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Gender Dimensions of Food

Pocomania Rituals and Identity

Highlights

Andrew Salkey's a Quality

Gender Dimensions of Food

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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Pocomania Rituals and Identity in Andrew Salkey's a Quality of Violence (1959)

By Lamia ZAIBI

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Introduction- The quest for identity construction knew its apogee in the burgeoning Caribbean literature of the 1950's, a period marked by a great tide of immigration to London and the exile of a significant number of West Indian writers. This exile generation of West Indian writers, including leading figures such as George Lamming, Samuel Selvon, Andrew Salkey, Edward Kamau Brathwaite, V.S Naipaul, was concerned with depicting their West Indian experience and dealing with issues revolving around liberty and identity.

The representation of rituals is a leitmotif in a wide range of Caribbean novels. The return to the culture of the folk and the minute depiction of traditional performances can be construed as a means whereby West Indian writers seek to rewrite the community and excavate its voice by commemorating communal values and belief systems, hence showing that their culture has its own validity and should be valued on its own terms.

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Pocomania Rituals and Identity in Andrew Salkey's *A Quality of Violence* (1959)

Lamia ZAIBI

"One of the most enduring- and most appropriated and mis-understood-markers of cultural difference and stability in both Africa and India is ritual." (Gilbert and Tompkins, 55)

In *Post-colonial drama: theory, practice and politics* (1996), Helen Gilbert and Joanne Tompkins argue that the critical study of rituals has focused on drawing the commonalities between ritual actions rather than the specificities and differences between them. They hence put emphasis on the importance of reading rituals as culture specific enactments which have a special function and purpose. This perspective will be taken into account in the analysis of Afro-Jamaican rituals in *A Quality of Violence* (1959) as a means whereby cultural difference is articulated and maintained.

In this article, I will attempt to show, through a close reading of Andrew Salkey's *A Quality of Violence*, the way the representation of rituals functions as a site of resistance and liberation. My choice to study this sample novel is directed at demonstrating how Afro-Jamaican rituals, like Pocomania, are used as a backdrop to restore the sense of community and contribute in forging national identity. Special attention will be given to the way rituals are a site of collective memory as they open a discursive space for expressing communal values. This will allow revealing the inextricable link between ritual enactments and identity construction.

Indeed, Pocomania ritual plays a central role in the novel as it determines and shapes the course of events. Much room is given to religious practices and their vital role in the daily lives of the community members. Much of the action is set within the framework of rites and religious enactments which mould the flow of the narrative and trigger the main events.

The story is about the St. Thomas Parish community struck by a drought and the different responses to it. The drought triggers a series of events marked by intense antagonism between characters. In the opening pages, the reader is introduced to the ongoing conflict between the black masses and the small class of land owners. The rift widens when the black majority resorts to African-inspired religious rituals to bring water to the land. In direct opposition to the large (and basically nameless) peasant group who seek

salvation in Pocomania and its rituals of sacrifice and dance, the Marshalls and the Parkins are sceptical about these practices. This is the dramatic context within which the social and racial composition of the Jamaican society is examined by Salkey.

In the first part of this article, I will try to provide a brief overview on the syncretic nature of ritualistic practices in an attempt to show how the seeds of resistance lie within this very hybrid nature. In the second part, I will show the way ritual enactments are a site for expressing the community's culture, shedding light on their liberating and regenerative power. In the last part of this article, I will draw conclusions on Salkey's ambivalent representation of rituals of sacrifice in terms of the dialectics of empowerment and destruction.

My close reading will be informed by Helen Gilbert and Joanne Tompkins' analysis of rituals as a site where the community is given prominence as rites are enacted to preserve the order and the continuity of the community (55). It will also be grounded on the premises of K. Brathwaite, F. Fanon and W. Harris who each differently highlight the healing power and liberating force of the spiritual practices and the way they are a "collective survival mechanism."¹

I. INTRODUCTION

The quest for identity construction knew its apogee in the burgeoning Caribbean literature of the 1950's, a period marked by a great tide of immigration to London and the exile of a significant number of West Indian writers. This exile generation of West Indian writers, including leading figures such as George Lamming, Samuel Selvon, Andrew Salkey, Edward Kamau Brathwaite, V.S Naipaul, was concerned with depicting their West Indian experience and dealing with issues revolving around liberty and identity.

The representation of rituals is a leitmotif in a wide range of Caribbean novels. The return to the culture of the folk and the minute depiction of traditional performances can be construed as a means whereby West Indian writers seek to rewrite the community and excavate its voice by commemorating communal values

¹ For further reading, see: Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1965), Kamau Brathwaite, *Roots* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993) and Wilson Harris, *Tradition, the Writer and Society: Critical Essays* (London: New Beacon Publication, 1967).

and belief systems, hence showing that their culture has its own validity and should be valued on its own terms.

However, the West Indian writers' treatment of ritualistic practices can be read as the background against which they draw upon the "spiritual trauma" which the indigenous people of the Caribbean and Africans brought to the plantations have undergone (Saillant, 89). Hence, one cannot read rituals without taking into account the specificity of the Caribbean experience.

II. THE SYNCRETIC NATURE OF AFRO-CARIBBEAN RITUALS

The West Indian colonial experience has a salient religious aspect. The colonial plantation system led to the mercantilist trade called the Middle Passage and the long history of exploitation of Africans as cheap labour. African slaves worked on the plantations and were subjected to the rule of their masters. They were not only uprooted from their land but also from their history and culture, particularly their religious practices. They were led and often forced to adopt the Christian values and way of life, and were gradually co-opted into the socio-political structure of the Christian culture in which they were more often than not seen as belonging to the lowest rung of the social ladder.

However, the Christian indoctrination upon which the imperial enterprise is based has not resulted into a complete erasure of the existing belief-systems but rather into a double spiritual heritage which accounts for the birth of syncretic religious practices. The various Caribbean religious practices, such as Pocomania in Jamaica and Voodoo in Haiti, to name but a few are an amalgamation of African and Christian beliefs. They were born out of a process of cultural exchange and cultural Creolisation. Kamau Brathwaite's idea that this process of cultural exchange and intermixing results in the production and emergence of novel forms that are totally a "new construct," though they accommodate strands from the dominant culture, finds a parallel in E. Glissant's model.

