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An Analysis of Japan's Popular Cultural Tourism: Constructing Japan's Self-Image as a Provider of "Unique" Culture

By K. Kaneko
University Independent Researcher, Japan

Abstract - Japan's national identity tends to emphasize cultural values which often describe what Japan and its people are, and in some case, it suggests how they should behave accordingly. This paper analyzes the relations of identity, culture and tourism development in Japan. I argue that the promotion of Japan's tourism is closely linked to the establishment of particular images of itself or how the Japanese see themselves, i.e., self-image. The Japanese government has paid attention to tourism development for the last few years amidst its declining economy. Japanese tourist developers and entrepreneurs have collectively been interested in constructing a Japanese brand, namely "Cool Japan" with emphasis on popular culture. I will examine Japan's soft power through its growing interest in the development of pop cultural tourism. To build tourism all over Japan without delay, the popularity of modern Japanese culture becomes an effective marketing tool for local events, festivals, restaurants and other types of businesses. However, this is also to suggest that Japan's overemphasis on popular culture could lead to the devaluation of the country's tradition and history instead of economic prosperity.

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I. Introduction

This paper will examine the relations of identity, culture and tourism in Japan, and I aim to provide an overview of the recent development of Japanese tourism. This paper pays attention to how Japanese tourism developers and entrepreneurs tend to rely on the attractiveness of Japan's popular (pop) culture in order to develop a different type of tourism, i.e., Japanese popular cultural tourism.

There are good prospects for high growth in tourism development as it creates new infrastructure, investments, services, and employment, while there are likelihoods of social costs and risks to be paid by local individuals and communities in the process (Vanhove, 1997, p. 60-61). Looking at the trend of Japan's tourism development, although there are different types of domestic tourist spots from onsen hot springs in Kyushu to luxurious hotels in Tokyo, many Japanese families and individuals would rather spend their holidays abroad because of the high value of Japanese Yen (Shimakawa et al., 2006, p. 112-114 and 124-125). In 2002, however, the Japanese Prime Minister Jun'ichiro Koizumi at the time explored ways of improving Japanese tourism, arguing that it could play a vital part of the new economic growth strategy (Suzuki, 2008, p. 12 and 15-16z; Shimakawa et al., 2006, p. 116-120). Thus, it was considered as the best time to review Japan's tourism industry, and the Japanese government set a state-led tourist campaign, Yōkoso Japan (Welcome Japan). The plan was interested in attracting both domestic and international tourists.

For this paper, I had the chance to visit Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, and Shiga where many popular tourist spots were concentrated. I have found that some tourist attractions in these prefectures are aimed at developing regional economy, and among these tourist spots, I would particularly like to discuss about Hikone Castle in Shiga. By surveying news reports, travel brochures, and magazine/newspaper articles in both Japanese and English, I have paid attention to how each popular tourist attraction is constructed as well as promoted. I have found that many tourist attractions have been attributed to Japanese pop culture. This analysis of Japanese pop cultural tourism has enhanced my understanding of Japan's soft power, recognizing the underlying relationship between contemporary tourist behavior and tourist development.

From my perspective, the recent promotion of Japan's pop cultural tourism is closely related to the (re)establishment of Japanese self-image or how the Japanese see themselves. For a long time, Japan has presented itself as a "homogeneous" society, even though Japan is home to various minority groups (e.g. Sugimoto 2010, Oguma, 1995). The long lasting popularity of this image of Japan and its people has become a form of symbol for many Japanese leaders, and they often stress it as Japan's "essential" cultural characteristic.

My concern is that the excessive usage of pop culture in tourism development is not necessarily towards a positive direction. The incorporations of pop culture themes are often nothing but cosmetic effects, and they are to maximize entertainment aspects. The Japanese decorate themselves with pop culture such as anime, manga, kawaii (cute) fashion and video games as Japanese "unique" themes to seek additional publicity. Thus, I argue that this type of business practice tends to be overly evaluated. The pop culture themes also overshadow Japan's history for economic

Author : *E-mail : kenjka07@gmail.com*

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prosperity. Tourism should look for long-term sustainable development as opposed to a short-term booming.

a) Japan's Self-Image and Nihonjinron, and Tourism Development

This paper seeks an underlying framework for Japanese-style tourism development or pop cultural tourism. I have particularly paid attention to two key phrases: Japan's self-image and nihonjinron (theories of the Japanese). I argue that the role of the construction of a self-image is to create a way for the Japanese to see themselves, and the function of nihonjinron is to explain why Japan is different from other nations (e.g. Dale, 1986; Yoshino, 1992; 1998; Oguma, 1995; Befu, 1984; 1987; 2001; Sugimoto, 2010). The uniqueness of Japanese society has been described through nihonjinron, a popular literacy genre since the 1970s, although the popularity of the nihonjinron declined some time in the late 1980s. In nihonjinron literature, Japan is often stereotypically described as a "unique" society. Here, I review nihonjinron, discussed by various scholars.

Peter Dale (1986, introduction and p. 21-22) argues that most nihonjinron literature has attempted to "define the specificity of Japanese identity, and range over the whole complex of Japanese historical culture, choosing illustrative materials from classical records, folklore materials, historical chronicles, contemporary news, dictionaries of Japanese usage etc" (1986, Introduction). Thus, Dale suggests that nihonjinron literature, in many ways, is a self-fulfilling prophecy, functioning as a cultural filter with particular and peculiar themes to screen all the mass media before they reach any groups or individuals. Japanese nihonjinron audiences would only see what they expect to see, and the particular and peculiar sides of Japanese society were often highlighted as the reality. Dale (1986, p. 6-7, 9-10, 14-15, 21-22) also acknowledges that nihonjinron consists of trivia, illogical explanations, and misinterpretation, but it has sunk deeply into Japanese society and often imposed a particular way that most Japanese are forced to follow.

Roger Goodman (2005, p. 69-70) also argues that nihonjinron literature aims to build a particular image of the Japanese. There is no difference from what most Western nations did in the past as they constructed an image of themselves in opposition to the East or "Orient" portrayed negatively, as discussed in Edward Said's Orientalism (1979). Japan, in the same way, opposed itself to a negatively stereotyped West in the 1980s. Japanese values were re-evaluated, in a kind of "reverse Orientalism" (e.g. Moeran, 1989). Goodman suggests that the aim of creating a "majority culture" in Japan is to downplay the existence of "minority cultures". In nihonjinron literature, the existence of Japan's minority groups such as the Ainu, Burakumin, Koreans and Okinawans, has been both undermined and marginalized. The aim is to construct Japanese culture as a symbol around in which a shared sense of Japanese-ness could be nurtured.

From my perspective, despite the fact that nihonjinron has eventually lost its popularity, many Japanese, particularly the older ones, are still used to seeing Japan as a nation with unique cultural characteristics as they have experienced Japan's economic expansion. Here, one should note that Japan becomes a popular country after its expanding economic influence around the world in the 1960s. Since then, Japan's global companies such as Toyota, Mitsubishi, or Sony, are not just popular, but they are also considered as alternatives to Western or American counterparts. They have become the icons of postwar Japan, and I suggest that they hold a meaning of post-modernity. Culture in terms of post-modernity is defined as the reconstruction of cultural identity, based on growing respect for individualism over traditionalism (Abercrombie et al, 1994, p. 326-327). The development of modern culture, particularly pop culture within the promotion of Japanese tourism is an important part of rebuilding its postwar national identity. Then, Japanese self-image influences the promotion of Japan as it compels Japanese tourism developers to view, construct and promote Japan as a "unique" country: not only Japanese but also overseas tourists must visit this wonderful country.

In addition, I review the self-image of postwar Japan. Gluck (1993, p. 64-66) argues that the reconstruction of postwar Japan occurred along with the recreation of its national history. When Japan was defeated by the United States and its allies in August 1945, liberal politicians, historians, intellectuals and other popular figures quickly demanded Japan's transformation and supported anti-war movements. They collectively presented different views and thoughts, which eventually became a public memory (Gluck, 1993, p. 70-79). Through this process, the history of Japan was reconstructed in present times. Japan's wartime aggressions were condemned, but they were often diminished as not essentially relevant to postwar Japan. For Japan, its dark war-related past ended in 1945, but for other Asian countries, their bitter war memories and their struggles against Japan remained fresh and relevant (Gluck, 1993, p. 92-94). Many people's view of history was that the Japanese, too, were victims of the war. Thus, the reconstructed history of postwar Japan has tended to work as an ideology, supporting and confirming the rise of a new Japan.

This suggests that many Japanese leaders and other influential figures have emphasized the importance of the building of Japan's self-image, to draw the line between Japan and other countries, especially Western countries. Stereotypical cultural differences between the two sides have often been exaggerated or manipulated for the sake of postwar Japan. Many outside observers, mostly from Western countries, have, too, portrayed Japan as a society that is known to respect cultural values and to possess a strong sense of identity, as a single island state speaking a single language, and with distinctive shared cultural characteristics and social customs (cf. Johnson, 1982, p. 4-8). Japan's economic growth, backed by the effectiveness of the Japanese state, in the 1960s through the 1970s was considered as an Asian "miracle" by their economic standards. Japan may have lost its economic dominance over the world due to the rise of China, but Japan is often recognized by this particular image. Many may not know where Japan is, but they are familiar with Japanese-style unique and efficient products.

Japanese culture could be largely divided into two main types: elite culture and common (popular) culture. The elite culture is traditional Japanese culture that a small number of elites practice such as flower ikebana arrangements, noh and kyōgen plays and koto music (Sugimoto, 2010, p. 249-250). The common culture is what ordinary individuals play. The common culture could be subdivided into three types: mass culture, folk culture (local dances and festivals) and alternative culture (non-mainstream culture including youth culture) (Sugimoto, 2010, p. 250-257, 262-267 and 271-272).

This paper is concerned with mass culture that includes television and radio entertainment, popular press and printed magazines and local-based networks. Manga/anime is a part of the mass culture, which started off as alternative culture, but it has become mass culture by attracting mainstream audiences. Manga/anime has been able to attract all generations, supported by the entertainment media. Sugimoto Yoshio (2010, p. 106-109) suggests that Japan's mass culture is mainly to develop "cultural capitalism" in which many developers focus on creating symbols, providing knowledge and introducing information when they support and sell goods and products.

I also acknowledge that Japanese films and television series have attracted an audience with a hint of Japanese philosophy. The stories of sports superstars, superheroes, samurai warriors and even yakuza gangsters tell the audience how "real" Japanese are supposed to act. With the narrative of Japanese philosophy, the Japanese are supposed to take care of youngsters and elders while sacrificing themselves for the group. Japanese philosophy teaches noble ideals while entertaining in the films. Group harmony and self-sacrifice are also important as the essential characteristics of Japanese culture.

Moreover, I see that journalists, magazine columnists, novelists, and even manga/anime writers could be considered as "spokespersons" for different generations through all types of the mass media. In some case, they could tell what important things are in life as well as "what's in or out" for commercial goods and products. Manga/anime writers could influence an audience through their manga/anime series in both films and television series. In this sense, some popular manga/anime could provide a significant influence around the patterns of their cultural consumer behavior.

Thus, I suggest that Japan's self-image is a significant part of Japan's identity that seeks to unite Japanese individuals for common goals, and in this process, they view themselves as the members of a shared society. This is the primary structure of Japan in which Japanese politicians, business leaders and other powerful figures historically influence others in the nation's development, especially economic growth. In Japan's tourism development, political and business leaders have supported the building of popular self-image, "Cool Japan", with Japanese pop culture such as manga and anime. For commercial expansion, Japanese pop culture has become a marketable tool, attracting the general masses of consumers not only in Japan but also other countries (e.g. Shiraishi, 1997, p. 234-236). I argue that it has become a business model in which the popularity of modern Japanese culture in tourism development works as a type of joint action or social and economic cooperation, engineered by tourism developers, and tourists are "cultural" consumers to embrace it as their shared goal.

Many Japanese tourism developers believe and support the idea of Japan's unique culture and see it as a competitive advantage. Japanese culture, then, stands out above all cultures in the world, becoming a pillar of tourism development; anything seemingly "Japanese" is considered as a potential marketing tool (cf. "Chiikikasseika no tsuyoi mikata," 2009; Aoki, 2010; CrlsKANSAI, 2010; Shimakawa et al., 2006, p. 13-17 and 151-157, 165-175). From my perspective, many tourism developers seek out the development of Japan's unique characteristics and give an impression to the world that Japan is worth a visit.

b) Japanese-Style Tourism: Popular Cultural Tourism

Culture is often considered as the strength of Japan, while being seen as if it can solve economic problems. Many Japanese tourism developers tend to construct tourist attractions around Japanese culture (cf. "Kimono promenade," 2010; "Manga on main street," 2010; "In search of industrial heritage," 2010; Shimakawa et al., 2006).

My observations have come across the establishment of popular cultural tourism in Japan. In recent years, Japanese tourism developers have introduced "yuruchara", pronounced as "yurukyara" (gentle looking mascots or cartoon characters) for local events and festivals as PR characters ("Yurukyara matsuri in hikone," 2010; "Chiikikasseika no tsuyoi mikata," 2009). A cartoon character has been used as a sale representative, symbol, or ambassador for

Japanese companies, political organizations, and social groups before, but yuruchara holds an integral role in tourism development as many Japanese families and individuals look forward to seeing different types of cute and cuddly yuruchara during their holidays ("Miura jun interview," 2009).

For example, Hikone city, Shiga in Japan, owns a yuruchara, called "Hiko-nyan" (a big cat like figure wearing a samurai helmet with a sword in his hand) ("Hiko-nyan kōshiki saito," 2010). Hiko-nyan is a special ambassador for Hikone city promoting tourism by appearing on local events and festivals. Hikone city is a small city in Shiga prefecture located far from populated areas such as Osaka and Kyoto prefectures; thus, most young people have moved out from Hikone city to seek better employment opportunities. Hikone city is also known for tourism business in which Hikone city owns Hikone Castle as one of the oldest castles. It is recognized as a national treasure. The construction of Hikone Castle began in 1604 by the order of Ii Naotsugu, a son of Ii Naomasa who was the member of the Tokugawa clan which ruled Japan during the Edo period (1603-1867). The construction of Hikone Castle was completed in 1622, and since then, the castle has stood still "without major changes" for more than 400 years ("Chikujyō 400 nen sai ni tsuite," 2010). In contrast to the impressive history of Hikone Castle, Hikone city had a hard time attracting a large number of tourists before the introduction of Hiko-nyan in 2007. Hiko-nyan was not only loved by locals, but it became the best PR character in Japan ("Hiko-nyan kōshiki saito," 2010; "Gotōchi yurukyara no motarasu keizai kōka," 2009).

Hiko-nyan appeared on the 400th anniversary in 2007 (Kokuō, Hikone-jyō chikujyō 400 nen sai). Hikone city tourism developers aimed to bring younger adults and families. A human-size Hiko-nyan presented the anniversary of Hikone Castle walking around shopping arcades and museums. It also appeared on the top floor of Hikone Castle and entertained all the visitors. Many children and young adults would wait for an hour to see Hiko-nyan ("Hiko-nyan kōshiki saito," 2010). Throughout the year-long event in 2007, the city estimated that the age groups of 20s and 30s were the two largest groups to visit Hikone city, younger than the other age groups in the previous years ("Gotōchi yurukyara no motarasu keizai kōka," 2009;"Hikone-jyō chikujyō 400 nen sai keizai kōka," 2008). Besides the castle, many visitors looked forward to seeing Hiko-nyan. Hiko-nyan merchandises items such as T-shirts, stuffed animals, key chains, and stationeries, became more popular souvenirs than traditional ones ("Hikone-jyō chikujyō 400 nen sai keizai kōka," 2008). According to Hikone city, approximately 33.8 billion Yen were generated through the year, and 2,872 employments were created for this event. It was equivalent to 5% of Hikone city's GDP. This event was certainly considered as successful, and it was far better than the city had initially expected. Hikone city gave Hiko-nyan all credits for its effort.

The creation of Hiko-nyan has been credited for the economic success of Hikone city by many tourism developers, cultural critics, and news reporters on television, newspapers, and magazines. Hiko-nyan has become a household name in Japan, while the success of Hikone city became a type of business model. Many cities, organizations, companies and community groups have climbed aboard yuruchara's bandwagon (e.g. "Min'na no yurukyara," 2009; "Gotōchi yurukyara no motarasu keizai kōka," 2009; "Chiikikasseika no tsuyoi mikata," 2009). They have created their own yuruchara, and now, Japan has full of mascots. Yuruchara is a PR symbol to differentiate a company from its business competition, and it distinguishes a city from its neighboring city. It has become a type of race to make the cutest and most original yuruchara for business development.

There has also been an attempt to "modernize" Kyoto with pop cultural tourism (Johnston, 2010). Kyoto still holds a historical significance as the capital of Japan and was home to the Japanese Imperial Household from 794 to 1867. This ancient city gives an impression of a historical Japan. But Kyoto is now also home for manga readers. Kyoto International Manga Museum was built in 2006, exhibiting approximately 300,000 manga comic books (as of 2009) and manga related items (Kyoto International Manga Museum, 2010). Visitors might see popular manga authors having an autograph session, and they can also attend a manga writing class to create their original manga (Kyoto Art Festival, 2010). Some visitors even dress like manga characters by "cosplay" (literally, costume play) at the museum (Lee, 2010). A team of tourism developers, Comicon, organizes comic/anime conventions in Osaka and Kyoto to capture the hype of Japanese pop culture. The fans of Japanese pop culture can participate to costume shows while finding rare manga comic books in various cosplay events (Comicon, 2010).

II. Discussion

This paper has reviewed the popular tourist spots as well as tourism-related events. Japan has found a way to revitalize tourism by the incorporation of pop culture. It has been successful as popular cultural tourism and has not only attracted the fans of popular culture but also the mainstream Japanese people. Under this Japanese-style tourism, some Japanese young adults and teenagers go out of their hometown to see yuruchara and anime/manga-related festivals and events. It holds a taste of a theme park like Disneyland as all the visitors feel as if they step away from their daily social routines. Japanese cosplay goes even further as all the visitors dress like they are a part of their favorite anime/manga series. It is a type of comic convention and an effort in generating a surreal experience to all the visitors.

Japanese pop cultural tourism is also supported by Japan's growing industries despite its declining economy; anime/manga entertainment industry, digital industry, video game makers, and fashion retailers are strong parts of pop cultural tourism. Japan's top politicians have also acknowledged the significance of Japanese pop culture such as former Prime Ministers, Koizumi Jun'ichi and Aso Tarō (Aso, 2007, p. 32-34).

However, one of my concerns is that pop cultural tourism is seen as a "quick & easy" solution for poor business planning. It only creates an instant sensation that some Japanese visitors are going to meet cartoon characters or yuruchara with their children. It is difficult to really understand what the relations between the role of yuruchara and its tourist spot are except that the creation of a new yuruchara leads to additional publicity that helps to attract people who are not sure where to go for the next trip. The people of Hikone city seemed happy about their success, and gave all the credits to their yuruchara, but according to the recent data, collected by the officials of Hikone city ("Hiko-nyan kōkamo…," 2012), the number of visitors have declined in the past years. Some Japanese may be tired of seeing similar and childish PR mascots.

The other concern is that pop cultural tourism may cause misunderstandings in famed historical sites. Tourists only wonder as to why Kyoto has to host the International Manga Museum. It may be convenient for them as they can see the traditional and popular culture of Japan, but manga at one of the historical cities seems out of place. Japan's pop-cultural tourism may desensitize historical values there. I have the same feeling for Hiko-nyan at Hikone Castle. Why do adult tourists have to see a life-size stuffed animal at a historical Hikone Castle? The pop cultural tourism may be a dangerous game if not careful as it tarnishes Japanese history and tradition.

III. Conclusion

This paper has examined Japan's popular culture with the development of Japanese cultural tourism. Looking at the complementary relations of culture and national identity, Japanese culture has been the core of the country, determining who the Japanese are and distinguishing Japan from the rest of the world. Japanese pop culture provides a variety of business incentives and attractions in different industries. Japan's tourism has been attributed to pop culture such as cartoon and videogame characters for commercial expansion in both the domestic and global markets. Popular cultural tourism could be considered as a model for a new business style and development.

However, I have found that both the development and the practice of pop cultural tourism tend to be overly evaluated. Tourism should look for long-term sustainable development as opposed to a short-term booming. I feel that the usage of pop culture themes often cross the line as being rather distasteful. Some pop culture themes at historical sites look as if they devalue the dignity of Japan's tradition as opposed to preserving it. The pop culture themes often overshadow Japan's history for economic prosperity. There are always chances that the true value of Japanese culture may be tarnished.

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Covariates of Neonatal and Post-Neonatal Mortality in Bangladesh

By Dr. Abdul Hamid Chowdhury, Prof. Dr. S.M. Shafiqul Islam & Prof. Dr. Abdul Karim
University International Islami Chittagong, Bangladesh

Abstract - This paper investigates covariates of neonatal and post-neonatal mortality in Bangladesh. The study uses the data extracted from the 2007 Bangladesh Demographic and Health Survey (BDHS). Multivariate proportional hazards models are employed to study the determinants of neonatal and post-neonatal mortality. The results show that father's education, place of residence, housing materials, number of children under five years of age, and previous death of sibling have significant influence on neonatal mortality. The findings also indicate that mother's education, toilet facility, number of children under five and breastfeeding have significant effect on post-neonatal mortality in Bangladesh.

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Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of :

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Dr. Abdul Hamid Chowdhury [α], Prof. Dr. S.M. Shafiqul Islam [σ] & Prof. Dr. Abdul Karim [ρ]

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I. Introduction

Neonatal and post-neonatal mortality are important indicators of social and economic development of a nation. Like most developing countries, Bangladesh experienced a decline in neonatal and post-neonatal mortality rates. BDHS data indicate that neonatal mortality rate in Bangladesh has declined from 57 deaths per 1000 live births in 1993 to 37 births in 2007 and post-neonatal mortality rate has declined from 32 deaths per 1000 live births in 1993 to 15 births in 2007. Though neonatal and post-neonatal mortality rates have been decreased remarkably but they are still very high. It is well established by several studies that there is an inverse relationship between socioeconomic variables of the parents and neonatal and post-neonatal mortality (Muhuri, 1995; Forste, 1994; Doctor, 2004; Machado and Hill, 2005). The risk of deaths of infants is closely associated with their mother's characteristics as well as environment in which they live (Rajna et al., 1998). Father's education, mother's education and their work status each has independent significant influence on neonatal and post-neonatal mortality in developing countries (Sandiford et al., 1995 and Forste, 1994). Caldwell (1979) found that maternal education was the most important determinant of neonatal and post-neonatal mortality in Nigeria. Gaise (1980) found neonatal and post-neonatal mortality differentials among geographical and administrative units and subdivisions of population in tropical Africa.

Authors α σ : Department of Business Administration, International Islamic University Chittagong. E-mails : ahamidc@gmail.com, smshafiqul49@yahoo.com
Author ρ : Department of Statistics, University of Chittagong. E-mail : makstatcu@yahoo.com

Maternal factors, which are biological attributes of birth, such as age of mother at child birth, birth order and the preceding birth interval of an index child have significant influence on neonatal and post-neonatal mortality (Forste, 1994). Past studies show a curvilinear relationship between in the maternal age at birth and neonatal and post-neonatal mortality, high risks having infant mortality at very young and old ages (Bhalotra and Van Soest, 2008; Maitra, 2004). Breastfeeding practices have at least three mechanisms by which breastfeeding contribute to infant health and survival. First, it is nutritious. Second, breast provides immunity to infections. Third, breast milk is clean and hygienic since the substances it includes prevent the growth of bacteria (Cabigon, 1997). The objective of this paper is to identify the factors (proximate determinants, such as demographic factors, environmental factors, nutritional factors and health seeking behavior) which influence neonatal and post-neonatal mortality in Bangladesh by using Mosley and Chen Framework (1984). This framework proposes that socioeconomic factors do not directly influence the outcome variable but rather must operate through proximate determinants to affect neonatal and post-neonatal mortality.

II. Data and Methods

The data analyzed in this study have been derived from the Bangladesh Demographic and Health Survey (BDHS) conducted from March to August 2007. The BDHS, 2007 data comprise a total of 6150 births that occurred 5 years preceding the survey. Multiple births are excluded because they experience a higher risk of death linked with their multiplicity, which could distort the results (Curtis et al., 1993). Births happening during the month of interview are also excluded because their disclosure to neonatal is censored. To avoid the violations of the independence assumption, only the last births are included in the analysis. Therefore, this analysis is limited to singleton births, born 1-59 months before the survey. To include the survival status of the older siblings of the analysis, only women who have at least two births are considered. Finally, we have considered 4003 births, which are about 65 percent of total sample for analyzing neonatal and post-neonatal mortality.

The study uses the framework of Mosley and Chen (1984) with modification based on the limitations and structure of the DHS data. Like the Mosley and

Chen (1984) framework, the socio-economic variables affect the outcome (Survival Status) through the four proximate determinants namely, demographic factors, environmental factors, nutritional factors and health seeking behavior factors. The variables included in the framework under five broad heads are as follows:

Socioeconomic Variables : Parental education; socioeconomic status; place of residence; region of residence and religion of respondents.

Demographic Factors : Age of the mother at the time of birth; birth order; birth interval; sex of the child; previous sibling death; and number of children under five years of age.

Environmental Contamination : Source of drinking water; toilet facilities; and housing construction material.

Nutritional Factor : Breastfeeding and body mass index.

Health-seeking Behavior : Prenatal care; place of birth; tetanus injection before birth; and contraceptive use.

The present study has employed Cox's proportional hazards model to assess the effects of selected variables on mortality rates. In this study, neonatal and post-neonatal survival time are considered as dependent variables. Age of dead children is calculated by subtracting date of birth of children from the date of death whereas; age of survived children is computed by subtracting date of birth from date of interview. Numbers of children who are surviving at the time of interview are considered as censored cases because their true duration of surviving could not be followed till death as the survey is retrospective. To evaluate the impact of covariates on different rates of mortality, proportional hazard models are employed to the data separately.

III. Results and Discussion

a) *Covariates of Neonatal Mortality*

Chi-square is used to study the association of independent variables under different broad heads with neonatal mortality. Except religion of the respondents, sex of child, parity, body mass index of mothers, drinking water, toilet facility, and prenatal care, all other variables have shown significant association with neonatal mortality. To examine the effect of explanatory variables on neonatal deaths, five models are fitted to the data considering all the explanatory variables found significant in bivariate analysis. Model-1 is employed to evaluate the effects of socioeconomic variables. After including environmental factors with socioeconomic variables, model-2 is fitted. Again with environmental and socioeconomic factors adding demographic variables, model-3 has been fitted. Finally, including all factors considered in the study framework, model-4 is fitted to the data. As revealed by log likelihood ratios and the associated chi-squares, all the models are found to be statistically significant.

Table 1 presents the proportional hazard estimates of relative risk of selected factors on neonatal mortality of model-1 through model-4. The results of model-1, which includes all socioeconomic variables show that father's education with secondary and above level has an inverse significant effect on neonatal mortality. The hazard of neonatal mortality of babies whose fathers have secondary and higher levels of education is about 60 percent lower as compared to babies whose fathers have no education.

Rural-urban differentials of vital events are pronounced in Bangladesh due to marked variations of opportunities and resources among the citizens. The findings of the hazard analysis of this study show higher neonatal mortality for babies born to the residents of rural areas as compared to those born to residents of urban areas. It shows that relative risk of neonatal mortality for children in rural area is almost 53 percent higher than those in urban areas. It is observed from the results of model-2 that father's education with secondary background and place of residence are still maintaining its significance. Housing material, as an environmental factor has been found to be a significant covariate in influencing neonatal mortality. Improved household environmental conditions play a major role in the decline of childhood mortality. Table 1 shows that babies born to mothers living in houses constructed with tin have 4 folds more likelihood of neonatal mortality than babies born to mothers living in cement constructed houses. It also shows that the risk of neonatal mortality is 3.07 times higher among children whose mothers are living in other low quality materials built houses compared to babies of mothers who are living in houses constructed with cement.

