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Note from the Editor

The publication of this issue is late largely because of my indisposition. During the third week of May I suddenly came up with a very high fever accompanied by tremendous aches of the body and the joints. Normally, I am resistant to most such ailments and have not had a fever in ages, I could not even remember the last time I had one. So, this was a bit surprising to say the least. The fever subsided on the fourth day but the aches continued to tie me to the bed. Indeed it was an experience, not comparable to any I had nor did anyone else I knew, such excruciating pain in the joints and muscles. I could not move even while lying in bed let alone stand up as a result could not go to the doctor either. The end of fever was a relief and I managed to get to the doctor finally, who tried a few regular tests and in the end only suggested a pain killer.

Little did I know then, nor did anyone else, including my doctor, that I was afflicted with a viral disease known as Chikungunya, about which the World Health Organization (WHO) simply states that, “There is no cure”. But that was only the beginning, for more than the next six weeks I could barely walk with joints swelling up and little or no taste for any food and started to lose weight fast. It is only now, end of August, after suffering for three months that I feel I am getting back to normal life.

The reason I am narrating this personal experience is that very soon I learnt that the affliction was no longer an isolated incident and within the next month or so, hundreds of thousands got infected, including everyone in a family in some cases, and chikungunya got into the vocabulary for the first time in this disaster and disease prone country. The whole of Dhaka, a city of nearly 20 million people was in panic as it took the form of a pandemic. Everyone you met and everywhere you looked you could see chikungunya written all over. By the time the government machinery moved it was already too late and could do very little to contain the disease or comfort the sick.

Obviously, people started looking for causes and cure and soon all sorts of theories started flying around, as to how to treat the sick with little or no science behind them and how the disease got to become such an epidemic, including the all expected “conspiracy theories” that stated that the disease was manmade, in the labs during the cold war era and now released in Bangladesh, often citing this or that country, particularly the neighbouring ones, as the culprit. It did not help much by the knowledge acquired soon that the next door neighbor, India, had already been suffering for the last few years, (indeed that reinforced the conspiracy theory) or that the disease had been noted in 60 different countries so far. The mass hysteria and the blame game continue unabated.

Mosquito borne diseases, malaria, dengue, zika and now chikungunya are too common in Asia, Africa and Latin America and people have to live with the threat of fatalities they bring about. According to WHO there were 214 million malaria cases in the world in 2015, with nearly half a million deaths! Malaria, being prevalent for a long time now has been somewhat contained in Asia and Latin America but is a vivid reality in Africa where 90% of all malaria deaths occur and that too mostly among...
children under 5 years (nearly three hundred thousand deaths), while the drug resistant varieties are coming back with vengeance.

The later three diseases are new, and hence the conspiracy theories, definitely in Bangladesh where, dengue is barely a decade old and zika has yet to make its mark in any major way here. But chukungunya in this one season only has deranged the lives of millions in Bangladesh and as WHO reports also in 60 other countries including in North America over the past few decades. According to WHO before 1970 only 9 countries had experienced severe dengue that kills but now there are one hundred countries where dengue is endemic with a total of more than 3.2 million cases in 2015 and killing thousands in some countries like the Philippines.

Mosquitos, specially the aedes aegypti mosquitoes, the carriers of the new varieties of diseases is thus an added burden on the already losing battle fighting the malaria carrying mosquitoes. Most poor countries have to spend a substantial amount of the health budget to combat the menace. Hence, mosquitoes eat into the growth potential of these countries while they depopulate a whole continent.

Maliria, the ever present menace took a wild turn in Bangladesh during the colonial period when the British built railroads blocking natural flows of most water bodies and creating stagnations, the ideal grounds of mosquito breeding. The mosquitoes got a further boost with the plantation of jute, again introduced by the British, whose production required weeks of rotting the plant in stagnant water for extraction of the fibre. Even an innocent act of exporting frogs from Bangladesh, definitely a well needed money earning project, also increased mosquito production as it tipped the ecological balance in favour of the mosquitoes by eliminating their number one enemy.

Similarly, in an ironic way, the current spread of chikungunya, and dengue in the past years, has been linked to the relative prosperity of some sections of the population as the breeding ground of the aedes mosquitoes have been traced to the water expelled from the air conditioners and water in the flower vases and flower pots. This is attested by the far larger number of cases in the more affluent areas of the city. Unfortunately for me, I happen to live in one of these affluent areas.

Bangladesh has, however, been fighting the menace in earnest for more than half a century with limited success. Beginning in the 1950s all kinds of mosquito killing efforts have been attempted over the decades including aerial spraying of the whole city, putting at risk not only the environment but the populace too. Unfortunately, largely because of a lack of sustained effort the battle is never concluded and newer varieties of the diseases are getting a foothold with little or no warning for the people who are caught absolutely unaware of the causes and consequences. Even my doctor told me that he had read about chikungunya while in medical school but had no experience in dealing with it, I was his first case, as was true with all other health practitioners. This prompted all kinds of mumbo-jumbo suggested in the media for its treatment once the disease turned into an epidemic and creating not
only huge confusion in the minds of the citizens but also pushed the whole population into panic mode.

But mosquito is also good business. Mosquito coils, a mosquito repellent, invented as early as the 1800s in Japan, and later in Europe, are today a standard item in all households in Bangladesh as elsewhere in India, China and most other countries who have to deal with mosquitoes. Insecticides and other repellents, in various forms, are doing a billion dollar business in India alone and more so in China. The worldwide market share for the repellents only is over $3 billion expected to rise to $5 billion by 2022, Western manufacturers earn the bulk of that money.

Repellents may bring some relief to the people and other insecticides may have brought down the mosquito menace to some level of control but what is needed is a permanent solution to end the senseless deaths of millions. Attempts by the poor countries alone, who are by far the major victims, may be partially successful but it also puts money in the pockets of the people in the rich countries, who manufacture and sell these insecticides. As stated by the conspiracy theorists just selling pain killers is making some pharmaceutical companies super rich. So, there is again the rich and poor divide, and unless the more advanced countries with their science and technologies seek to assist in finding a solution rather than get richer by selling insecticide the problem may never be solved, may actually be aggravated, if we have to believe the conspiracy theorists.

That the richer countries when faced with the menace themselves may actually find a permanent solution far more quickly, as is noted in the recent hi-tech solution offered by the hi-tech giant Google to deal with the threat of zika virus. In an attempt to rid the Fresno area of California of aedes mosquitoes, Google have infected 20 million male aedes mosquito with naturally occurring bacteria that will, when they mate with female mosquitoes, result in sterile eggs, stopping the very birth of new mosquitoes. Some Chinese scientists are also working towards similar solutions. Perhaps, if such attempts can be replicated universally, the mosquito menace may be over in a few years. Of course, the impact on the environment and the ecological balance need to be studied fully before such actions are taken.

So, the good news is that, today the technology does exist which can eliminate mosquitoes forever, but will the African children be saved by that?
Trias Politica for Ethical Leadership and Good Governance: Praxis of Checks and Balances in the South African Context

NE Mathebula and PH Munzhedzi*

Abstract: Trias politica is an idea aimed at ensuring strict separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary. It is noteworthy that the philosophy is not legislated in South Africa through an Act of parliament but takes form through the provisions of functions, powers and responsibilities of the three arms of government as enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. For this and other reasons, trias politica, taking into cognisance its initial intentions proves not effective in promoting ethical leadership and good governance in government. This is so because the principle of checks and balances has been weakened between the three arms of government. The aim of this article is, therefore, to interrogate the philosophy of trias politica in a South African realm vis a vis ethical leadership and good governance. The article is purely theoretical and collect literature through articles, books, newspapers, internet and other readily available sources with a view of attempting to forge and comprehend how separation of powers and particularly checks and balances can be strengthened for achieving ethical leadership and good governance within the South African government.