Glissant's definition of Creolisation in terms of what he calls the "*poetics of relation*" and the "*poetics of becoming*" is worth mentioning (qtd. in Britton, 12). The former refers to the construction of a relation that opens up a space for diversity and difference, which is positive in the sense that the contact with a different culture allows the creation of new forms; the latter implies that all the cultural forms and modes emerging out of this contact bear their own specificity and difference, in the sense that they are totally reworked and transformed into something new, something mainly Caribbean in spirit and essence.

My discussion of the syncretic nature of Afro-Caribbean belief systems is informed by Kamau

Brathwaite's key phrase "*torn and new*,"² which sheds light on the predicament of the Caribbean archipelago, its history of slavery and colonisation and the way this very fragmentation made up for the emergence of new Caribbean cultural forms (qtd. in Arnold et al., 258). It is a good entry into the way Afro-Caribbean beliefs have been altered, distorted and transformed into something new. It implies that Caribbean cultural forms are somehow the relics of a shattered past that bear the legacy of the past traumas especially that of the "Middle Passage"; it is this shattering that allows for an outlet for resistance and liberation from the domineering forces of oppression.

Afro-Caribbean religious practices are hence inscribed within a dialectics of incorporation and transformation, marking the paradigm shifts from a monolithic belief system to a polytheistic one. They do not work through binary oppositions of either/or but form "new anti-monolithic models of cultural exchange and growth" (Ashcroft, 183). As such, they are neither completely African nor totally Christian, but in-between belief-systems based on turning sameness into difference and difference into sameness, hence offering unstable and ambivalent alternatives (Young, 26). This neither-nor nature of Afro-Caribbean religions is a break from essentialist and monolithic religions, and a celebration of flexible and ever changing religious practices.

In a sense, the appropriation of the coloniser's belief-system dovetails an act of usurpation and transformation. It brings into play a double process of resistance. On the one hand, it works through a subtle process of undermining and investing the coloniser's belief system, thus challenging the essentialism upon which Eurocentric power is grounded. The very act of 'Creolising' and 'Africanising' Christian belief-systems is in itself a radical act of resistance for it entails an act of tarnishing and distortion. On the other hand, it is the very act of transformation which is an exquisite moment of creativity.

Voodoo and Pocomania are emblematic of this dialectics for they engage with Christianity, accommodate Christian elements such as biblical images, reinterpret and transform them into idiosyncratic and distinctive forms in concordance to the Caribbean context. They work through a blending of Christian doctrine and African elements and are in a sense a synthesis of both belief-systems. Both Pocomania and

² The expression is taken from Brathwaite's poem "Jouvert" in his trilogy *The Arrivants* (1969). It is used to describe the ritual of the Trinidad Carnival, referring to the creativeness of the Steel Band and the way its reworking of the Christian ritual of Easter resulted into new rhythms: "*hearts/ no longer bound/ to black and bitter/ ashes in the ground// now walking/ making/ making/ with their/ rhythms something torn/and new*". E.K. Brathwaite in A. James Arnold et al., eds. *A History of Literature in the Caribbean* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1994), p. 258.

Voodoo can be regarded as a by-product of this double spiritual heritage which results in the creation of polytheistic belief-systems in which the power of Ashanti and Yoruba deities co-exist with biblical images and figures. Salkey teases this duality and tug of war between African pagan and Western Christian Culture." (E. Brathwaite, 219-220)

There are many instances in the narrative where there is an explicit reference to the syncretic nature of the Caribbean spiritual heritage. The detailed account of the different stages of the ceremony (such as the initiation prayers, in which the new members are brought in front of Dada Johnson and his deputy and touched on their forehead with honey and dirt), as well as the bible reading, reveals the process of appropriation. Through the figure of Mr Marshall, who plays the role of an observer and spectator of the ceremony, Salkey brings to attention the "new twist the meeting-yard" has given to the Bible:

"After a moment they broke into the chant: 'keep foot when you go to the house of God; ready yourself to hear; give sacrifice of fools; don't rash up yourself; watch your mouth, don't utter anything before God because Him in heaven and you is on the earth!'

Marshall nudged Brother Parkin and said in a whisper: "The bit you just hear? You recognize it? Brother Parkin said: yes, man. Ecclesiastes. Yes, Ecclesiastes V, I-2. Them change it up, though." (60)

The focus on the spiritual heritage of St. Thomas has a double function. First, it has a religious dimension as it is part and parcel of the sacred life of the community. Second, it has a social dimension for it is at the core of the community's everyday life and a site for expressing its culture. In this perspective, African-derived Jamaican religious beliefs, like Pocomania, are a marker of cultural identity, and thus a site of resistance.

They are endowed with a redemptive force which can partly be accounted for by the fact that the "African orientation towards evil" is of paramount at the heart of the Jamaican belief systems. In the Jamaican African experience, there is strong emphasis on the idea of freedom for, as Dianne M. Steward Points out: "African-derived Jamaican religions, like Myal, Kumina, Revival Zion, Obeah, Native Baptism or Rastafari, share the common concern of combating evil, disease, misfortune, and supporting reconciliation, harmony, well-being and human fulfilment." (182)

III. RITUALS AS SITES OF COMMUNAL EMPOWERMENT

The liberating force emanating from ritualistic practices operates on two overlapping levels. On the one hand, the performance of rites allows for the creation of a surrogate world which procures the participants with a sense of freedom from daily forms of

oppression and an escape from their mundane reality. On the other hand, the creation of this realm is, in turn, a recreation of the world of ancestors, that is, a way to renew a lost bond and free oneself from the traumas of the past.

The reader is drawn into the world of drums percussion and the underlying dances. It is a different way of life that is represented and valued, an authentic one governed by Pocomania. Rites and dances of sacrifice, accompanied by hymns and mento music, colour the life of the community. The community members strive to mould nature and organise sacrifices to implore its clemency. They practise a variety of rites set by the ancestors to do away with the evil forces believed to hover around and bring water to the land. The entire ceremony is framed around the concern to fight social ills and bring a certain order into their chaotic life.