It has been observed from model-3 that fathers with secondary and above level of education, place of residence, and housing materials have their dominance in affecting neonatal mortality. Babies born to mothers within the interval of 25-48 months have 64 percent lower risk of neonatal mortality than those born within 24 months of a previous child.

The results also show that the hazard of neonatal mortality of babies born within the interval of 49 months and above is 40 percent lower as compared to babies born within 2 years. The findings are consistent with those of previous studies. Short preceding birth intervals are associated with an increased risk of dying in the neonatal period and at 1-6 months of age, and to a much lesser extent at 7-23 months of age (Boerma and Bicego, 1992).

Table 1 : Cox's proportional hazard estimates of relative risk of selected factors on neonatal mortality, BDHS, 2007

Factors	Independent variables	Model-1	Model-2	Model-3	Model-4
Socioeconomic	**Maternal Education**				
	No education	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
	Primary	0.892	0.835	0.877	0.782
	Secondary and above	0.814	0.769	0.774	0.772
	Father's Education				
	No education	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
	Primary	0.903	0.894	0.882	0.901
	Secondary and above	0.391***	0.370***	0.406***	0.378**
	Socioeconomic Status				
	Lower	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
	Medium	0.976	0.987	1.041	1.064
	Higher	0.872	0.892	0.992	0.996
	Place of Residence				
	Urban	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
	Rural	1.526*	1.688*	1.679**	1.609*
	Region of Residence				
	Barisal	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
	Chittagong	0.909	0.902	0.763	0.676
	Dhaka	0.795	0.747	0.731	0.692
	Khulna	0.559	0.636	0.728	0.701
	Rajshahi	1.341	1.366	1.396	1.324
	Sylhet	1.590	1.747	1.290	1.036
Environmental	**Housing material**				
	Cement		1.000	1.000	1.000
	Tin		4.000***	3.575***	3.566***
	Others		3.071**	2.802**	2.763**
Demographic	**Preceding birth Interval (in months)**				
	≤24			1.000	1.000
	25-48			0.363***	0.345***
	49 & above			0.600**	0.596**
	Children under five				
	1			1.000	1.000
	2 and above			1.429***	2.430***
	Mother's age (in years)				
	15-19			1.000	1.000
	20-34			0.713	0.717
	35-49			0.689	0.699
	Previous death of sibling				
	No				
	Yes			1.000	1.000
				1.348**	1.697**

Table 1 : contd.

Factors	Independent variables	Model-1	Model-2	Model-3	Model-4
Health care	**Contraceptive Use**				
	0=No				1.000
	1=Yes				0.608**
	Place of Delivery				
	1=Home				1.000
	2=Hospital /other places				0.874
	Tetanus injection before birth				
	0=No				1.000
	1=Yes				0.781
	-2 log likelihood	1694.47	1684.22	1622.30	1613.44

	Chi-square DF Significance	28.875 12 0.004	37.18 14 0.003	114.80 20 0.000	127.29 23 0.003

Note: *** p ‹0.01; ** p ‹0.05; * p ‹0.10.

In a longitudinal study in Bangladesh, Koenig et al. (1990) showed that the effects of short preceding birth intervals were limited to the neonatal period. Retherford et al. (1989) observed an association between short birth intervals (less than 2 years) and increased mortality, even after controlling for other demographic and socioeconomic variables.

More number of children under five years of age of a mother is significantly associated with short birth intervals among children. Hobcraft et al. (1985) showed that short birth intervals increase mortality risks among children. The odds ratios of this study show that babies born to mothers who have more than one children under five years of age have 1.43 times higher risk of neonatal mortality as compared to babies whose mothers have only index child.

Findings of model-3 in Table 1 show that babies born to mothers who experienced previous child death have about 35 percent higher risk as compared to babies of mothers who never experienced a child death earlier. The influence of the survival status of the preceding child on the mortality risk of the index child has been explained in terms of the existence or lack of sibling competition for maternal attention and household resources (Koenig et al., 1990). Das Gupta (1990) found that the probability of a child's death was significantly increased if the child has siblings who died in childhood. She argued that the women who had experienced multiple child deaths were also often less resourceful and differed in use of basic child health care. However, Guo (1993) argued that a family's environment is likely to remain same throughout the time when all children are born and raised.

Model-4 is fitted to investigate the effect of all variables including broad heads of health care, socioeconomic, demographic and environmental factors. It is observed from the results of model-4 of the Table 1 that father's education with secondary and higher background, rural residence, preceding birth interval, number of children under five years of age, previous death of siblings and housing materials still hold their significant role accordingly in the variations of neonatal mortality in Bangladesh.

Contraceptive use may play an important role in reducing neonatal mortality by lengthening duration of birth intervals. The hazard analysis of this study shows that children born to mothers who have ever used contraceptives have lower chances of neonatal mortality compared to babies of mothers who never used any contraceptive methods. The hazard of neonatal mortality of babies of mothers of ever users is about 39 percent lower relative to babies of mothers who are never users.

b) Covariates of Post-Neonatal Mortality

Attempts have been made to investigate the effects of covariates on post-neonatal mortality by employing five proportional hazards models. Table 2 presents proportional hazard estimates of relative risk of selected factors on post-neonatal mortality of model-1 through model-5. Educated mothers are expected to experience lower post-neonatal mortality than illiterate mothers. Education improves the ability to deal with new ideas, and to accept the concepts that appear contrary to common sense. Schooling may lessen reliance on the opinions of elders, giving educated family members the freedom to follow a more independent course in efforts to improve their well-being. Table 2 reveals that secondary and above educated mother have 61 percent lower likelihood of post-neonatal mortality compared to their illiterate counterparts. It is observed from the results of model-2 that mothers with at least secondary level of education play a vital role in bringing down the post-neonatal mortality.

Toilet facility as one of the important environmental factors shows significant effect on post-neonatal mortality. To avoid intestinal infectious diseases and parasitosis, hygienic removal of faeces is important for good health of mothers and child survival (Sixl et al., 1988). Children whose families have no toilet facilities have 4.44 times more likelihood of post-neonatal mortality relative to children residing in houses with flush system.

Proportional hazard model-3 is constructed to investigate the effect of demographic, socioeconomic and environmental factors on post-neonatalmortality in Bangladesh. It can be noted from the Table 2 that the influence of previous birth interval on post-neonatal mortality is significant and follows the same pattern as observed in the case of neonatal mortality.

Table 2 : Cox's proportional hazard estimates of relative risk of selected factors on post-neonatal mortality, BDHS, 2007

Factors	Independent Variables	Model-1	Model-2	Model-3	Model-4	Model-5
Socioeconomic	**Maternal Education**					
	No education	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
	Primary	0.672	0.839	0.846	0.857	0.816
	Secondary & above	0.391^{**}	0.547^{*}	0.537^{*}	0.522^{*}	0.519^{*}
	Father's Education					
	No education	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
	Primary	0.972	0.960	0.978	0.982	0.989
	Secondary & above	0.820	0.849	0.942	0.945	0.941
	Place of Residence					
	Urban	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
	Rural	1.353	1.137	1.019	1.125	1.125
	Region of Residence					
	Barisal	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
	Chittagong	0.688	0.592	0.539	0.466	0.464
	Dhaka	0.644	0.607	0.627	0.598	0.615
	Khulna	0.735	0.701	0.830	0.821	0.819
	Rajshahi	0.465	0.412	0.461	0.480	0.465
	Sylhet	1.812^{*}	1.911^{*}	1.709	1.297	1.288
Environmental	**Drinking Water**					
	River/Pond/Unprotected		1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
	Tubewell/Pipe		0.510	0.503	0.568	0.561
	Toilet Facility					
	Flush		1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
	Pit/Hanging toilet		1.637	1.758	1.796	1.805
	No facility		4.441^{**}	4.598^{**}	4.414^{***}	4.365^{**}
	Housing Material					
	Cement		1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
	Tin		1.023	1.038	1.045	1.027
	Others		1.057	1.066	1.087	1.059
Demographic	**Preceding Birth Interval (in months)**					
	≤24			1.000	1.000	1.000
	25-48			0.391^{***}	0.361^{***}	0.365^{***}
	49 & above			0.503^{**}	0.465^{**}	0.471^{**}
	Children Under Five					
	1			1.000	1.000	1.000
	2 & above			1.815^{**}	1.715^{*}	1.615^{*}
	Previous Death Of Sibling					
	No					
	Yes			1.000	1.000	1.000
				1.606^{**}	1.585	1.506
	Mother's Age (in years)					
	15-19			1.000	1.000	1.000
	20-34			0.908	0.947	0.969
	35-49			1.223	1.298	1.258

Table 2 : contd.

Factors	Independent Variables	Model-1	Model-2	Model-3	Model-4	Model-5
Health care	**Contraceptive Use**					
	0=No				1.000	1.000
	1=Yes				0.438^{***}	0.426^{***}
	Tetanus Injection before Birth					
	0=No				1.000	1.000
	1=Yes				0.962	0.973

Nutritional	**Body Mass Index**					
	≤18.5					1.000
	18.51-24.99					0.923
	25 and above					1.018
	Breastfeeding					
	0=No					1.000
	1=Yes					0.227**
	-2 log likelihood	952.02	937.59	909.78	901.86	899.17
	Chi-square	37.06	55.60	91.24	105.90	111.66
	DF	10	15	21	23	26
	Significance	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000

Note: *** p ‹0.01; ** p ‹0.05; * p ‹0.10.

The hazard of post-neonatal mortality of children born within the birth interval of 25-48 months is 64 percent lower mortality as compared to the babies born within 24 months. Babies born within 4 or more years have about 53 percent lower chances of post-neonatal mortality than children born within 2 years. The U-shaped pattern of previous birth interval and post-neonatal mortality is observed in developing countries. It has been observed that children born within an interval of less than 2 years experienced higher mortality risks during infancy than those born in an interval of two or more years (Winikoff, 1983).

More number of children under five years of age of a mother may increase risk of post-neonatal mortality. The proportional hazard co-efficients show that babies born to mothers who have more than one child under five years of age have about 82 percent higher risk of post-neonatal mortality as compared to children whose mothers have only index child.

The chance of post-neonatal mortality is 1.61 times higher of mothers who have experienced a preceding child death compared to babies of mothers who did not experience a sibling death earlier. The index children whose next older siblings died when they were born have significantly higher risk of post-neonatal mortality than those whose next older siblings survived, because of genetic characteristics, environmental conditions, family behavior and child care practices that affect both children (Zenger, 1993).

Like neonatal mortality, the effect of contraceptive use is found significant in reducing post-neonatal mortality. The results of model-4 indicate that babies born to mothers who have ever used contraceptives have lower likelihood of post-neonatal mortality as compared to babies of mothers who never used contraceptives. The risk of post-neonatal mortality of babies of contraceptive ever users is 56 percent lower relative to their non-user counterparts.

Hazards model-5 is fitted to the data to investigate the effect of all factors considered in the analysis including breastfeeding and body mass index on post-neonatal mortality. The hazard analysis shows a significant negative effect of breastfeeding on post-neonatal mortality. Breastfed children have lower likelihood of post-neonatal mortality compared to children who are not breastfed. The hazard of post-neonatal mortality is found 77 percent lower among the babies who are breastfed than their counterparts. Earlier studies have also documented positive effects of breastfeeding on infants' health (Da Vanzo et al., 1983; Goldberg et al., 1984; Millman, 1985). Van Ginneken (1974) showed that prolonged lactation induced longer postpartum amenorrhea, increasing the likelihood of longer intervals between births. Early cessation of breastfeeding may expose the child to greater risks of illness from contaminated water and food in conditions where proper substitutes of food are scarce (Manda, 1999).

IV. Conclusion

The multivariate proportional hazards models employed in this study show that father's education, place of residence, housing materials, number of children under-five years of age, and previous death of sibling have significant influence on neonatal mortality. The findings also reveal that mother's education, toilet facility, number of children under five, and breastfeeding have significant effect on post-neonatal mortality. Furthermore, contraceptive use and preceding birth interval have highly significant influence on neonatal and post-neonatal mortality. The findings of this analysis do not fully support the hypothesis that socioeconomic factors affect neonatal and post-neonatal mortality only through the proximate determinants as proposed in the framework. However, it has been observed that socioeconomic factors have both their independent and indirect effect in reducing neonatal and post-neonatal mortality in Bangladesh. Moreover, the findings reveal that the proximate determinants have stronger impact on neonatal and post-neonatal mortality than that of the socioeconomic factors.

Hence, on the basis of the results, it can be suggested that the rise in parental education, ensure more civic facilities in vast rural areas, persuasion of mothers for full breastfeeding practices and improvements in the quality of water supply may be important steps to be taken to reduce infant mortality in Bangladesh. The findings also show that neonatal and post-neonatal mortality can significantly be reduced if the interval between births be expanded more than two years. Thus, neonatal and post-neonatal mortality in Bangladesh can be reduced by motivating couples to use modern effective contraceptive methods for spacing purpose.

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Urban Poor Living in Slums: A Case Study of Raipur City in India

By Dr. Sribas Goswami & Prof. Samita Manna
Sidho Kanho Birsha University, India

Abstract - The appearance of slums may be seen as a byproduct in the process of urbanization in a developing country like India. Cities are a part of the fundamental changes in the society leading to socio-economic development and modernization. The cities, irrespective of their size, provide possibilities of varied occupations and collective services, such as health, education, cultural, technological, commercial or industrial services and thus act as focal points of development opportunities. In spite of Raipur's prominent role in the economy of the region, urban population and especially the urban poor face serious problems due to population pressure, deterioration in the physical environment and quality of life. Eventually, the size and spread of slums in this area not only help us to identify that they are not anomalous and pathological phenomena on the urban setting but also a manifestation of urban poverty that is still predominant in the urban economy in India.

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Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of :

Urban Poor Living in Slums: A Case Study of Raipur City in India

Dr. Sribas Goswami [α] & Prof. Samita Manna [σ]

Abstract - The appearance of slums may be seen as a byproduct in the process of urbanization in a developing country like India. Cities are a part of the fundamental changes in the society leading to socio-economic development and modernization. The cities, irrespective of their size, provide possibilities of varied occupations and collective services, such as health, education, cultural, technological, commercial or industrial services and thus act as focal points of development opportunities. In spite of Raipur's prominent role in the economy of the region, urban population and especially the urban poor face serious problems due to population pressure, deterioration in the physical environment and quality of life. Eventually, the size and spread of slums in this area not only help us to identify that they are not anomalous and pathological phenomena on the urban setting but also a manifestation of urban poverty that is still predominant in the urban economy in India.

Land and housing being issues of state concern, India's Central Government's role in improving slums is more important by providing financial resources and establishing legal & administrative framework for undertaking various activities that benefit slum dwellers. In addition, Central Government has also played an important role in channelizing funds and technical assistance received from International and bilateral agencies to the State Government and Municipal Corporation. The strategies and priorities for improving slums are evolving over time and new initiatives are adapted based on the experiences gained by implementing many schemes launched over previous plan periods. The study will focus on how Government helps to enable poor urban residents to take advantage of economic opportunities by equipping them with education, skills, and good health. Government is now working on proper urban development plans together with all the major stakeholders. The paper deals with issues like Human capital improvements, particularly requirement of basic infrastructure and services, such as water, sanitation, solid waste management, land registration, educational and vocational training, access to appropriate basic health care (free or subsidized) and financial support. To improve the lives of people who live in slums and informal settlements requires community empowerment, good local governance, dialogue among all stakeholders and political commitment from the State.

Keywords : slum, urbanization, development.

I. Introduction

A slum is a compact area of overcrowded populations, poorly built congested dwelling condition, unhygienic environment usually with inadequate infrastructure and lacking in proper sanitary and drinking water facilities. Living conditions in slums have a direct impact on people's health. One of the major challenges that face urban planners globally is the proliferation of slums in urban areas and the host of health hazards that they bring along with their wake. However, the prolific spread of slums has been a rampant problem in urban areas worldwide. The living conditions in slums are usually unhygienic and contrary to all norms of planned urban growth. Human development and improvement in the quality of life is the ultimate objective of all planning programmes leading to higher economic and social development. There exists a very strong linkage between attaining economic prosperity and enriching the quality of life, which is reflected in the social indicators of health, longevity, literacy and environmental sustainability. These indicators serve as valuable inputs for developing suitable policy initiatives. In true sense, environment development with progressive transformation of economy and society with its major objectives lie in the satisfaction of human needs and aspirations. Country like India is vast culturally and geographically in which we have 28 states and 7 union territories. Present study is a humble attempt to explore the environmental scenario of Raipur city- capital of Chhattisgarh (A state of India).

The people in slums live under the most deplorable conditions, with little access to effective social and health care services, potable water, sanitation facilities and are therefore more vulnerable to epidemics and developmental challenges. Their low socio-economic status, low level of education and high fertility and mortality- all indicate that they need special attention in terms of public health, family planning and reproductive health programs. However, unfortunately reverse is the case with such segments of slum population. Rapid slummification has caused wide spread of environmental degradation in the city. The government has conceded that despite imposition of regulatory measures, the magnitude of pollution from industrial sources in the city has not shown any appreciable decrease during the last few years. Increase in pollution levels in slum areas is also fuelled by ever-growing traffic.

The movement of large number of rural migrants to the urban areas has far reaching social implications in transforming the nature and character of

Author α : Assistant Professor in Sociology, Serampore College, West Bengal, India. E-mail : sribasgoswami@gmail.com
Author σ : Vice - Chancellor, Sidho Kanho Birsha University, Purulia, West Bengal, India. E-mail : samita.manna@gmail.com

urbanization in India. The migrants move into the city not only physically but also bring along their culture, style of life, values, etc. The new groups are trying to gain access to the city's socio-economic system, often by forming communities of their own, in competition with the old groups of more educated, skilled and affluent urban dwellers who create dichotomies and tensions. The emerging urbanizing society is increasingly becoming a rural-urban environment, both as a way of life and physical form. It must be understood that the rapidly expanding urban environment is not taking shape as a simple projection of the economic and social structure of the past.

Slum in Raipur city mostly developed surrounding the city center, where more affluent citizens, who have moved to the city, have abandoned property taken over by the poor. Although the immediate environment deteriorates because of the crowding, pollution, wealthy, and middle-class families, including those who have fallen on hard times, hangs on to their properties. "The root cause of urban slumming seems to lie not in urban poverty but in urban wealth" (Verma, 2002).

Raipur city and leading forces of development-

- *City Population and Economic Changes*
  - Urban population is increasing rapidly
  - Urban population soon numerically dominant
  - Urban economic activities driving national economics
  - Havoc changes in communication systems
- *Global Economic Factors*
  - Globalization
  - Market liberalization
  - Rapid technological change
  - Localization
- *Global Political Factors*
  - Decentralization
  - Devolution
  - Rise of Governance- moving beyond government
  - Rise of municipal civic leadership

As aforesaid, slum settlements have been in existence from a long time, in the sense that an individual other than the land owner has built houses with or without the consent of the land owner. But they were not illegal 'slum' settlements as we define and categorize them today. The term 'slum' is in fact a more recent western-initiated development. This delineation of such informal or spontaneous settlements as slum settlements represented a growing change in attitude from outright hostility to that of support and protection. Urbanization poses several socio-economic and environmental problems for cities in India and one among them is the rise of slums. In Raipur the following reasons of growth of slums can broadly be summarized namely-

- Land encroachment
- Locational incompatibility
- Unplanned development
- Unauthorized construction
- Temporary/semi-permanent structures
- Absence / inadequacy of basic amenities.

The key question may be asked here is why do people live in slums? Here there are two reasons for this: one is internal to the slums, and the other is external. Internal reasons include, lack of collateral assets; lack of savings and other financial assets; daily wage or low-income jobs (which in many cases are semi-permanent or temporary). External reasons include high cost of land and other housing services; apathy and antipathy on the part of the government to assist them; high acceptable building standards and rules and regulations; loop sided planning and zoning legislation.

II. Objectives of Study

The present study mainly focuses on the several aspects of slum development in Raipur city. The main thrust of this study is to examine various concerns of slums. The following objectives have been framed for the present study. These are follows:

1. To examine the demographic characteristics of slum dwellers.
2. To examine the nature and extent of slum and factors responsible for growth.
3. To evaluate the people's participation in slum improvement programme.
4. To know the living conditions and infrastructural facilities available in the slum areas.
5. To study the health and nutrition level of slum dwellers.
6. To explore the level of general awareness among the residents of slums.
7. To see the various policy measures and programmes initiated by the government.
8. To review the environmental aspects of the city.
9. To identify the problems and constraints of slum development.

a) Selection of Slums

Raipur city has total 154 slums in which 135 slums are declared formally by the government located in various places within the city boundary. Some of these are situated in the heart of the city. It should be noted that out of 135 slums only few are densely populated whereas others are thinly populated. These slums have 22777 dwelling units with total population 1, 59,120. According to the demographic characteristic a list is prepared on the basis of population size and the list is stratified accordingly with two phases namely East and West phase. Two slums from each phase are taken as sample covered with all the components are selected for in-depth survey. During the process of selection of these slums, following factors are taken into consideration: (a) large population with diversified characteristics: (b) they should have been covered with socio-economic programmes. It is found that large slums are mostly situated in the East and the West part of the city. So samples are taken from the highest populated slums from Eastern and Western phase of the city as these four slums have greater opportunity to represent the slum community of Raipur as a whole. In the east Gandhinagar and Moulipara both are big slums in terms of population and size and have 5782 and 4830 population respectively. Both slums have 957 and 878 numbers of families in each. From west part Kushalpur and Kota Basti are highest populated slums which have 6021 and 1037 population respectively. The number of families are 1003 and 166 in each. The data have been collected from secondary and primary sources. The study was conducted in 2012.

b) General Information of Respondents Residing in Slums

According to the information collected from three hundred respondents about their age, four persons belong to 14 years group, 290 persons belong to 15 - 59 years age category and six persons are found to lay the category of 60 years and above.

The sex composition of the respondents is almost same in which male is 52.33% and female is 47.66%.

The caste as a social stratification plays predominant role in our social life specially in India; it helps us to understand the social fabric. In the present study 41.33% people belong to general caste where as 34% belong to SC (Schedule Caste) and 11.66% ST (Schedule Tribe) and 13% belong to OBC (Other Backward Class). Most of the ST people are dwelling here for a long time. Another important aspect of our social life is religion. It has been observed that 63.33% people belong to Hindu religion. 18.66% are the followers of Muslim religion and 8% respondents are Christian. During the field work it is noticed that 8% people have been converted to Christianity from other religion. Rest 10% people belong to other religion such as Sikhism, Jainism etc.

All respondents can speak Hindi fluently and at the same time they know their mother tongue also. 68.33% respondents' mother tongue is Hindi, and 21.66% speak Oriya at home. While communicating within their own community 3.33% respondents speak Telegu. Remaining persons speak other languages like Bengali, Marathi, and Tamil etc (regional languages). Here one remarkable phenomenon is noted that maximum people other than Hindi speaking are residing in these slums from 2nd or 3rd generations. It is very encouraging that 92% people are literate. They can read and write. In the present study it has been observed that 98% respondents are married and 2% respondents are widow. Present study also shows that 65.66% respondents are working or acting as money earner. But 34.34% respondents are not working because their family member earns. 1.66% respondents' monthly income is up to Rs.1000. But 28% respondents earn money in between Rs.1001-Rs. 2000, 17.33% respondents monthly income lie in between Rs.2001-Rs. 5000, where as 19.66% earn more than Rs. 5000.

III. Findings from the Study: Some Facts

a) Environmental Aspects of Slums

Environmental changes may be driven by many factors including economic growth, population growth, urbanization, intensification of agriculture, rising energy use and transportation. Poverty still remains a problem at the root of several environmental problems. Poverty is responsible to be both cause and effect of environmental degradation. The circular link between poverty and environment is an extremely complex phenomenon. Inequality may foster unsustainability because the poor, who depend on natural resources more than the rich, deplete natural resources faster as they have no real prospects of gaining access to other types of resources. Moreover, degraded environment can accelerate the process of impoverishment as the poor depend directly on natural assets.

Protection of the environment has to be a central part of any sustainable inclusive growth strategy. This aspect of development is vital and especially focused on Eleventh Plan (Prepared by Government of India) when consciousness of the dangers of environmental degradation has shown significantly. More recently, the issue draws special importance because of the accumulation of evidence of global warming and the associated atmospheric change that environmental degradation is likely to bring. The phenomenon of rapid urbanization in conjunction with industrialization has resulted in the growth of slums. The growing up of slums occur due to many factors, such as the shortage of developed land for housing, the high prices of land beyond the reach of urban poor, and a large influx of rural migrants to the cities in search of jobs etc. The existence of 'urban slums' is one of the major problems faced by almost all the metropolitan cities throughout the world and Indian cities are no exception. Environmental degradation is a result of the dynamic interplay of socio-economic, institutional and technological activities.

Sources of Solid Waste

IV. Municipal Solid Wastes

The "Municipal Solid Waste" includes commercial and residential wastes generated in municipal or notified areas in either solid or semi-solid form excluding industrial hazardous wastes but including treated bio-medical wastes.

a) Domestic Waste

Daily waste comes from 1,14,819 (2001 Census) houses in Raipur city consisting of household waste, kitchen, house cleaning, old papers, packing, bottles, crockery wares, furnishing materials, garden trimmings, etc.

b) Trade & Commercial Waste

In Raipur city daily it comes from 12,624 units of business premises, shops, offices, markets, departmental stores (paper, packing material, spoiled-/discarded goods), organic, inorganic, chemically reactive and hazardous waste.

c) Institutional Waste

Schools, colleges, hospitals, large hotels and restaurants, markets selling vegetables, fruits, meat, fish, wastes from slaughter houses, food packaging industries, cold storage units, community halls, religious places, etc are the major source of industrial waste. The city is having 400 educational institutions (schools, colleges, etc.) and 420 hotels (restaurants, lodge and guest houses) and 500 hospitals (poly clinics, dispensaries, general hospitals, etc.).

d) Street Sweeping

The city is having 970 km of road length. The main sources of this waste are unconcerned throwing, garbage by walker and vehicular traffic, stray animals, roadside tree leaves, waste from drain cleansing, debris, etc.

e) Debris or Construction Rejects

Frequent digging of roads by various utilities comprising earth, brickbats, stones, wooden logs etc, generates from contemn activities.

Table 1 : Basic Infrastructures in City Slums

Service	Units	Corporation	Other areas
Roads	Km	826	352
Sewer lines Drains	Km	0	0
Storm Water	Km	386	138
Community Latrines	Seat	80	20
Street lights	No	1520	355
Drinking Water Supply Piped Supply	Km	75	112
Drinking Water Supply public stand post	No	110	50

Source, City Development Plan, Raipur City

It must be noted that Ministry of Urban Employment & Poverty Alleviation / Ministry of Housing & Urban Poverty Alleviation has launched a scheme namely Integrated Low Cost Sanitation Scheme (ILCS).