Keywords: Trias politica, separation of powers, good governance, ethical leadership, South Africa

Introduction
The discourses on ethics and leadership have become critical issues of modern societal and scholarship debates. This is so as most governments around the globe are confronted with ethical degeneration and ‘bad governance’ among other challenges. South Africa is not an exception to cases of unethical leadership and ‘bad governance’. This is against public expectations of ethical and good governance which is deemed to be a sine qua non and machinery for efficient and effective service delivery (Matshabaphala, 2015). This article aims to confront the trias politica (separation of powers) ideology advocated by Charles Montesquieu and its prospects of ensuring ethical leadership and good governance in the South African government context. The doctrine of separation of powers means that specific powers, functions, duties and responsibilities are allocated to distinct state institutions with a defined means of competence and jurisdiction (Mojapelo, 2013). In simple terms,
separation of powers calls for the horizontal separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary for ensuring accountability and transparency in government affairs. This is in line with the basic values and principles governing public administration enshrined in section 195 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (hereafter to be referred to as the 1996 Constitution) which places accountability and transparency on behalf of government as central pillars of democracy and governance. In pursuit of its aim, this article unpacks the principle of separation of powers, conceptualise and contextualise the concepts of ethical leadership and good governance. The article proceeds into forging a link between separation of powers, particularly checks and balances with ethical leadership and good governance.

Trias politica- horizontal separation of powers

It is provided for in the 1996 that there shall be a separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary, with appropriate checks and balances to ensure accountability, responsiveness and openness (RSA, 1996; O’Regan, 2005: 120; Mojapelo, 2013: 39). Justices of the Constitutional Court in South Africa however stipulate that there’s no universal model of separation of powers safe to say that “all should not be put in one basket” which basically emphasises that all power cannot be concentrated in one arm or person to prevent abuse of such power (Kohn, 2013: 6).

Charles Montesquieu who was a French philosopher is well known for his articulation of the theory of separation of powers, which is basically implemented in many constitutions all over the world particularly in developed countries including but not limited to that of the United States of America in the 1780’s (O’Regan, 2005; Venter & Landsberg, 2011; Mojapelo, 2013: 37). Montesquieu is also associated with an assertion that says the “…..the accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive and judiciary, in the same hands, whether of one, a few, or many, and whether hereditary, self-appointed or elective, may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny” (O’Regan, 2005: 123). It must however be pointed out that the first philosopher to propagate the principle of separation of powers is John Locke (1632-1704) who lived way before Montesquieu, but it is Montesquieu who is usually credited with the first formulation of the doctrine of separation of powers (Mojapelo, 2013: 37). The philosophical underpinning of separation of powers doctrine is rooted in an inherent distrust of concentrated governmental power (Legislative Services Agency, 2005: 1). As posited by Mangu (1998: 2), separation of powers is one of the “essential principles” of constitutionalism and democracy. Mangu is also emphatic of the system of divided powers, which talks about federalism and constitutionalism, which is limited government operating under the rule of law. Both principles are based on a similar conception that is the protection of liberty from violation and tyranny (Kohn, 2013: 6).

The doctrine of separation of powers is essentially a centrepiece of many constitutional democracies in the world which often provides for the three arms of the state to exercise the element of checks and balances (Mojapelo, 2013: 39). The doctrine however is not static but continues to evolve particularly with the identification of need for further amendment in the legislative framework. The traditional
notion as propagated by Locke and Montesquieu posits that there are separate and distinct roles for the executive, legislative, and judicial arms of the state which should remain inviolate has changed over time to reflect the growing interrelationship among the said arms (Legislative Services Agency, 2005: 1). Separation of powers doctrine as advocated by Mangu (1998) and Mojapelo (2013: 40) is based on the notion that each arm of the state has its own unique set of powers and that these powers are exclusive and not to be exercised by another arm of government so as to prevent the concentration of too much power in the same hands and also ensure that there’s checks and balances in all the respective arms of the state. However, as discussed below, the application of this principle in practice overlaps from one arm to the other.

Important in separation of powers analysis is an understanding of the nature of the powers of each separate branch of the state. The traditional characterization of these powers is that the legislative power is the power to make, alter, and repeal laws; the executive power is the power to execute the laws; and the judicial power is the power to construe and interpret the Constitution and laws, and to apply them and decide controversies (O’Regan, 2005: 134). A key limit on the legislature’s authority is the executive branch’s ability to approve or disapprove legislation passed by the legislature prior to the legislation becoming law (Mojapelo, 2013). This role is performed by the president of the Republic who signs bills of parliament into law. The three arms of the state are elaborated on below particularly in the context of South Africa. It must however be stated that the existence of the three arms of the state is to ensure that there’s an element of checks and balances which seeks to hold each other accountable.

**Legislative arm**

Section 42(3) of the 1996 Constitution provides that the National Assembly is elected to represent the people and to ensure government by the people under the Constitution (RSA, 1996; South African Catholic Bishops’ Conference, 2013). The National Assembly actualises this by choosing the President, as well as by providing a national forum for public consideration of issues, by passing legislation and by scrutinising and overseeing executive actions (O’Regan, 2005: 127). Holding the executive to account and overseeing the performance of its functions is one of the fundamental elements of the principles of the separation of powers. Actually, it is the core of this principle.

The 1996 Constitution makes provision that the President of the Republic is elected by the National Assembly which is the main houses of Parliament from among its members at its first sitting after an election (RSA, 1996; O’Regan, 2005: 125). Such election is presided over by the Chief Justice who is the head of the other arm of the state (Judiciary). Once the President is elected by the National Assembly, he or she ceases to be its member. However, it must be noted that even if the President is not a member of the National Assembly after the said elections, the National Assembly may remove the President from an office several occasions including on a vote of at least two thirds of its members and only on the grounds of a serious violation of the Constitution or the law; serious misconduct; and inability to perform the functions of office (RSA, 1996; Venter & Landsberg, 2011). The process of
legislation-making too amongst other processes illustrates the always intertwined relationship between legislature and executive. An example is that a member of the executive initiate, craft and prepare different legislative frameworks which is then introduced either into the National Assembly or the National Council of Provinces for debate and passing. Once a particular bill has been passed by legislature, it is presented to the President for assenting. It therefore means that the process cannot be completed without the participation of the other arm of the state. As stated elsewhere in this paper that the legislature makes laws, the executive implements or executes and the judiciary adjudicates or interprets the said law.

Executive arm
The cabinet which constitute of the President, Deputy President as well as the national ministers are the national executive authority of the Republic of South Africa. Section 92 (2) of the 1996 Constitution state that members of the Cabinet are accountable collectively and individually to Parliament for the exercise of their powers and the performance of their functions (RSA, 1996; Maserumule, 2007: 148). After the election of the President by the legislature, he or she appoints his or her deputy together with ministers and deputy ministers from the National Assembly. However the 1996 Constitution provides for the inclusion of at least two ministers from outside the National Assembly. There’s often an overlap in the exercise of these functions which is otherwise complements of one government headed by the president as head of the executive arm. For example, ministers in South Africa who are part of the executive continue to be members of parliament and the legislature. Similarly, ministers are the ones often responsible for initiating, crafting and introducing bills in parliament with the assistance of the administrative staff (often senior management) for consideration and approval by the legislature. It is also possible that the legislature may just approve a bill without having amended as introduced by the executive.