The collective force the ritual procures to its adherents emanates from the fact that it is focalised on community values. Indeed, it is the community which shapes the discourse of the performer and is actually the essence of the performance. This allows Dada Johnson to create a definite space where the community members translate into action their own way of seeing reality. Indeed, he provides them ritually with an alternative vision and a new way to cope with the manifold social problems. He strengthens their feeling of belonging to the community and provides them with the spiritual tools that may help them understand their present situation and envisage their future. As Victor Turner points out, rituals are endowed with the power to redress what he terms as "the social dramas of everyday life" enabling the community to "scrutinize, portray, understand and then act on itself." (qtd. in Taylor, 99)

The power of the ritual to unify the group stems from the metaphysical and divine power conferred to Dada Johnson, the leader of the Pocomania cult. Indeed, he is jointly consumed by the idea of serving "Giant X"³ and of being the controller of power. He clearly states it in the episode preceding the fight scene that represents the apogee of the ceremony:

"He knew now that he was the time-serving Giant X, that he was also the master of the Giant X, and

³ Giant X has a double meaning: it refers both to the almighty God and the cross road / the meeting yard.

Reading Giant X as a reference to the crossroad is informed by the fact that it is part of the Jamaican folk tradition where ceremonies like Pocomania used to take place in Crossroads thus the meaning of the letter X.

The idea of the performer and the cultist as « serviteurs » of God refers to the way they incarnate themselves in the bodies of "serviteurs" mainly through possession.

For further reading on the idea of 'serviteurs', see Patrick Taylor, *The Narrative of Liberation: Perspectives on Afro-Caribbean Culture and Politics* (London: Cornell University Press, 1989), p. 98.

maybe, one day, he would be the slaughterer of the Giant X." (68)

It is these two impulses that drive his ritualistic performance and the trance mood he gets into. He defines and sets himself discursively as a bearer and fulfiller of the expectations of the worshippers and spectators, as one endowed with a mission – that of reshaping and recreating faith in the parish. He positions himself, through the skilful use of spiritualist resources such as his capacity to make prophecies, as the sole person liable to instil harmony on the land. His prophecies revive hope and ensure a belief in the force of the community, in the service of collective interest:

"I give those people plenty to believe in. I give them a cause to have a faith [...] those people you hear outside depend on me and what I can give them [...] I give them hope and faith. I give them what the big decorated church door can't satisfy, no how." (47- 48)

He thus creates a discursive space in which he brings into play the liberating power of ritualistic practices and their latent capability to save the life of individuals and change their fortune. Through Dada Johnson's reiteration of his ultimate power to exorcise the devil out of the land and bring about liberation, solace and sympathy, Salkey touches upon the liberating and soothing role of rituals. This finds an echo in the preliminary chants that precede the last stage of the ceremony:

"We must lash the devil out of the land. We must lash good water into the land [...] St Thomas is a dry place, is a wrong place [...] St Thomas is going to be a water place, is going to be a garden place, is going to be a promise like the Promised Land." (69)

The mob mobilisation reaches its climax in the ritualistic fight between Dada Johnson and his deputy, in which each is prodded into a suicidal mood, fervently lashing themselves to death. The spiritual power of the combat reinforces the sense of community. It is emblematic of death rituals, enacted as part of rituals of sacrifice typical of Afro-Caribbean belief-systems. The latter bears common traits with the Ceremony of the Souls in Haiti which frees the spirit of a dead person facilitating his passage into the afterlife. It is animated by chants and prayers that stir the individual's sense of commitment and duty to die for the sake of the community.

The preliminary chants as well as the final prayers reveal the key role rituals play in ensuring the continuity of the community. They also pinpoint the heroic stance of the community members and their willingness to die in an act of absolute surrender for liberation from manifold forms of oppression. This rite of sacrifice takes a symbolic significance in the sense that it is a prerequisite for the survival of the communal folk culture:

"If skin is to cut with lash, then come we lash the skin till water come down and wet the land. If the

skin is to break with lash, then come we break the skin till water come down and wet the land. If man must dead with the lash, then come we dead and make water wet we and the land." (69)

Indeed, the power of rituals to assert and preserve the viability of the community is at work in death rituals. Death rituals, like Pocomania and Myal, can be read as a cultural and political action in the sense that they stand for the refusal of a culture to die. In this sense, the ceremonious death of Dada Johnson and his deputy translates the cultists' desire to leave their mark; it can also be regarded as an act of recovery of the right to act, to intervene and change the course of history. In short, it is a symbolic act of reassertion of communal rites and therefore a marker of cultural identity.

Moreover, rites are a site of collective memory in the sense that the dance of Sacrifice is a moment of remembering the past through the recreation of the world of ancestors. The latter is a way to reconnect with Africa and African ancestors and thus retrieve and recuperate African culture. Re-establishing links with Africa by speaking to the history of the Middle Passage and acknowledging the traumas of the past accounts for reading the dance of sacrifice as a tool of resistance.

The Pocomania dance is a unique moment where the mob is communally drawn in the spiritual realm to exorcise the evil spirits believed to be the cause of all the ills of the community. The dance of sacrifice is a space in which group unity is at its height: a space in which both participants and spectators vibrate together and go into a state of complete immersion. Hymns of sacrifice, the utterance of pocomaniacal doxologies, raucous singing and the erratic gyrating movements, as well as the use of the dead rooster, are performative tools used to create stupor and intensify the trance mood into which the performers are immersed:

"As if seized by the fever generated by the chanting sisters, the deputy jumped back from the Giant X, dropped the cutlass, picked up the white rooster and wrung the neck [...] They were offering through the blood of the rooster, the gratitude of the meeting-house for the coming season of rain and plenty [...] The deputy still holding the dead rooster and imitating its jerking motions [...] spun about in concentric circles, the neck of the rooster sprinkled jets of blood around the meeting yard. Pocomaniacal doxologies were uttered by everyone." (61-62)

The dance is a space where the cult performers acquire power from communication with their ancestors. The concomitant use of repeated gestures and the fastidious manipulation of objects fraught with a symbolic dimension, as well as the sacrifice of animals, allow the dancer to enter a state of trance. The beating of drums, the spinning movements of the body achieving power, and the singing of tempos are

performance elements that establish communion with the forces of possession.

The continuous drum beating, associated with rhythmic movements, take the dancer, by forceful spasms, onto the way to recall, and call upon, the ancestors. The collective trance mood is heightened by spirit possession, a way to establish and recreate links with the dead. It marks a moment of transformation of the cult performer whereby he attempts to reach communion with divine power. It is spirit possession that produces a communal spiritual energy and thus exerts power over the group.