- The scheme envisages conversion of dry latrines into low cost twin pit sanitary latrines and construction of new individual toilets where none exists.
- The scheme has been taken up on a `whole town basis' meaning thereby all sections of population of the town (HIG, MIG, LIG & EWS) are presently covered by the ILCS guidelines.
- The scheme is being operated through the Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) by providing a mix of subsidy from the Central Government and loan from the HUDCO.

f) Health Conditions: Food and Nutrition Level in Slums

Health is a major economic issue for slum residents. The unhealthy physical environment leads to sickness, demanding for continuing medical treatment, which means reduction of workdays and economic loss. Economic loss leads to inability to invest in clean environment. The vicious cycle continues. Treatment at government hospitals is apparently cheaper, but is inconvenient to the slum residents (because of time loss in waiting for the treatment and often, indifferent attitude of the medical staff) instead; they prefer more expensive private treatment.

The growth of slum areas and concentration of the poor people in the slums is a rather depressing aspect of urbanization. Majority of the slum dwellers who live there, belong to lower socio-economic class and have migrated to the city with the hope of better means of livelihood. Having basically low education, skill and work experience, they have no choice in the competitive job market and pick up lowly paid jobs such as construction labourer, domestic servants, casual factory workers and petty trading business. With their meagre income, they are forced to live in slum areas in the most unsanitary and unhygienic conditions, and are carrying out their existence with the barest necessities of life. Even if people have some money, they do not invest it in house improvement, because of its temporary status or illegal occupation of the public lands and constant threat of eviction. Therefore, the housing of the slum dwellers is of lower quality. Poor housing conditions, overcrowded environment, poor sanitation, occupational hazards, group rivalries and clashes, stressful conditions together with lack of open space for children's recreation etc. are detrimental to the health of people in the slums. An overview of women's and children's health status presents a sobering picture. Deaths and illnesses are highest among poor women in the world wide and among women in developing countries particularly (Davis, 1962). In addition to the suffering of women, yet another cause of concern is their almost apathetic attitude towards their own health and its management during illness. Women are found to seek treatment only when their health problem caused great physical discomfort or when it affects their work performance. The situation with respect to women's and children's health in the urban slums is not different; rather their health is neglected the most. Insecurity related to regular income, food, shelter, access to health care and other essential services, along with poverty and difficult physical and social environments, such as exploitation and abuse in the treatment of women, have an adverse impact on the health of the urban poor women.

V. Types and Frequency of Consumption of Food

Quality of food is major concerned for the slum dwellers. Taking nutritious foods and frequency of consumption of foods is important determinate of good health. Poor water and sanitary conditions lead to adverse health outcomes in the households living in the slums. Specially the women and children in the slums are most vulnerable section. So here the study will reveal the actual health scenario by providing fowling data. Protein energy intake is widely low in urban slums. According to experts, protein is one of the key components of proper diet and more than half of Raipur populations suffer from malnutrition. Protein deficiency hinders physical growth of children and their brain development. As milk is expensive, 20 amino acids can be obtained in eggs and 10 of them are important for children. Poultry and eggs are first class sources of protein. A large amount of vegetable protein can be found in some food items like peas, beans, pulses, but 20 amino acids are not available in them (Zannat, 2008).
This study shows that the most frequently consumed food items are generally the potatoes, fresh vegetables, sweets and eggs. Most of these items are both relatively cheap and typical of the slum diet. In contrast, butter, soft drinks, milk and ghee are the least frequently consumed items. These are also relatively expensive and are not considered essential to the diet, particularly among persons with low income. The consumption of fruits, snacks and sweets is very highly significant. All these items are relatively inexpensive and are regularly eaten not only at home but also on every special and auspicious occasion. Moreover, the practice of offering these items to guests or as gifts is prevalent among Chhattisgarhi's regardless of socio-economic status. They are also routinely offered to various Hindu deities and then consumed by the devotees on every religious occasion. Rationing system in slums is not effective.

a) Several aspects of human development in slums

For a very long time, economists have measured well being of societies, economies and people by the yardstick of income. Growth was measured on the basis of economic indicators like per capita income, production and productivity of the economy, and the status of employment. In effect, an economy that produced more goods and services than another was deemed to be better off. Growth was consequently measured by the increase of aggregate income in an economy. In the last few decades, however, this approach has been challenged by a growing perception that 'the objective of human development is not simply to produce more goods and services for material enrichment, but to increase the capabilities of all people to lead full, productive and satisfying lives.' (HDR, Chhattisgarh 2003).

Human Development Reports have asserted that human development is the process of enlargement of people's choices. They have highlighted that there are three essential elements of human development – to enable people to lead long and healthy lives, to access knowledge and education and to possess the resources needed for a reasonable standard of living. Consequently, three areas have been identified as being of primary social concern – health, education and material well-being. The dimensions of development have not been studied systematically for Chhattisgarh so far. The Human Development Report provides the basis for an assessment of its development. Equity (in income, in access to education, in health and gender equity), good governance and sustainable development are a few areas that require urgent attention in the State.
The notion of human wellbeing itself is more broadly conceived to include, not only consumption of goods and services but also the accessibility of all sections of the population, especially the deprived and those who are living below the normative minimal poverty line, to the basic necessities of a productive and socially meaningful life. Such a conceptualization of welfare encompasses individual attainments in areas of education and knowledge; health and longevity; as well as in the quality of overall social and physical environment of people. A specific focus on these aspects of development is necessary, as experience shows that economic prosperity measured in terms of per capita income. It does not always ensure enrichment in quality of life reflected in broader dimensions of well-being like in indicators on longevity, literacy or, for that matter, environmental sustainability. Attainments in

these dimensions of welfare are desirable in themselves; hence, they are socially valued. They are also desirable because of their instrumental value in sustaining the development process and enlarging available opportunities and choices for people. While equality in development outcomes may not be a feasible goal of equity and social justice, such an approach to human wellbeing emphasizes equality in opportunities for all in the process of development. This study demonstrates that socio-economic development, emancipative cultural change and democratization constitute a coherent syndrome of social progress – a syndrome whose common focus has not been properly specified by classical modernization theory. Here this syndrome is specified as 'human development', arguing that its three components have a common focus on broadening human choice. Socio-economic development gives people the objective means of choice by increasing individual resources; rising emancipative values strengthen people's subjective orientation towards choice; and democratization provides legal guarantees of choice by institutionalizing freedom rights. Analysis of data from the World Values Surveys demonstrates that the linkage between individual resources, emancipative values and freedom rights is universal in its presence across nations, regions and cultural zones.

Poor societies, whose citizens suffer from inadequate resources most obviously in India, tend to be dominated by conformity values that reflect constraints on human autonomy. These societies are usually governed by authoritarian regimes. Even if they have a democratic constitution, such formal democracies seldom operate effectively because highly corrupt elites deprive people of their rights (Heller 2000). This chapter covers social security, occupational mobility, provision for weaker section, participation in decision making process, social justice and cultural development of slum dwellers.

Although, India is experiencing significant economic growth, the gap between the rich and the poor is still widening. No obvious benefit can be observed for the poor and under privileged. One of the reasons identified is that the large population of the underprivileged youth residing in urban slums completely lack or have negligible vocational skills, which prevents them from taking advantage of the vast employment opportunities in the cities of India. There is a mismatch between the skilled manpower required and skilled manpower available. Every year, thousands of graduates are churned out but they do not have the specific skill sets that are required by the market. If this trend persists, it will impact the economic growth of the city in the long run.

b) Social security for urban poor

Social Security refers to social programmes that provide set of benefits available from the government or civil society. These meet social needs of the individual against socially recognized conditions like infirmity, unemployment, old age and poverty. These programmes may be contributory or non-contributory in nature. Urban poor are group of individuals who have constraints to opportunities and who are living in absolute or relative poverty in urban areas. Generally the unorganized marginalized groups are socially discriminated from organized counterparts which increase the gap of social security. These marginalized get low wages; their wages are inadequate to meet their families physiological, social and security needs if they are self-employed. Slum dwellers get entangled in the vicious cycle of low education, low skills, high exploitation web and they never get an opportunity to upgrade their skills to secure better jobs in formal sector. They also move from one improvised area to urban slum with no consolidation of their working status and virtually no increment in spite of long association with their employer. This further degrades their standard of living and makes them susceptible to immoral and illegal practices.

Although, Government organizations have passed some acts on social security benefits like 'Minimum Wages Act', 'Maternity Benefit Act', 'Equal Remuneration Act', 'Building and Other Construction Workers Act', 'Workmen's Compensation Act', and 'Contract Labour Act', but they are partially implemented in totality because of ill-informed workers and lack of awareness. The government has passed the 'Unorganized Workers Social Security Bill' which ensures security of the informal sector too, wherein it covers ten social security schemes like pension, maternity insurance, general insurance, welfare scheme for artisans and weavers and health insurance. There is an eager need for unemployment insurance too, which should also include retirement and old age pension and some other fringe benefits. Trade Unions in India have primarily represented the workers of organized sector which comprise a merely eight percent of workforce. The rest of them has labor regulations and are totally unprotected with no social security. In Raipur several urban poverty alleviation programmes are under implementation.

Some Central Government sponsored Programmes are mentioned here.

- Swarna Jayanti Sahari Rozggar Yojna
- National Slum Development Programme
- Balika Samrudhi Yojna
- Special Nutrition Programme
- Individual Latrines- Low Cost Sanitation Programme
- VAMBAY
- Some State Government sponsored Programmes as follows:
- Rajiv Nagar Bata Programme
- Urban Programme for Advancement of Household Income

Global Journal of Human Social Science (C) Volume XIII Issue IV Version I Year 2013

- Rajiv Yuva Sakthi
- Welfare Programme Sponsored by Women, SC, ST Minorities and Other
- Corporations

Some Raipur Municipal Corporation sponsored Programmes are mentioned here.

- Indira Sahara Yojna
- Samajik Pension Yojna
- Briddha Pension Yojna
- Goswara

c) *Amenities Stated for Urban Poor in 11th Five Year Plan (Government of India).*

The Eleventh Plan recognizes slum dwellers, most of who are employed in the informal sector, as important contributors to cities' economy. Even though relocation of slums may sometimes be inevitable, appropriate measures need to be taken to ensure that the slum dwellers, especially women, do not lose access to livelihood opportunities and basic amenities. Today, almost 30–40% of India's urban population lives in slums. Over 62% of this population does not have access to sanitation services and 25% does not have access to water. Since it is generally women who fetch water, they spend much of their time and energy at water pumps, in water queues, or walking to other colonies. The Asian Development Bank (2007) estimates that India's housing shortage is as high as 40 million units, suggesting that more than 200 million people are living in chronically poor housing conditions or on the pavements. In the absence of toilets, poor women are forced to defecate in public places such as railway tracks, parks, open spaces, or even public pavements. Not only do they feel ashamed by this, but it is a serious health and security hazard as they can only use these public spaces in the dark. Thus provision of clean drinking water, toilets, and sanitation in urban slums will be an important challenge for ensuring gender justice in the Eleventh Plan. Women need to participate in public office because they have particular experiences of, and relationships to, the urban environment, and they have proved themselves to be effective agents of change at the city or local level on a range of issues (Beall, 1995).

VI. Conclusion

The rapid growth of urban population poses serious challenges in terms of provision of basic minimum services. Slums are an outcome of an imbalance in urban growth resulting from over-concentration of economic resources in Raipur. The experience of Raipur, Integrated Slum Development Programme (ISD) offers in a way, a vision for slum areas, in which the slums may be considered an integral part of the city and planning. ISD is basically a process of integrating slums into the mainstream of the city. This process itself can connect the natural creative abilities of all city residents and institutions to provide opportunities and viable solutions. It is a process of planning with the slum dwellers themselves.

Slum problems are widespread and multidimensional in nature; therefore they can be solved by comprehensive programmes. Infrastructural development and civic amenities are required adequately. After bifurcation, Raipur's formation as capital has brought qualitative and quantitative changes among the slum dwellers. Environmental degradation is general phenomenon in slum. Therefore, a system has to be evolved whereby the garbage from slums can be collected from each household and placed in the nearest big garbage collection depots or transaction stations, and after that it can be cleaned by municipal services. Improved hygienic conditions with increased awareness on preventive social medicine can reduce the health hazards in slum residents. It is noted that a bulk number slum dwellers don't believe in *casteism, untouchablity*, and *pardah* (superstitions) system. A very few number of residents feel inferiority complex as they reside in substandard living condition compared with the mainstream society. Raipur slum dwellers are still far from standard quality of life. With the growing urbanization and growth in the number of slums and slum population, there is a need for more and more community managed programmes than administration managed programme to improve slum areas. The study has clearly brought out the institutional gap at the community level as also lag in organization and leadership. If the objectives of the government is to make provision for basic human needs, there is need to emphasis and strengthen institutions at the community level in the form of neighborhood committees and to support nongovernmental efforts – either individual or institutional or else. In conclusion, while the problems of urban poverty in poor are enormous, it is perhaps relevant to note that some of the solutions are relatively clear. This is particularly the case in terms of the provision of physical infrastructure and in the area of human capital. The task is to implement; the problem is to overcome the political and economic constraints.

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Desigualdades En El Medio Rural Uruguayo: Algunas Consideraciones Desde Una Perspectiva De Género

By Rossana Vitelli & Victor Borrás
Universidad de la República, Uruguay

Abstract - This article introduces some theoretical reflections about gender and stratification in the Uruguayan countryside. It tries to focus on the overlap and intersection between gender and social classes inequalities. It also shows some data collected from the Continuous Household Survey (*) and the Official National Census that took placed in 2011. The purpose is to analyze the current gender inequalities at the rural areas.

We can find many differences coming from distinct origins: social classes, gender, generations, culture, religion, ethnicity, race, and others. Differences are not something negative by themselves if they enrich cultural diversity. However, the big issue starts when some groups dominates anothers. Our concerns are not differences but inequities: the challenges that some social groups: women, for example, have to deal with to achieve equal opportunities and resources.

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DESIGUALDADES EN EL MEDIO RURAL URUGUAYO ALGUNAS CONSIDERACIONES DESDE UNA PERSPECTIVA DE GNERO

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of :

Desigualdades En El Medio Rural Uruguayo: Algunas Consideraciones Desde Una Perspectiva De Género

Rossana Vitelli [α] & Victor Borrás [σ]

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(*) Both the Census and the Continuous Household Survey, are conducted by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE): an official Institution.

I. Introducción

(Introduction)

Las desigualdades en las sociedades son múltiples, de origen diverso, cruzadas, e interrelacionadas entre sí. Generalmente las teorías que intentan explicarlas desde una única perspectiva o causa no han podido dar cuenta del fenómeno, siendo necesario adoptar una "pluralidad" teórica de enfoques para abordarlas. Las inequidades de género no sólo se suman a las de clase: se potencian entre sí

En este artículo se analiza un colectivo que históricamente ha sido especialmente vulnerado: las mujeres rurales. El trabajo presenta algunas consideraciones de tipo conceptual y teóricas sobre sus condiciones de trabajo, así como reflexiones preliminares sobre estratificación y género utilizando Encuestas Continuas de Hogares y Censos "de Población" y Vivienda. Para el presente estudio se han seleccionado sólo algunas de las formas que adoptan las inequidades de género: se han seleccionado sólo algunas de las formas que adoptan las inequidades de género: se han seleccionado las dimensiones de ingreso, trabajo y educación.

Author α : Dra. en Sociología por la UFRGS, Uruguay. Profesora e Investigadora en el Depto. de Sociología de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales. E-mail : vitellirossana@gmail.com

Author σ : Lic. En Sociología UDELAR, Uruguay, Profesor e Investigador en el Depto. de Sociología de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales. E-mail : victorborrasramos@gmail.com

II. Algunas Revisiones Teóricas Sobre Las Clases Sociales

(A Social Classes Theoretical Review)

La mayoría de las sociedades se caracterizan por contar en su interior con una gran diversidad entre los individuos que las componen. Se podría afirmar que cada "sociedad en particular" contiene un mapa de diferencias y la "sociedad global" no es otra cosa que un gran mosaico de diferencias dentro y entre cada una de esas sociedades particulares. Así es que hay diferencias de clase, de género, generacionales, culturales, religiosas, étnicas, raciales, entre otras. Estas diferencias – de por sí- no son negativas sino enriquecedoras. Lo que sí es motivo de inquietud y estudio es el hecho constatado de que algunos grupos (generalmente mayoritarios y con poder) ejerzan su dominio sobre otros. Lo que preocupa – entonces- no es la diferencia sino la ***inequidad***, y las dificultades para algunos grupos de alcanzar las mismas oportunidades y acceso a los recursos que otros.

Desde la sociología fueron los clásicos quienes comenzaron a elaborar una teoría explicativa para abordar las desigualdades en la sociedad.

Marx y Weber son quienes han dejado una mayor impronta y un legado en la formulación posterior de la teoría referida a las clases. Marx es uno de los teóricos que ha sido más influyente, no sólo por su escuela de pensamiento y sus posteriores relecturas y reelaboraciones, sino por su influencia política. En principio el concepto utilizado por Marx –a diferencia de otras visiones- es el de "clase" para diferenciar los grupos entre sí. En general todos los análisis marxistas coinciden en definir estas clases a partir de su ubicación dentro de las relaciones sociales de producción.

Algo que se debe destacar es que Marx no consideró las desigualdades derivadas del género o la edad, así como tampoco consideró la posibilidad de que la esfera doméstica pudiera constituir un medio de producción. Asimismo, otras formas de dominación como la religiosa, la étnica o entre países no tuvieron lugar en su desarrollo. (Martínez, 2005) Tampoco Weber profundiza en lo que son las desigualdades de género.

Por otra parte, Weber fue igualmente influyente en el pensamiento teórico sobre los distintos grupos sociales. Este autor tiene algunos puntos de contactos con Marx, pero también importantes diferencias.

El punto de partida desde donde Weber inicia el análisis de las desigualdades es el poder. En principio va a distinguir tres planos u órdenes: el económico, el social, y el político. Desde el eje central del poder Weber encuentra que en cada orden existen unos grupos que lo detentan sobre otros: así aparecen las clases en el plano económico, los grupos de status en el orden social, y los partidos en el orden político. En este esquema la clase se define en cuanto a la posición del sujeto dentro del mercado, a la propiedad, la renta y la riqueza. En este sentido –si bien no es idéntica- hay cierto punto de contacto con Marx cuando Weber señala que "las clases son grupos de personas quienes desde el puno de vista de intereses específicos tienen la misma posición económica, lo que determina una clase es primero y sobre todo el interés económico" (Swedberg, citado en Sautu,2011).

Si bien en Europa fueron estas tradiciones teóricas las que se desarrollaron con mayor vigor ramificándose en distintas escuelas; en Estados Unidos fue Parsons quien elaboró su propia teoría y fundó toda una corriente aún predominante en el mundo anglosajón. Desde una concepción radicalmente diferente, la concepción funcionalista de Parsons parte de un concepto de estratificación total de la sociedad, y la principal diferencia con la escuela europea es que para esta corriente son los sujetos en forma individual y no los grupos quienes son ubicados en un "ranking" de acuerdo a la valoración que la sociedad hace de su situación. Como afirma Sautu:

> "*Algunas teorías como la marxista y weberiana definen a las clases como entidades en sí mismas. Cada una conforma una totalidad aunque sea difícil precisar empíricamente los límites o la permeabilidad entre clases adyacentes. En el otro extremo conceptual se presentan las teorías que definen a los estratos, aunque los designen como clase social, como conjuntos que forman un continuo en una concepción gradacional de la estratificación social".* (Sautu,op.cit.)

III. Clases y Género (Social Classes and Gender)

A los efectos de este trabajo, y sin extendernos más en las consideraciones teóricas por exceder los alcances del mismo, se utiliza una concepción que reconoce los aportes tanto de la vertiente marxista, como de la weberiana, dejando de lado –en este caso- las visiones de estratificación Parsonianas.

Para ello se recoge el aporte de Rosalía Martínez cuando afirma que las organizaciones y los mercados dan lugar a relaciones de explotación, generando transferencia y son la matriz de las clases, mientras que los Estados y los grupos familiares dan lugar a relaciones de dominio y privilegios, que da lugar a "categorías". Por su parte, las relaciones de privilegio o dominio dividen a las personas en función de rasgos adscriptivos como el sexo, el género o la ciudadanía natural (Martínez,op.cit.)

La complejidad al abordar las desigualdades de género en el medio rural es que además de las inequidades en razón de su sexo, las mujeres en el campo deben sumar a las anteriores sus condiciones económicas, sociales y de ubicación territorial. Son inequidades "cruzadas" o "interseccionalizadas" que se potencian entre sí.

Es importante destacar que en Uruguay aún mantiene mucho peso la mediana y pequeña producción de tipo familiar, lo que da al estudio de las relaciones de género en el medio rural algunas complejidades y particularidades específicas a esta modalidad de producción. Es así que hay que contemplar por un lado las inequidades provenientes del capital y de las formas asalariadas, y por otro lado las formas de dominio masculinas que se dan en el ámbito donde confluyen actividades domésticas y productivas a la vez.

IV. Ruralidad, Trabajo y Género (Rural World, Work and Gender)

a) Definiendo El Concepto De Ruralidad (Defining a Rural World Concept)

Para poder referirnos a las mujeres rurales, debemos explicar el concepto de ruralidad aquí utilizado. Desde un enfoque sociológico amplio, no podemos utilizar un concepto acotado y rígido de "rural" asociado sólo a lo disperso y a la producción de alimentos. Con una mirada más abarcativa y no tan sectorial se intentan contemplar los procesos de cambio que han vivido las sociedades rurales tanto en Uruguay como en el resto de la región, asociados a la globalización, a los cambios sociales, en la matriz productiva, y migraciones, entre otros. Lo anterior ha llevado a diversos autores a considerar que la ruralidad trasciende lo agropecuario y las nociones restringidas de territorio, manteniendo fuertes vínculos con lo urbano. Desde esta noción el medio rural es entendido como "...el conjunto de regiones o zonas con actividad diversa (...) en la que se asientan pueblos, aldeas, pequeñas ciudades y centros regionales, espacios naturales y cultivados..." (Ceña; citado en: Perez, E. 2001).

Por tanto, adoptando esta mirada, se contemplan tanto a las mujeres que viven en el medio rural disperso, ya sea trabajando en actividades agrarias o en otros sectores, y también a las mujeres que viviendo en pequeños poblados o áreas nucleadas, están vinculadas a lo rural por su actividad.

b) Evolución De La Población

(Evolution of the Rural Population in the Country)

En los últimos 50 años Uruguay ha transitado un proceso sostenido de descenso de la población residente en el medio rural disperso. De acuerdo con los datos censales disponibles, entre el año 1963 y el 2011, el peso relativo de la población rural dispersa disminuyó en 14 puntos porcentuales, pasando de representar el 19,2% al 5,3% del total de uruguayos.

Cuadro 1

Evolución de la población rural en el Urugay		
	Población rural	Porcentaje sobre el total de la población
1963	498.381	19,2
1975	474.073	17
1985	374.154	12,6
1996	291.686	9,2
2011	175.614	5,3
Fuente: elaboración propia a paritr de Censos		

Sin embargo, este descenso en el peso de la población que habita la ruralidad dispersa no implicó una pérdida en la relevancia de la ruralidad para el país, tanto en su dimensión económica, social, política y cultural. Lo que sucedió, fue un "desplazamiento" – tanto de la población como de la "ruralidad"- hacia pequeñas poblaciones y nucleamientos, la mayoría de los cuales no exceden las mil personas.

Esta definición amplia de ruralidad nos permite considerar dentro de nuestra población de estudio, a las resientes en pequeños poblados y ciudades[1]. Asimismo, esta aproximación a ruralidad por territorio será complementada contemplando a las mujeres que, sin importar su lugar de residencia, se ocupen en la rama agropecuaria.

c) Las Mujeres Rurales En El Territorio

(RuralWomen and the Territory)

A continuación se buscará cuantificar la presencia femenina en la ruralidad, utilizando los criterios antes mencionados: las que están insertas en la actividad agropecuaria y las que residen en zonas dispersas o pequeños poblados. En el cuadro 2, se presenta la evolución de la población en la ruralidad dispersa según sexo.

Cuadro 2

Distribución de la población rural por sexo (1963-2011)		
	Hombres	Mujeres
1963	281.453	216.928
	56,40%	43,50%
1975	269.778	204.295
	57,0%	43,0%
1985	216.761	157.393
	58,00%	42,00%
1996	166.196	125.490
	57,00%	43,00%
2011	98758	76856
	56,2%	43,8%
Fuente: Censos respectivos		

Si bien a nivel del país existe una leve mayoría en la cantidad de mujeres con respecto a los hombres[2], históricamente el medio rural ha mostrado un predominio de la población masculina.

El peso relativo de uno y otro sexo en la ruralidad dispersa se ha mantenido estable en los últimos 50 años. En el 2011 de las 175614 personas habitando en la ruralidad dispersa, 76856 eran mujeres. De acuerdo a estos datos, el Índice de Feminidad para el medio rural disperso se ubicó en 78 mujeres por cada 100 varones.

Si por otro lado se considera la población tanto en las zonas dispersas como en las poblaciones nucleadas de hasta 2.000 habitantes, la distribución por sexo se presenta tal como se muestra en el siguiente cuadro:

Cuadro 3

Distribución absoluta y porcentual de la población rural según sexo						
	Hombres		Mujeres		Total	
	%		%		%	TOTALES
Rural dispersa	3,7	98758	2,7	76856	6,4	175614
Nucleada hasta 2 mil habitantes	2,8	92511	2,8	92124	5,6	184635
Total rural	6,5	191269	5,5	168980	12	360249
Fuente: elaboración propia a partir de Censo 2011						

[1]cuando se utilizan los datos de ECH se trabajan con poblaciones de hasta 5.000 habitantes

[2]52% de mujeres y 48% de hombres según el Censo 2011

Como se desprende del cuadro 3, el peso relativo de la población rural total, sumando la ruralidad dispersa y las pequeñas localidades menores de 2000 habitantes, representa el 12% del total del país, componiéndose del 7% de los hombres y del 6% de las mujeres del total de la población del país. Vale destacar que en las pequeñas localidades de hasta 2000 habitantes la distribución por sexo se equipara, registrándose un 50% de varones y un 50% de mujeres. El fenómeno de la masculinización se da fundamentalmente en las zonas dispersas.

d) Las Mujeres Analizadas Por Rama De Actividad Rural

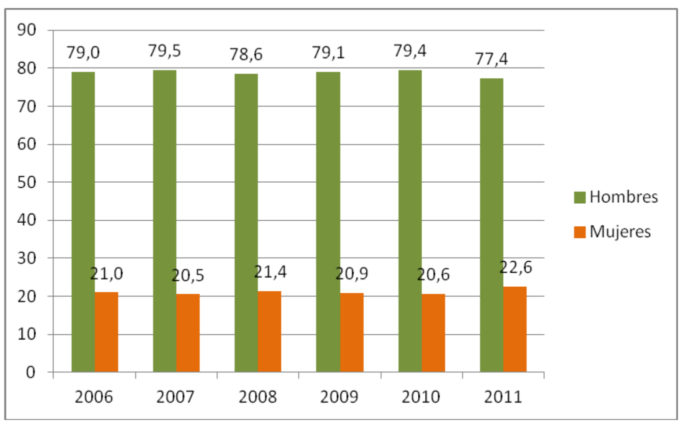
(Women Analyzed By Branch of Rural Activity)

Para estimar la participación de las mujeres en la actividad agropecuaria se utilizarán los datos de las Encuestas Continuas de Hogares.

El peso de activos agropecuarios dentro del total de la población económicamente activa se ha ubicado en los últimos seis años en algo más del 10%, que representarían unas 181.000 personas según los desempeño se da en contextos de equidad y/o ese total, 77% son varones y un 23% mujeres. Tal como se verá después, existen subregistros para la medición del trabajo femenino rural, aunque se puede – de todos modos- confirmar una tendencia de que el mismo ha crecido en los últimos años.