Judicial arm
The 1996 Constitution stipulates that the judicial authority of the Republic is vested in the judicial arm of the state and that the judiciary ought to be “independent and subject only to the Constitution and the law” (RSA, 1996), and that it must apply this law impartially and without fear, favour or prejudice. Furthermore, no person or organ of state may interfere with the functioning of the courts including the executive and the legislative arm. Section 172 of the 1996 Constitution provides that while deciding on the constitutionality of the case before it, the court should declare invalid any law or conduct inconsistent with the constitution. Additionally, the judiciary has been given the most vital role of monitoring the application of the separation of powers. Montesquieu correctly asserts that “when the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person, or in the same body of magistrates, there can be no liberty; because apprehensions may arise, lest the same monarch or senate should enact tyrannical laws, to execute them in a tyrannical manner” (O’Regan, 2005; Kohn, 2013: 6; Mojapelo, 2013). Mojapelo (2013: 37) however contends that the complete application of the separation of powers is not possible- both in theory and in practice.
It should however be noted that there are several weaknesses that exist particularly between the legislative arm and the executive arm. The South African Catholic Bishops’ Conference (2013) highlights the fact that the executive has a considerable influence over the legislature in that there is an existence of the majority party in the legislative arm. Whenever members of the executive have to account in the legislature through parliament, the opposition parties often argues that there’s an element of bias and protection. It is often alleged that the chairperson of the portfolio committee who is often the member of the ruling party often “shield” the members of the executive from answering difficult questions. It therefore means that the accountability of the executive to the legislative arm is often made difficult because of that challenge. However, at times it is argued by legal and Public Administration scholars alike that while the principle of separation of powers is effective with regard to prevention of tyranny, oppression and violence, it may cause inefficiency (O'Regan, 2005: 124; Kohn, 2013: 6) by having to wait for the approval of the other arm of the state. A perfect example is when the executive have to wait for the approval of the budget and most legislative framework by the legislative arm. It is however the view of the authors that even if there may be challenges associated with the principle of separation of powers, there are better than bad including the fact that with it comes functional specialisation in the respective arms of the state. This means that each arm must focus on its own functional areas of which they will specialise and ultimately be experts of their own respective areas of operations. Nevertheless, South African Catholic Bishops’ Conference (2013) also counter the argument which is often raised that the legislative arm has a shortfall regarding the human resource capacity by alluding to the fact that where shortcomings are identified, parliamentary content advisors and researchers are provided as supplements. It is the view of these authors that this good effort cannot however successfully address the challenge of the National Assembly, National Council of Provinces and their respective committees supporting, shielding and protecting the executive from accounting in parliament.

**Ethics and ethical leadership**

To understand the discourse on ethical leadership, one needs to reflect on the concept of ethics. The definition of ethics dates back to Plato, Aristotle and Aquinas (Maserumule, 2014). It is said to be about morals and values found appropriate by the community and its members. Mathebula (2014) argues that norms and moral plays a pivotal role in the pragmatic behavioural shifting which in turn results in ethical conduct of humane in general and public servants in particular. In debates around governance, good governance and public administration practice, ethics is the collection of values, obligations, moral principles, attitudes and norms that serve as conduct and behavioural rules to be observed by public representatives and officials in ensuring that their actions are constantly focused on the promotion, achievement, maintenance and enhancement of the general welfare of society at large (Edwards, 2007; Zitha & Mathebula, 2015). A deduction can therefore be made from this definition that executing and ensuring ethical conduct of public officials necessitate a leader who is keen to ensure that ethics are reflected in all the activities of the institution. To place this in context, Aristotle viewed ethics as the study of excellence or virtues of good character practiced with good life
as a matter of intellectual understanding the sense of what action is most appropriate in a given situation (Edwards, 2007).

With Aristotle’s assertions, one then is tempted to interrogate certain situational decisions arising from actions of government leaders in responding to debacles particularly deemed to be unethical in the public eye within the South African government. Such gives rise not only to the need for leadership questioning but of course ethical leadership. The discourse on ethical leadership and separation of powers has been one characterised by non-provable facts rather than being related to ideals on the ground. Public sector scandals and the collapse of public institutions in South Africa can serve as a perfect example of the lack of coherence and relation to unethical conduct and lack of leadership.

Leadership refers to the ability to persuade others to devotedly and diligently pursue the project’s objective (Havranek, 1999). Bass and Bass (2008) noted a progressive broadening of the definition of leadership to include contributing to social order, introducing major change, giving meaning and purpose to work and to organisations, empowering followers, and infusing organisations with values and ideology while holding to the truth and pursuit of good governance. A person pledged to this commitment is an ethical leader as someone who has low levels of defensiveness, is emotionally stable, has good interpersonal skills, integrity, and has the ability to influence others. This article views South African government leaders as far-fetched from this notion as it is eminent that for example, half of President’s Jacob Zuma’s cabinet owns and does business with the state (Kondlo, 2015). As he argues, Kondlo views this as a matter for concern particularly if we were to apply the morality test on a case to case basis.

According to Mathebula (2014), the concept of morality which is so closely linked and related to ethics can be understood in terms of general expectation that people must conduct their official duties with cognisance to humanity, respect, loyalty, honesty etc. The reality of ethical leadership is more complex and an ambiguous construct with higher stakes which increased its relevancy as institutions “fallen from grace” (Freeman & Stewart, 2006; Monahan, 2012). Ethical leadership can be understood according to Mihelic, Lipicnik and Tekavcic (2010), as the demonstration of normatively appropriate conduct through personal actions and interpersonal relationships and the promotion of such conduct to followers through reciprocal communication, reinforcement and decision-making. It can be drawn from this definition that followers are important role players in ensuring ethical leadership. This is so because leadership is about persuading followers towards conducting activities according to policy objectives set by the leader. Ethical leadership can also be defined as the process of influencing employees through values, principles and beliefs that extensively border on the accepted norms in the organizational behaviours (Alshammari, Almutairi & Thuwaini, 2015).

The notion of good governance
Scholars who have attempted both to construct and (or) deconstruct and place in context the concept of good governance find it so elusive to realise this ideal. One needs to first understand the concept of governance as an epistemological foundation of what today became known as ‘good governance’.
Maserumule (2014) acknowledges that there is a “conceptual problematique in the broader contemporary development discourse” of good governance. Governance is one of the recent paradigms of Public Administration which the discipline has and continue to ‘import’ to the exercise of government business. For operational purposes, the World Bank (1994) defines governance as the exercise of political, administrative and legal authority in the management of a nation’s affairs. It is clear from this definition that governance is exercising authority for good course across all (three) arms of government. Governance thus according to Naidoo (2012: 66) has to do with the manner in which responsibility is discharged. It is in this line that the discharge of responsibilities acquired through elections, appointment or delegation in the public sector (Naidoo, 2012) can either be referred to as ‘good governance’ or ‘bad governance’. According to Maserumule (2014: 964), the concept of good governance can be traced back to philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle and Aquinas. Clearly, the concept has gained momentum in usage in the current academia, government and society discourse. Matshabaphala (2014) correctly points out to the fact that good governance is naturally democratic, participatory, transparent, responsive, equitable and consensus-oriented. If good governance is all this, it then requires leadership to drive ‘good’ in the public sector. It need a leadership that is grounded “on the ethical principles of promoting goodness over badness through good governance, justice and fairness, honesty, integrity, and freedom” (Matshabaphala, 2014: 1010). As complex as the concept is to unequivocally explain, the misuse in the development discourse and lack of superlative lineage, this makes it even more complicated to apply in practice and the idealisation to ethical leadership in government.

Checks and balances for ethical leadership and good governance in south africa

The discourse on ethical leadership and good governance according to Matshabaphala (2015), is imperative since it has a direct bearing on the state’s capability of public service delivery. However, a challenge that arises is by virtue of the concepts of ethical leadership and good governance receiving various and sometimes confusing interpretations based on the societal values, principles and philosophy they find themselves in. These has led to the concepts losing their reality value with “the on-set of new leadership and good governance narratives” (Matshabaphala, 2015: 497). Then the question is; what would befit a South African narrative of how the two must be conceptualised with a view of contextualising it to the current debate? This article takes a position of self-reflecting ethical leadership and good governance with the principle of separation of powers that creates for checks and balances between the legislature, executive and judiciary.