Through spirit possession, the dancer conjures spirits, revives the dead and recreates the realm of ancestors which, in a sense, is a re-enactment and revival of lost bonds. As such, the dance becomes a site of collective memory fraught with a psychic dimension; it is a moment of liberation from the wounds and traumas of the past. Fanon explains the liberating and purging force of the dance of possession in the following way: "the circle of the dance is a permissive circle [in which] may be deciphered as in an open book the huge effort of a community to exorcise itself, to liberate itself, to explain itself." (1965, 45)

The inextricable link between ritual dance and its psychic dimension is apparent in the limbo dance which becomes an exercise where the traumas of the Middle Passage are relived and re-enacted. Wilson Harris's explanation of the power of the limbo is worth reiterating:

"A profound art of compensation which seeks to re-play a dismemberment of tribes and to invoke at the same time a curious psychic re-assembly of the parts of the dead god or dead gods. And that reassembly [...] is a creative phenomenon of the first importance in the imagination of a people violated by economic fates." (qtd in Pin-Chia Feng, 21)

Harris uses the limbo dance⁴ to refer to the folk dance, replete with an enigmatic symbolic dimension. Indeed, the dancer creates, through corporal signs or body language, a temporal space calling upon the realm of ancestors. The limberness of the dancer is thus

⁴ The limbo dance involves two people standing with a stick between them, and a third person moving under the stick face upwards back bent without the knees touching the ground. The stick is lowered after each pass, and in some instances, the stick is lit a fire. The limbo displays the limberness of the dancer, the capacity to be supple and acrobatic, so the word limbo is tied to the word limber. The connection to the limbo of Catholicism—that place of being in between, is an intellectual extension that may be tied directly to the dance. Nonetheless, the immediate reference to the limbo is to the dance. In his poem "The Limbo", Brathwaite posits that the dance is a slave ship limbering dance used to make slaves stay fit while on the ships. He further argues that its re-enactment of slave society is a way to ritualise the journey across the Atlantic, the journey of burial (baptism) in the sea and resurrection on the other side, a narrative of the rite of passage from pain and struggle to survival. Wilson Harris refers to the folk dance and the further symbolic meaning of that dance.

emblematic of the in-between state in which the unconscious and conscious overlap; hence the dance is an ecstatic moment of complete liberation. The symbolic dimension of the ritualistic dances is echoed in Brathwaite's insistence that it is a re-enactment of the journey of slaves and the traumatic experience of the Middle passage. It is in this sense that it can be read as a narrative of the rite of passage from pain to survival, where past and present overlap, on the way to redemption, a key step to envisage the future.

IV. CONCLUSION

However, the spiral of inter-communal violence which sparks off by the end of the novel implies the double representation of Afro-Jamaican ritualistic practices as sites of empowerment and destruction. By Centring the narrative on rituals, Salkey suggests that Caribbean culture has its own validity and ethos. Yet, he points to the way violence, set within the framework of ritualistic practices, may result into chaos and the further disintegration of the community.

Collective acts of violence, such as the sacrificial death of both Dada Johnson and his deputy and the ritual death of Mother Johnson stoned to death by the crowd, serve to explore the fundamental violence of human nature and collective, irrational and spontaneous violence that may grow out of a sense of frustration and wretchedness, in the face of a particular social situation. This is the background against which Salkey criticises violence as a quality of life, a way to cope with the negative social conditions. The various deaths, resulting from violence, act as a warning against this form of non-organised and inward-directed violence.

Hence, the very representation of the tragic fate that has befallen the islanders is used in the narrative to re-imagine a 'community' where class unity and positive morality prevail. Salkey demonstrates that the challenge of the future therefore lies in the need to develop positive morality, a prerequisite for liberation from the tarnishing effects of colonialism, and the sole way to grapple with the uncertain power dynamics of the neo-colonial condition. Salkey understands change in terms of the 'will to action' and the capacity and willingness of men to change their condition (Nazareth, 36).

By rendering the experience of the peasant class from within, through the focus on rituals, Salkey manages to make the West Indian novel a space in which the peasant, regain subjectivity and their capacity to speak. He thus paved the way for the examination of the politics of syncretic religion in an ambivalent and complex way. The region-specific depiction of the Jamaican experience of indoctrination and the sharp cultural conflict that typify the neo-colonial state of affairs somehow manages to transcend the region and come to represent the Caribbean experience as a whole.

In a sense, this work establishes the ground for the forthcoming generation of writers and serves as a culmination for earlier attempts at craving a space for one's voice and building national identity.

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Gender Dimensions of Food Security Status of Households in Oyo State, Nigeria

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Keywords: *gender, household and food security.*

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Gender Dimensions of Food Security Status of Households in Oyo State, Nigeria

Olabisi Alaba Fawehinmi ^α & Olawamiwa Reuben Adeniyi ^σ

Abstract- This research work examined the role of gender on household food security status in Oyo State, Nigeria. Emphasis is placed on the effect of gender on the household food security of both rural and urban households and the factors that determine the household food security status of rural and urban households in Oyo State. The respondents were drawn using stratified multi stage random sampling technique. Information was elicited on the socio-economic characteristics of the households; membership of cooperative societies, household consumption pattern, and possession of durable goods. The data obtained were analyzed using descriptive statistics, Cost of Calorie function, FGT analysis and probit regression analysis. The food insecurity line for the study area is N117.10 per adult equivalent per day that is any household that is subsisting on less than N 117.10 per day is regarded as food insecure. The result of the analysis shows that food insecurity exists between both male-headed and female-headed households but more severe with the latter. This might be due to the fact that male headed households have better access to productive resources which enhances their income generating activities and consequently enhances their food security status compared with their female counterparts. Age has a negative effect on the food security status as the household size increases and has the household head advances in age, the tendency for such households to become food insecure increases. Improved status in formal education, participation in cooperative societies, building up of household are the factors that positively and significantly asset base enhance household food security status.

Therefore for any food security programmes to be effective there is the need to mainstream the female gender group into the development plan in order to enhance their access to productive resources. There is also the need to encourage the rural farming household's to diversify their means of livelihood in order to enhance income generating activities and improve their food security status.