Grafico 1

PEA agropecuaria según sexo 2006-2011 (en %)



Fuente : Elaboración propia en base a ENHA 2006 y ECHs 2007-2011

En el cuadro siguiente, se presenta la evolución de la población económicamente activa según sexo y sector económico, para población rural dispersa y residente en pequeñas localidades.

Cuadro 4

Porcentaje de personas activas en actividades agropecuarias y no agropecuarias según sexo en localidades menores de 5 mil habitantes y ruralidad dispersa.				
	2006		2011	
	Hombres	Mujeres	Hombres	Mujeres
Pea agropecuaria	54,6	30,4	56,7	32,9
Pea no agropecuaria	45,4	69,6	43,3	67,1

Como se desprende del cuadro anterior, si se considera la PEA agropecuaria en poblaciones de hasta 5000 habitantes, se confirma un aumento leve de la participación femenina en el mercado de trabajo en el sector agropecuario.

V. La Dimensión Territorial y el Vínculo Con el Empleo En Las Mujeres Rurales

(Territorial Perspectives and Rural Women's Jobs)

a) Trabajo y empleo

(Work and Job)

Desde la teoría e investigaciones realizadas con perspectiva de género[3]se ha insistido en la importancia que adquiere el concepto de "trabajo" para los estudios sobre la condición de las mujeres. El mismo es clave ya que explica –en gran medida- las inequidades de género más evidentes.

i. La primera consideración al respecto es la de señalar que una profunda mala comprensión conceptual del "trabajo", desde una mirada unilateral y economicista asociado este término al de "empleo remunerado", siendo por tanto asimilado al "mercado". Por tanto todo el trabajo realizado por las mujeres en sus hogares y en los predios es invisibilizado por no ser remunerado.
ii. La segunda consideración tiene que ver con un fenómeno que se da en los predios familiares y en la agricultura de tipo familiar. En estos casos existe una superposición de las esferas productiva y reproductiva. Las actividades que se realizan en una misma órbita o espacio pueden ser funciones domésticas o de reproducción, pueden ser totalmente productivas, o finalmente pueden ser tareas que corresponden a las dos esferas. Por ejemplo la mujer que cocina para su familia pero a la vez, guarda parte del alimento para algún empleado temporal o para venderlo.

Estas dos razones son parte de la explicación de los importantes subregistros encontrados en las cifras oficiales sobre trabajo y empleo, aparte del uso de instrumentos de medición que al no contemplar lo anterior, resultan ineficientes. Las formas convencionales de medir la PEA y el empleo, así como los formularios aplicados no logran salvar esta dificultad. Por otro lado, las propias productoras no reconocen que muchas de sus tareas sean "trabajo", sino que consideran que son funciones de colaboración propias de las mujeres. En consecuencia debemos ser conscientes de que trabajamos con información que nos aproxima pero no refleja fielmente la "carga global de trabajo"[4] que asumen las mujeres en el medio rural. Dentro de esta carga global de trajo se incluyen las tareas de los cuidados, las domésticas y las de reproducción. Estas actividades son esenciales para que se puedan llevar a cabo las tareas reproductivas y la reproducción social en el campo.

Para culminar este breve dimensionamiento de las mujeres rurales en el Uruguay se analiza la combinación de la dimensión territorial y la participación en el mercado de empleo. Ambas serán objeto de análisis específicos orientados a dimensionar desigualdades en la próxima sección.

b) La Participación De Las Mujeres Rurales En El Mercado De Trabajo

(Participation of Rural Women Inside Labour's Market)

Históricamente el trabajo de las mujeres en general y de las mujeres rurales en particular ha sido invisibilizado por las distintas sociedades en función de lo afirmado antes. Este fenómeno no ha escapado a los registros estadísticos oficiales, los que no siempre han podido reflejar fielmente la participación de las mujeres en la economía rural. Sin embargo, a pesar esa subvaloración acerca de la participación femenina en el mercado, es posible concluir que el peso relativo de las mujeres en el trabajo y la economía es alto, habiendo crecido rápidamente en las últimas cuatro décadas.[5]

Algunas investigaciones y estudios recientes han logrado visibilizar y dimensionar la contribución de las mujeres a la economía y el desarrollo rural. En las diversas formas de participación de las mujeres, es posible identificar claramente prácticas gerenciales, de administración y organización de las tareas de producción y reproducción de las unidades familiares y su participación directa en las actividades agropecuarias (Banuett, 1999).

A continuación se intentará analizar la participación de las mujeres rurales uruguayas en el mercado de trabajo buscando establecer si su desempeño se da en contextos de equidad y/o desigualdad.

[3] Ver Chiappe,2002;Vitelli,2005

[4] Ver Batthyány, 2012

[5]Ver Chiappe,2002;Vitelli,2005

Global Journal of Human Social Science (C) Volume XIII Issue IV Version I Year 2013

Cuadro 5 : Condición De Actividad

Población de 14 años y más según sexo en localidades de hasta 5 mil habitantes y zonas dispersas

	Hombres %	Mujeres %
Ocupado	75,9	44,2
Desocupado	1,6	3,6
Inactivo. Quehaceres del hogar	0,6	19,7
Estudiante	5,7	8,9
Rentista	0,1	0,7
Pensionista	2,2	6,3
Jubilado	12,2	14,0
Otro inactivo	1,6	2,6
Total	100	100

Fuente : Encuesta Continua de Hogares 2011

El primer punto a destacar que surge del cuadro anterior, es que el porcentaje de desocupadas mujeres es más del doble que el de los hombres. Si bien a nivel general en el país, la desocupación rural es baja comparada a la urbana, el hecho de que proporcionalmente sean más las mujeres que buscan trabajo y no lo encuentran, es un indicador claro de desventaja para la población femenina en este medio en comparación a la masculina.

Otro factor que se destaca para las mujeres rurales es el peso que toma la categoría "realiza quehaceres del hogar" que llega al 20%, es decir: una de cada cinco mujeres se encuentra en esta situación. Mientras tanto tan sólo el 0,6% de los hombres se registra en esta condición. Esto, además de confirmar lo dicho antes: que las mujeres rurales son responsables del trabajo doméstico, deja planteada al menos una gran cuestión: ¿son éstas mujeres efectivamente económicamente inactivas o participan en tareas económicas y productivas que no se reconocen como tal? Desde los estudios rurales con perspectiva de género ha quedado demostrado que una limitación importante de las estadísticas nacionales en la región es la de subvalorar la participación económica de las mujeres rurales. Esta situación influye en la construcción social de cómo se valorizan y asignan las tareas tanto a hombres como a mujeres. (Osorio, 2011, Vitelli, 2005)

Si nos detenemos en los rubros en los que trabaja la población femenina que reside tanto en zonas rurales dispersas como nucleadas de hasta 5.000 personas, parece de relevancia examinar en qué sector de actividad se encuentran.

Cuadro 6

Distribución de las mujeres rurales ocupadas según rama de actividad

	Rural Disperso		Rural nucleado		Total rural	
	Porcentaje	Absoluto	Porcentaje	Absoluto	Porcentaje	Absoluto
Actividad agropecuaria	46.7%	25148	7.1%	2291	31.9	27439
Actividad no agropecuaria	53.3%	28665	92.9%	29901	68.1	58566
Total	100.0%	53813	100.0%	32192	100.0%	86005

Fuente: ECH 2011

Como se puede observar, la participación femenina dentro del total de población activa en el medio rural es alta. En el sector agropecuario representa el 32% en el total, mientras que para el resto de la economía se ubica en el 68%.

Sin embargo, para poder examinar en profundidad la situación de estas mujeres integrantes de la PEA - porque han declarado que "trabajan" o "buscaban hacerlo"- es relevante analizar en qué condición de actividad se encuentran. Como se verá a continuación, el pertenecer a una categoría o a otra implica muchas situaciones diversas y tiene muchas consecuencias a nivel de género.

Cuadro 7

Categoría de ocupación principal de ocupados según sexo en la ruralidad				
	2006		2011	
	Hombres	Mujeres	Hombres	Mujeres
Asalariado	61,0%	58,8%	56,5%	55,2%
Patrón	9,3%	4,4%	9,9%	7,0%
Cuenta propia	26,9%	22,4%	31,7%	29,1%
Miembro del hogar no remunerado	2,6%	13,7%	1,6%	8,6%
Otros	0,2%	0,7%	0,2%	0,2%

Fuente: Encuestas Continuas de Hogares 2006 2011

Lo primero que se debe señalar es el alto porcentaje de mujeres relevadas como "miembros del hogar no remunerados". Estas personas realizan actividades económicas pero no perciben ingresos. En el medio rural se trata de productoras familiares que trabajan en el predio sin recibir por ello una retribución económica. Socialmente es generalizado el concepto de que "ayudan" a sus esposos. Si bien este porcentaje baja entre 2006 y 2011, su peso sigue siendo alto, alcanzando el 8,6%, mostrando el mayor desequilibrio entre los sexos de todas las categorías.

VI. Las Desigualdades Sociales en el Medio Rural Del País

(Social Inequalities in Rural Areas at the Country)

Una de las dimensiones más importantes para medir desigualdades es el ingreso. Con la advertencia de que cuando se trabaja con promedios se encuentran dispersiones importantes, de todos modos este es un indicador válido que revela y nos ayuda a mostrar cómo se establece una brecha importante de género en esta dimensión.

Cuadro 8

Ingresos promedio por persona por cualquier concepto según sexo y región*						
	2006			2012		
	Pob.< 5 mil	ural dispers	Total rural	Pob.< 5 mil	ural dispers	Total rural
Hombre	4483	6202	5364	11176	12633	11727
Mujer	2297	2066	2188	6261	5676	6059
Brecha	51,2	33,3	40,8	56,0	44,9	51,7

Fuente: ECH 2006 y 2012

*En $ uruguayos. Conversión aproximada - abril 2013 1 U$S= 20$uruguayos

Como se observa en el cuadro anterior, si se considera la población total de las zonas rurales, los ingresos promedios de las mujeres representan en el año 2006 un 33% del ingreso masculino en las zonas dispersas y un 40% en el total rural. Esta situación comenzó a mejorar a partir de una nueva administración de gobierno -que a partir del 2005 implementó una serie de medidas sociales a partir de las cuales las mencionado la pobreza se redujo en términos generales en todo el país, y que el medio rural fue uno de los más beneficiados[6] debido al crecimiento de la producción agropecuaria y al aumento de precios de los alimentos a nivel internacional. Algunas políticas específicas de transferencias implementadas por el Estado, como el del pago de asignaciones familiares por los hijos, y que es cobrado por las madres, pudo haber colaborado en la disminución de la brecha en los ingresos. Esto lo sugiere el hecho de que –como muestra el mismo cuadro - para el año 2012 el ingreso promedio femenino representa un 56% del masculino en poblaciones de hasta 5000 habitantes y un 52% en la población total rural.

No obstante lo anterior es relevante señalar que si bien la situación general de las personas ha mejorado, la brecha de género se mantiene. Esto se puede concluir si se observan ahora sólo las personas que trabajan. En este caso se refleja la situación diferencial de las mujeres que –considerados sólo sus ingresos por actividad laboral sin sumar otro tipo de prestaciones- están con una brecha mayor con respecto a los hombres.

Como se muestra en el siguiente cuadro, si bien la situación ha mejorado con respecto al año 2006, el ingreso promedio de las mujeres ocupadas representa el 57% de los ingresos masculinos en las zonas dispersas y el 58% si se considera el total rural.

[6] Ver INE, 2012

Global Journal of Human Social Science (C) Volume XIII Issue IV Version I Year 2013

Por otro lado, para mejorar la estimación de la brecha de género existente en los ingresos, se utilizó la mediana o sea el valor central por donde se ubica la mitad de los resultados que están por debajo y la mitad que está por encima de esa cifra. Este cálculo permite evitar la dispersión que puede ocurrir en el caso de promediar los ingresos. En los siguientes cuadros se presenta este cálculo mostrado en "valor hora de trabajo" en pesos uruguayos.

CUADRO 9

Ingresos por persona. Promedio de los ocupados según sexo y región

	2006			2011		
	< 5 mil	ural dispers	Total rural	< 5 mil	ural dispers	Total rural
Hombre	7096	8921	8130	13864	15895	15240
Mujer	4690	4163	4417	8376	9051	8807
Brecha	66,1	46,7	54,3	60,4	56,9	57,8

Fuente: ECH 2006 y 2011

Cuadro 10

Mediana de ingresos y brecha de ingresos por hora de trabajo entre hombres y mujeres ocupados en el sector agropecuario

	PEA AGROPECUARIA	PEA NO AGROPECUARIA
Mediana de ingresos por hora en hombres	$56	$77,8
Mediana de ingresos por hora en mujeres	$41,3	$69,9
Brecha según mediana	73,8	89,8

Fuente: ECH 2011

Como surge del cuadro 9, en el sector agropecuario la "brecha" o distancia del salario pagado por hora entre hombres y mujeres es del 74%, mientras que en el resto de la economía esta brecha se ubica en el 90%.

Si ahora se compara el salario por hora entre el medio rural y urbano los valores se ubican tal como muestra el siguiente cuadro:

Cuadro 11

Brecha de ingresos por hora de trabajo entre hombres y mujeres ocupadas en el medio rural

	Rural	Urbano
Mediana de ingresos por hora en hombres	$59,9	$77,5
Mediana de ingresos por hora en mujeres	$46,4	$70,3
Brecha según mediana	77,5	90,7

Fuente: ECH 2011

De lo anterior surge algo bastante revelador, las mujeres rurales no sólo tienen una brecha de género importante en sus salarios, sino que si vemos su situación en relación a las mujeres urbanas, también se encuentra una disparidad enorme. El valor de la hora pagada a las mujeres rurales es un 34% menos que el que reciben las mujeres en las ciudades. Mientras tanto la brecha entre sexos se mantiene en el medio rural representando el 78%. Como síntesis de estos dos cuadros, surge que la mujer en el medio rural está sufriendo una discriminación en su remuneración en virtud de su sexo, pero también está en cierta forma discriminada en cuanto a su condición de "rural", estando en peor situación que las mujeres urbanas.

VII. El Componente de la Educación en el Medio rural

(Educational Components at Rural Areas)

Para realizar un diagnóstico más amplio de la situación "de clase" de la población rural -y para no caer en un excesivo enfoque economicista - es fundamental también considerar la variable educativa. En Uruguay, históricamente, desde la reforma Vareliana[7] la educación primaria se extendió por todo el país, por lo que tradicionalmente los niños de las áreas rurales tenían posibilidad de educarse. No obstante lo anterior, en la práctica, - y muchas veces ante la ocurrencia de crisis económicas y su impacto en las familias de los pequeños productores- los niños han debido desertar del sistema educativo, ya sea por períodos en los que trabajan con sus familias en el predio, o definitivamente abandonando la escuela. Para la cultura predominante en el medio rural del país, el trabajo de estos niños es considerado –al igual que el de la mujer- una ayuda necesaria.

Desde hace un par de décadas, el crecimiento económico del país, junto a una batería de políticas implementadas por una nueva administración de gobierno, ha permitido nuevamente mejorar el acceso de la población rural a la educación primaria. Sumado a lo anterior, las políticas implementadas por la empresa estatal de comunicaciones[8] que dio mayor accesibilidad a internet en las áreas rurales, y el "Plan Ceibal"[9] han generado impactos importantes en cuanto al acceso a la información y educación, no sólo de los niños, sino también de sus familias. Considerando que la educación es una puerta y una vía que debería permitir mejorar la situación y las condiciones de vida de las personas, en este contexto nos interesa saber qué sucede en términos de género con esta variable.

Cuadro 12

Máximo nivel educativo alcanzado por población de 25 años y más según sexo				
	Localidades menores de 2 mil habitantes y ruralidad dispersa %		Población urbana >2 mil habitantes %	
	Hombres	Mujeres	Hombres	Mujeres
Primaria	60	55	32,3	32,6
Secundaria, 1º.nivel	19,1	17,3	23,7	18,7
Secundaria, 2ºnivel	10,1	14,1	19,6	20,6
Educación técnica	3,3	1,9	6,5	4
Terciaria	5,3	9,5	16,9	22,8
Nunca asistió	2,2	2,2	1	1,3

Fuente: Censo 2011

Una primera consideración, es que la población que sólo realizó la primaria o nunca asistió a la escuela en las zonas rurales más que duplica en términos generales a la del resto que viven en ciudades. Si bien no se presentan acá los datos, se puede comprobar que básicamente quienes nunca asistieron a la escuela es la población de mayor edad.[10] Como contrapartida quienes finalizan la enseñanza secundaria es aproximadamente el doble en el medio urbano que en el rural. No extraña, por tanto, que la población que finalizó la enseñanza terciaria casi se triplique en las ciudades.

En este tema es importante subrayar que –si bien el porcentaje general no es muy alto- en términos de comparación entre los sexos, el nivel educativo de las mujeres en el medio rural es más elevado que el de los hombres. Tal como se observa en el cuadro anterior, la población femenina rural que ha finalizado el bachillerato o estudios terciarios es superior que la masculina.

Esto se explica –en parte- porque las mujeres tienen menores oportunidades de trabajo en sus localidades y suelen continuar los estudios más que los hombres. Esto que debería reflejarse en una mejor situación en general para ellas, tal como se vio en el apartado anterior no es así, ya que las mujeres están sobrecalificadas y trabajan en empleos con bajos salarios.

VIII. A Modo de Reflexiones Finales (Final Thoughts)

Como síntesis, y a modo de presentar algunas reflexiones parece importante destacar y volver a algunos puntos que se desprenden del análisis presentado en este trabajo.

[7] Se conoce como Reforma Vareliana a la obra de reforma de la enseñanza primaria realizada por José Pedro Varela en 1876 en nuestro país.

[8] Antel

[9] "Una computadora por niño". Programa oficial que implicó el otorgamiento gratuito de notebooks a todos los niños que concurren a las escuelas públicas y que se extendió posteriormente a algunos colegios privados.

Las mujeres en la ruralidad, vinculadas a la misma ya sea por trabajar en este sector de la economía o por vivir en el campo y en pequeñas poblaciones se encuentran en una situación de desventaja social en referencia a los hombres, así como también con respecto a las mujeres urbanas. Más allá de las consideraciones de tipo teórico, y dejando de lado otros eventuales indicadores, seleccionadas las variables de empleo, ingresos y educación, la información recogida por las estadísticas oficiales –aún con subregistros- indica que:

- ✓ las mujeres en el medio rural tienen más alto nivel educativo
- ✓ no obstante esto, en lo que hace a la esfera económica y del trabajo, tienen más dificultades para conseguir empleo, y perciben menores ingresos
- ✓ vinculado al punto anterior, tienen un mayor peso en el renglón que mide a los trabajadores familiares sin remuneración.

En términos generales se podría afirmar que la situación de la población femenina rural en el país ha mejorado con respecto a su situación antes del año 2005. A partir de entonces, las condiciones favorables del agro uruguayo y algunas políticas sociales específicas de reducción de la pobreza a nivel general, incidieron en esta mejora. No obstante lo anterior, en términos de género, la brecha aún se mantiene. Parece entonces confirmarse que -a las desigualdades propias de la clase- las mujeres rurales deben sumar las inequidades de género.

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Microfinance as a Mechanism for Women Empowerment: A Case Study of Techiman Municipality in Ghana

By Romanus D. Dinye & Irene Nora Dinye
University of Science and Technology, Ghana

Abstract - This paper seeks to make an informed contribution to the ensuing debate on the real significance of microfinance as a strategic instrument for poverty reduction with particular reference to the empowerment of women in developing countries. Most women in these countries are faced with certain challenges which hinder the realisation of their full potential of capabilities. After a review of pertinent literature on microfinance and women empowerment, inferences are drawn for subsequent conclusion from a case study of women involved in the operations of the Opportunity International Savings and Loans Limited (OISL), a microfinance institution in the Techiman Municipality in Ghana. A census survey of the target group was intended but the practical realities of capture covered a high of 90 out of the total of 116 women beneficiaries representing a coverage of 77 percent at confidence level of 95 percent with an acceptable 0.05 margin of error.

Keywords : *development, microfinance, poverty reduction, women empowerment.*

GJHSS-C Classification : *FOR Code: 160899*

MICROFINANCE AS A MECHANISM FOR WOMEN EMPOWERMENT A CASE STUDY OF TECHIMAN MUNICIPALITY IN GHANA

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of :

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Abstract - This paper seeks to make an informed contribution to the ensuing debate on the real significance of microfinance as a strategic instrument for poverty reduction with particular reference to the empowerment of women in developing countries. Most women in these countries are faced with certain challenges which hinder the realisation of their full potential of capabilities. After a review of pertinent literature on microfinance and women empowerment, inferences are drawn for subsequent conclusion from a case study of women involved in the operations of the Opportunity International Savings and Loans Limited (OISL), a microfinance institution in the Techiman Municipality in Ghana. A census survey of the target group was intended but the practical realities of capture covered a high of 90 out of the total of 116 women beneficiaries representing a coverage of 77 percent at confidence level of 95 percent with an acceptable 0.05 margin of error.

Market women who benefited from the company's microfinance Trust Group Lending Programme are empowered through the Opportunity International Savings and Loans Limited's microfinance programme not only in the areas of their businesses, but at household as well as at their group and therefore community levels. Nevertheless in the event, the men's contribution to the household expenditure decreased with the realisation that their women counterparts earned more income and were able to cover much of the household's expenses. The use of the weekly repayment schedule by Opportunity International Savings and Loans Limited's programme tended to be inconvenient since the business cycles of the women differed. The interest rate of 41 per cent charged by lending group was adjudged by the respondents as high.

For effective and sustainable services' delivery, the Company required pertinent information on the needs of the market women so as to design products to meet the specific requirements. An arrangement of flexible loan repayment schedules for the market women will make the programme more productive and attractive to them. Opportunity International Savings and Loans Limited should also explore the possibility of family business loans delivery services to encourage cooperation between the husbands and wives.

Keywords : development, microfinance, poverty reduction, women empowerment.

Author α : Centre for Settlements Studies, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi.
Author σ : Institute of Development Studies, University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast, Ghana. E-mail : rdinye2004@yahoo.co.uk

I. Introduction

In economic history, microfinance is quite a recent phenomenon that has grown exponentially since the last two decades. Investors, donors, and financial institutions have realised the potential that capital can be for development by banking with the poor. In the past, it was assumed that poor people were unbankable since they were only capable of taking out small loans, and had no collateral. Grameen Bank in Bangladesh proved, that not only is the poor bankable, but microfinance as an activity is quite profitable. Since then Micro Finance Institutions (MFIs) sprang up all over the world and reached millions of poor people (Simanowitz and Walter, 2002).

In essence, a Micro Finance Institution (MFI) acts as a bank for the poor. The purpose of microfinance is to provide credit and the attendant services to the poor that are not made available to them through the traditional banking system. These loans can be as tiny as $50, and are typically used by the client to start a small business. MFIs which operate primarily (though not exclusively) in the Third World, are faced with difficulties including lack of collateral, infrastructure and mobility (Brandsma and Chaouli, 1998).

A salient feature of microfinance is its almost exclusive focus on women who make up the majority of the poor globally. Countries in which women are oppressed or treated as second class citizens are always the ones who suffer the highest rate of poverty. A recent World Bank report confirms that societies that discriminate on the basis of gender pay the cost of greater poverty, slower economic growth, weaker governance, and a lower living standard of their people (Cheston and Kuhn, 2002).

Providing women with access to credit can turn around an entire economy. There is significant evidence that when a woman's business succeeds and she makes profit, it goes to her family. Men are more likely to use funds on leisure. They are also more mobile, and therefore more likely to default on loans. Children are better educated and cared for when women contribute income to the family (Grasmuck and Espinal, 2000). Women's increased income benefits their children, particularly in education, diet, healthcare, and clothing

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(Cheston and Kuhn, 2002). Women are less risky (Morduch, 1999). They tend to take out smaller loans than men, and invest the money in safe business ventures, usually close to home (Cheston and Kuhn, 2002). Women's businesses are typically smaller than men's, have fewer, if any, employees, and are more likely to rely on family members for support (Grasmuck and Espinal, 2000). One of the reasons often articulated for supporting microfinance and targeting women by microfinance programs is that microfinance is an effective means or entry point for women empowerment. By putting financial resources in the hands of women, MFIs help level the playing field and promote gender equality.

a) Problem Statement

MFIs around the world have been quite creative in developing products and services that avoid barriers that have traditionally kept women from accessing formal financial services. These include collateral requirements, male or salaried guarantor requirements, documentation requirements, cultural barriers, limited mobility, and literacy. Nevertheless, there are still many problems which include those associated with the microfinance approach to women empowerment and poverty reduction.

Microfinance is hailed as a means of promoting economic opportunity, poverty reduction and women empowerment. However, when women take a microcredit loan to start a business, it is often the men who control how the loan is used (Rahman, 1999). In most Third World communities, men have better income-generating activities, access to wider markets, and enjoy a higher societal status than women. Some argue that when men control the loans given out to women, it further enforces patriarchal control over women's lives (Murdoch and Haley, 2002).

Although the Ghanaian constitution abhors discrimination of any kind, inclusive of that based on gender dimension, the situation remain far fetched. There still exist clearly defined roles in the country's social cultural set up ensuring specific conformity amounting to women subordination to men. The gender relational outcomes generate obstacles and constraints that intricately reinforce each other. The implications vary from the individual level, to the household to the wider society realm impeding the full enjoyment of human rights by the women. In the Techiman Municipality, women are not expected to make decisions of borrowing money, buying and selling property without reference to their husbands or any other man responsible for their conduct. They cannot to give out money without due permission of their attendant male counterpart in whose charge they are put. These and other socio-cultural considerations, as it were, determine women's skills endowment and capability, experience, knowledge and confidence. They impose on women what is acceptable to do, determine the norms of their behaviour, legal rights giving them a certain perceived values.

In view of these preceeding assertions, local and international organizations continue to drum home under different advocacy strategies for the empowerment of women through alternative supportive microfinance economic policies. However, there seems to be much skepticism due to the lack of performance tracking and database to showcase achievements and progress so far made in the women empowerment through the delivery of micro finance. This work seeks to make a contribution towards closing this void through the case study of the OISL efforts in the Techiman Municipality in Ghana. This paper derived its inspiration from this lag in the ascertainment of best practice microfinance strategy targeted at the empowerment of market women to successfully undertake their daily economic activities.

II. An Overview of Literature

a) Women's Empowerment

"Empowerment is a process by which individuals and groups gain power, access to resources and control over their own lives. In doing so, they gain the ability to achieve their highest personal and collective aspirations and goals" (Robbins, Chatterjee, & Canda, 1998). Some use the terms *self-reliance* and *self-respect* to define it. Empowerment is an implicit, if not an explicit goal of a great number of microfinance institutions around the world. Empowerment is about *change, choice,* and *power*. It is a process of change by which individuals or groups with little or no power gain the power and ability to make choices that affect their lives. The structures of power directly affect the choices that women are able to make in their lives. Microfinance programs can have tremendous impact on the empowerment process if their products and services take these structures into account.