During the Multi-Party negotiations, it was agreed that there shall be separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary with suitable checks and balances for the purpose of accountability, responsiveness and openness (O’Regan, 2005). It is along this provision that ethical leadership and good governance in the South African government which is ‘tormented’ with maladministration, corruption and other ills is demanded. This article advances an argument that government that is open for public view and critique while also demanding those exercising public duties to account, unethical conduct and ‘bad governance’ can at least be replaced with ethical and
‘clean’ governance. But the question that is always sought for is; how? In a democratic system of government such as that of South Africa, checks and balances which result in the imposition of restraints by one of government upon another (O'Regan, 2005) ethical leadership and good governance is an ideal. However, the challenge in this arrangement is that, as indicated earlier in the article, there is no absolute separation of powers, thus undermining checks and balances. In principle, the three arms of government must be autonomous and conduct their affairs outside the scope of influence by one another. Of course the institution of separation of powers and that of checks and balances is equally weak within the South African government.

In a newspaper article published by News24 in August 2015, members of the executive and the ruling party African National Congress (ANC) expressed concern over the judiciary interfering with the executive and the legislature. ANC secretary general Gwede Matashe referred to this as “judicial overreach”. In recent times, this and other unwarranted attacks on the judicial arm of government are seen as an attempt to weaken checks and balances and a threat for the judiciary to continue holding the executive accountable through the courts of law. Then if this is a case, who must then hold the executive accountable? As far as the case should be, both the judiciary and the legislature through parliament as logic and principle dictates must demand explanations and answers for executive actions. Recently, scandals have hit the South African government very hard with members of the public and opposition political parties raising questions over the ethical conduct and the absence of leadership. This of course undermines principles of elected and trusted government. However, according to Naidoo (2012: 660), the South African public sector is experiencing increased unethical practices and political distrust of both the political and administrative leaders.

The turmoil and scandal of unethical conduct and bad leadership also stands tall and high in defiance of the National Development Plan’s of building a capable and ethical developmental state. For instance, President Jacob Zuma and his family unduly benefitted from a R240 million security upgrades in his Nkandla homestead (Mathebula, 2014). Kondlo (2015: 489) poses a very serious and uncomfortable question that “how a President, who supposedly has a live conscience and patriotic consciousness, should have handled the matter? In exercising ethical leadership, the President ought to have done what is ‘right’. In pursuit of clean and good governance, he ought to have realised that taxpayer’s money have unduly benefitted him and his family and therefore repay public funds. Other cases of unethical leadership are before the courts of law whereby the judicial arm of government is asked to make judgements and hold the executive and other government officials accountable for engaging in failing to exemplify ethical leadership and good governance. In a case¹ of the President of the Republic recently heard by the highest court in the land, it was held that the Legislature failed to exercise its oversight role by failing to hold the executive accountable. It was then up to the judiciary to determine that Parliament and the President as the head of the executive failed to honour their

¹Economic Freedom Fighters v Speaker of National Assembly and Others; Democratic Alliance v Speaker of National Assembly and Others [2016] ZACC 11.
constructional obligation. On this issue which arose the interest of the country on separation of powers, it was stated that:

The Executive led by the President and Parliament bear very important responsibilities and each play a crucial role in the affairs of our country. They deserve the space to discharge their constitutional obligations unimpeded by the Judiciary, save where the Constitution otherwise permits. This accords with the dictates of Constitutional Principle VI, which is one of the principles that guided our Constitution drafting process in these terms: “There shall be a separation of powers between the legislature, the executive and judiciary, with appropriate checks and balances to ensure accountability, responsiveness and openness (ibid).”

However, with the continued threat of interference between the three arms of government, separation of powers which has the intention of ethical leadership, good governance, accountability and transparency is completely eroded. With this being said, good governance requires ethical and ‘accountable leadership’ (Matshabaphala, 2014: 1010) that will consequently address South Africa’s service delivery challenges in the 21st century. In turn, ethical leadership is a prerequisite for good governance but other arms of government except the executive must be active in playing their roles and functions.

The lack of concern for corruption in government, ineffective mechanisms to prevent and curb corruption and unethical leadership are significant impediments to good governance in South Africa (Naidoo, 2012: 662). But the question that we ought to ask ourselves is perhaps whether the legislature through parliament and the judiciary through the courts of laws can hold the executive arm of government which is viewed to be at the centre stage of public service delivery? In a verge to enforce accountability on part of the executive, South Africa’s 5th democratic parliament has been embroiled in major and intensified debates and disruptions. Opposition political parties such as the Economic Freedom Fighters and the Democratic Alliance have even resorted to court in an effort of ensuring that certain executive actions be publicly accounted for. All these and other actions clearly points out that the doctrine of separation of powers in functional. However, the presence of ethical leadership and good governance in conducting government business must be exemplary and take precedence without forcing accountability out of leaders. The tensions and animosity the three arms of government are said to arise in instances that President Zuma initially avoided responding on the Public Protector’s report findings on the Nkandla debacle and his personal and toxic friendship with the Gupta family. In cases where opposition parties are of the opinion that parliament fails to hold government leaders accountable, they resort to the judiciary.

Conclusion

In this article the concept of separation of powers and particularly checks and balances between the legislature, executive and judiciary were considered to determine how it influences ethical leadership and good governance. The focus was on the South African government leadership particularly in the national sphere. Separation of powers as a doctrine has been examined in this article with a view of comparatively seeking to forge relations with how government leaders can execute their public duties ethically and thus promote good governance. Within the South African government environment, interpretation on how the doctrine practically operates is still uncertain. This in turn impacts on how
the three arms of government interrelates with one another for the purpose of providing coherence on the functioning of government as a unit. This has been indicated using practical examples in the article.

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The Paradox between Customary Law and Human Rights Law in South Africa: The Patriarchal Nature of Customary Law

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Abstract: The aim of this article is to highlight the paradox between customary law and human rights law and the extent to which the patriarchal nature of customary law violates fundamental rights of equality, human dignity, privacy, property, and security of the person with particular reference to women and children. In furtherance to this, the patriarchal nature of customary law perpetuates gender stereotyping by allocating specific rights and duties to different members within the community and family structures. This is evidenced in instances where women and children are allocated less important roles owing to their nature as inferior figures within the community and family structures. Often this manifests itself in gender discrimination as women are excluded from participating in roles considered too complex for their nature as mothers and wives. As a result, roles such as that of family head and traditional leadership are generally reserved for males. Likewise, children are considered subject to community and family customs and practices. As a result, children are subjected to discriminatory cultural practices and customs such as virginity testing and circumcision. Perhaps, the reason for all these violations of human rights and discriminatory tendencies against women and children associated with the patriarchal nature of customary law is because its defenders view customary law rules, practices, and customs as a preservation of culture. However, with the advent of the constitutional era such argument cannot be sustained. Notably because the Bill of Rights condemns all forms of discrimination including social practices that perpetuates inequality.

Keywords: Patriarchy, harmful practices, human rights, discrimination, succession, gender inequality

Introduction

In South Africa, like in many African countries customary law has evolved over the years in South Africa customary law has notably gone through two distinct evolutionary stages namely customary law prior 1994 and under the present the constitutional dispensation. The two stages are discussed below. The distinctive feature of these states is that prior 1994 customary law was based on discriminatory practices such as the principle of patriarchy (Bennett, 1995: 80-81). The pertinent features of customary law and its principle of patriarchy prior 1994 were namely; the discriminative
and stereotyping tendencies towards women, categorisation of children and discriminatory cultural practices towards women and children.