Keywords: gender, household and food security.

1. INTRODUCTION

All living things need food to satisfy hunger and nourish the body. Food also gives a feeling of comfort and satisfaction to man (Oyebamiji 2000). Adequate nutrition is essential for many human functions that include body growth, motivation, work output and educational attainment (Okunmadewa 1999). In order to enjoy a healthy life therefore, there is the need for access to a nutritionally balanced diet, comprising all essential ingredients for growth, energy

and longevity. The recent emphasis on alleviating hunger, reducing malnutrition and the serious consequences of food insecurity on the poor, calls for investigation on food problems in African countries. As reported by FAO (2000), majority of the countries with the most extreme depth of hunger (less than 300 kilocalories per day) are residing in Africa.

Food security exists, according to World Food Summit Plan of November 1996, when all people at all times have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preference for an active and healthy life. Without food, a feeling of insecurity permeates the society, fuelling tension and creating ground for antisocial behaviors.

Within the framework of government goals of ensuring widespread improvements in the well being of households and individual welfare, the issue of food insecurity is of high importance to Nigeria because average calorie intake is only at the threshold of adequacy. The inability of Nigeria to sustainably feed it's rapidly growing population was quantitatively revealed in the early 1970's and estimate shows that at least one percent of the population is food insecure with 16 percent being severely undernourished.

Gender is a central factor in household decision-making, which affects productivity, time allocation, and investment in developing countries (Kenan, Jr. 2004). Gender inequality induced poverty and any poverty alleviation programmes towards household welfare must thoroughly examine the link between gender relations and state of household's food security. Gender analysis is therefore an important factor in poverty and food security analysis. Ingrid Palmer (ILO 1991) referred to Women as "a group operating under the conditions in which their reproductive activities are traded at the margin against their economic ventures". This does not only limit the time at these women's disposal but also restrict them to activities that are compatible with their schedules. Consequently, most women work on small-scale farms for production with attendant low yields and income that can hardly meet their varying family obligations. This therefore places limitation on their purchasing power and invariably their household food security level.

This study therefore set out to examine the food insecurity profiles among the urban and rural households by comparing the level of food insecurity

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among the male headed and female headed households in both urban and rural households, the effect of socio-economic characteristics on the level of household food security level and the factors that influence food security status among the male-headed and female headed households in the study area.

II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The sample size for this study is 240 households from both urban and rural households in Oyo State. A multi-stage random sampling technique was implored in the selection of the respondents. The first stage was the selection of one local Government from each senatorial district, stage two is the selection of 5 villages from each senatorial district and stage three is the selection of 13 respondents from each of the villages totaling 65 respondents from each of the three senatorial districts in the state. Stage four was the selection of one local Government Area from the urban center (Ibadan North) was chosen randomly. The sixth stage was the stratification of the respondents into male-headed households and female-headed households. For analysis 60 respondents were finally used from each of the local government due to the fact that some questionnaires did not have complete information while some were not retrieved. Equal number of respondents was drawn because the sampling frames for the selected villages in the Local Government Area were not available. This therefore made the selection of the respondents not to be proportionate to size.

III. ANALYTICAL TECHNIQUES

The data collected were analyzed using descriptive and quantitative tools. Descriptive statistics (tables, percentages mean and frequencies among others) was employed to analyze the socio-economic characteristics of the households and their effect on household food security status. It was also used to disaggregate the respondents on the characteristics of incidence, depth and severity of household food security status based on gender. Objective one involves generating food insecurity indices for the households in the study area. This is done by the use of Cost of Calorie Function (COC). In order to measure the extent of food insecurity among the two gender groups; an

index of food security is constructed for the study through Identification. Identification is the process of defining a minimum level of nutrition necessary to maintain a healthy living. This minimum is referred to as "Food insecurity line" for the society under study, below which people are classified as food insecure implying subsistence on inadequate nutrition.

Calorie adequacy is estimated by dividing estimated calorie supply for household size adjusted for adults using the consumption factors for age-sex categories (Runge- Metzger and Diehl 1993). In order to generate food insecurity indices in this study therefore, the cost of calories (COC) method as proposed by Greer and Thorbecke (1986) was used. Using this procedure, a cost of calorie function is estimated as:

$$\ln x = a + bc$$

where x is the food expenditure in Naira (₦)

C is the calorie consumption in Kcal

The calorie contents of the recommended daily nutrient level (L) will be used to derive the food insecurity line K is given as:

$$K = e^{(a+bcL)} \quad (1)$$

Based on K the head count ratio is calculated as

$$H = \frac{M}{N} \quad (2)$$

$$Gi = \frac{K - Xi}{K} \quad (3)$$

where: K gives the cost of buying the minimum calorie intake L

L is the recommended daily energy (2700 kcal) by the National Bureau De Statistics

Gi is the food expenditure deficiency for household i

M is the number of food in secured household

N is the total population.

Objective two, which is to determine the incidence, depth and severity of household food security level was analyzed using the FGT test.

The food poverty line was calculated by using the total food expenditure of the respondents on a monthly basis corrected for the household size. This is obtained by dividing household's monthly food expenditure by its adult equivalent as follows:

$$\text{Per capita expenditure} = \frac{\text{total household monthly food expenditure}}{\text{Household size}} \quad (4)$$

and;

Mean per capita expenditure is calculated as:

$$\frac{\text{Total per capita expenditure for all households}}{\text{Total number of households}} \quad (5)$$

From this mean per capita household expenditure (MPPCHE), two lines are set relative to the standard of living in the area. A food poor poverty line

equivalent to 2/3 of the mean per capita expenditure of the household is calculated and from this the households are classified into food poor and non-food

poor. Then a 1/3 of the mean per capita expenditure of the household is calculated and from this the households are classified into core food poor

The FGT measure of the i^{th} sub group is given as:

$$P_{ai}^i = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^q \left[\frac{(z-y)}{Z} \right]^\alpha$$

$$\text{when } \alpha = 0, \quad P_0 = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^q \left[\frac{(z-y)}{Z} \right]^0 = \frac{q}{n} \rightarrow \text{Poverty incidence or head count}$$

$$\alpha = 1, \quad P_1 = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^q \left[\frac{(z-y)}{Z} \right]^1 \rightarrow \text{Poverty gap or depth}$$

$$\alpha = 2, \quad P_2 = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^q \left[\frac{(z-y)}{Z} \right]^2 \rightarrow \text{Poverty severity}$$

where:

α is the weighted poverty index, n is the total number of households,

Y is the per capita expenditures of households in food poverty

Z is the poverty line and α is the degree of concern for the depth of poverty

$\alpha = 0$ gives the incidence of poverty,

$\alpha = 1$ gives the depth of poverty, and;

$\alpha = 2$ gives the severity of poverty.