Kabeer (1999) defines women's empowerment as the process by which those who have been denied the ability to make strategic life choices acquire such ability. This ability to exercise choices incorporates three inter-related dimensions: resources which include access to and future claims to both material and social resources; agency which includes the process of decision-making, negotiation, deception and manipulation; and achievements that are the well-being outcomes. It is important to understand empowerment as a process. Empowerment can take place at a hierarchy of different levels – individual, household, community and societal – and is facilitated by providing encouraging factors (such as exposure to new activities, which can build capacities) and removing inhibiting factors which lack of resources and skills Two vital process levels have been identified as important in women empowerment. The first is social mobilization and collective agency. Poor women often lack the basic capabilities and self confidence to counter and challenge existing disparities and barriers against them. Change agents are therefore needed to catalyze social mobilization consciously. Second, the process of social mobilization needs to be accompanied and complemented by economic security. As long as the disadvantaged suffer from economic deprivation and livelihood insecurity, they will not be in a position to mobilize (UNDP, 2001). In many developing countries (especially in South Asia), one strategy which has been found to be promising is participatory institution building in the self-help groups, often coupled with savings and microcredit loans. A closer look at the impact of these schemes on the empowerment of women reveals a mixed picture.

b) Elements of Women's Economic Empowerment

Women's economic empowerment must not be examined in a vacuum. Widespread cultural and economic practices work against their empowerment. To fully assess the opportunities and obstacles that exist, the intersection of political, social/cultural and environmental conditions must be analyzed alongside traditional economic indicators. Factors impacting on women's economic empowerment include:

- Violence: women are the predominant victims of conflict, sexual violence, injury, death, intimidation and human trafficking;
- Lack of adequate access to education, training and technology;
- Lack of access to clean water, sanitation;
- Lack of access to responsible health care/reproductive health;
- Lack of access to credit/finance, safe work conditions, living/minimum wages;
- Cultural practices, tradition, religious interpretations of women's status;
- Women's lack of knowledge about rights and laws (economic, social, political, religious); and
- Lack of adequate representation in decision-making positions and governance structures.

The real issue is that women are often better economic stewards of capital than men. Women are more likely to reinvest profits back into human capital than men. When women have economic power - defined as control of income and capital stock, they gain more equality and control over their own lives, while contributing directly to their children's development (nutrition, health and education) and thereby indirectly to their nation's income growth (ECA, 1996).

There exist many impediments to women's economic empowerment. Recently, the World Economic Forum ran a study on 58 countries to assess the size of the gender gap. The Forum's analysis concluded that no country has managed to close the gender gap with the exception of the Nordic nations. These findings suggest that the world has a long way to go to bring women to the forefront of economic, social, and political participation. Unless women's economic security is strengthened, poverty reduction cannot be achieved towards the realisation of any genuine progress on the United Nation Organisation's stated Millennium Development Goals.

c) Microfinance and Development

Microfinance encompasses the provision of financial services and the management of small amounts of money through a range of products and a system of intermediary functions that are targeted at low income clients. It includes loans, savings, insurance, transfer services and other financial products and services. Microfinance is thus one of the critical dimensions of the broad range of financial tools for the poor, and its increasing role in development has emanated from a number of key factors which include:

- The fact that the poor need access to productive resources, with financial services being a key resource, if they are to be able to improve their conditions of life;
- The realization that the poor have the capacity to use loans effectively for income-generation, to save and re-pay loans;
- The observation that the formal financial sector has provided very little or no services to low-income people, creating a high demand for credit and savings services amongst the poor;
- The view that microfinance is viable and can become sustainable and achieve full cost recovery;
- The recognition that microfinance can have significant impact on cross cutting issues such as women's empowerment, reducing the spread of HIV/AIDS and environmental degradation as well as improving social indicators such as education, housing and health.

Microfinance plays a number of positive broad roles in development inclusive of i) helping very poor households meet basic needs and protects against risks; ii) improving household economic welfare; and helping the empowerment of women by supporting women's economic participation and so promotes gender equity. Microfinance creates access to productive capital for the poor, which together with human capital, addressed through education and training, and social capital, achieved through local organization building, enables people to move out of poverty. By providing material capital to a poor person, their sense of dignity is strengthened and this can help to empower the person to participate in the economy and society (Otero, 1999).

The aim of micro-finance according to Otero (1999) is not just about providing capital to the poor to combat poverty on an individual level, it also has a role at an institutional level. It seeks to create institutions that deliver financial services to the poor, who are continuously ignored by the formal banking sector. Littlefield and Rosenberg (2004) argue that the poor are generally excluded from the financial services sector of the economy so MFIs have emerged to address this market failure. By addressing this gap in the market in a financially sustainable manner, an MFI can become part of the formal financial system of a country and so can access capital markets to fund their lending portfolios, allowing them to dramatically increase the number of poor people they can reach (Otero, 1999). Littlefield, Murduch and Hashemi (2003), Simanowitz and Brody (2004) and the IMF (2005) have indicated the critical role of micro-credit in achieving the Millennium Development Goals.

According to Simanowitz and Brody (2004), "micro-credit is a key strategy towards the achievement of the MDGs and in building global financial systems that meets the needs of most poor people." Littlefield, Murduch and Hashemi (2003) noted that micro-credit is a critical contextual factor with strong impact on the achievements of the MDGs. Micro-credit is unique among development interventions: it can deliver social benefits on an ongoing, permanent basis and on a large scale. However, experts remain sceptical about the role of micro-credit in development. While acknowledging the role micro-credit can play in helping to reduce poverty, Hulme and Mosley (1996) nevertheless indicated that "most contemporary schemes are less effective than they might be" (1996). The authors argued that micro-credit is not a panacea for poverty-alleviation and that in some cases the poorest people have been made worse-off.

That notwithstanding, microfinance has emerged globally as a leading and effective strategy for poverty reduction with the potential for far-reaching impact in transforming the lives of poor people. It is argued that microfinance can facilitate the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as well as National Policies that target poverty reduction, empowering women, assisting vulnerable groups, and improving standards of living.

"Sustainable access to microfinance helps alleviate poverty by generating income, creating jobs, allowing children to go to school, enabling families to obtain health care, and empowering people to make the choices that best serve their needs." (Kofi Annan, December 2003).

Although microfinance to women is not a panacea for poverty reduction and its related development challenges, when properly harnessed it can make sustainable contributions through financial investment leading to the empowerment of women, which in turn promotes their confidence and self-esteem.

d) Microfinance and Women's Empowerment

Malhotra (2002) emphasizes that even after identifying empowerment as a primary development goal; neither the World Bank nor any other major development agency has developed a rigorous method for measuring and tracking changes in levels of empowerment. The UNDP report of 1995 introduced two new complementary indices: the Gender-related Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM). The GDI indicator measures the inequalities between men and women in terms of access to basic needs. GEM evaluates women's access to political and economic posts. Some authors have tried to construct alternative indices of empowerment more specifically related to microfinance activity. Ackerly (1995) constructed an *accounting knowledge* indicator. Goetz and Sen Gupta (1996) built an index of *managerial control* on the use of loans, contributions in terms of labour to the financed activity and the control over the entire productive process, including marketing. Hashemi, Schuler and Riley (1996) investigated the change in women's empowerment by creating an *empowerment* indicator built on the following eight criteria: mobility, economic security, ability to make small purchases, large purchases, involvement in major household decisions, and relative freedom from domination by the family, political and legal awareness, participation in public protests and political campaigns.

A majority of microfinance programmes target women with the explicit goal of empowering them. There are varying underlying motivations for pursuing women's empowerment. Some argue that women are among the poorest and the most vulnerable of the underprivileged and thus helping them should be a priority. Others believe that investing in women's capabilities empowers them to make choices, which is a valuable goal in itself, but it also contributes to greater economic growth and development. It has been well documented that an increase in women's resources results in increased well-being of the family, especially children (Mayoux, 1997; Kabeer, 2001; Hulme and Mosley, 1997). A more feminist point of view stresses that the financial services represent an opening or opportunity for greater empowerment. Such financial organizations explicitly use microfinance as a tool to fight for women's rights and independence.

The World Bank Global Learning Conference in Shanghai in 2004 confirmed the impact of microfinance: "Studies have showed that microcredit programs positively affect a woman's decision-making role, her marital stability, and her control over resources and mobility. The analysis establishes that a woman's contributing to her household's income is a significant factor towards her empowerment" (World Bank, 2004, p.64).

Women are traditionally treated as inferior to men because of lack of economic opportunity, authority over income generation, or participation in the public sphere. Microfinance enables women to gain access to all of these empowerment tools. Borrowing credit to start a microenterprise enables the women to have share in the control over household income and entry into the public domain, as well as provides them with economic and educational opportunities. When women have a share in the control over household income, children's nutrition, health, and education improve substantially more than when men control the income. It is becoming widely recognized that poverty alleviation occurs most often when women participate in microfinance programs (Cheston and Kuhn 2002; Simanowitz and Walter, 2002).

Hashemi et al. (1996) investigated whether women's access to credit has any impact on their lives, irrespective of who has the managerial control. Their results suggest that women's access to credit contributes significantly to the magnitude of the economic contributions reported by women, to the likelihood of an increase in asset holdings in their own names, to an increase in their exercise of purchasing power, and in their political and legal awareness. They also found that access to credit is also associated with higher levels of mobility, political participation and involvement in 'major decision-making' for particular credit organizations.

Holvoet (2005) found out that in direct bank-borrower minimal credit, women do not gain much in terms of decision-making patterns. However, when loans are channelled through women's groups and are combined with more investment in social intermediation, substantial shifts in decision-making patterns is observed. This involves a remarkable shift in norm-following and male decision making to more bargaining and sole female decision-making. She found out that the effects are even more striking when women have been members of a group for a longer period and especially when greater emphasis has been laid on genuine social intermediation. Social group intermediation had further gradually transformed groups into actors of local institutional change.

e) Some Criticisms

Microfinance does not reach the poorest of the poor because of discrimination by the loans officers. As with all loan systems, the higher the loan, the greater profit to be made by the lender. Consequently, loan officers often discriminate against very poor borrowers and instead favour the "richer" poor women who can afford to take out larger loans (Simanowitz and Walter, 2002). The very poor who lack even basic needs avoid contact with the rest of society out of shame. They may simply be too embarrassed to display their extreme poverty in public. Simply put, microfinance is not always an attractive option to the very poor (Simanowitz 2000).

Another viewpoint is that microfinance has a potentially adverse effect on women. Some men feel that women's independence is a direct threat to traditional patriarchal power (Murdoch and Haley, 2002). In some cultures, if a man's wife works, and most especially if she generates more income than he does, it degrades the man's sense of masculinity (Cheston and Kuhn, 2002). This can lead to a power struggle as the man attempts to regain dominance over the household and in some cases; it escalates to domestic violence against women (Murdoch and Haley, 2002; Cheston and Kuhn, 2002).

Women with microfinance and activity face a double workload of running business and childcare (Cheston and Kuhn, 2002). Traditionally, women have taken care of children and household work while the men earned income for the family. More and more women are now entering the public workforce, but they are still expected to assume responsibility for all domestic tasks (Grasmuck and Espinal, 2000). The operation of microfinance sometimes creates a large debt for some poor women who are unable to repay the loans (Buss, 1999). Small businesses in Third World countries are subject to a great number of obstacles which include lack of adequate infrastructure, inability to access supplies needed for a business, flooded markets if enterprises are too similar, difficulties with money management due to improper schooling and lack of training or skill, and a vulnerability to crises such as a death in the family or a medical emergency. Borrowing money is always a risk, but particularly so for the poor who are already extremely vulnerable to economic shock. Sometimes all it takes is a business failure or medical emergency to plunge a poor person into severe debt and even greater poverty.

f) Economic Empowerment of Women in Ghana

In response to achieving the Millennium Development Goals, Ghana has been making determined efforts in ensuring the empowerment of women through the institution of various programmes such as microfinance for women. The Ministry of Women and Children Affairs is established by the government of Ghana to steer the affairs of women and children. Through the central government, the Women Development Fund has been instituted to support economic development of women. A total of GH¢200,000 (US$1.0 = GH¢1.50) of the Women Development Fund has been disbursed by the Ministry Women and Children to women groups all over the country as at 2005 for various income-generation activities (GPRS Annual Progress Report, 2005).

In September 2006, history was made in micro-finance administration and development in Ghana when a $50m Micro-credit and Small Loans Fund was officially launched, and the Head Office of the Micro-Finance and Small Loans Centre (MASLOC) was inaugurated in Accra (The Statesman, 2006). With the initiation of MASLOC, farmers, fishermen, fishmongers, petty traders, hairdressers, caterers, dress-makers and others in both the formal and informal sectors now can have access to funds to embark on economic activities to better their living. The MASLOC was established early 2004 to undertake the necessary reform and development process that would strengthen micro-finance operations as an effective and viable strategy for poverty reduction. The fund is to make sustainable financial services available to individuals, co-operatives and other groups in communities in order to help them generate wealth, save and expand their mini-enterprises, leading to urban and rural poverty reduction.

The government of Ghana has, therefore, prioritized micro-finance interventions under its Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy and Growth and poverty Reduction Strategy, hence the launch of the $50 million Micro-credit and Small Loans Fund which is unprecedented in the country's history. It is the largest economic empowerment programme specifically designed to meet the needs of players in the Small-and Medium-Scale Enterprises sector in Ghana. Under this project, the government has tasked District Assemblies cross the country to come out with programmes that would make access to the Fund easier for people in the rural areas. In carrying out such a mandate, the program promotes, educates, enhances and facilitates the operations of non-bank micro-financial institutions and targeted users.

III. Case Study of Techiman Municipality, Ghana

The Republic of Ghana is one of countries stung along the Gulf of Guinea on the west coat of Africa. It is located between latitude 5° 3’ and 11° 00’ North and between longitude 1° 12’ East and 3° 15’ west. It has an area of 238537 square kilometres with a population of 25 million more than 50 percent of which is female. Ghana is bordered by Togo in the east, Burkina Faso in the north, Cote d’Ivoire in the west and the Atlantic Ocean to the south. The Ghanaian economy has always been reliant on a number of key exports principally gold and cocoa, although more recently it has developed a burgeoning service sector where most women, particularly market women, generate their livelihoods (Adarkwa, 2012).

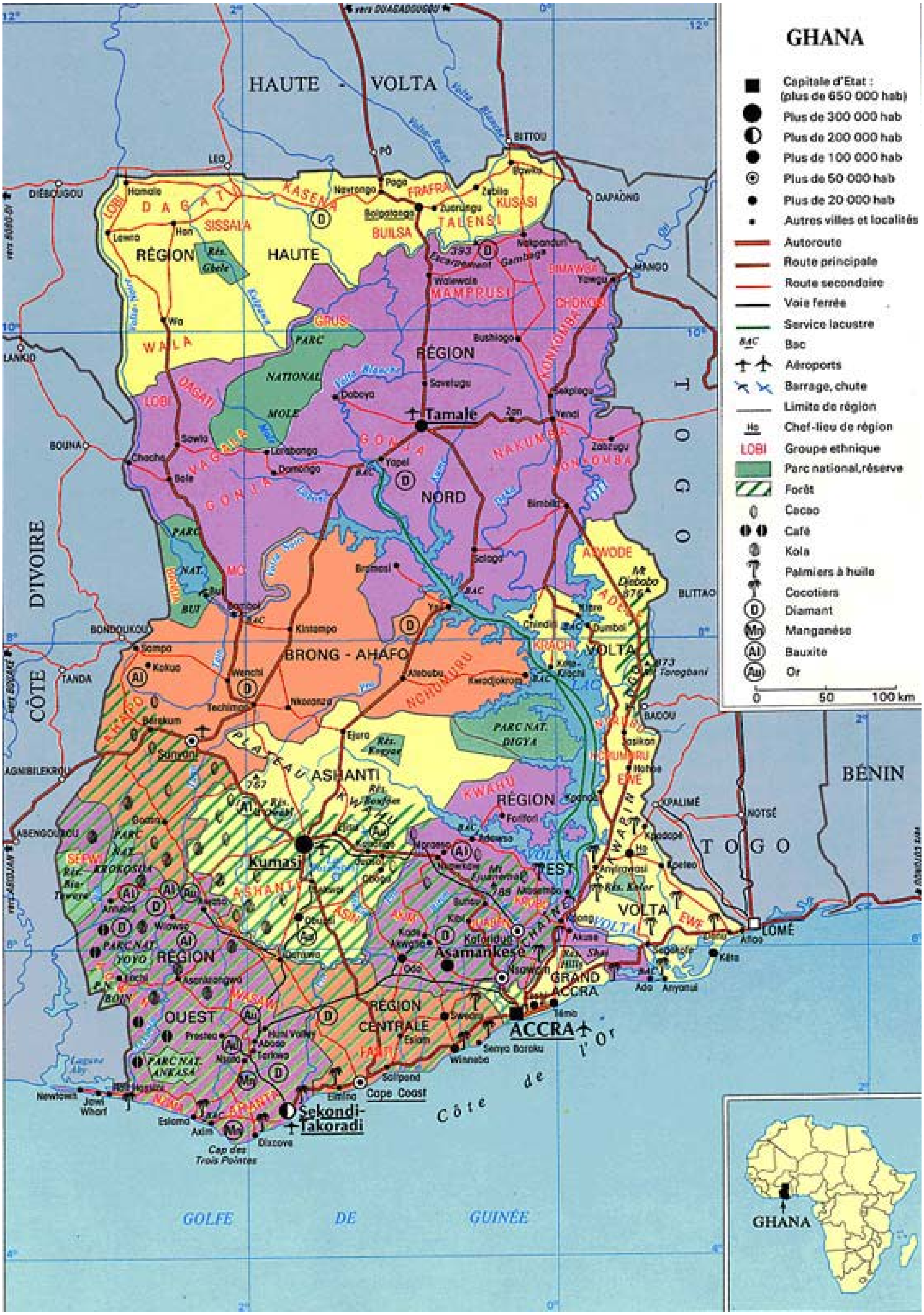
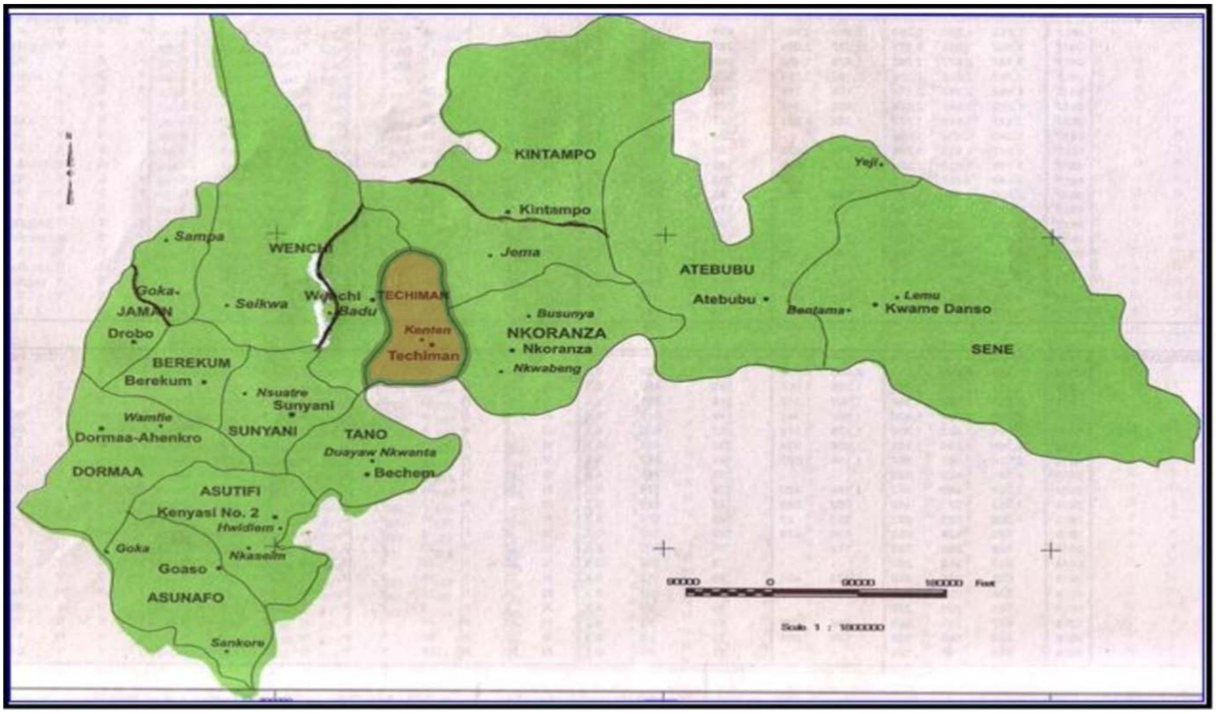


Figure 1 : Administrative Regions in Ghana

For political and administrative expediency, Ghana is divided into ten administrative regions with each one further subdivided into a number of decentralized Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assembly units. The Techiman Municipality, the study area of reference in context, is one of such basic political administrative units. It is situated in the Northern part of the Brong Ahafo Region and lies between longitudes $1^0 49$ East and $2^0 30$ West and latitude 8^0 00 North and $7^0 35$ South. The Municipality shares common boundaries with four other districts: three in the Brong Ahafo Region and one in the Ashanti Region. The Wenchi District lies t o the Northwest, Kintampo South to the Northeast, Nkoranza district to the South- East and Offinso district lies to the South (TMTDP, 2006-2009).



Source: Techiman Municipal Assembly-Medium Term Plan 2006-2009.

Figure 2 : Location of Techiman Municipality in the Regional Context

Techiman Township which constitutes the hub of the Techiman municipality accommodates an extensive open air traditional market which has been structurally modernized through the construction of new stalls stores and warehouses. The market is the largest food crop market in Ghana and in fact one of the largest periodic markets within the West African sub-Region. Its strategic location has attracted people and businesses from various parts of country as well as other West African countries.

The sphere influence of the market extends beyond the boundaries of Ghana into the territories of its sahelian neighbours of Bourkina Faso, Niger and Mali. The activities of the market commence on Thursday feverishly running through Friday to end on Saturday each week. It is in this market that most of the OISL's women clients in the Municipality operate.

It was, therefore, to constitute a more conducive environment to find out the impact of the micro-credit schemes on the empowerment of the women beneficiaries.

IV. Research Methodology

The research process commenced with a review of pertinent literature on women empowerment, microfinance, poverty reduction and their relationship within the context of development. Dictated by the main thrust of the research, the case study design approach was adopted to assemble, analyse, assess and describe the impact of the OISL Trust Group Lending programme on the socio-economic empowerment of their clients, the market women. As at the time of the study, the sampling frame of the beneficiary target group of women operating in the market could not be ascertained. The situation necessitated the conduct of a rapid reconnaissance survey with the assistance of the Opportunity International Savings and Loans Limited (OISL), field staff which revealed a figure of 116 women beneficiaries in the market. They were mostly into the purchase and resale of groundnuts, beans, rice, millet, and maize. Others handled the marketing of yam, cassava, cocoyam and plantain all of which quite clearly are agro-based. Non-farm related activities included the sale of alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages hair dressing, seamstressing and the sale of secondhand goods.

Snowballing, a non-probabilistic sampling technique was purposively used to identify and interview the target women group. The distribution of the women who received credit could not be identified in any systematic patterned order. By the snowballing technique, the investigators began with one case, a

Global Journal of Human Social Science (C) Volume XIII Issue IV Version I Year 2013

woman who received credit from OISL, and based on information about the interrelationships from that case and subsequent ones, other cases were identified and the process was repeated.

It was intended to cover all the 116 women beneficiaries to be in operation in the market as at the time of the survey. Nevertheless, a total number of 90 out of the 116 units of investigation were captured in the survey representing a coverage of 77 percent which is scientifically quite acceptable having attained a confidence level of 95 percent with 0.05 margin of error. Structured questionnaires were used in carrying out the research to obtain data on the contribution of microfinance towards the empowerment of market women in the Techiman Municipal Assembly.

V. Analysis and Results

a) Respondents' Demographic Features

Age of respondents: The survey revealed that 7.8 per cent out of the 90 women interviewed were between the ages of 18-22 years, which is the age group with the lowest frequency, and 37.8 per cent of them were between the ages of 23-27 years which is the dominant age group benefiting from the loan facility. The women involved were youthful and constituted a vibrant labour force whose empowerment is beneficial to socity. Table 1 depicts the age group characteristics of the women captured by the study.

Table 1 : Age group of respondents

Age group	Frequency	Percent (%)
18-22yrs	7	7.8
23-27yrs	34	37.8
28-32yrs	18	20.0
33-37yrs	17	18.9
38-52yrs	14	15.6
Total	90	100

Source: Field survey, January, 2009.

Marital Status : The majority (57.8 per cent) of the women interviewed were married with 34.4 per cent being single. A few (3.3 per cent) of them were widowed and the remaining 4.4 per cent divorced. Their empowerment has implications more implications for the married one, who in the patriarchal setting are accountable to their husbands.

Educational Status : In terms of education, most of the women interviewed had no formal education, meaning they could neither read nor write and these women constituted 54.4 per cent of the women. For the remaining 45.6 per cent have had some formal education, (63.4%) of them attained the Junior High School (JHS) level. Those who have had secondary education constitute 22.2 percent and1.4 per cent were those who have had tertiary education.

b) Business Impact

Since the most direct anticipated benefits of microcredit concern clients' businesses, it is important to discuss the effects of OISL Limited's program in that area. Running a successful business does not only contribute to women's improved welfare, but also directly and indirectly to their empowerment.

Increased working capital : About 97.8 per cent of the women indicated that their working capital had increased as a result of their loans from OISL Limited. Their loans and earnings had been enough to break their dependency on supplier credit, and were able to purchase more stock using a combination of cash and credit. In almost all cases, the increase in capital gave the women more options and greater control over their businesses. In Table 2, the working capital situation of five specific clients and the cumulative circumstances of rest prior and after the loan from OISL are depicted.

Table 2 : Evidence of increased capital of clients

Clients	Working Capital prior to loan (GH₵)*	Working Capital after loan (GH₵)*	Difference (GH₵)*	Percentage change (%)
Hafisa	200	350	150	75
Mari	350	850	500	143
Elizabeth	100	300	200	200
Mamatu	50	130	80	160
Tiwaa	150	300	150	100
6-90th client	72,400	155,050	82,650	114.2
Total	73,250	156,980	83,750	114.3

Source: Author's construct, January, 2009

*(GH₵1.5= US$1.0)

In Box 1 is a record of the experience of a client on how increased in working capital has help her.

Box 1 : Empowerment through Increased Capital

Awura Ama, an OISL client, shared her experience of empowerment as she transitioned from selling used-clothing that she obtained on credit to managing her own used-clothing business. "Before joining OISL, I did not have much money, so I had to collect the goods from somebody, sell them, and give her the profit before she would give me some as commission. Every week I would have to render accounts to the supplier, what had been bought, what is left, etc., before she would give me other goods to sell. . . . Because I now have my own money which has increased my working capital by about GH¢500.00, I am able to negotiate well for good prices. If what my suppliers are selling is not nice, I can go to a different store to purchase what I think people will buy. The time that I spend with my business has reduced because I now have my own money, unlike the past where I was working for somebody so I had to be able to sell all day long before she would give me my share. So I was tired all the time and in a rush to make sure that I spend more time on the business to ensure that people buy it. But now I have my own business

Source: Author's fieldwork, 2010

The increase in working capital is particularly important for the women's empowerment. This is basically so, because when women have their own capital or have access to cash credit, they have considerably more power and prestige in the marketplace. However, Cheston and Kuhn in their draft paper in 2002 on "Empowering Women through Microfinance" noted that although increased esteem does not automatically lead to empowerment, it does contribute decisively to women's ability and willingness to challenge the social injustices and discriminatory systems that they face.