However in 1994, when South Africa attained democracy one of the goals of the new government was to eradicate discriminatory tendencies within social, political and economic circles (Preamble South African Constitution, 1996; section 1 of the Constitution, 1996). The changes brought by the enactment of the Constitution included the full recognition of customary law under the prescripts of the Constitution, regional and international instruments (s231-233 of the Constitution). In addition, section 30 of the Constitution provides that everyone has the right to use the language and to participate in the cultural life of their choice, but no one exercising these rights may do so in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights. Furthermore it bears to mention that section 31(1) of the Constitution provides that persons belonging to a cultural, religious or linguistic community may not be denied the right, with other members of that community-
(a) to enjoy their culture, practise their religion and use their language; and
(b) to form, join and maintain cultural, religious and linguistic associations and other organs of civil society.

Therefore, the inclusion of the right to culture in the Constitution (Sections 15, 30 and 31 of the Constitution) and the recognition of institutions (Section 211 and section 181(1)(c) of the Constitution) that uphold cultural rights indicate the need to promote customary law on the same footing as other sources of law. Moreover, since 1994 specific aspects of customary law such as customary marriages proprietary (law of succession), and certain cultural practices especially those affecting children are regulated by legislation such as the Recognition of Customary Marriages Act 120 of 1998, the Reform of Customary Law of succession and Regulation of related matters Act 11 of 2009 and the Children's Act 38 of 2005 (Section 12 of the Children's Act 38 of 2005). It also appears that in the near future traditional courts will be formally regulated Traditional Courts Bill of 2008). Therefore, the enactment of the Constitution has not only kept the legislature on its toes but it has as already indicated also lead to several landmark decisions on issues of customary law being handed down by the Constitutional Court. The most prominent cases in this regard are the Bhe Case, the Shilubana case and the Gumede case amongst others.

Research methodology
The research methodology adopted in this article involves an in depth analysis of literature, case laws, international and regional instruments relating to customary law and human rights law in so far as the two systems of law co-exist in South Africa. The article further discusses the impact of human rights law on customary law especially in so far as proprietary succession and acquisition, succession to chieftainship and child specific customary practices are concerned in South Africa. In so doing, the study reveals that the place of customary law as it existed before South Africa become a constitutional state does not pass the constitutional test when measured against the Bill of Rights.
The attributes of customary law prior to 1994 in South Africa

According to Bennett prior 1994 customary law was based on the principle of patriarchy (Bennett, 1995: 80-81). Firstly, the principle of patriarchy was based on the premise that males are dominant figures in relation to their female counterparts (Kagnas & Murray, 1994: 7-8). As a result, the principle of patriarchy perpetuated discriminative and stereotypical tendencies that resulted in women being viewed a less important within the social structures of Africans including the family unit (Ndulo, 2011: 88-89). These discriminative and stereotypical tendencies include allocating women roles that are considered feminine such as procreation, taking care of the home and upbringing of children (Kuenyehia, 2006). These roles are considered suitable to women’s nature as mothers and wives. On the other hand men are allocated roles considered to be vital for the success of the community such as head of family and traditional leadership positions (Tebbe, 2008: 466-472). Therefore, such differentiation between males and females in customary law weighs down the importance of women within the community and the family structure.

Furthermore, the principle of patriarchy not only perpetuates social disparities but also economic disparities. That is so because the exclusion of women from being entrusted with the position of family head in terms of customary law meant that women could not acquire property. In terms of customary law the family head has control over the family property. This practice meant that women had no land rights and faced evictions upon divorce or when their husbands died as they were sometimes expected to vacate the matrimonial home (Classens, 2005: 42-81). This often leads to women being left destitute (Himonga, 2011: 122-124). The principle of patriarchy as alluded above and as it existed during pre-colonial times continued to exist both under the British and National Party regime. The retention of customary law was due to the fact that Africans remained a majority population in South Africa and hence, customary law was used to control their social affairs (Bennett, 1995:18-19). According to Ndulo (2011: 95) from the inception of the colonial rule customary law was applicable on two conditions namely:

- that it was not repugnant to justice, equity, or good morality and;
- that it was neither in its terms nor by necessary implication in conflict with any written law.

Accordingly, customary law was accorded a status inferior to that of common law and customary law continued to apply to the different colonies according to the enacted codifications (Bennett, 1995: 35-41). The Natives Administration Act 38 of 1927 permitted the application of customary law in traditional courts presided by traditional leaders or native commissioners in so far as the matter was between blacks (Bennett, 1995: 41-42). Hence, Natives Administration Act 38 of 1997 (now the Black Administration Act 38 of 1927) was the most important codification being the Black Administration Act 38 of 1927 (BAA) as amended which had as its sole purpose to provide for the better control and management of Black affairs (Rautenbach, 2003: 1-15). As a result of section 11(1) of the BAA, customary law was recognised as a source of law for the first time. Needless to say the provisions of the BAA extended to family structures. The rule of primogeniture was formalised and as a result,
women were regarded as perpetual minors under their husbands’ tutelage in terms of section 11(3) of the BAA (Jansen, 2006: 39-40).

In addition to the BAA several legislative frameworks were enacted to regulate black citizen’s family affairs before 1994. The negative impact of such laws was recently illustrated in the case of Gumede v President of the Republic of South Africa (2009 (3) SA 152 (CC)), the Constitutional Court declared Sections 7(1) and 7(2) of the RCMA, Section 20 of the KwaZulu Act on the Code of Zulu Law 16 of 1985, Sections 20 and 22 of the Natal Code of Zulu Law published in Proclamation R151 of1987 invalid and unconstitutional. The Court held as follows

“There can be no doubt that the marital property system contemplated by the KwaZulu Act and the Natal Code strikes at the very heart of the protection of equality and dignity our Constitution affords to all and to women in particular. That marital property system renders women extremely vulnerable by not only denuding them of their dignity but also rendering them poor and dependent” (Gumede case para 36)

Secondly, having indicated the negative aspects of the principle of patriarchy in respect of women, it is important to further allude its discriminative aspects in relation to children within the community and family unit. In customary law like women children are not accorded any special rights (Ngidi, 2009:228). According to Songca (2011: 352) under customary law, parents and members of the extended family have the primary responsibility of the upbringing of the child. Hence, children derive their rights from the family they belonged to. Kaimo (2005: 225) expresses the value placed on children in African societies using the three African maxims which in essence mean children are the future. Despite the fact that children are valued as the future upon which the family lineage is secured, the importance of children depends on the status they hold within the family unit. (Venter &Nel, 2005: 91-92). Hence, children are categorised in a form of hierarchy which indicates the status of a particular child within the family unit. The categorisation of children in customary law is important for the purposes of allocating rights to a particular child. For instance male children belonging to the husband’s family could succeed their fathers in accordance with the rule of primogeniture.

According to Ngidi (2009: 228) in the African society children could be categorised into the following classes;

(a) Children of an unmarried woman who belonged to her family;
(b) Children of married woman who belonged to the family of the husband
(c) Children given in adoption who belonged to the adoptive family;
(d) Children born of an ukungena/levirate relationship belonged to the deceased husband’s family.

Ukungena can be best described as an institution whereby the deceased husband’s name is carried on when a male relative of the deceased engages in a relationship with the wife of the deceased. According to Dlamini (1991: 80). The object of ukungena was to maintain things as they were before, to keep the children in the kraal, or the very young ones would have to go with their mother for some
time at least, and to maintain friendly relations between the kraal and the people of the widow. Therefore, children born of an ukungena relationship were considered to be those of the wife’s deceased husband. A point worth noting is that these children (males) ranked third in the order of succession (Jansen, 2006: 96). However, despite having the above rights children born out of wedlock, that is illegitimate children where isondlo (maintenance) was not paid could not succeed or inherit from their father in terms of customary law upon the father’s death (Burman, 1991: 47-48).