Objective three, which is to determine the factors that influence household food security level

among the male and female headed households is analyzed using the bi-variate probit regression model.

The probit regression model is given as:

$$Y(\beta X_i) = \int_{-\infty}^{\beta_{X_i}} \frac{1}{\sqrt{2t}} \exp \left(-t^2 / t \right)^2 dt \quad (6)$$

where:

Y is the dependent variable, which is the poverty status of the household.

0 = non - food secured household

1 = food secured household.

t is the random variable, which is distributed as a standard normal deviate. β is a vector of unknown coefficients

X_i is the vector of characteristics of the i^{th} individual and are the independent variables, which are defined as follows.

X_1 = location (1 = Urban, 0 = Rural)

X_2 = Age (Actual age in years)

X_3 = Gender (1=Male 0=Female)

X_4 = Household size (Actual number)

X_5 = Marital Status (1 = married 0 = otherwise)

X_6 = Educational level (Years of formal education)

X_7 = Asset ownership (0 = non- possession of asset, 1= Asset ownership)

X_8 = Membership of cooperative society (0 = non-membership of cooperative societies 1 = membership of cooperative societies)

X_9 = Age (Actual age in years)

X_{10} = Non-food expenditure (Per adult equivalent per day)

$Y \beta X_i$ is the probability that the i^{th} individual will be poor. Thus, the probability of poverty is the area under the standard normal curve between $-\infty$ and βX_i .

The larger the value of βX_i , the more likelihood that the household will be food insecure (the higher the βX_i , the higher the depth of food insecurity)

An iterative maximum likelihood algorithm was used to estimate the empirical model in order to obtain asymptotically efficient parameter estimate. The statistical power of the estimated model is evaluated by using the percent of correct predictions of food insecure and food secured household and the likelihood ratio test.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

a) Food insecurity indices for the study area

Table 1 presents the summary statistics of food insecurity indices among the households. Based on the recommended daily energy level (L) of 2700 Kcal, the food insecurity line (Z) for the household was estimated at N117.10 per day for the study area. About 55.5% of the male headed household and 55.3 % of the female headed household are food insecure with average food expenditure below N 117.10 per adult equivalent per day hence subsisting on less than the recommended daily per capita calorie requirement of 2700 kcal. This implies that food insecurity exists among both male-headed households and female-headed households.

The depth of food insecurity, which is also known as food expenditure deficiency is 0.37 and 0.55 for the male and female headed households

respectively. This implies that female-headed household's needs 55% while the male headed households needs 37% increase in their food expenditure to become food secured.

The severity of food insecurity for households in the study area is 0.17 for the male-headed households and 0.37 for the female-headed households. This shows a higher level of severity of food insecurity among the female-headed households than the male-headed households in the study area.

This observation might be due to the fact that male headed households have better access to

productive resources and asset base such as credit facilities, access to improved seed varieties, land, access extension services among others compared to their female counterpart. This enhances their productivity level and therefore their household food security status. This inequality might be due to the way biological difference between male and female is being translated into socially constructed differences, which invariably lead to inequality in access to productive resources.

Table 1 : Summary statistics of household food insecurity indices

Variables	Values	
Cost of calorie equation	$\ln x = a + bc$	
Constant	4.655	
Slope coefficient	0.00003753	
Recommended daily calorie intake	2700Kcal	
Food security line (Z): Cost of recommended calorie intake	N117.10per day	
Food insecurity indices:	Male	Female
Incidence of food insecurity		
Head count ratio	0.55	0.53
Depth of food insecurity	0.37	0.55
Severity of food insecurity	0.17	0.37

V. DISAGGREGATION OF THE HOUSEHOLD FOOD SECURITY STATUS ALONG THERE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

In order to assess the influence of some socio-economic characteristics / variables on the level of household food security, the household's food security level were disaggregated along their socio-economic characteristics and the households were classified by gender of the household head in order to see the effect of gender on other socio-economic variables and household food security status.

a) *Distribution of household food security status by location*

Distribution of the level of food security status of household head by location is presented in table 2. The table revealed that for the male headed household about 87 out of the 122 respondents that resides in rural areas was food insecure i.e. 71.3% of the respondents in the rural areas are living on less than N117.10 per day, while 38 out of the 42 (90.5%) male headed

households that reside in urban area are food secured. For the female headed households that reside in the rural areas about 64.3% of her respondents are food insecure while 70% of the female headed households residing in the urban centers belong to the food secured category.

The reason for the high level of food insecurity in rural areas might not be far fetched in view of the fact that poverty is largely rural in nature as majority of the poor live in rural area. This fact is further ascertained by World Bank (1996) that indicated that rural areas account for 66% of the incidence of poverty, 72% of the depth and 69% of the extreme poor. Poverty status of households also determines the household welfare status, which in turn affects their food security status. This is further complicated by the fact that most rural farmers still use traditional means of agriculture which is usually accompanied by low efficiency, low productivity and in turn low output. In addition, most of the farmers tend to sell off the best part of their produce to purchase other food items that they do not cultivate and to acquire non-food items that the family needs.

Table 2 : Distribution of household food security status by location

Variable	Male headed			Female headed		
Location	Non Food secure	Food secure	Total	Non Food secure	Food secure	Total
Rural	87	35	122	36	20	56
Urban	4	38	42	6	14	20
Total	91	73	164	42	34	76

b) Distribution of household food security status by age

Table 3 shows the distribution of the level of food security of respondents by age. As shown, 90.5% of the households that are headed by male and 62.5% of those headed by females whose household heads are not older than 31 years of age are food secured while 96.6% of the male headed households and 60% of female-headed households whose household heads are older than 60 years of age are food insecure. This

indicates that households with younger household heads irrespective of sex are able to attain food security level. This might be due to the fact that this younger household heads are still in their productive years and are able to engage themselves in various income generating activities through livelihood diversification thereby increasing their income base hence the purchasing power, which makes them more food secured.

