma takes after her mother, Ekwefi. She grows up in her father's exile and becomes one of the most beautiful girls in Mbanta and is called Crystal of Beauty, as her mother was called in her youth (122). That means the mother and the daughter share parallel relationship- the daughter is equal to the mother. But between Okonkwo and his son Nwoye there is no such parallel relationship. Nwoye is opposite to Okonkwo and similar to his grandfather, Unoka. The Igbo social standard expects that a daughter will follow her mother, and a son will follow his father. In the novel the daughter follows her mother but the son does not follow his father.

Another contrast in the novel is Okonkwo's authoritative relationship with his wives vs. Nwakibie's sound relationship with his wives. Okonkwo controls his wives with heavy hands, and there is no friendship in it. But the case of Nwakibie's family is quite opposite. He maintains a sound relationship with his wives. By using the technique of showing contrasts Achebe tries to expose that he is not partial in presenting the facts of Igbo culture, including family relationship, in *Things Fall Apart*. Igbo thoughts do not possess constant parallel or liner patterns. This fact is successfully manifested by Achebe in the novel.

Igbo society is democratic and Things Fall Apart supports it. But Igbo society is not a classless society; there are underprivileged or subaltern classes in that society. There is the Osu class which is a dehumanized group in Igboland. The Osu are denied their social and cultural rights. Osu caste system is an impediment to social progress. It has become a culture in Igboland. Culture is the important factor in social progress. If discrimination continues no social progress is possible. Gradually the society collapses. (Dike 2002). Ezeala (4) expresses the same view that the Osu caste system is "a cancer of bone marrow, an Igbo endemic disease..." (Cited in Nwagbara et al 142). In Things Fall Apart Achebe shows the osu caste system as one of the obstacles to social unity and advance. Through the osu system Achebe exposes both social unity and fragmentation in Igboland. He is not misleading in this respect. He does not hesitate to unearth the social hole, the *osu* caste, that is a silent curse for the Igbo.

The novel suggests that the discriminatory osu caste system is obviously a social hole where the Igbo themselves fall into. It is the osu who are the first to be converted to Christianity. This makes the missionaries confident. Achebe wants to tell us that since the osu have long been remained underprivileged, deprived of basic human rights and value, and since they now see an opportunity of their fullest human recognition by the missionaries, they avail themselves of the opportunity. They are not responsible for their transformation that brings about disaster in Igboland; it is the eye of social inequality and blindness that is responsible. The osu find an outlet of their long repressed emotions in Christianity. E. Palmer (58) accurately holds up this view and says, "The secret of the new faith's success is precisely that it offers a refuge to all those whom the clan... regard as outcasts" (cited in Owoyemi 180). In Things Fall Apart Achebe considers that negative elements of Igbo culture are equally responsible for the destruction of the Igbo world. "The seeds of the decay are inbuilt. The colonizers just fastened the action." (Aggarwal 221)

Achebe opines that the concept of duality occupies the central place in Igbo thinking. There is an Igbo proverb that whenever something stands, something else will stand beside it. Nothing is absolute. "I am the truth, the way, and the life" would be considered blasphemous or simply absurd. (133). Being an indisputably Igbo proverb it carries within it the content that there is no fixed point in Igbo ethics. There is always duality.

Duality is a very significant issue in *Things Fall Apart*. The text produces multiple voices. Achebe employs a variety of devices, such as proverbs, folktales, rituals and the juxtaposition of characters and episode to provide a double view of the Igbo society of Umuofia and the central character Okonkwo (Basu,

cited in Sentinaro and Chandra 192). "Double view of the Igbo society of Umuofia" as presented in the novel is noteworthy here.

We can consider here Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia. According to Bakhtin the nature of language is multi-layered, which he called heteroglossia. He maintains that the power of the novel originates in the coexistence of, and conflict between, different types of speech: the speech of characters, the speech of narrators, and even the speech of the author. Any language, in Bakhtin's view, stratifies into many voices. Bakhtin asserts that this diversity of voice is the defining characteristic of the novel as a genre. This is hybrid utterance where there is not only a single speaker-the author, for example-but one or more kinds of speech. The juxtaposition of the two different speeches brings with it a contradiction and conflict in belief systems. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heteroglossia). Bakhtin says,

Heteroglossia, once incorporated into the novel (whatever the forms for its incorporation), is another's speech in another's language, serving to express authorial intentions but in a refracted way. Such speech constitutes a special type of doublevoiced discourse. It serves two speakers at the same time and expresses simultaneously two different intentions: the direct intention of the character who is speaking, and the refracted intention of the author. In such discourse there are two voices, two meanings and two expressions. (324)

Two voices. two meanings and expressions, that means, multi-layered voices are very common in Things Fall Apart. By being vulnerable to collapse, authorial voice of the novel leaves nothing that can be accused of conveying subjective ideas or emotion of the author. This is very unique in the novel. Through it we can justify the point that the author is not all in all in the text, and so there is little to think about the possibility of the novel's being spoilt by subjectivity.