Bennett (1991a: 315-316) gives a vivid illustration of how classification of children would be applied in according such children succession rights. He states that in terms of the rule of primogeniture children who are biologically related to the deceased are preferred to those who may have been as a result of an illegitimate affair or adopted. In simple terms when a family head dies, the estate passes to the eldest son and his descendants (Tebbe, 2008: 472-473). A point worth noting is that in customary law female children like their mothers are treated less favourable than their male siblings (Tebbe, 2008: 477-480). However, one acceptable fact under customary law is that irrespective of whatever class children belonged they had a right to be fed, clothed, and housed by the family they belonged to (Bennett, 1995: 96-97).

Thirdly, apart from its patriarchal nature customary law consists of practices that negatively impact on women and children’s rights as contained in human rights instruments. Practices such as female circumcision, rites of passage, male circumcision, and virginity testing are widely practiced in South Africa (Bennett, Mills & Munnick, 2010: 264-270). However, due to the injurious nature of such practices they are considered contrary to human rights law (Odeku, 2014: 32-35).

**Customary law vis á vis Human Rights law in South Africa post 1994**

In South Africa, human rights law is contained in the Constitution and other legislative frameworks e.g. the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act 4 of 2000 and the Children’s Act 38 of 2005 amongst others. A point worth noting is that the South African Constitution is almost a replica of the International Bill of Rights. The South African government has also ratified several UN Conventions/instruments giving effect to human rights including the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, the Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

As a result, South African courts in deciding matters before them must take into consideration international law (section 39 of the Constitution). Furthermore, the courts must promote the spirit and purport of the Bill of Rights in their decisions (Rautenbach, 2003:1-20). Needless to say human rights law is based on what is good for the individual rather than what is good for the group (Bennett, 1991b: 20-23). This entails that individual rights are given paramount importance than group rights in so far as civil and political rights are concerned (Bennett, 1991b: 18-25). On the other hand, as already customary law preserves the common good of the community or group (Pieterse, 2000: 38).
Moreover, customary law preserves customs that are considered contrary to modern democracies such as male descent, male dominance and family lineage. As a result, this leads to varying views on the constitutionality of certain aspects of customary law rules and practices and its compatibility with human rights law as entrenched in the Bill of Rights. This section discusses customary law in respect of proprietary succession, traditional leadership and cultural practices such as virginity testing and male circumcision.

Reform in proprietary succession in light of the Constitution

For one to understand the nature of proprietary succession under customary law, it is important to know the principles on which such succession is based. In this instance Schoeman-Malan (2007:10) outlines the three basic principles of customary law succession namely;

- a family unit is a cultural concept in which the material needs of the component family members are not the main ingredients;
- primogeniture and
- the male line of descent.

Therefore consistent to the three principles I outlined above, under customary law, property considered valuable such as land and livestock was entrusted to men (Mamashela, 2004: 621; Bennett, 1991a: 254). Although individuals could not own land, the land allotted to each family unit was controlled by the head of the family and upon death such land was inherited by his heir notable the eldest son. Likewise all the properties belonging to the family unit belonged to the head of the family and on his death was inherited by the heir (Bennett, 1995: 122-123). Therefore, it followed as earlier stated that women had little control over property save for personal effects and domestic property which they used for the day to day upkeep of the family. This meant that upon the death of the family head or upon the termination of the marriage women suffered economic hardship.

According to Mamashela (2004: 621; Mbatha, 2005: 43) in terms of customary law a married woman could not be allocated land in her own right; she could only access it through a male figure, her father, her husband, her brother or her son. This entails that females could not inherit property from their husbands and if the couple had no male heirs the estate devolved to the deceased’s father or, if he is no longer alive, to the nearest male relative (Tebbe, 2008: 473). Hence, the resultant effect of the application of the principle of primogeniture on customary law of succession was that the rights to equality and human dignity as envisaged in human rights law were undermined. Women and female children were marginalised due to the inferior status accorded to them (Walker, 2009: 467-490) . In Mthembu v Letsela (2000 (3) SA 867) the customary law rule of primogeniture and regulation 2 of the Regulations for the Administration and Distribution of the Estates of Deceased Blacks, made in terms of s23(10) of the Black Administration Act 38 of 1927 was challenged on the basis that it excluded women from inheriting intestate. Mpati AJA held as follows;
"What needs to be stressed from the outset is that the regulation in issue did not introduce something foreign to black persons. It merely gave legislative recognition to a principle or system which had been in existence and followed, at least, for decades. It is not inconceivable that many blacks, even to this day, would wish their estates to devolve in terms of black law and custom” (Mthembu case para 880C-D).

In the Bhe and Others v Magistrate Khayelitsha and Others (2005 (1) BCLR 1 (CC)) case such differentiation was rejected and the court held that;

"to the extent that the primogeniture rule prevents all female children and significantly curtails the rights of male extra-marital children from inheriting, it discriminates against them too. These are particularly vulnerable groups in our society which correctly places much store in the well-being and protection of children who are ordinarily not in a position to protect themselves. In denying female and extra-marital children the ability and the opportunity to inherit from their deceased fathers, the application of the principle of primogeniture is also in violation of section 9(3) of the Constitution” (Bhe case para 93).

Although Langa DCJ in the Bhe case remarked as follows;

"The positive aspects of customary law have long been neglected. The inherent flexibility of the system is but one of its constructive facets. Customary law places much store in consensus-seeking and naturally provides for family and clan meetings which offer excellent opportunities for the prevention and resolution of disputes and disagreements. Nor are these aspects useful only in the area of disputes. They provide a setting which contributes to the unity of family structures and the fostering of co-operation, a sense of responsibility in and of belonging to its members, as well as the nurturing of healthy communitarian traditions such as Ubuntu. These valuable aspects of customary law more than justify its protection by the Constitution” (Bhe case para 45; Bennett, 2011: 30-61).

Despite Langa DCJ’s sentiments on the importance of customary law in regulating family affairs, the differentiation based on gender as prevailed in terms of customary law of succession could not be justified in terms of human rights law and therefore fell short of the fundamental rights protected in terms of the Bill of Rights more specifically sections 9 and 10 of the Constitution. According to Mbatha (2005: 43-46) reform that addresses the injustices of the past is necessary when it brings about equality. This entails that there exist a need to ensure that women and female children are accorded equal rights and chances to inherit from their deceased male relatives. Himonga (2005: 89-90) in relation to customary marriages argues that the changes in respect of proprietary succession brought by the RCMA are important in the dissolution of marriages because,

"Leaving the dissolution of marriage to traditional institutions may result in the continued application of customary law regulating divorce and its consequences to the new marriage, which may not always be to the advantage of women. This is particularly the case if one considers the dominance of men in traditional dispute forums and the likelihood that these men would seek to reinstate customary patriarchal norms favourable to their positions in marriage and society”

A close analysis of Himonga’s argument reveals that customary law cannot be permitted to exist within the context that is characterised by discriminatory and stereotypical tendencies that perpetuate inequality between sexes. Accordingly, differentiation based on gender roles and stereotyping cannot not be justified in light of the Bill of Rights. Therefore, an interpretation favouring the principle of male primogeniture and male dominance cannot stand constitutional scrutiny and as a result should be curtailed by both judicial and legislative reform (Bekker & Koyana, 2012: 571-584).
Pursuant to the Bhe case, the Reform of Customary Law of succession and Regulation of related matters Act 11 of 2009 (Act 11 of 2009), was enacted to ensure that the customary law of succession adequately caters for the welfare of family members without any distinction based on gender and class particular children belong to. Finally, the ever-changing community values make it difficult to observe customary law as it was observed during pre-constitutional era. Moreover, the right to equality is the backbone of the Constitution; hence, social practices that perpetuate inequality cannot be tolerated (Deane & Brijmohanall, 2003: 92-100).