Table 3 : Distribution of Household food security Status by age

Variable	Male headed			Female headed		
Age	Non Food secure	Food secure	Total	Non Food secure	Food secure	Total
< 31 yrs	2	19	21	3	5	8
31- 60 yrs	61	53	114	30	23	53
> 60 yrs	28	1	29	9	6	15
Total	91	73	164	42	34	76

c) Distribution of household food security status by Household Size

Table 4 shows the disaggregation of the household food security level by their household size. For the male-headed households the result revealed that 62 out of 92 (67.4%) households that have their household size less than 6 were food secured. For the female-headed households, 21 of the 35 (60%) respondents that have their household size less than six were food secured. Only 1 out of 8 (12.5%) male-headed households that have their household size greater than 10 and also only 1 out of 6 (16.7%) female-

headed households that have household size greater than ten were food secured. This indicates that households with fewer household sizes are food secure while households with higher households' size have the highest incidence of food insecurity. This implies that the lower the household size, the higher the level of food security. This might be due to the fact that households with higher household size have the tendency to have a reduced per capita expenditure since a larger number of people are competing for the limited resources available within the households.

Table 4 : Distribution of Household food security status by household size

Variable	Male headed			Female headed		
Household Size	Non Food secure	Food secure	Total	Non Food secure	Food secure	Total
< 6	30	62	92	14	21	35
6- 10	54	10	64	23	12	35
>10	7	1	8	5	1	6
Total	91	73	164	42	34	76

d) Distribution of Household Food security status by educational level

Table 5 shows the effect of the educational level of household's heads on the food security status of their households. The result revealed that only 2 of the 27 respondents of the male-headed households that have no formal education were food secured while 92.6% were food insecure. For male-headed households that had tertiary education 38 of the 45 were food secured while just 15.6% respondents of households headed by male and had up to tertiary education were food insecure.

The table also reveals that only one out of the 24 (4.2%) female headed households that were without any form of formal education were food secured while the remaining 95.8% were food insecure. Those that were educated up to tertiary education level had about

88.9% of its respondents food secured while just 11.1% of them were food secure.

This implication of these observations is that the higher the literacy levels the higher the level of food security status. This is expected since the higher the educational level, the more improved the skill and human capital of the individuals will be. High literacy level also helps households to be able to understand and adopt new technology because of the improvement in their technical know- how. In addition, educational level is a major determinant of wages and salaries since it is believed that the number of years spent in school positively determines level of skill acquirement and state of capacity building.

Table 5 : Distribution of Household Food security level by educational status

Variable	Male headed			Female headed		
Educational level	Non Food secure	Food secure	Total	Non Food secure	Food secure	Total
No formal	25	2	27	23	1	24
Primary	37	7	44	10	3	13
Secondary	22	26	48	7	14	21
Tertiary	7	38	45	2	16	18
Total	91	73	164	42	34	76

e) *Distribution of Household food security level by primary occupation*

Table 5 shows that for both the male-headed households and female that were interviewed who were engaged in non-farming activities were more food secured than those who had farming as their main occupation. For the male-headed household, 18.8% of respondents that were engaged in agriculture were food secured. Also, only 13% of the female-headed households that were engaged in farm work have their

main occupation were food secured. The low level of food security among respondents that were engaged in agriculture might be due to high rural-urban migration which has left agriculture into the hands of the old people in the rural area who are also using traditional means of production in addition to the fact that they plant low yielding variety which leads to low productivity. This therefore leads to low purchasing power, which invariably determines their food security status.

Table 6 : Distribution of Household food security level by primary occupation

Variable	Male headed			Female headed		
Primary Occupation	Non Food secure	Food secure	Total	Non Food secure	Food secure	Total
Farming	52	12	64	27	4	31
Non-farming	39	61	100	15	30	45
Total	91	73	164	42	34	76

f) *Distribution of Household food security level by years of experience*

Table 7 presents the disaggregation of male-headed households and female-headed household's food security status according to their years of working experience. The table indicates that for the male-headed households 10 out of 43 respondents with years of experience less than 10 were food secured while 70% of the respondents that had years of experience greater than 20 were also food secured. This implies that the

greater the years of experience, the higher the tendency to have household that is food secured. This might be due to the fact that the higher years of experience, helps to improve qualities acquired by such individuals over time. This will in turn enhance their productivity and efficiency level and consequently their food security level. This might also be because years of working experience usually enhances wages of workers, thus improving their purchasing power and therefore their food security status.

Table 7 : Distribution of Household food security level by years of experience

Variable	Male headed			Female headed		
Years of experience	Non Food secure	Food secure	Total	Non Food secure	Food secure	Total
< 10 years	35	10	43	21	8	29
10-20 years	37	21	51	15	11	26
> 20 years	19	42	60	6	15	21
Total	91	73	164	42	34	76

g) *Distribution of Household food security level by membership of cooperative societies*

Table 8 indicates that 12 out of the 82 (14.6%) male headed households and 33.3% of the female headed households that belongs to cooperative societies are food insecure, while 70 out of 82 (85.4%) of the male headed households and 34 out of 38 (89.5%) of the female headed households that do not belong to cooperative societies are food insecure.

This implies that respondents who participate in cooperative society are more food secure than non-members of cooperative societies. This might be due to advantage of economies of scale that members of cooperative societies enjoy like access to production input at a cheaper rate and ability to secure credit for various income-generating activities and also for consumption purposes from members of such societies.

Table 8 : Distribution of Household food security level by cooperative society

Variable	Male headed			Female headed		
	Non Food secure	Food secure	Total	Non Food secure	Food secure	Total
Cooperative membership						
Yes	12	70	82	8	30	38
No	79	3	82	34	4	38
Total	91	73	164	42	34	76

h) Factors influencing Food insecurity in the Study area

This section presents the result of the determinants of household food insecurity among rural households in the study area. The relationship between household food security status and various socio-economic variables and institutional factor was examined. The probit model was employed to identify the factors influencing household food insecurity among households.

Table 9 summarizes the result of the probit model. In estimating the determinants of food security among the households, regression model made of 10 regressors were specified. The factor that influences food security status of households are gender, age, household size, years of formal education, membership of cooperative societies and level of asset ownership. Gender of the household head significantly ($P \leq 0.05$) and positively influences household food security status. The result revealed that empowering the female folk enhances the household food security status.