Relationships with suppliers and customers: A majority (77.8 per cent) of the women reported of having improved relationship with customers and 73.3 per cent had been able to expand their businesses. Some (44.4 per cent) had been able to diversify into other profitable product lines such as running groceries and selling ice water in the house. In many ways, the women had been able to capitalise on the increased capital they have received from OISL to become successful businesswomen and breadwinners in their household and communities. The Women clients had a reputation for trustworthiness and responsibility that enhanced their relationships with their suppliers and customers and improved their businesses. As the women used the loans, business training, and advice they received from OISL Limited, they were able to expand into more profitable lines of business and build their customer bases.

c) Household and Family Relations

Women's ability to influence or make decisions that affect their lives and their family is considered to be one of the principal components of empowerment. As much as 70 per cent of the women experienced an increase in Their decision-making roles in the areas of family size determination control over income, sending their children to school and taking other decisions such as buying and selling property-all areas of decsion making traditionally dominated by men.

The women who were found to be married (57.8 per cent of clients) were now part of making decisions process about what should finally prevail in their households with their husbands. This represents a step forward because previously these women's husbands would have made such decisions without their input. Traditionally, men are responsible for providing food, clothing, children's allowances (pocket money), and cooking and cleaning supplies in Ghana. If, however, a woman earns enough to help cover typically male expenditures like school fees, rent, furniture, and transport, her decision-making power will immensely increase. The women were particularly proud of their financial contribution to their children's education not only because it helped them earn the respect of their husbands but also because it gave them the opportunity to ensure the best possible education for both their daughters and their sons. They were also proud of their financial contribution to their household food needs. The table shows evidence of the increased financial contribution of the women to the upkeep of their household after the loan from OISL.

Global Journal of Human Social Science (C) Volume XIII Issue IV Version I Year 2013 42

Table 3 : Evidence of increased financial contribution of married clients per week

Client	Area of contribution	Prior to loan (GH¢)	After loan (GH¢)	Change (%)
Awura Ama	Children's education	6	10	66.7
	Food	3	7	13.3
Hafisa	Children's education	3	3	-
	Food	3	5	66.7
Amdatu	Children's education	2.50	5	100
	Food	7	7	-
Georgina	Children's education	5	5	-
	Food	10	15	50
Efua	Children's education	10	16	60
	Food	10.50	14	33.3
6-90nd client	Children's education	1,081	1,796	66.1
	Food	1,551	2,218	42.4
Total	Children's education	1,104.50	1,835	66.4
	Food	1,584.50	2,266	43

Source: Field survey, January, 2009.

The women believed that their financial contribution had helped them earn greater respect from both their husbands and their children. This attest to the studies by Grasmuck and Espinal (2000) in the Dominican Republic which showed that children are better educated and cared for when women contribute income to the family. The analysis of impact of microfinance by the World Bank Global Learning Conference in Shanghai in 2004, established that a woman's contributing to her household's income is a significant factor towards her empowerment (World Bank report, 2004).

Women's ability to influence or make decisions that affect their lives and their family is considered to be one of the principal components of empowerment. The survey conducted showed that of those interviewed, 70 percent of the ninety (90) women experienced an increase in their decision-making roles in the areas of family size determination, control over income, sending their children to school and other decisions such as buying and selling property—all areas of decision making traditionally dominated by men.

d) Repayment of Loan

The group treasurer of each Trust Group was responsible for repayments on behalf of the rest of the group, which alleviated the burden of responsibility from the bank and put it into the hands of the clients. If any one member of the group failed to pay his/her weekly portion of the loan, the entire group was denied subsequent loans. Groups were found to function properly because they were free to choose their own members whom they knew, and members could only leave the group after the loan has been repaid in full. The collective responsibility encouraged the members of a group to help each other, if not out of kindness, then at least out of fear that their own privileges will be revoked due to default by another member.

A survey by Cheston and Kuhn of Sinapi Aba Trust in 2002 in Ghana revealed that women had higher repayment rates than men. Their experience with Sinapi Aba Trust, Opportunity International's partner in Ghana, demonstrated a clear difference in men and women's repayment records in its Trust Group Lending Programme. As much 83 per cent of the respondents attested that they were able to repay the loan on time and this was confirmed by loan officers about the good repayment of women than their male counterparts.

Majority of the men who benefited from the loans mostly defaulted in repayment and this became a burden on the other group members. The men normally run away from the community when they found it very difficult to repay their loan. This situation affirms the studies by Grasmuck and Espinal (2000) that men are more mobile and more likely to use funds on leisure and therefore more likely to default on loans. Majority (67 percent) of the market women in Techiman were not satisfied with the repayment system. The reasons assigned included the pressure on repayment against a background of high interest rate (29 percent); high interest rate (52 percent) and repayment pressure (19 percent).

VI. Summary of Findings and Recommendations

It was established that the market women were being empowered through the OISL's microfinance programme not only in the areas of their business but at household and community levels. Nonetheless, the women faced certain challenges which hindered the realisation of their full potentials. The contribution of men to the household expenditure tendered to decrease arising from the realisation of the enhanced contribution of their wives as they earned more income and were able to cover much of the household's expenses. The use of the weekly repayment schedule by OISL programme brought about inconvenience to the women since their income generation cycles differed in accordance with their individual businesses. The interest rate of 41 per cent charged by OISL for group lending was adjudged by the respondents as high.

For effective and sustainable service' delivery and the empowerment of the women, OISL required pertinent information on the needs of the market women based upon which the appropriate products can be designed to specifically meet those requirements. An offer flexible repayment of loan schedules to the market women will make the programme more attractive and profitable to them. OISL should also explore the possibility of giving family business loans to encourage cooperation between the husbands and wives.

The target of these recommendations is to provide a general sense of direction for public strategy concerning the economic assistance offered by microfinance institutions such as the Opportunity International Savings and Loans (OISL) towards the welfare of market women within the Techiman Municipality and the country as a whole. The concern is to make the microfinance sector more resourceful and attractive in terms of the provision of financial assistance to market women. At his instance of the OISL micro-credit scheme, the following are recommended:

- OISL Limited sought out and offer a more flexible loan repayment schedules suited to the income generation pattern of the market women ;
- Group lending to women should be encouraged and reinforced so as to reduce default risk and increase the rate of loan recovery to ensure sustainability;
- OISL Limited as much as possible, train the women to help themselves to lower the cost of payroll to enable it reduce its interest rate and appropriately manage operational cost;
- OISL Limited is to incorporate productivity enhancing trainings elements such as modules in leadership that will contribute to women's empowerment;
- OISL Limited to gather information on women's needs and design products specifically to meet those needs so as to empower them;
- OISL Limited should explore the possibility of granting family business loans to encourage cooperation between the husband and wife; and
- OISL Limited to conduct and support research on appropriate measures of empowerment that can be used to monitor and improve their women empowerment process.
- The ministry of women and children, informed by the successful outcome of the OISL Group Lending Programme
- should arrange capacity building assistance training to women to enhance the ability to take advantage of existing micro credit opportunities in the country;
- research and maintain a database on microfinance schemes and make the information available to women groups;
- Sensitise and educate the population on socio-cultural norms tha militate against women empowerment.

VII. Conclusion

The impact of microfinance on women's empowerment in the Techiman Municipality is clearly modest but quite impressive. Those who received the credit were empowered in the economic, socio-cultural, personal and familial of life. The economic advancement of women is crucial to poverty alleviation, and therefore access to financial services is necessarily an integral component towards overall poverty reduction. Women are traditionally treated as inferior to men because of lack of economic opportunity, lack of authority over income generation, and participation in the public sphere. Microfinance enables the women to gain access to all of these empowerment mechanisms. Taking credit to start a microenterprise enables the women to have a share in the control over household income and open up opportunities for their entry into the public domain. As the women gain a share in the control over household income, children's nutrition, health, and education improve substantially more than when men control the income. Although microfinance to women is not necessarily the sole panacea to poverty reduction and its related development challenges, when properly harnessed it can make sustainable contributions through investments leading to the empowerment of women, which in turn promotes and enhances their confidence and self-esteem in society.

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Influences of Marital Status, Parenthood and Housework on Women's Attitude towards Paid Employment in Calabar, Nigeria

By Etuk, Grace Reuben Etuk, Reuben Ufot Iyam & Ukam Ilem
University of Calabar, Nigeria

Abstract - For economic and other social and psychological reasons, most developing countries like Nigeria, are currently witnessing a massive influx of women into workforce. One sure way of empowering women and reducing inequality between men and women in today's fast changing world, especially in a developing society like Nigeria, is by getting more women actively engaged in economic activities, to improve their financial status. Although most of the women are found in the informal and private sectors, where their contributions to society may not be adequately felt, a recognizable proportion are still found in the formal sector, where they function as actors in development and in turn receive regular salaries. In view of their increasing involvement in paid employment, this study investigates the extent of influence such familial factors as marital status, parenthood and housework have on the attitudinal disposition of female Public Servants towards paid employment in Calabar Metropolis, Nigeria. Results reveal that for both married and single women in the study, housework and child care are both very stressful and combining both tasks with paid employment is even more demanding.

Keywords : paid employment, work attitude, marital status, parenthood and housework.

GJHSS-C Classification : FOR Code: 370504, 750101

INFLUENCES OF MARITAL STATUS, PARENTHOOD AND HOUSEWORK ON WOMENS ATTITUDE TOWARDS PAID EMPLOYMENT IN CALABAR, NIGERIA

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of :

Influences of Marital Status, Parenthood and Housework on Women's Attitude towards Paid Employment in Calabar, Nigeria

Etuk, Grace Reuben Etuk [α], Reuben Ufot Iyam[σ] & Ukam Ilem [ρ]

Abstract - For economic and other social and psychological reasons, most developing countries like Nigeria, are currently witnessing a massive influx of women into workforce. One sure way of empowering women and reducing inequality between men and women in today's fast changing world, especially in a developing society like Nigeria, is by getting more women actively engaged in economic activities, to improve their financial status. Although most of the women are found in the informal and private sectors, where their contributions to society may not be adequately felt, a recognizable proportion are still found in the formal sector, where they function as actors in development and in turn receive regular salaries. In view of their increasing involvement in paid employment, this study investigates the extent of influence such familial factors as marital status, parenthood and housework have on the attitudinal disposition of female Public Servants towards paid employment in Calabar Metropolis, Nigeria. Results reveal that for both married and single women in the study, housework and child care are both very stressful and combining both tasks with paid employment is even more demanding. Results further showed that the highly demanding task of having to combine childcare and housework with paid employment results in incidences of negative attitudinal trends among subjects. The implications of this to sustainable development are considered and possible solutions to solving this dilemma of women are also suggested.

Keywords : paid employment, work attitude, marital status, parenthood and housework.

I. Introduction

In the past, society viewed women as people whose place was essentially in the home; to take care of domestic chores and cater for children. This explains the popularity until recently of the saying that 'a woman's education ends in the kitchen' Over the last century however, there has been a surge in women's level of participation in different economic activities including paid employment. By the dawn of the 21st century, there was clearly an explosion in the population of women stepping beyond the home to take part in paid employment. Mathis and Jackson (1994) predicted that the percentage of women of working age has increased from 43.3% in 1970 to 57.5% in 1990 and that women will constitute about 47% of the world total workforce by 2005. This global increase in female labour force participation (FLFP) has its social and economic impacts in the society.

The reasons for the mass exodus of women into the world of work are not far fetched. First, the expansion of industrialization created a large demand labour force, thereby creating space for women to join the labour force alongside men (Sutcliffe, 1971). Giddens (2006) explains that the labour shortage caused by First World War gave even more impetus for women to step into jobs previously regarded as the domain of men. Giddens added further that the decline in birth rate and increase in average age of childbirth also gave room for more women to make time for other activities such as paid employment.

Tied to the issue of industrialization is the problem of economic pressures that emerged with the growth and expansion of industrialization. The situation caused a shift in men's previous position as family bread-winners because as Myrdal and Klein (1968) asserted, women had to share in the responsibility of meeting up with the financial demands of modern industrial life and one of the most practicable ways of doing that was by taking up paid employment.

Above all, paid employment not only gives women the psychological benefit of meeting people instead of being cooped up in their homes all day(Haralambos and Heald,1980), but also the economic benefit of being financially independent (Porter,1982).

Notwithstanding their involvement in paid employment, studies have revealed certain trends among employed women. For instance, they are concentrated more in low-status and low-pay jobs (Haralambos and Heald 1980); they are less likely than men to be found in positions of authority, even in the low-status and low-pay jobs (Wolf and Fligstein 1979); they are often associated with frequent interruptions in work and are geographically immobile - meaning that they would prefer not to be shuttled between different locations to further their career(Crompton, Jones and Reid, 1982); and there is usually restrictions in the

Author α : department of sociology university of calabar, calabar cross river state, Nigeria. E-mail : graycetuk@yahoo.com
Author σ : centre for educational development and career initiative calabar, cross river state, Nigeria. E-mail : reuben_etuk@yahoo.com
Author ρ : department of sociology university of calabar, calabar cross river state, Nigeria. E-mail : ukamiyam@yahoo.com

number of hours they put into work (Freeman 1982); as well as when such hours can be (Boserup, 1970). Absenteeism, coupled with lack of sense of career and a somewhat casual attitude towards the continuity of their employment is also found to be prominent among women in paid employment (Myrdal and Klein, 1968). Obviously, these trends would not give many women room to excel in paid employment, thereby widening the inequality gap between them and their male counterparts.

Attitude towards work, as stated by Tikhonov (1978 – 79) is viewed in terms of an employee's productivity, quality of work, participation in rationalization and initiative in achieving results. On the other hand, Robbins (1988) maintained that the attitude of individuals towards their work can be seen for instance, in how individuals feel about their jobs and can be measured more specifically through an employee's job involvement, that is, the degree to which he identifies with his job; through organizational involvement, that is, the employee's extent of loyalty to, identification with and involvement in the organization, as well as job satisfaction. Therefore, the observed trends such as absenteeism, concentration in low status jobs, inability to perform challenging tasks, lack of strong desire and ability to attain positions of authority, geographical immobility, and labour wastage among women in paid work, are manifestations of their attitude towards paid work. Unfortunately these attitudes are in the negative direction.

This study is articulated to show evidence of such negative trends and attitude in the area of study as an example of what is still obtainable in developing societies, where much of traditional values are upheld by both men and women. Specifically, the study examines the place of marital status, parenthood and housework; as determining factors of the observed trends, which reflects women's work attitude. The study also offers insight into the possible implications for National Development, making useful recommendations on the basis of the findings.

a) Women's Economic Participation in Nigerian National Development

The involvement of women in paid employment is without doubt crucial to the development of any developing society, like many African countries. The centrality of women themselves in development is articulated in Todaro and Smith (2009:22):

> *"…Development scholars generally view women as playing central role in the development drama. Globally, women tend to be poorer than men. They are also more deprived in health and education and in freedoms in all its forms. Moreover women have primary responsibility for child bearing, and the resources that they are able to bring to this task will determine whether the cycle of transmission of poverty from generation to generation will be broken. Studies from around the developing world confirm that mothers tend to spend a significantly higher fraction of income under their control for the benefit of their children than fathers do. Women also transmit values to the next generation. To make the biggest impact on development, then, a society must empower and invest in its women".*

For the Nigerian woman, she has performed well in the family circle but the work place is another domain where the Nigerian woman needs to register and create her presence. The increased female labour force participation (FLFP) in Nigeria has shown women as active partners in national economic development. However, many factors militate against women in their effort to play their roles at work to the fullest. Anugwom (2009) identified the patriarchal nature of the Nigerian labour market, women attitudinal and psychological dispositions, choice of marriage partners by women among others, as some of the factors responsible for the marginal female labour force participation (FLFP).

Despite these negative factors which became barriers to female labour force participation (FLFP) in the past, which consequently slowed down women's involvement in development in Nigeria, the combined effect of increased awareness and better female education have broken these barriers. Indeed, the Nigerian woman has proven to be more than a mere spectator in the professional pursuit. Moreover, significant progress has been achieved in the gender development process. For example progress is being made with the allocation of quota for women in public appointments; initiation of women empowerment programs and emergence of women organizations like National Council of Women's Society (NCWS), Women In Nigeria (WIN), National Association of Women Journalist (NAWJ). Women in Nigeria are found to play leading role even in the male dominated professions like Nigeria Medical Association (NMA), Nigerian Bar Association (NBA) and the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Nigeria (ICAN). The promotion of women participation in economic activities was made a much more celebrated phenomenon in Nigeria when the late Mrs. Maryam Babangida actively promoted women related-issues during her husband's tenure as Nigeria's president. She established the Better Life for Rural Women Programme, for the purpose of empowering women economically and socially. Subsequently, there was the creation of the National Commission for Women, as well as a Ministry of Women Affairs, which provide additional ways for the promotion of women-related issues and the enhancement of the role of women in national development. These achievements are without doubt working to make sure that Nigerian women make giant strides in different areas of their professions, including Public Service, to discount the traditional positions of women as inferior to men.

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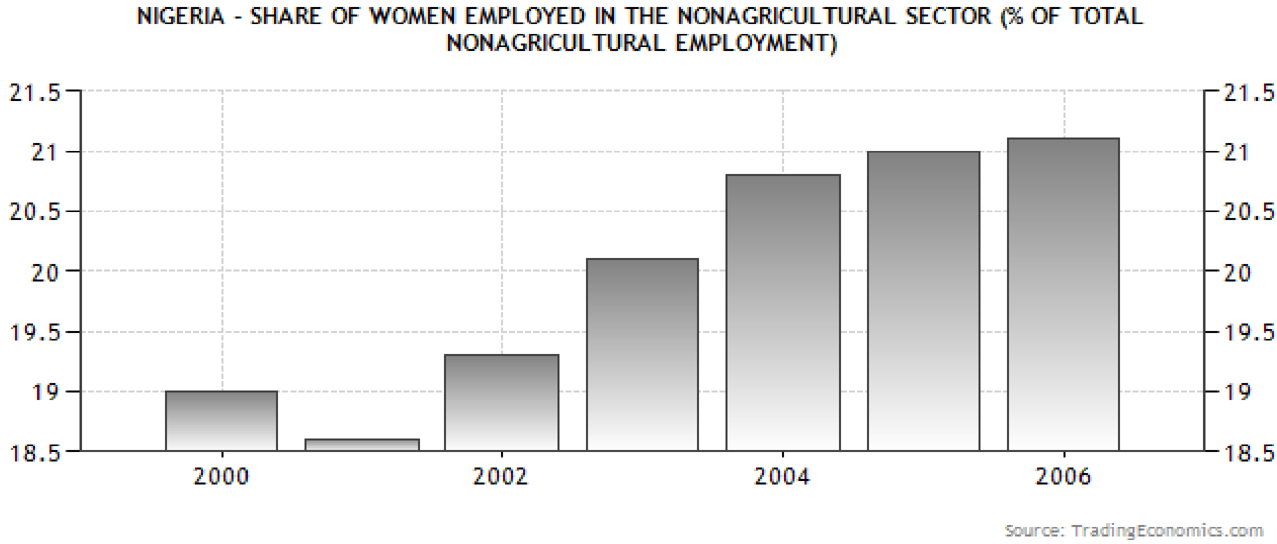
The graph below shows the progressive trend of women's participation in nonagricultural sector (Note: In the past, women were majorly involved only in agricultural production)s



Female labour force participation (FLFP) has both its benefits and its perils. Its benefits include the expansion of women's employment and income earning opportunities which in turn helps women achieve economic and social parity with men (Sahn and Glick, 1997). Sahn and Glick, (1997) further revealed that this maternal extra income is more valuable to children than father's income, because women were found to be more likely to allocate the extra income to food and child care and general family upkeep. Women therefore have to work if the African family is to be sure to secure basic needs such as food and shelter.

On the other hand, researchers have noted that whenever African women are engaged in economic activities outside their home, although their families earn more income, it is often associated with potentially "*deleterious consequences on the health of their very young children*," (Sahn and Glick, 1997). This is because when women work, they usually have lesser time to directly take care their children, including breastfeeding, preparation of nutritious foods and getting medical care. This usually has significant negative effect on their children under 5 years of age and may even extend to reduce the education of the older female siblings (or house helps) if they are obligated to substitute for their mothers in household work (Sahn and Glick, 1997). However, Sahn and Glick, 1997 were careful to note that there is an exception for a small proportion of women who command high incomes in the labor market, with which they can afford to pay for quality service, making the overall effects of maternal employment positive. Meanwhile, Arene, (1993) asserts that there is no validated research that professional housewives bring up children better than professional service ladies. She apply the benefits of their knowledge and exposures, combined with a more balanced judgment, to train their children and run their families and even be of greater inspiration and role model to their children. Moreover, working to augment family income has not significantly prevented many women from performing their primary role in the family as wives and as mothers. However, this category of women would of necessity put in extra effort to cope with housework and work outside the home.

As noted earlier, the subject of women empowerment and women's centrality to growing national and international interest are no more in doubt. Beside their domestic tasks, women have been playing very productive roles in the economic sphere of the Nigerian society. However because of the patriarchal nature of the Nigerian society, women in employment are first and foremost seen as homemakers rather than fellow workers and partners in national development. This situation has led to a scenario whereby women, despite their educational attainments have been kept out of economic participation. This is particularly the case where the man has the means with which to take care of the whole family, Anugwom (2009). Secondly, there is the issue of women's attitudinal and psychological disposition at the work place. Some Nigerian women approach the labour market with the wrong mental and behavioural attitudes. There are cases where they display attitudes and work orientations that show them as not hardworking or committed enough to shoulder work related pressures and stress.

II. Methodology

The study population consisted of all female Public Servants in Calabar Metropolis, Cross River State, Nigeria. A multistage sampling procedure was utilized to select 520 females (260 single and 260 married). First, the purposive sampling technique was utilized to select institutions to reflect the Local, State, Federal Public Service. These were also adjudged to have relatively high concentration of female staff. Thereafter, the respondents were randomly selected from defined strata (marital status and official cadre) of each institution.

To identify the influence of household factors on the attitudinal disposition of women towards paid job, a list of attitudinal and performance trends peculiar to females in paid employment was drawn up in a questionnaire which also contained demographic variables of respondents. These include; items on the marital status (single or married), family size (number of children), housework involvement (hours spent per week) as well as other family factors and demographic characteristics of the women. On the other hand, items on lateness to work, absenteeism, geographical immobility, and preference for certain job types, among other perceived or observed trends, were taken as items for attitudinal responses. The respondents were requested to respond with regard to their perception on the level of severity of each identified item.

To show the effect of marital status on the attitude of women towards paid work, the mean summative values of their likely attitudinal display towards each of the component items making up the attitudinal scale variables are presented for both married and single. This was done using 4 points Likert continuum of: strongly disagreed (1); disagreed (2); agreed (3); and strongly agreed (4). The total mean score were thereafter computed for each item, after which a mean cut-off point of 2.5 (1+2+3+4/4) was utilized to differentiate between agreed influence $\nless$2.5) and disagreed influence (<2.5).

Of the 520 questionnaires, 500 were used for analysis; the extra 20 was to compensate for wrongly filled and unreturned questionnaires. Descriptive statistics were used to explain collated data. The t-test and Chi-square analysis were also utilized to ascertain the level and direction of interactions among the variables in order to draw inferences.

III. Results and Discussion

a) Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

The demographic data from the respondents in the study area first revealed that the women in the sample captured were all Christians. This is no surprise as Calabar is located in the South-South Nigeria where the population is predominantly Christians. The few Muslims in Calabar are settlers from Northern Nigeria, who by religious requirements do not expose their spouses to the public except the few who are engaged in petty trading within the Northern or Hausa community in Calabar. This is explained by the fact that the Muslim North hold very tight to the cultural and religious requirement of early marriage, confinement of women and placing of limitations in the level of their involvement in any meaningful economic activities outside the home, Modo (1996). Although the Southern Christians believe women should be at home, they are more liberal in the practice of this culture and still allow their wives to combine housework with economic activities, including the formal types like Public Service.

Table 1 : Percentage distribution of respondents by age and marital status

Age	Single		Married		Overall	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Below 30	194	77.6	61	24.4	255	51.0
31-40	51	20.4	112	44.8	163	32.6
41-50	0	0	60	24.0	60	12.0
51-60	5	2.0	17	6.8	22	4.0
61 and above	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**250**	**100**	**250**	**100**	**500**	**100**

Table 2 : Percentage distribution of respondents by educational attainment and marital status

Educational attainment	Single		Married		Overall	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
No education	-	-	-	-	-	-
Incomplete primary education	-	-	-	-	-	-
Complete primary education	14	5.6	15	6.0	29	5.8
Incomplete secondary education	-	-	2	0.8	2	0.4
Complete secondary education	28	11.2	23	9.2	51	10.2
Higher education	208	83.2	210	84.0	418	83.6
Total	**250**	**100**	**250**	**100**	**500**	**100**

Table 3 : Percentage distribution of respondents according to the number of years they have worked and their marital status

Number of years worked	Single		Married		Overall	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Below 5 years	154	16.6	30	12.0	184	36.8
5- 10 years	68	27.2	86	34.4	154	30.8
11 -15 years	18	7.2	41	16.4	59	11.8
16 -17 years	6	2.4	53	21.2	59	11.8
21- 25 years	-	-	26	10.4	26	5.2
25 and above	4	1.6	16	5.6	18	3.6
Total	250	100	250	100	500	100

As expected in Table 1, the number of respondents dropped to zero at age 61 which is just one year away from the official retirement age of 60 in Public Service in Nigeria. There were no singles between ages 41-50, implying that marriage is still highly regarded even as a status symbol among women As such, it is very rare to have women admit to being single at such age range, even among those who are separated, except for those who are widowed. There is also increasing education access for women as Table 2 reveals. Noteworthy is the fact that, at least a primary education is required for a Public Service job. Impressively a very large proportion of subjects (83.6%) have acquired higher education. This may not necessarily imply that the jobs require higher education but may be due to private demand for education with the prospect of earning more income through future modern-sector employment or promotion in a society that rely more on educational certification for employment. (Todaro and Smith, 2005). Table 3 indicates that only a small proportion of the subjects (8.8%) had put in long years of service (21 years and above) indicating further that it is not long since a reasonable proportion of women began to gain entrance into the formal sector of Public Service.

b) Marital Status, Housework, Parenthood and Perceived Influences on Work Attitude

Table 4 : Percentage distribution of respondents by number of children and marital status

Number of children	Single		Married		Overall	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
None	239	95.6	11	4.4	250	50.0
1-3	11	4.4	146	58.4	157	31.4
4-6	-	-	90	36.0	90	18.0
Above 6	-	-	3	1.2	3	0.6
Total	250	100	250	100	500	100

Table 5 : Percentage distribution of respondents by the number of hours they spend on housework per day and their marital status

Number of hours per day	Single		Married		Overall	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
3.5 hours	144	57.6	65	26.0	209	41.8
6-8 hours	100	40.0	119	47.6	219	43.8
8-11 hours	6	2.4	64	25.6	70	14.0
Above 11 hours	-	-	2	0.8	2	0.4
Total	250	100	250	100	500	100

On subjects' children, Table 4 shows that most of the subjects who had children (31.4%) limited the number to three. The likely explanation is that these categories of women working in formal sectors as results in Table 2 confirms and as Chaudhry and Irshad (2009) argued, are often predominantly educated, and therefore less vulnerable to unwanted and multiple pregnancies, due to raised aged at first marriage and awareness on the need to limit family size. Besides, they are more likely to be aware of available contraceptive methods.

Table 5 shows that 43.8% of the women spend between three to eight hours doing housework per day. Also, as much as 41.8% spend between 3 to 5 hours on housework each day. Public Service requires about eight hours a day, implying that many of these women will have reduced time for leisure and rest and this is certain to impact negatively on their performances at work.