**Reform in chieftainship succession post Shilubana**

In African societies a traditional leader is the most important and powerful member of his community (Bennett, 1995: 66). In pre-colonial times leaders did not act as dictators rather servants of their subjects, hence the adage kgosikekgosikabatho (a chief is a chief through his people) Therefore, a traditional leader earned respect and was respected by his subjects. Therefore, succession to chieftainship, like all other positions of authority was in most African societies reserved for males (Bekker & Boonzaaier, 2006: 115). The reason was that female activities are judged inferior in patriarchal systems (Mmusinyane, 2009: 147-150). The other reason was that upon marriage a woman ceases to be part of her father’s household and becomes part of her husband’s family, this would distort the ruling lineage as her children belongs to another bloodline (Bekker & Boonzaaier, 2008: 457-458).

However, a few exceptions could be found in some African societies where woman hold the position of chieftainship in lieu of their male counterparts. In South Africa, the Balobedu of Modjadji is one such tribe (Prinsloo, 2005: 814-820). Although generally, chieftainship follows the principle of male primogeniture, being that the traditional leader is succeeded by his eldest son born to him by the principal wife (Bekker & Boonzaaier, 2006: 115-117); however, in the most recent case of Shilubana, succession to traditional leadership took an unexpected turn when the Constitutional Court upheld the installation of a female chief in a patrilineal lineage and held that

“In deciding as they did, the Valoyi authorities restored the chieftainship to a woman who would have been appointed Hosi in 1968, were it not for the fact that she is a woman. As far as lineage is relevant, the chieftainship was also restored to the line of Hosi Fofiza from which it was taken away on the basis that he only had a female and not a male heir” (Shilubana case para 70).

The court in the Shilubana case developed the principle of male primogeniture to conform to the Constitution on the basis that the Valoyi Royal family had amended their succession rules by virtue of section 211(2) of the Constitution and given effect to gender equality. Although in Shilubana, van der Westhuizen J remarked that the Shilubana decision does not entitle all women to claim chieftainship, it is doubtful that any court faced with a similar situation would decide otherwise. My argument finds basis in the fact that the Bill of Rights affords greater protection to women and children as indicated in the Bhe and Gumede cases. Therefore any standard of deviation would fall foul of the rights to equality and human dignity. At the same time the Shilubana case has raised extensive debates and
criticism among academic writers on whether or not the development was proper or unfairly undermined customary law.

Bekker and Boonzaaier (2008: 459-462) appear to criticise the manner the Constitutional Court per van der Westhuizen J ruled in the Shilubana case. They argue that the court relied on what it thought was the Valoyi customary law and did not bother to find out the ‘living law’. Ntlama (2009: 355) argues that that the Shilubana decision undermines the role of customary law as an independent source of norms and standards within the South African legal system and that the judgment fails to take into account that customary law is a body of law that regulates the lives of many South Africans by allowing the development of customary law to give prominence to the powerful, who are able to manoeuvre the legal system for their personal gain. On the other hand Mmusinyane argues that the appointment of Ms Shilubana must be seen as advancement towards non-discrimination more specifically based on gender in chieftainship succession (Mmusinyane, 2009: 150-156).

Taking into account the different academic views advanced above, I am of the opinion that in as much as a large portion of South Africa still practices customary law in their day-to-day social life, it is also important that such practices reflect the values entrenched in the Bill of Rights. The fact that customary law has received full recognition in terms of the Constitution entails that like all other laws customary law should be subjected to judicial scrutiny to ensure compliance with the constitutional provisions.

In reference to the Shilubana decision I am of the opinion that official customary law as entrenched in the Constitution should be used as a guiding principle in deciding customary law issues where a conflicts arises between living law and official law especially in instances where a principle of living law contravenes the Bill of Rights. For example had the Valoyi Royal Council not amended their customary law to reflect constitutional values, such failure would not have changed the fact that the principle of male primogeniture as observed by the Valoyi tribe contravenes the rights to equality and human dignity. The oversight would only mean that the principle of male primogeniture remains unchallenged and gender stereotyping is condoned. Having regard to the above discussion it is apparent that the Shilubana is a step closer in ensuring that customary law rules and practices that condone gender inequality will not pass constitutional scrutiny. The decision reflects a positive advancement towards gender equality and eliminates social stereotyping brought about by the principle of patriarchy.

The place of (harmful) cultural practices in a constitutional state

Cultural practices such as virginity testing, genital mutilation (female circumcision), male circumcision, and initiations form an integral part of African societies or communities (Maluleke, 2012: 5-8). In South Africa, the month of June marks the beginning of initiation (passage to adulthood) rites and other related cultural practices. These rites involve both female and male participants. However, they differ from tribe to tribe even from community to community. In African societies these practices are
seen as a way of preserving African morality (Twala, 2007: 22-33). According to Scorgie (2002: 64) the importance of cultural practices such as virginity testing is associated with dignity and pride among its proponents. For the individual girls, their families and communities the practice is seen as a way of preserving morality (Vincent, 2006: 23; Wickstroom, 2010: 534-540). However, in terms of human rights law these practices are considered discriminatory, harmful, and degrading as they infringe on protected fundamental rights such as the right to bodily integrity, the right to privacy, the right to human dignity, and the right to equality (Kaimé, 2005: 228-238).

International and regional instruments such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (Children’s Charter) make provision for the practice of such cultural rights provided they are not harmful to children. Article 24(3) of the CRC provides that States Parties shall take all effective and appropriate measures with a view to abolishing traditional practices prejudicial to the health of children. Article 21(1)(a) and (b) of the Children’s Charter provides that States parties shall take all appropriate measures to abolish customs and practices harmful to the welfare, normal growth and development of the child and in particular;

(a) those customs and practices prejudicial to the health or life of the child; and
(b) those customs and practices discriminatory to the child on the grounds of sex or other status.

In 2007 Taylor et al (2007: 27-35) conducted a research on the perceptions and attitudes secondary school students in KwaZulu-Natal towards virginity testing. Some of the reasons for partaking in this cultural practice can be summarised as follows;

- the practice is a cultural practice;
- it gives the girls reason to be proud of themselves;
- it decreased the likelihood of sexual activity;
- it enabled parents to be proud of their daughters.

Whether the acceptability of this practice in modern South Africa is genuine or not, is a question that remains unanswered. This is so because family and peer pressure plays a major role in influencing the participants’ decisions and children often do not want to be ostracized and hence consent to be tested (Taylor et al., 2007:31-32; Vincent, 2013). As a result, this has prompted the government to permit such cultural practices within certain legal parameters (Moodley, 2008:72-77). Section 12 of the Children’s Act 38 of 2005 as amended sets certain parameters on when can children be subjected to virginity testing and circumcision. Virginity testing of girl children is permitted when the child is older than 16 and the provisions of section 12(5) have been complied with. The results of such test may not be disclosed without the consent of the child and the child cannot be marked in any manner (Sections 12(6) and (7) respectively of the Children’s Act). In the same manner the male child can only undergo male circumcision if he is older than 16 years (section 12(9)(b) and (c) of the Children’s Act). However exceptions exist where a male child may be circumcised before the age of 16 years owing to religious purposes and medical reasons (section 8 of the Children’s Act).
Moreover, South Africa ratified the African Charter. Article 17 of the Charter provides that every individual has the right to freely take part in the culture of his community and that the promotion and protection of morals and traditional values recognised by the community shall be the duty of the state (Article 17(3) of the African Charter). Article 22(1) provides for the rights of all peoples to their cultural development, with due regard to their freedom and identity and in the equal enjoyment of the common heritage of mankind. Articles 18, 27 and 29(7) of the African Charter provide that the family must preserve moral values and family heritage.