We can take the significance of acquiring title among the Igbo as shown in the novel into consideration. Acquiring title is highly desired by the Igbo. It has high social value. A title-holder has to maintain some regulations defined by the society. For instance, an ozo title-holder cannot climb the palm tree. Obirieka has the Ozo title. So he cannot climb the palm tree according to the custom. He is tired of this restriction. We will scrutinize a dialogue between Obierika and Okonkwo about the relative significance of the ozo title in different clans:

- : Sometimes I wish I had not taken the ozo title...In many other clans a man of title is not forbidden to climb the palm tree. (Obierika)
- : In those other clans you speak of, ozo is so low that every beggar takes it.

(Okonkwo)

: In Abame and Aninta the title is worth less than two cowries... (Obirieka) (48)

The dialogue tells a lot about the comparative worth of the ozo title among the Igbo. The ozo titleholders in Umuofia cannot climb the palm tree, but this rule is unknown to many other clans. So, this rule in Igboland is not absolute, its value is relative and depends on various contexts. Interestingly, whereas to the Umuofians taking the ozo title requires vast wealth, in many other clans even a beggar can take it and requires much less price. So, there is double view in the significance of the ozo title. The ozo title stands as highly valuable to the Umuofians, but 'something else', a much less important ozo title, is available in many other parts of Igboland.

We will explain another example taken from the novel. In Obirieka's daughter's marriage there occurs a discussion about settling bride- price in various clans. The discussion goes-

- : But what is good in one place is bad in another place. In Umunso they do not bargain at all, not even with broomsticks. The suitor just goes on bringing bags of cowries until his in-laws tell him to stop. It is a bad custom because it always leads to a quarrel. (Obirieka's brother)
- : All their customs are upside-down. They do not decide bride- price as we do, with sticks. They haggle and bargain as if they were buying a goat or a cow in the market. (Obirieka, about the custom of Abame and Aninta.)
- : The world is large. I have even heard that in some tribes a man's children belong to his wife and her family. (Okonkwo) (51)

The discussion tells us that there is no fixed standard of good or bad, it fluctuates. It has manifold scopes in multiple contexts. No custom is absolute and complete in itself.

Therefore, we can come to the conclusion that Things Fall Apart echoes the Igbo concept of duality as consisted in the proverb mentioned above. In the words of Nichols, "'Things fall apart' and 'the centre cannot hold' not because the centre no longer exists, but because there are now many centers, numerous perspectives..." (9).

III. Conclusion

In Things Fall Apart Achebe has championed the diverse facets, both affirmative and off-putting, of the Igbo psychology in respects of the multiple but collective responses to their socio-cultural life. In his act of championing the pre- modern Igbo society he is free from romantic illusions. He leans towards the Igbo side, but with the eye of inspection and scrutiny. With the microscopic eyes he goes through the ins and outs of the day to day life of the Igbo. The result of this

inspection is that he is successful in bringing to light both examined and unexamined life of the people of Igboland long before the disparaging contact of the Europeans.

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FELLOWS

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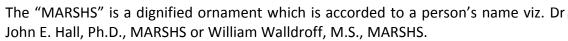
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After nomination of your institution as "Institutional Fellow" and constantly functioning successfully for one year, we can consider giving recognition to your institute to function as Regional/Zonal office on our behalf.

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- 4. Manuscript's Category,
- 5. Structure and Format of Manuscript,
- 6. After Acceptance.

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- (h) Brief Acknowledgements.
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- 11. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it and then finalize it.



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- 26. Go for seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.



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- **27. Refresh your mind after intervals:** Try to give rest to your mind by listening to soft music or by sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory.
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- 29. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, then search its reasons, its benefits, and demerits.
- **30.** Think and then print: When you will go to print your paper, notice that tables are not be split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.
- **31.** Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information, like, I have used MS Excel to draw graph. Do not add irrelevant and inappropriate material. These all will create superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should NEVER take a broad view. Analogy in script is like feathers on a snake. Not at all use a large word when a very small one would be sufficient. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Amplification is a billion times of inferior quality than sarcasm.
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- **33. Report concluded results:** Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. Significant figures and appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibitive. Proofread carefully at final stage. In the end give outline to your arguments. Spot out perspectives of further study of this subject. Justify your conclusion by at the bottom of them with sufficient justifications and examples.
- **34. After conclusion:** Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium though which your research is going to be in print to the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects in your research.

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Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
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A purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people to interpret your effort selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, each section to start on a new page.

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- · Present your points in sound order
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- · Use past tense to describe specific results
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- Fundamental goal
- To the point depiction of the research
- Consequences, including <u>definite statistics</u> if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account quantitative data; results of any numerical analysis should be reported
- Significant conclusions or questions that track from the research(es)

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Approach:

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- Embrace particular materials, and any tools or provisions that are not frequently found in laboratories.
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Approach:

- It is embarrassed or not possible to use vigorous voice when documenting methods with no using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result when script up the methods most authors use third person passive voice.
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What to keep away from

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
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The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Carry on to be to the point, by means of statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently. You must obviously differentiate material that would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matter should not be submitted at all except requested by the instructor.



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Content

- Sum up your conclusion in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
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- Never confuse figures with tables there is a difference.

Approach

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- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

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Topics	Grades		
	А-В	C-D	E-F
Abstract	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring



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