Table 6 : Mean distribution of respondents according to their marital status and their perception of combined influences of housework and family size on paid work

S/N	Perceived Response	Mean single	Mean married	Grand mean	Response	Rating
1	Perception of house work/child care as being stressful	3.1	3.5	3.3	Agreed	Strong
2	Combining housework with paid job as being more tasking for women	3.1	3.3	3.2	Agreed	Strong
3	Lateness to work	3.1	3.4	3.3	Agreed	Strong
4	Absence from work	2.8	2.9	2.9	Agreed	Weak
5	Geographical immobility	3.3	3.6	3.5	Agreed	Strong
6	Preference for a particular kind of job	3.2	3.0	3.1	Agreed	Strong
7	Overall job performance	3.0	3.4	3.2	Agreed	Strong

The figures in Table 6 show that both single and married subjects agreed that housework and child care are stressful and that combining them with paid job is very tasking. The results further show that both the married and single subjects agreed on all items influencing their attitude towards their job. However, this agreement is weak for absenteeism. The likely explanation is that women will still strive to be at work, even if it means their getting there late. Other factors, including health status, which could be as a result of stress from household responsibilities, can be responsible for women's absence from work. Also, all respondents strongly agreed to geographical immobility. This means that both married and single women will object to being transferred to other locations. More so, in the case of married women, they would not want to leave their home and children or change schools for their children. Although both married and single women agreed on preference for particular kinds of jobs, it is of interest to note that the single women scored a higher point. This could be explained by the fact that a number of Nigerian men, who are still very traditional in their values, tend to prefer to wives whose work will give them time for family life. A number of unmarried women will therefore be unwilling to compromise their 'marriageability' because of having to move from location to location by virtue of their jobs.

Table 7 : Summary of Mean, Standard Deviation and 't'-Test for difference between the perception of married and single women in their work attitude

Marital status	Mean	Standard Deviation	Total (N)
Married	21.6	3.9692	250
Single	23.66	3.992	250

Degree of freedom (DF) = 548

Calculated't' (t_{cal}) = 11.6657

Critical t (t_{tab}) = 1.960 at 5% probability level

The result in Table 7 shows that t_{cal}(11.67) > t_{tab}(1.960), that is, the difference in the mean score of single women on their work attitude (23.66), which is higher than that of the married women (21.6), is significant. Therefore, single women are more favorably disposed to paid work than the married women in terms of their work attitude.

To establish the extent to which parenthood and involvement in house work are determinants of work attitude in women, chi-square (X^2) analysis was used in each case, while the incidence and direction of their respective relationships were depicted by the percentages corresponding to the frequencies as shown in Table 8 and 9.

Table 8 : Summary of chi-square analysis on the level of involvement in housework and women attitude towards paid employment

Work Attitude	Hours spent per week on housework			Total
	Less than 30 hours	30-45 hours	Above 45 hours	
No. of positive respondent	129(110.4)*	119(115.6)	16(38.0)	264
% of positive respondent	25.8	23.8	3.2	52.8
No. of	80 (98.7)	100(103.4)	56(34.0)	26.6

negative respondent				
% of negative respondent	16.0	20.0	11.2	47.2
Total	209 (41.8)	219(43.8)	72(14.4)	500 (100)

* Figures in bracket indicate expected frequencies.

Calculated $\chi^2 = 33.7$

Tabulated $\chi^2 = 5.99$

In Table 8, the χ^2 statistical analysis with discrepancies between observed and expected frequencies counts show that calculated $\chi^2 = 33.7$ is greater than the tabulated $\chi^2 = 5.99$ at 5% probability level. The Table suggests a significant and negative dependence between the number of hours women spend in housework per week and their attitudinal disposition towards paid employment, considering the pattern of interactions displayed. However, the difference in percentage values between the positive and negative attitudes among subjects is not very wide, meaning that the extent of effect created by this variable (hours spent on housework per week) on women's attitude towards paid employment is not as strong as that of numbers of children, as earlier discussed.

A significantly high proportion of the women are among those who spend either 30-45 or less than 30 hours per week (43.8% and 41.8% respectively) Interestingly, a greater proportion(25.8% and 23.8% respectively) of them are favourably disposed to paid job in terms of their attitude as Table 8 shows. On the whole, a greater proportion of the subjects (52.8%) as shown in Table 8 are on the positive side of attitudinal display, the hours they put into housework notwithstanding. The increase in the use of domestic servants, high patronage of child-care centres (crèches) and changing attitude of husbands are possible contributing factors to the reduced impact housework could have on women's attitude to paid work.

Table 9 : Summary of chi-square (χ^2) analysis on family size as a determinant of work attitude among employed women

Work Attitude	Number of children			Total
	none	1-3	4 and above	
No. of positive respondent	85(71.7)*	68(73.0)	16(24.3)	169
% of positive respondent	17.0	13.6	3.2	33.8
No. of negative respondent	127(143.7)	148(172.9)	56(47.7)	331
% of negative respondent	25.4	29.6	11.2	66.2
Total	212(42.4)	216(43.2)	72(14.4)	500 (100)

* Figures in bracket indicate expected frequencies.

Calculated $\chi^2 = 8.59$

Tabulated $\chi^2 = 5.99$

The analysis in Table 9 indicates that the calculated chi-square value (8.5915) is greater than the critical chi-square value (5.99) at 5% probability level. This finding further shows a negative relationship between parenthood and work attitude, especially for those who manifested positive attitude. However, this relationship is not a clear cut one for those whose attitudinal disposition is on the negative. Could it be that some other variables other than familial factors have parts to play – this is a subject of further investigation?

Other striking features of Table 9 are the facts that only one-third (33.8%) of working women showed positive attitude, which is what is expected of them in their jobs, while the remaining 66.2% indicated negative attitude. These values, when compared with values from number of hours spent on housework, as showed in Table 8, indicate that this variable (number of children) contributes more to unfavourable tendencies in women's attitude at work. Since strain and stress at home affect women at work, this finding concurs with the work of Luecken et al (2000). In evaluating the biological and psychological effects of role of overload, Luecken et al examined the effects of marital (or partnership) status and parenting (defined as having children at home) on a sample of women and found that working women with children at home, irrespective of marital status, experience higher levels of home strain than those without children.

Among subjects with no children, one would have expected most of them to display positive attitude but the reverse is the case (17.0% showed positive attitude while 25.4% had negative work attitude), suggesting the influence of other factors, like personal commitment level. Despite this, it is only among this group that a reasonable proportion had positive work attitude, although a greater percentage still had negative work attitude. This suggests that there are other factors that influence women's work attitude in paid employment other than parenthood. On a general note, the results still indicate that the more the number of children a woman has, the more unfavorably disposed she will be to work in terms of her attitude.

IV. The Dilemma: Implications for Development

In Nigeria, many factors contribute to limit female excellence in the paid employment. There is a general bias against women in most developing countries like Nigeria. Traditionally, women are the home keepers and are in most instances restricted to mere baby industries and appendages to men folk, Jegede, (1994). Men are usually more recognized and valued even by women themselves, while women are viewed as the weaker sex who cannot be allowed to take on positions of authority. Ordinarily, Nigerian women would have loved to remain behind and take care of the home-front but the complexities of modern society, the ever-increasing (financial) challenges and pressures on their husbands, and their natural sense of love, care and sympathy, have conspired to force women into the man's world (Okoli,1999).

Now that they are in the world of work or rather the world of men, Haralambos and Holborn (2008) asserted that a key factor in causing the inequality between men and women in society is the problem faced by women in combining paid employment and family life. Economically, women are not expected to be serious about earning money in Nigeria. A woman is expected to be at home playing wife/mother role, while husband goes out to earn money. The society discourages women from accumulating wealth. If they earn any reasonable amount of income, it should be fully utilized in running the home, Oguonu, (2003). For Loveness, (1990), marriage is generally accepted as the center of any social community and this cultural dimension is as important as the economic and other aspects of social life.

The notion about being a woman is formed early in the female child and tends to inhibit the desire to aspire higher in certain aspects of life. From a theoretical stand point, Rosenberg (1956), in his Want-Satisfaction Theory of Attitude Formation asserted that the attitude of an individual towards an object or situation is largely a function of whether or not the object, event or situation facilitates the individual's satisfaction of his want or achievement of his goal. Consequently, individuals, stressed Rosenberg, will have positive attitude towards objects or situations that facilitate the satisfaction of their wants or achievement of their goals, and negative attitude towards objects or situations that inhibit or block the satisfaction of their wants or achievement of their goals. The implication of this is that women's work attitude in relation to their family size, involvement in house work and marital status will depend largely on whether or not their work facilitates or blocks the achievement/fulfillment of the expectations and obligations that come with parenthood, housework or those that accompany their status as single or married women.

To correct this, it becomes necessary to adopt Hyman's (1959) recommendation on absorption of political orientation by women, such that the beginning of participation of women in all spheres of life is started in relatively early childhood years; since by age 16, the phenomenon or notion is most probably well formed in the girl child. Participation by women and enhancement of women's status need not produce conflicts between the men and women but rather, more homogeneous societies with both sexes contributing to development. It should not be viewed as reversal of roles. Self-assertiveness programs can be run with a view to condition career women to the possibility of dilemmas and contradictions in being career women. On the other hand, men must be educated to reckon with the fact that this breed of women whom they cannot quite accept as women now exist and are increasing (Oganwu, 1996). The way out of this dilemma is thus to develop a strategy of balance among the roles of women. The urgent task is no longer how to bring them back to the home-front but rather how to fortify the home-front in their absence so that the vacuum created by so doing can be effectively filled (Okoli, 1999).

V. Conclusion

This study reveals that women's marital status, parenthood, and housework are all determinants of their attitudinal disposition towards paid employment in the area of study. In other words, the direction of women's work attitude is a function of all three determinants, with other personal, physical and psychological factors also interfering. Parenthood was however found to have the highest impact when compared to marital status and level of involvement in housework, leading to the conclusion that irrespective of the marital status, working women with children at home are more negatively disposed in their attitude towards paid employment.

These findings have implication for development, considering the centrality of women in development and the fight against poverty. It becomes imperative therefore, for women-directed development programmes to be designed to include early socialization programmes for the girl-child, to facilitate the inculcation into girls and women values that will give them a firmer hold on their role in development via paid employment. Value orientation and re-orientation for men will go a long way in securing the needed support from men whom these women will have to contend with as husbands and as bosses in their journey towards contributing to development via paid employment.

To further facilitate women's participation in paid employment society needs to work towards removing gender division within the family. This can be achieved by giving boys and girls socialization that is not gender-driven, thereby giving no room for identification with particular roles. If this is achieved the pressures women experience by virtue of their exclusive involvement in housework will be removed or at least reduced as both sexes will now share in housework.

Furthermore, bearing in mind that child care predisposes women negatively in their work attitude, as the study reveals, it becomes absolutely necessary to strengthen existing family planning, child-spacing and birth control programmes. Obviously, fewer children would imply, less child care obligations and consequently, improved work attitude.

To conclude, only gender-friendly work and social policies will create the enabling environment for the issues raised not to be a mere mirage but realities that would address the socio-cultural dilemmas women are faced with in their quest to be part of development generally and the world of work in particular. This responsibility rests largely on the shoulders of government.

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Traditional Chiefs and Decentralization in the Region of Tahoua in Niger

By Zakari Aboubacar
University of Zinder Aboubacar, Niger

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The initiative could solve the excessive centralization of government powers in African countries. In order to understand the decentralization process in Niger, we should not only refer to the democratic context but also we should understand certain historical facts. Besides the context of democracy, it should be noted that the claims of the armed rebellion (1989) based on federalism have led to peace agreements, in the October 9, 1994 and April 24, 1995 between the organization of armed resistance (ORA) and the Government of Niger, to adopt decentralization as a form of governance. The option is a full communalisation by changing the townships (sedentary and area nomadic) in commune status. The communes are headed by an elected mayor. The logic is to make these structures as real poles of local development. But in the same way and during a long time at the head of same township there is a leader who administered his people according to traditional mode. This two kind of powerful can create a social conflict if some rules are not defined. I am interested to region of Tahoua, particularly the two urban communes.

Keywords : decentralization, municipality, local government, traditional chief, urban commune.

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I. Introduction

Since the independence of Niger, each government needs to involve the population achievements development. From Diori Hamani, Niger's first president - 1960 the August 03 to April 15, 1974- to now, each one tried to organize the people in the national development process. Although, the contents of the mobilization and approach differ from one system to another, it leads to the same result: the ability to organize local people within the structures of their own where they can decide about their own affairs but according to the logic of administrative supervision.

This kind of organisation was named decentralization. But it is important to note that despite the ambition engaged by both of political authorities since the independence; the implementation of decentralization has been taking a long time. The five successive constitutions have all endorsed the principle.

In 1962, were created district councillors, whom in reality had little power because Niger country is belong on a single party (see Law 61-50 of 31 December 1961, according to the organization of local governments that builds the old unit circles and subdivisions from territorial constituencies in the colonization and the Law 64-023 of 17 July 1964, establishing administrative districts and local authorities who organized the country into departments, districts and communes).

Except the reform of territorial administration under General Seyni KOUNTCHE (April 15, 1974-november 1987), the decentralization process was stalled until the National Conference in 1991. From this time (order of March 27, 1992) an institutional high commission for administrative reform and decentralization has been created. The work done by the members of this institution result in a report dealing with four main issues: the territorial division, the principle of decentralized management, community resources and future stages of implementation. After a hiatus from 1996 to 1999 due to a military coup, the process is start only under the Fifth Republic. The option chosen by the government with the help of donors is communalisation.

The Niger territory is divided into 266 municipalities, (Law No. 2002/012 of 11 June 2002 which determines the basic principles of the free administration of regions, departments and communes). This division was based on custom entity, the township which has itself been divided geographically by a number of villages. On the basis was held the election of the 266 communes on July 24, 2004, officially proclaimed by the Constitutional Court on August 5, 2004.

This act is the recognition of new communes by citizens. But the implementation of the process provokes reactions and protests as noted ZANGAOU Moussa "these reactions are both positive and negative. They relate to all people leaving the region. (....) Heads are, in the districts, very active in these series of challenges. "

In this paper, we try to understand, what has happened according to the relationship between traditional authorities and new mayors in the Region of Tahoua particularly in the urban commune. Which solution could find different actors?

II. A Problem

Most African states, since the early of the 1990 years, were engaged in institutional reform including

Author : Department of Sociology, University of Zinder Aboubacar.
E-mail : zakari@gmail.com

decentralization because "*the initiative and the implementation of these reforms are based on a number of assumptions relating to the nature and the function of postcolonial states*"(Elsa ,2003). They are supposed to perform all the functions devolved to them but apparently their centralized management is a barrier as noted by Albert TEVODJRE, "*a centralized state has a heavy bureaucracy which annihilates any initiative at the base*" (TEVODJRE, 1978). But for Kadre Desire OUEDRAGO, we should look about the context of the birth of the African state. Because he said that "*the African state is the product of a double misunderstanding, a state built on the basis of ulterior thoughts"* (OUEDRAGO, 2001). According to the synthesis of these theories we understand that the African state refers not only to its past history, i.e. the time of kingdoms but also its contact with the colonization system. Then Kadre Desire OUEDRAGO concludes that "*ultimately, none could annihilate each other, and the post-colonial African state continues to coexist with the colonial legacy and the traditional*" (OUEDRAGO, 2001). That is why this misunderstanding of the essence of the African state which partly explains its central character that blocks any development initiative at the local level. In this case, the aim of decentralization is to correct this problem and to include the African state as Niger's country in the concert of developed nations.

In Niger, the implementation of decentralization process does not only point to the above mentioned fact but also in its relation to certain historical facts. *The macro sociological* (OUEDRAGO,2001*)* context is marked by the political pluralism opened by the speech of the Baule with the holding of the Sovereign National Conference and the claim of the armed rebellion in the northern part of Niger where uranium and other natural resources are operated based on federal arrangement. This claim has led to peace agreements, on 9 October 1994 and 24 April 1995 between the organization of the Resistance Army (ORA) and the Government of Niger, which state that the Republic of Niger is divided into administrative districts which are Region, Department, District and commune (High Commissioner for administrative reform and decentralization, Final Report on the administrative division of the Republic of Niger, in January 1996).

Since then, the Niger government, with the support of donors, has being working in creating communes. Proposals and laws were adopted and promulgated culminating with the holding of municipal elections on the 24 July 2004. "*The legislative framework of this administrative reform is based on the communalization of all the headquarters of cantons (fee the customary chiefs sedentary) and certain groups (nomads)"* (HAHOUNOU, 2002*).*

In this case, the Law 2002/012 of 11 June 2002 is the reference of this reform which determines the fundamental principles of free administration of regions, counties and municipalities taking into account the administrative authority that characterizes the state of Niger. However at the present time, the scheme only applies to the municipal level with the creation of 266 municipalities including 52 urban and 214 rural, each with a headed by a mayor who chairs the council. "*The aim is to transfer the decision-making powers of the central government to local level*" (HAHOUNOU, 2002). The objective is to promote good governance at local level. This approach is called the normative theories of decentralization. According to this view; "*decentralization could be considered as a necessary condition for improving the planning and implementation of development"* (OUEDRAGO, 2001). But if we observe the various theories involved, you realize of course that it is diffusion. This character of diffusions postulates that the progress realized in modern societies (western) must extend in the society through a process of diffusion of consumer products, technology, mode of behaviour, short of the institutions. But when you observe at a practical level, you realize of course that the different reaction of the component of the Niger society is a source of concern for a success of the process. Four years later, the decentralization in Niger which is consider being a transfer of skills and resources from central level of the state to municipalities, is akin "*to a transfer of a pyramid of problems"(*ADJI,2008*).* Elected people and citizens of the 266 municipalities in the country cannot become familiar with the process. The reform coupled with the administrative division, citizen can't distinguish the electoral circumscription with the local collectivity. The communes of Tahoua are not an exception to the rule. In this case, Zangaou Moussa, citing Nahiou Mamoudou, reported that "*in the congress, representatives of traditional chiefs have called this process of decentralization and a hasty readjustment of communalisation unbridled*." *At the same meeting, some from the region of Tahoua nomadic dominance has even rejected all the results of the redistricting commission* (ZANGAOU, 2002).

In the same way, in order to find a response to decentralization system particularly in its disruption of the existing system, civil society via the association of pastures from the north region of Tahoua have queried about impacts of communalization on the lifestyle and the natural areas of the pastures. By the fact, pastoralism and communalization evoked two opposite systems of social organization, which are economic and political respectively. Communalization will create two problems for transhumant pastoralists:

- The redefinition of their space of belonging
- Investment and other subsidies for the State in the context of the communalization.

Only the determination of legal rules will resolve this problem which generates reactions, because for nomads the space is open and infinite.

It is clearly there are some problems in the implementation of the decentralization process which must be analyse. The traditional chief want to conserve their powerful but the new mayors should work about modern logic according to the supervision authority. In this case how to harmonise the different views?

III. Methodology

In order to report an analytical study, we firstly conduct a review of literature, identify the main concepts in the second part and third the aims and the objectives of the study.

IV. Review of Literature

In the implementation of development programs of African countries including Niger, governments have adopted mechanisms for development according to the situation of the moment (from the proclamation of the republic to now). Capitalist or socialist programs through structural adjustment program, they managed to achieve decentralization as a way of managing the local power by creating databases of a national development. But between theory and practice, there are steps to be crossed. It never once crossed would make the wish. Precisely, in this step, an extensive literature exists for this purpose. We shall do the synthesis of the latter in order to identify the theories involved. Thus, our literature review is structured around the following central themes:

- Decentralization and democracy;
- Decentralization and development;
- Decentralization and the socio-historical
- Decentralization and Issues
- Decentralization and Challenges:

a) Decentralization and Democracy

Speaking about of the relationship between decentralization and democracy, Jean POIRIER, (2001), note that decentralization policies have occurred one or two decades are presented as a more democratic because it is actually a consequence of the serious deficiencies that represent all the schemes Democracy in the West because they are too often unaware of the specifics and values of African societies. The author focuses on a particular aspect. Whoever is to consider the socio-economic development of Africa in the implementation of decentralization? For him, if the content is not appropriate to the context, needs and specific potential of society to decentralize, it is likely to become an additional element of instability, or simply be unnecessary. This overcomes a concept of decentralization Universalist improperly or functionalist.

The interest of this study lies in the fact that it not only refers the decentralization in a democratic context, but also recommended to take account of specific society to decentralize.

Rene OTAYECK, (1999), meanwhile, in a study on "democracy protests between identity and state needs. There is there an "African exception? »Asks about the crucial question in relation to decentralization in Africa. He said the decentralization of the state, it means the divestiture of the center of its regulatory functions and distribution, and transfer of certain powers of the most crucial, according to the credo of donors funds, represent a major strand of the institutional reconstruction of the State in Africa?

For this author, is certainly required but decentralize state must remain a strong state because civil society has not reached a high degree of maturity, but also it is a great risk of leaving the management to fully local officials inadequately prepared for the tasks of command.

The analysis is interesting by the fact that the reform to be successful must be supported by an awakened civil society and local officials can ensure that their work. It is not the case in Niger because the country that has just begun the experience in 2004. Nevertheless, the game is worth the candle. But the term "strong state" should not encroach on the part of the administrative supervision because it must remain the reference in the conduct of any administrative action.

All these authors make their analysis according to the relationship between democracy and democracy. Certainly it must have a democratic system in order to claim a local election (which does not exist in states of emergency) but they do not show how democracy should strengthen decentralization at the base. Therefore with regard to democratic progress in African countries must emphasize the need to involve local people in managing state affairs. Involve local people requires the involvement of this important population in our countries in the development process through appropriate institutional mechanisms. To this reflection, we must add those about the relation between decentralization and development.

b) Decentralization and Development

Dele Olowu, (2001), after having identified the three major steps that have characterized the decentralization shows that only a polycentric government is likely to promote decentralization. In this perspective, it reveals that decentralization is linked to the ability to consolidate the socio-economic ties within local communities witch have a defined territorial basis. His study concludes by noting that development, democracy and decentralization are linked because the development in the context of decentralization is seen as expanding the economic and social democracy. This study are interested for our paper because, it emphasizes the fact that decentralization is to consider the initiatives of local people to recognize their rights to

Global Journal of Human Social Science (C) Volume XIII Issue IV Version I Year 2013

use resources which would enable them to participate in defining and implementation of development policies. In another sense, Albert TEVODJERE, (1978) shows that decentralization is intended firstly to provide communities with basic villagers, for example, full power to ensure all issues of local interest. He further notes that the municipalities as basic units for planning contribute to the development and implementation of the strategy development and regionalization plan. This study is also interested in the sense that the author places the local people especially women as actors for local development.

All these authors consider decentralization as an engine of local development, but they do not really show how local people really need to be involved in the process of development.

According to the connotations given to development in our societies, we must simultaneously placing decentralization in the development perspective to redefine the meaning of the conception of development. It will not be question about approach distance of local cultures in the development process. It must be adopted in our societies, an alternative approach that places in a central position the cultural environment, whether the city or village and focuses on individuals and their participation. Ultimately, it is through in the implementation of local development, to know who can answer the following questions. Who should be asking? What are the unconditional positive, negative fans, and intermediaries? Consideration of this principle is fundamental to the success of decentralization in our states but not enough. It should be completed by the contribution according to the relation between decentralization and the socio-historical values.

c) *Decentralization and the Socio-Historical Values*

According to this relationship, Jean GUILLEMIN, (1984), notes that rural areas which represent in most cases more than 80% of the population of African states in the south of the Sahara remain attached to their tradition. By education and tradition, rural structures respect traditional customary. For this population, the modern administration issue from the settlement is mostly abstract and it is difficult for us to understand it. But, the traditional chief collaborator of t this administration appears to them not only more accessible but also better able to understand their particular problems because they are familiarly with them.

This study is interested in the sense that it focuses on the reaction of rural population face to modern structures.

This reaction proves that any reform on the environment must reflect this balance of power. In addition to this reflection, MALAM Souley (1984), in a study of political sociology of Touareg in Niger shows that local elites have a real power; their subjects are still with them especially they represent the tradition and they know about people situation.

This study is interesting by the fact it encourage to respects not only the role of local elites in Niger but also it explain the role of values to be respected when a State engaged reforms in the direction of the local population.

In conclusion, Eric Komlavi, Hahonou, in a study of traditional leaders and the decentralization project in a west locality of Niger, stresses the importance of traditional authorities in their subject but also how they are rehabilitated meet new reforms. He also note that the leaders are brokers institutionalized for the government and para public one. For him, to access to justice is a good example of the strategic position occupied by the leadership in resolving internal affairs. He tells us a fact that he was told..... *For example if stolen made by someone, the victim cannot come directly go to the police station to complain. He will go to his chief. The other sends it to the cluster head. ... The cluster head will touch the competent authority.... Nomad does not come directly to the administration or the gendarmerie. He always has a support.... Through is the guide. He is indispensable..... He knows the administration even if he has not done school.*

This example emphasized the antagonism between the leaders and their citizens, because for him in order to make affair easy, it becomes complicated. He concluded by saying that despite the redistribution of the political, traditional leaders have in the local arenas central and hegemonic positions of power that, they do not intend to lose. The interest of this study is that it places the traditional authorities in their area in a strategic position.

It is clearly that, these authors in their analyze are favorable to respect the traditional authorities and local people reactions according to any reform, but we insist that any reform, any action towards the public must take account of socio-historical values, because developers cannot get away with the entire arsenal of a socio-cultural society in order to impose their own vision of development.

So, decentralization must respect its values because it has a lot of issues.

d) *Decentralization and Issues*

Relating about the issue of decentralization in African countries, Raogo Antoine Sawadogo, observe that the African state is centralized. The aim of decentralization is to correct that anomaly. He said the current conception of African state does not correspond to reality. It is not comparable to other states, because there isn't a national consciousness of citizens. He also emphasizes that it never had sufficient means to accomplish its mission by fostering public support and the emergence of a citizen behaviour.

For him, it must rebuild the post-colonial state. We can analyze about the situation of African societies and institutions in place, analyze also the problems in the short, medium and long term in order to identify and establish the foundations for a viable and sustainable. In other words, we must take into account the situation of African societies in order to create the basis for real development to meet the aspirations of the people.

Another study on the issues of decentralization is reported by Michel Bassard and al.1984, in a study on housing policy in Switzerland including the need for municipalities to implement a policy of social housing. The authors note that it has as purpose to overcome the negative consequences of economic policy in housing, characterized by the gradual abolition until 1970 for control and monitoring of rent. According to these authors, the common focusing on public assistance to social housing, it is therefore for her to increase the number of accessible housing for people on low incomes particularly the elderly and large families should be the main beneficiaries of such housing.

To this end, incentives for building housing mainly financial are adopted. They are lowering rents by about 30 percent while allowing owners to get a rental yield normal.

These authors by considering the values of return on capital invested in such operations on the one hand, and control conditions set to get public assistance, on the other hand, believe that the motivations of the actors and encouraged to attend this action will be more social and economic policy. In addition, the active participation of municipal authorities to implement federal policy depends on the local political dynamics or between local councils.

This study applied even in part in our municipalities is very important when you know how the problem of housing in towns and villages dominated by traditional property land. We need in our towns and villages to adopt a social housing capable of securing most vulnerable in the society.

e) Decentralization and Challenges

Decentralization as an administrative system of management but also a kind of planning development activities for the government is not apply in the same way. It can be different from one country to another, from one political regime to another, but also from a constitution to another. What is applied in Niger is not apply in a country which has opted capitalism, socialism or communism system. In this case, Niger's constitution notes in its articles 127 and 128 that "The territorial administration based on the principles of decentralization and deconcentration. Local governments are created by an organic law. The law determines the fundamental principles of the free administration of local government, skills and resources. (Article 127). The State shall ensure the harmonious development of all local authorities on the basis of national solidarity, regional potentials and equilibrium inter - regional. (Article 128). "

In addition, Niger was a French colony did not suddenly opt for its own model of development. All policies initiated have reference to the metropolis. This situation proves the originality of the study compared to other models of development. In this context, the country should apply not only to its constitution but also its administration in the comity of developed nations. The adoption of decentralization is one of these pathways. It must implement a public administration capable of challenges based on priorities.