Age significantly ($P \leq 0.1$) but negatively influence household food security level at 10% level irrespective of gender. This might be because household heads that are young are more agile and active thus enhancing their productivity level, rate of adoption of new technology and level of diversification, which helps them to engage in other income generating activities thus enhancing their purchasing power and invariably their food security status.

Years of formal education also significantly ($P \leq 0.1$) and positively affect the food security status of households, hence households with more years of formal education are more food secured compared with households with others having none or few years of

formal education. This might be due to the fact that years of formal education are a major factor in wage determination especially in Nigeria where the higher the academic qualification, the higher the wage. In addition, formal education improves human capacity and technical know how which aids rate of adoption thus improving the productivity level of such households and consequently their food security status.

Ownership of asset ($P \leq 0.05$) significantly and positively affects food security status of households. Households that have access to key assets are more food secured since they are able to use such asset to secure loans which can be invested in other productive enterprises which they can translate into cash if such households experiences shock. This can be used to smoothing their consumption pattern then.

Participation in cooperative societies ($P \leq 0.05$) significantly influences household food security positively. This is probably due to the fact that cooperative society members have access to information dissemination, new technology, economies of scale, access to credit and other input dissemination that help to improve their standard of living.

Marginal effects as presented in table 10 were estimated for continuous variables only, because they may not be meaningful for binary variables. It therefore means that 1% change in the positive and significant variables will increase the probability of households being food secured. Reverse is the case for negative and significant variables. The marginal effect for the probit model revealed that for household size and age of the respondents, a 1% change in the size of the households and age of the household head will decrease the probability of the household to be food secured by 0.143 and 0.489 respectively.

Factors that determines household food insecurity status

Variables	Coefficient	SE	t-value	P (Z >Z)
Constant term	-0.929	2.664	-0.349	0.7273
Location	0.844	13.383	0.063	0.9497
Gender	0.001	0.008	1.200	**0.2300
Household size	-0.628	0.484	-1.299	0.1938
Marital Status	-5.335	2613.685	-0.002	0.9984
Primary Occupation	-0.482	1.226	-0.393	0.6942
Educational level	0.456	0.246	1.852	*0.0640
Asset Ownership	5.704	2.896	1.969	**0.0463
Membership of cooperative society	6.159	3.091	1.992	**0.046
Age	-0.215	0.117	-1.832	*0.0670
Non-food expenditure	-0.190	1.377	-0.138	0.890

N.B: * shows level of significant of the explanatory variables

* Significant at 10%, ** Significant at 5%, *** Significant at 1%

Table 10: Marginal effect of the probit regression model

Variable Specification	Coefficient	SE	t-value	P (Z >Z)
Constant term	-0.212	85.389	-0.002	0.
Location	0.844	13.383	0.063	0.9497
Gender	0.001	0.008	1.200	0.2300
Household size	-0.628	0.484	-1.299	0.1938
Marital Status	-5.335	2613.685	-0.002	0.9984
Primary Occupation	-0.482	1.226	-0.393	0.6942
Educational level	0.456	0.246	1.852	0.0640
Asset Ownership	5.704	2.896	1.969	0.0463
Membership of cooperative society	6.159	3.091	1.992	0.046
Age	-0.215	0.117	-1.832	0.067
Non-food expenditure	-0.190	1.377	-0.138	0.890

VI. CONCLUSION

The study examined the effect of gender on household food security status among rural and urban households in Oyo State. The study revealed that female-headed households are more food insecure than male-headed households and that the incidence of household food insecurity is higher among the rural populace than the households in urban centers.

The result of the analysis indicates that age and household size have negative effects on the food security of households while educational level, membership of cooperative societies, asset ownership have positive influence. The type of occupation that household head is engaged in also has a significant influence on the food security status of household size.

The result of the analysis further shows that advancing in age, non-membership of cooperative societies, asset ownership and largeness in the size of household are the factors that determine the food insecurity level among households.

Due to high incidence of food insecurity among rural farming households, they should be encouraged to adopt new improved production practices in order to increase their yield and also they should be encouraged to diversify their source of livelihood in order to enhance their income.

Therefore, for any successful food security programmes, households should be encouraged to build their capacity through training by enhancing their skill acquisition process. Also household heads should be encouraged to join cooperative societies and build up their asset base. The female gender group should be involved in the implementation area and this should also start from the grassroots levels that are the most vulnerable group.

VII. POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Rural dwellers should be encouraged to improve on their literacy level so as to enhance their human capacity. There is need for adult literacy class,

extension services and other forms of informal education especially for the female gender group who have low literacy level compared to their female counterpart. This is expected to help the rural populace to improve their food security level

2. Investments in capital goods have been shown to have significant effect on the food security status of households. Household heads should therefore be encouraged to invest in capital goods in order to develop their asset base, which they can use as collateral to obtain loan or dispose off to overcome shock.
3. Household heads should be encouraged to participate in cooperative societies in order to have improved access to productive resources such as seed input, information dissemination and credit facilities so as to enhance their productivity level which will invariably improve their household food security status.
4. Household head that are old should learn means of income generating activities that are not too energy demanding for their age so as to enhance their purchasing power especially for rural dwellers where farming is the primary occupation.

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- (f) Results should be presented concisely, by well-designed tables and/or figures; the same data may not be used in both; suitable statistical data should be given. All data must be obtained with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage. As reproduced design has been recognized to be important to experiments for a considerable time, the Editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned un-refereed;
- (g) Discussion should cover the implications and consequences, not just recapitulating the results; conclusions should be summarizing.
- (h) Brief Acknowledgements.
- (i) References in the proper form.

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- One should start brainstorming lists of possible keywords before even begin searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, "What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in research paper?" Then consider synonyms for the important words.
- It may take the discovery of only one relevant paper to let steer in the right keyword direction because in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.
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References

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27. Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give rest to your mind by listening to soft music or by sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory.

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.

29. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, then search its reasons, its benefits, and demerits.

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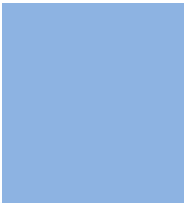


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