In this case, IRA SHARKANSKY, speaking about public administration, noted that the administrative staffs belong to the government. The quality of the population affects the quality of government. Also, the author defined the public administrators. According to one view, all people who work for the government are public administrators. As, another conception, the administrators are those who administer or manage other employees.

About public policy, the author notes that public policies are important decisions of government. For specialists in political science and public administration, the study of public administration offers the opportunity to integrate their interests in government and politics with the study of how it is made.

In this context, the budget in the context of the administration, he said that he is not simply a tool of government. He underwent stages of planning, compilation and review at the executive and legislative branches, and its implementation regularly extends over 28 months for each fiscal year.

The author also wondered why the budget is established and how it is established. Several perspectives can be envisaged to these two questions. A specialist in economics could say that we establish a budget to save money, or to maintain existing resources according to their importance. In other words, it must establish priorities based on needs.

A political scientist might accept this definition of economists with scepticism. Appreciating the struggles for power that is still raging in and around the government, the political scientist can say that the budget is established to maintain the score, or show what interests has gained or lost in the establishment of a budget. Political scientist thinks more in terms of conflict in the budgeting process.

A specialist in public administration in turn may differ somewhat from both economists and political scientist, adding the perspective of organizational integration and accountability. For policy, budgeting is a great opportunity to define how the government will have to do to protect the important details of the image of his commitment.

The budget is an opportunity for politicians to send signals to their protagonist: more money for programs that are highly valued and for those less favored by the opposition. Also in the context of the administration, the author notes that Roberto Michels, organization and management are inevitable to ensure consistent management of public affairs. But for Max Weber, who is a prolific writer, whose essays have covered a wide range of geographical and historical time through ancient China with his German contemporary, we rather describe the main modes of power that exist in organizations Based on its scheme of the ideal type of bureaucracy.

The major contribution of Max Weber to the study of public administration is its description of the ideal bureaucracy. By the ideal, Weber does not desirable. For him, an ideal type is the archetype or the pure manifestation of the bureaucracy.

The Weberian model of bureaucracy has shaped much of what has been written on the bodies, since his time. This is an image of a specialized staff; each working in a narrow segment of the business organization, making decisions based on detailed manuals of procedures, and communicates with colleagues based solely on the official channel command. But this model is not the best one. This is a design that can be rehabilitated in different contexts.

It is clear that the theory developed here refers to developed countries have either opted for federalism and capitalism. The interest of this study for us is that it places the human resources related to their activity in a process of finding a business model capable of meeting the challenges that an administration has fixed. There is no predetermined plan or theories. Therefore, in seeking to describe or explain the structures of government, there is no single organization theory predominates.

A quick overview of these writings reveals that decentralization as an institutional reform is depend on a democratic system and has provoke reactions. For the political (government-developers-donors), it is to promote a new dynamic in the management of state affairs by empowering local people. But according to our analysis, we claim that the success of such reform must not only be within a democratic context, but also the logic of developers must not supplant the local realities. We need the feedback and social values are taken into consideration so that development does not remain as advocated in its theoretical context, but a reality because the government rarely takes into account the cultural factor when developing policy. Because cultural mix that characterizes Africa; various factors including religious, linguistic, cultural and social concerns should be taken into account when drafting the general policy of the government. This can be done by allowing local people to have their own local representatives who would serve as their liaison with the central government.

This is what can be learning about our literature review. In order to situate our study, we must identify the main concepts because it is very important to understand, what we want to do.

V. Conceptual Approach

a) *Decentralization*

The concept of decentralization has been the subject of much analysis. Several authors have attempted to define the concept. In the Concise Oxford Dictionary (1983), Decentralization is defined as an act of decentralizing some powers to local communities, spread across an entire country governments, industries, organizations, etc.., which were grouped into a same direction. This is a nominal definition. It does not allow us to characterize the concept of decentralization, because decentralization is a multidimensional process. Some kinds of typologies have been developed by researchers. The first typology established by Rondinelli in 1981 and repeated in all studies of the 1980s, distinguished between the concepts of decentralization, delegation, devolution and privatization. In 1995, Parker adopted the typology of Rondinelli and proposes to reduce to 3 the concepts included from the concept of "decentralization". First, it excludes privatization defined as the transfer to the private sector tasks formerly carried out by the state, partly because it involves a transfer of decisions outside of public systems and, secondly, because private enterprises newly competent in size Large in Africa. Secondly, it excludes the functional delegation to others agencies apart government since it was rarely initiated or when it was, fail to facilitate the implementation of a real transfer of decision making. Therefore, the three forms of decentralization used are: administrative decentralization, and fiscal policy.

b) *The Administrative Dimension*

It is a redistribution of administrative responsibilities of the top level of the hierarchy of the central state to its lower levels, mostly through geographical dispersion of state agents.

c) *The Budgetary Dimension*

Fiscal decentralization is a dual phenomenon and is defined as "the delegation of taxing powers and expenditure commitment at lower levels of the administration." It involves first, an advance sharing of fiscal resources and, secondly, a division of accounts and functions between central and local governments.

d) *The Political Dimension*

Democratic decentralization is defined as the simultaneous transfer of power and resources to authorities largely independent of central government and democratic in some respects. For MANOR (1998), decentralization can be considered democratic in the following cases:

1. Local officials (mayor, councillors) are directly or indirectly elected by secret ballot;
2. Local communities involved in the management of local affairs, not through the vote, but by work supervisors. This review generally informal, however, is considered less powerful than the electoral control;
3. Local institutions are making efforts to learn about people's needs. This can result for example, by establishing local committees to boost popular participation, organize and coordinate community involvement in development projects.

The main originality and strength of this type of decentralization is to make local officials responsible face to their electors. But, populations, with a limited transfer of skills and resources, the expected effectiveness of local governments are compromised. This is why decentralization should be considered from three angles: administrative, fiscal and democratic in order to provide financial and bureaucratic resources and population control is exercised over local institutions.

In Niger, the official documents, characterized as devolution of power by the state to territorial entities existing or new (there were 35 municipalities under devolution). It is conditioned by the existing of five (5) essential elements:

1. A significant portion of the territory with clear boundaries;
2. A legal personality of public law;
3. An own elected bodies: a deliberative and an executive body;
4. Local Affairs sensible to express the needs of local residents, the general affairs of the executive branch of the State;
5. Guardianship with subsequent verification done by representatives of central government on the actions and those of local authorities.

In this case, Idi DAOUDA civil administrator and Director of the High Commissioner for administrative reform and decentralization (UNHCR / D) at the time said that, “decentralization in Niger is a technique which consists of administrative management was transferred to entities legally recognized that other State, a number of powers to independently manage their own affairs.

There is a territorial decentralization for local government and technical decentralization for specialist public institutions In the case of Niger, in addition to existing communes, the government has set up further by transforming the cantons in commune and in some cases villages retained after the redistricting of 1996.

e) The Township

A township is the traditional socio-political organization that prevailed at the base in Niger since the days of the kingdoms. It includes a number of villages and a population in a located area like Tahoua for example. It is administer by a traditional chief. This chief have a court composed of notable, griot, wise men, which help him to accomplish his mission and the mode of succession is by lineage. The traditional chief has a reputation indisputable from his population level which worships responding to the virtues of ancient traditions. But now this township is transformed as a commune with elected mayor. So that, there are some problems which must be analysed in this study.

f) Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study is to relate the different position of actors involved in the process of decentralisation in the region of Tahoua, particularly in the two urban communes. About the objectives, we try to improve how to harmonize the different views according to the administrative supervision because our reference in this study is ideal bureaucracy for Max Weber and the role of social values from Raogo Antoine Sawadogo.

VI. Geographical Context and Human

a) Presentation of Niger

Niger is a landlocked country in Western part of Africa, sharing border with Nigeria and Benin to the south, with Mali and Burkina Faso to the west, with Algeria and Libya to the north and Chad to the east. Niger is the largest nation in West Africa with an area of about 1,267,000 km2; also, the population of Niger is estimated at about 15,000,000.

Niger is a developing country with over 80% of its territory covered by the Sahara desert. The economy is concentrated around the subsistence and some export agricultural and of natural resources especially uranium. Niger remains handicapped by its landlocked position, poor education, infrastructure, healthcare, and environmental degradation. Since independence, Nigeriens have lived under six constitutions and five periods of military rule, but have maintained elected multiparty rule since 1999. A vast majority of the population lives in rural areas, and has little access to advanced education. Niger is divided into 7 regions and a capital district, Niamey; the regions are subdivided into 36 departments. As of 2006 the 36 departments are splitted into 266 communes. There are 52 communes’ urbaines (urban communes) and 214 communes’ rurales (rural communes).

In Niger, the process of decentralization follows the socio-political history of the country. The process of decentralization has started with a law which was passed on 1st December 1961. Since then the process of decentralization has undergone many changes, the 1961 law was amended later with the 1964 Act, which itself underwent a process of reform since 1996. Finally, it was the full communalization of the chief-town of canton (stronghold of the customary chiefs sedentary) and certain groups (nomads) was the legislative framework of the reform. Under this framework, the government organized the local elections on 24 July 2004 and was the starting point of decentralization. But between theory and practice, there are realities to be taken into account according to the several logics.

b) The Region of Tahoua

i. *General Data*

As we said, this study, related the relations with characterize traditional chiefs with the new mayors in the decentralization process. It should be noted that part of the region of Tahoua is composed with 8 departments, 9 urban communes and 32 rural communes (*cf. Acts 2002-014/2002-015/2002-016 of 11 June 2002 and the laws 98-30 / 98-031 of September 14, 1998).*

The Metropolitan Tahoua is located in the heart of the Republic of Niger in the region whose name it bears. It is distant some 550 km from the capital Niamey. Covering an area whose radius varies between 10 and 19 km, the Metropolitan Tahoua has a population estimated in 2009 to 73,002 habitants. This population, mainly composed of agro-pastoralists is distributed in 20 districts in urban areas and 7 administrative villages, and semi urban .The urban center is characterized by a core old with a high concentration of population and housing the extension zones Most of the buildings and infrastructure.

The local economy is mainly based on agriculture, livestock, handicrafts and trade. The poor performance of these sectors our valiant people forced to live in poverty like the other cities in the country. More than 70% of the population lives below the poverty line. Economic activity is characterized by:

- Agriculture subject to unfavourable weather conditions in the absence of surface water and deep groundwater.
- A huge traditional breeding
- A small business sector organization and Crafts
- Unemployment and underemployment of youth.
- However, the Metropolitan Tahoua has many strengths and potentials that are:
- The availability of developable land
- Significant reserves of groundwater quality
- The existence of numerous infrastructure and facilities (markets, banks, roads, paved roads, telephone system, water companies and electricity, health services, etc ...)
- The existence of a minimum equipment hygiene and sanitation
- The existence of a network of supply and distribution of drinking water in urban areas and boreholes and wells in some outlying villages and hamlets
- The presence of an abundant labour and cheap
- The presence of numerous technical and public and private institutions.

ii. *Organizational Context and Institutional*

The Metropolitan Tahoua is one of four (4) urban communities in the country. It is established by law 98 32 and 2002-016 establishing the organization and functioning.

After the local elections held on June 24, 2004, installation of new elected authorities intervened in February 2005. The Metropolitan Tahoua is composed of two (2) urban municipalities. Each municipality has an urban council chaired by the mayor assisted by two (2) members elected from the councillors. Metropolitan Tahoua headquartered housed the town hall also has a council consisting of fifteen (15) and four councillors elected law councillors (2 representatives of traditional chiefs and 2 national deputies). This council is the governing of the urban community. It is headed by a president supported by two (2) Vice Presidents, all elected from among the managing directors of two (2) urban communes.

The chairman of the Metropolitan Tahoua's mission is to conduct municipal politics therefore responsible for implementing council decisions municipal. He relies on municipal services (ninety (84) agents including six (6) frames), the decentralized services, civil society and traditional leaders to implement development programs and daily management of the municipality.

The financial resources of the Metropolitan Tahoua came from:

- Taxes and direct and indirect taxes
- Compensatory tax
- Income domain and Heritage
- Products Property Disposition
- Other products and exceptional resources
- Borrowings
- Donations and bequests

But in this new administration, we should note that in this town coexists a traditional power whose origin dates back to the settlement of the area.

iii. *The Traditional Chiefs*

About the settlement of the town of Tahoua and installation of traditional leaders, we can consider the statement of Mr. Abdul Ouhou Dodo, currently Chairman of the Metropolitan on his interview by Issaka Saidou from Sahel newspaper of Sunday n°1335, which is a Niger weekly, 10 April 2009, saying that around the 17th century that two groups of hunters created what later became the city of Tahoua.

These two groups of hunters are Fakaoua to east and west Bilbissaoua. In those days, Tahoua was a collection of huts of hunters and farming hamlets. Heads of Tahoua were called "Maggagi" (meaning mayor). They were assisted in their duties by a council

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of elders composed of a priestess and seven (7) officials. The first "Maggagi" of Tahoua was Gardo Dari.

Around 1674, all the principalities of the Tahoua region fell under the tutelage of Sarkin Darey (regional supreme authority), against Aggaba. And it is from this time that the region took the name of Ader. Illéla is capital in 1733. It would be headed by a""Maggagi enjoying a relative autonomy. The supreme power was exercised by Illéla will now proceed with the appointment of "Maggagi" Tahoua. In 1900, the colonial administration moved to Tahoua. It is going to build the city into a township and the first Chief was Tankari. From the beginning of the twentieth century is the dynasty of Salifou Galabi will be the primary holder of the throne. Since then several leaders have succeeded at the head of the chiefdom of Tahoua, who's current Mahamadou Elhadj Moussa, who took over in 2007. The current chief, Moussa Elhadj Mahamadou is assisted in his duties by the local chiefs and village chiefs.

It must be remembered; in general the traditional chief in Niger has been regulated since independence. It is regulated by the Law No. 64-23 of July 17, 1964, establishing administrative districts and local governments and modifying texts and subsequent Ordinance No. 93-28 of 30 March 1993 on the status of traditional chiefs of the Niger which makes her as a collaborator of Niger administration. But with the decentralization process, observers agree that, this role has to be replaced by the presence of a municipal council at the county level which is converted into commune.

This duality of power could be a source of conflict as a conflict of culture (democratic culture - succession by lineage)? How about interaction in a society undergoing democratization?

VII. Analysis of a Confrontation with a Duality of Power in Administrative Entity

a) *Decentralisation and Traditional Authorities' Reaction*

The implementation of decentralization in Niger has been marked by various reactions including from some Niger actors in society in general and particularly in the urban commune of Tahoua. If in other localities (Bankillare in western Niger, for example) reactions relate to challenges about the location of the town at the Metropolitan Tahoua, we try to understand their reaction according to the new reform because they have strategic position in Niger society as an institution of government in Niger. What can we learn about?

The answer to this question is related first to the history of the chief and second to social considerations. In Niger, Souleymane ABBA note, "*the traditional leadership is a key institution in the power structure of pre-colonial administration*" (ABBA, 1990). This means that the leadership was in business before the arrival of settlers. With this arrival, it was used in performing the work as auxiliaries of the colonial administration and benefit with advantage about their function.

Also, in this sense, Salifou ANDRE notes that "the chief is the representative, the running of the administrative authority; he is the only representative and accountable to the community over which he is placed". (ANDRE,1989).

The role and place of these authorities did not profoundly changed even with the attainment of political independence so that the different authorities which govern them have been adopted texts in order to regulate them. Souleymane ABBA qualifies them as "*a"political issues"and"an electoral machine,"because for him, "being in good terms with it, you win any election."*(ABBA, 1990). A simple fact of political life in Niger shows that all regimes have used.

Currently, traditional chiefs are governed by the constitution of October 31, 2010 which defines the status of the traditional chiefs of the regulations implementing this order and ministerial orders.

This brief history of our traditional leadership proves that the reaction of these authorities is a sense to maintain their power begun since long time.The existence of the elected mayor may appear as a kind of duality of power in any entity and can be detrimental to the symbolism that the leader in its area of governance.

In this case, we can talk about of a malfunction occurred in a system established since pre-colonial times. For example in the two townships of the urban community of Tahoua, traditional leaders are responsible for collecting the poll tax which is 700 CFA francs ($ 1.4) per person taxed in their locality over the collection of taxes on the steps insured by their relatives.

By making an accumulation with the number of the total population and the rate of poll tax in the two cantons, the two traditional authorities could collect annually for example around 51,101,400 CFA francs ($ 102,202).

By doing that, they are entitled to material and social benefits as provided by sections 26, 27,28,29,30 of Ordinance No. 93-028 of 30 March 1993 according to the status of traditional chiefs in Niger. Others social benefit witch are no less important that, for any conflict between the villagers within the township must spend in court before the Chief of referring to an administrative authority (police or justice) and even in the case, we must go before an administrative authority, belligerents will be accompanied by representatives of the traditional authority.

Also, the movement of these traditional authorities in the villages forming areas of the township are celebrated with pomp by the local people. It is clearly that the desire to elect a mayor in such a situation even if it is according to logic of development its presence might be likened to a dualism and a disruption of an old order. Although with decentralization, traditional chiefs is a member of law in the advisory council, the new mayors should know how to work with her because despite the vicissitudes of recent history, the traditional chief remains as a social institution and a living symbol because with the persistence of certain cultural values at the same time it is the repository of customary authority. In addition there are local populations' reactions.

b) Decentralization and Popular Reactions

Apart the reaction of traditional authorities, those of the local population, civil society, political parties and others in the region will enrich the debate on the decentralization process initiated by the political authorities with the support of donors. These reactions show the societal logic that characterizes many Niger villages. It should be noted that because natural boundaries, many villages located on the border of several townships, have been limited arbitrary.

What effect the erection of some villages in communes in favour of others in the eyes of local people does not deserve. This is due to a logic linked to the history and prestige of our various villages. For local people, although "local governments are created by law", the decentralized state must take into account certain socio-historical values to the risk of creating"phantom"communes. These considerations are in a logic for people to support their leader because beyond partisan of these considerations, it should be noted that this is related to a sub same information on issues of decentralization, which have risen further.

By the fact that it takes place on the 1267000 km², decentralization coupled with redistricting, comes as a new reform so that many in the urban community of Tahoua who confuse with the local authority constituency. Is it merely a sub information or can we speak of a lack of civic education in the population level? The response may be tempered because even if the rate of illiteracy is high in the region (75%) and (25%) for the enrolment rate of the reaction function of these populations is that the policy gives meaning to his action. In the same way, that is to say in response to decentralization including the appearance of disorganization in the existing system, civil society via the association of pastors of the Metropolitan (North) asked compared to the impact of communalisation on lifestyle, natural areas of these pastors. By the fact that pastoralist and communalisation evoke two systems of social organization, economic and political opposites, communalization will pose two problems for transhumant herders: the redefinition of their space of belonging and that of investment and other subsidies the state in the context of the communalisation. Only a definition of legal rules will resolve this problem, which arouses so many reactions because for the pastors, the space is open and infinite.

In this sense, the responsibility of the government is engaged. Aware that the hydraulics, education and health are the three elements of rural concerns, these executives are wondering whether the state can really help all people or it will be a management of variable geometry, the rulers' priorities areas that are favorable to them because you are in a democratic context.

It is clear from the foregoing that although the logic of the developers (state donors) reflects the fact that empowers local people to be sovereign in their development, the reactions of these people are numerous. These reactions show how these people could be heard because their socio-economic and policy are going to be taken into account. Despite all this reactions, municipal elections were held on July 24, 2004. What inventory do you do?

VIII. A State of Place

The first municipal elections were held in July 24, 2004. The independent electoral commission announced the results of 3747 seats to be filled for all 265 municipalities gave the turnout, which is 43.56% against an abstention rate of 56.37%. The main idea that we can remember is that these elections mark a specially point for political and social history of our country. Indeed, with the organization of these elections, it ended a system of appointment of managing directors who prevailed. They are now elected and could possibly be removed by the local population through counsel if perjury. Because, there is the presence of two authorities on the same administrative entity of which one obeys the logic of democracy is i.e. after an election and the other has the logic of succession by lineage. By this company is to manage our modern local government defined as a human grouping geographically located on a portion of the national territory with power to administer by the elected authorities. It enjoys legal personality and financial autonomy. They come from different cantons, or groups of Niger. This logic would infuse dynamism in the various actors. In other words, the organization and establishment of new municipalities and the local implementation of welfare depends on the involvement of all stakeholders concerned. This is new for local authorities to develop and implement a municipal development plan (CDP) is a planning document that defines simplifies according to priorities and resources available locally, the principles of stock, planning, economic and social development of the town over a period of time (3,4,5 years) and who should be the sole reference framework for all development in the town while not forgetting enrol in the logic, the spirit and letter of the Rural Development Strategy (RDS) in Niger, in which its axis n4 reflects good governance, strengthening of capacity and decentralization. But the development thereof as noted Mahaman ABBA, is accompanied by partners than the municipalities themselves, since the manufacturing cost is high. In our case, the municipality of Kalfou (one of the townships of the urban community of Tahoua) was able to achieve in 2005 for a total of15 blow, 8 million CFA francs ($ 31,600) with the support of a project called fight against poverty (LUCOP), cons by the two municipalities of Tahoua (within one township) of the said locality could not elaborate because of the partners because it is equivalent to the sum of 11.5 million CFA francs ($ 23,000), while its annual budget barely exceeds the 40 000 000Fcfa ($ 80,000).(ABBA,2009).

This could be a factor in the non-completion of the planned and therefore requires the collaboration of all stakeholders (local elected officials, citizens, authorities customary, state).

About, our aim and objectives, we can note that decentralization in Niger is planning about administrative supervision. The bases of the reform being thrown out with the organization of local elections, which type of reports that municipalities will maintain with the State if indeed that decentralization does not mean privatization or functional delegation? In analyzing the Act No. 2002-012 of 11 June 2002 establishing the fundamental principles of the free administration of regions, departments and municipalities as well as their skills and resources, we realize that the pattern of future relationships between the State Public appears as a double dynamic of support: mentoring and advisory support.

Guardianship is a key element of decentralization. It is not presumed. In other words, there is no guardianship without texts. In the current context of Niger, one of the decentralization reform, the law No. 2002-012 states that the aforesaid events through judicial review and inspection. As traditional leaders, they are part of the law of the right member of council of the spring commune. Their voices are not deliberative, which is not without playing on their symbolic.

But, we should remember that, the decentralization process is a reality in the country. The commune functioned according to administrative supervision. The ministry on charge elabore a code of working for all actors involved. Since then, in the urban communes of Tahoua, there is no conflict between traditional chiefs and mayors but only the change of role. The new mayor control administration as Webber define his ideal bureaucracy even there are different and the role of traditional chief is respected because there are members of municipal council

IX. Conclusion

The desire to involve people in their own development through decentralization could be achieved according to the administrative supervision but also from the dynamism of the different actors. Indeed, despite plans micro-and macro-economic and institutional designs associated with logic of territorial development of opinions and reactions were observed in the population to which the action is intended. This situation stems from the fact that there are societal logic that development must consider in their action. These reactions show that this is not so much the desire that drives people to join but rather taking into account their realities in the implementation of various development projects. The process of decentralization should be a synthesis of different approaches mentioned above and not as an opposition to the defense of strategic interests for the full measure of its content and the achievement of its objectives. It is possible that having the good method to educate the public. Now, the foundations for reform are implemented, what are the issues and challenges as well as the structuring of the socio-political mandate after a new joint exercise? What interests for these towns in a decentralized cooperation through the Partnership Agreement ACP-EC?

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The recommended size of original research paper is less than seven thousand words, review papers fewer than seven thousands words also.Preparation of research paper or how to write research paper, are major hurdle, while writing manuscript. The research articles and research letters should be fewer than three thousand words, the structure original research paper; sometime review paper should be as follows:

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(b) A brief Summary, "Abstract" (less than 150 words) containing the major results and conclusions.

(c) Up to ten keywords, that precisely identifies the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.

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(e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition; sources of information must be given and numerical methods must be specified by reference, unless non-standard.

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- One should avoid outdated words.

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References

References follow the Harvard scheme of referencing. References in the text should cite the authors' names followed by the time of their publication, unless there are three or more authors when simply the first author's name is quoted followed by et al. unpublished work has to only be cited where necessary, and only in the text. Copies of references in press in other journals have to be supplied with submitted typescripts. It is necessary that all citations and references be carefully checked before submission, as mistakes or omissions will cause delays.

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25. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend for your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health then all your efforts will be in vain. For a quality research, study is must, and this can be done by taking proper rest and food.

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

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.

28. Make colleagues: Always try to make colleagues. No matter how sharper or intelligent you are, if you make colleagues you can have several ideas, which will be helpful for your research.

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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.

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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.
- Write your paper in the form, which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criterion for grading the final paper by peer-reviewers.

Final Points:

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.

The introduction will be compiled from reference matter and will reflect the design processes or outline of basis that direct you to make study. As you will carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed as like that. The result segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and will direct the reviewers next to the similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you took to carry out your study. The discussion section will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implication of the results. The use of good quality references all through the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness of prior workings.

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To make a paper clear

· Adhere to recommended page limits

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· Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding for the abstract)

· Align the primary line of each section

· Present your points in sound order

· Use present tense to report well accepted

· Use past tense to describe specific results

· Shun familiar wording, don't address the reviewer directly, and don't use slang, slang language, or superlatives

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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)

Approach:

- Single section, and succinct
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- Center on shortening results - bound background information to a verdict or two, if completely necessary
- What you account in an conceptual must be regular with what you reported in the manuscript
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- Shield the model - why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? You strength remark on its appropriateness from a abstract point of vision as well as point out sensible reasons for using it.
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- Explain materials individually only if the study is so complex that it saves liberty this way.
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- Do not take in frequently found.
- If use of a definite type of tools.
- Materials may be reported in a part section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

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- Report the method (not particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology)
- Describe the method entirely
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- Simplify - details how procedures were completed not how they were exclusively performed on a particular day.
- If well known procedures were used, account the procedure by name, possibly with reference, and that's all.

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What to keep away from

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
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- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.

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The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part a entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

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.

Content

- Sum up your conclusion in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In manuscript, explain each of your consequences, point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and comprise remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or in manuscript form.

What to stay away from

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surroundings information, or try to explain anything.
- Not at all, take in raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present the similar data more than once.
- Manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate the identical information.
- Never confuse figures with tables - there is a difference.

Approach

- As forever, use past tense when you submit to your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.
- Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report
- If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results part.

Figures and tables

- If you put figures and tables at the end of the details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attach appendix materials, such as raw facts
- Despite of position, each figure must be numbered one after the other and complete with subtitle
- In spite of position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other and complete with heading
- All figure and table must be adequately complete that it could situate on its own, divide from text

Discussion:

The Discussion is expected the trickiest segment to write and describe. A lot of papers submitted for journal are discarded based on problems with the Discussion. There is no head of state for how long a argument should be. Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implication of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and hold up for all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of result should be visibly described. Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved with prospect, and let it drop at that.

- Make a decision if each premise is supported, discarded, or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."
- Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work
- You may propose future guidelines, such as how the experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details all of your remarks as much as possible, focus on mechanisms.
- Make a decision if the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory, and whether or not it was correctly restricted.
- Try to present substitute explanations if sensible alternatives be present.
- One research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind, where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

- When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from available information
- Submit to work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.
- Submit to generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

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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

INDEX

A

B

C

D

E

G

H

L

M

N

P

R

S

T

U

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