Having regard to the above human rights provisions each ethnic group in South Africa must enjoy their own culture and traditions without interference or any form of discrimination from the State and its organs and the courts. However, the phrasing of sections 30 and 31 of the Constitution places a restriction on the exercise of the right to culture to be practiced within the ambits to the Bill of Rights (See Section 39(3) of the Constitution). Therefore, taking into account the fact that South Africa has a multicultural society with diverse African communities, it is only proper to conclude that the basis of delimiting cultural practices through legislation and the Constitution is meant to preserve the cultural identity of African communities still embedded in their culture. Therefore, aligning customary law with the provisions of the Bill of rights and relevant human rights instruments presents a step closer to curbing harmful cultural practices especially those targeted at vulnerable groups such as women and children (Odeku, 2014: 33-34).

Conclusion
From the above discussion, it is clear that customary law has outlived its patrilineal characteristics and that there exist no justification for the blatant discrimination against women and children that is prevalent under customary law. Further that the stringent limitation that is imposed on the practice of harmful cultural practices is an indication that South Africa considers its international and regional commitments to non-discrimination and stereotyping of utmost importance. Hence, the enactment of legislative frameworks consistent with these obligations present a welcome measure to ensure that human rights are respected and no individual is subjected to degrading and inhuman treatment under the pretense of culture.

References


E-culture as a Panacea for Successful Implementation of Blended Pedagogies in South Africa

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Abstract: Lately, the interest using digital technologies and social media for teaching and learning has precipitated the notion of the implementation of e-learning in schools across various countries. However, there is a strong correlation between the successful implementation of blended pedagogies and teachers’ and learners’ as well as institutional culture. Apparently, e-culture of educational ICT users is influenced by a number of factors inclusive of socio-economic characteristics, ICT oriented home situations, general educational, classroom and school level factors. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to evaluate both teachers’ and learners’ as well as institutional e-culture for the implementation of blended pedagogies. Theoretically, e-culture should be considered as one of the most critical preconditions necessary for implementation of blended pedagogies rather than the prioritization of infrastructure in practice. The paper concludes that for a country such as South Africa to succeed in the implantation of blended pedagogies, individual (among teachers and learners) and institutional e-culture should be prioritized.

Key Words: E-culture, Blended Pedagogies, South Africa

Introduction

In recent decades digital technologies and social media have captivated societal imagination across the world, becoming “prevalent in the day-to-day life” of learners characterized as “Net Generation”, “Y-generation” or “the digital natives” (Abe & Jordan, 2013; Domingo & Garganté, 2016; Salminen, Gustafsson, Vilen, Fuster, Istomina & Papastavrou, 2016). Simultaneously, interest in the potential for using digital technologies and social media in education precipitated the notion of e-learning (Tower, Latimer & Hewitt, 2014; Domingo & Garganté, 2016; Salminen et al., 2016). However, the e-learning environment is facilitated by teachers who, unlike the “Net Generation”, were not born to be socialized into the digital technologies, social media, computers and Internet (Domingo & Garganté, 2016; Salminen et al., 2016). Teachers are however under tremendous pressure to integrate digital technologies and social media in their instructional designs because the learners have positive perceptions of their impacts, usefulness, enjoyment and excitement of these tools, to which they are

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socialized as part of normal life (Abe & Jordan, 2013; Green, Wyllie & Jackson, 2014; Peck, 2014; Salminen et al., 2016). Learners already spend amount of time and energy in the digital technologies, Internet and social media spaces (Domingo & Garganté, 2016; Salminen et al., 2016). Oz, Demirezen & Pourfeiz (2015) show statistically that there are positive correlations between computer and ICT literacy and attitudes towards adoption and use of digital technology and Internet in the learning environment. Also, computer and ICT literacy is a significant determinant of attitudes towards technology-based and computer-assisted learning (Oz et al., 2015; Domingo &Garganté, 2016; Salminen et al., 2016). Thus, values, knowledge, experience, language and symbols, attitudes and notion of time towards the use of digital technology are important factors that can be used to determine the level of e-culture necessary for the implementation and success of the implementation of ICT in education (Warschauer & Ames, 2010; Viriyapong & Hartfield, 2013; Aesaert & Van Braak, 2014; Aesaert, Van Nijlen, Vanderlinde, Tondeur, Devlieger & van Braak, 2015; Erdogdu & Erdogdu, 2015; Glušac, Makitan, Karuović, Radosav, & Milanov, 2015; Hung, 2016; Pruet, Ang, & Farzin., 2016; Siddiq, Scherer & Tondeur, 2016). It is in this context that the paper evaluates both teachers’ and learners’ as well as institutional e-culture for the implementation of blended pedagogies in South Africa. The paper consists of five sections inclusive of this introduction and the conclusion. The dimensions of and factors that contribute to e-culture are discussed in sections two and three, respectively. The fourth section evaluates the effects of e-culture on the implantation of blended pedagogies. The paper then concludes that for South Africa to succeed in the implantation of blended pedagogies, individual (among teachers and learners) and institutional e-culture should be prioritized.

Dimensions of E-culture Necessary for Adoption of Blended Pedagogies
The implementation of blended learning requires an understanding of different contexts of both teachers and learners related to values, knowledge, experience, language and symbols, attitudes and notion of time (Warschauer & Ames, 2010; Mdlongwa, 2012; Viriyapong & Hartfield, 2013; Aesaert & Van Braak, 2014; Aesaert et al., 2015; Hung, 2016; Pruet et al., 2016; Siddiq et al., 2016) as measures for the level of e-culture that is important in e-pedagogies. Evidence reveals that the main failure of the usage of digital technologies in education is mostly related to the ignorance of e-culture of both teachers and learners (Warschauer & Ames, 2010; Viriyapong & Hartfield, 2013; Aesaert & Van Braak, 2014; Aesaert et al., 2015; Pruet et al., 2016; Siddiq et al., 2016). Apparently, the focus is on delivery of the new technology without considering people’s needs, e-culture and how they will use the technology (Warschauer & Ames, 2010; Aesaert & Van Braak, 2014). In education, it may be that teachers and learners in developed countries or urban areas use digital technology differently from the ones in developing countries or rural areas in (Aesaert & Van Braak, 2014; Aesaert et al., 2015; Pruet et al., 2016).

Values in terms of teaching and learning styles are crucial to the success of educational ICT for national development. Seemingly, teachers and learners who are in favour of auditory, visual and high competitive teaching and learning styles are more likely to use digital technologies in pedagogy than
those who are not (Vanderlinde & van Braak, 2010; Aesaert & Van Braak, 2014; Glušac et al., 2015; Pruet et al., 2016; Siddiq et al., 2016). Access to and the use of ICT determines the level of knowledge and experience that the teachers and learners hold for the success application e-learning. Accordingly, teachers and learners who had the privilege to access and use ICT before are more likely to succeed in the implementation of educational digital technology due to the knowledge and experience they possess (Vanderlinde & van Braak, 2010; Warschauer & Ames, 2010; Viriyapong & Hartfield, 2013; Aesaert & Van Braak, 2014; Erdogdu & Erdogdu, 2015; Glušac et al., 2015; Hung, 2016; Pruet et al., 2016; Siddiq et al., 2016). Language and symbols used in the digital world are also of importance to the success of educational ICT. Even though the e-language and e-symbols compromises learners’ ability to correctly spell words, it makes learning easy as they are more familiar with the codes used (Erdogdu & Erdogdu, 2015; Glušac et al., 2015). Teachers’ and learners’ attitudes towards ICT is another important factor to predict the successful implementation of digital technology in education (Erdogdu & Erdogdu, 2015; Hung, 2016; Pruet et al., 2016; Siddiq et al., 2016). Apparently, teachers and learners who “perceive computers and the Internet as useful; who are less anxious to use computers and the Internet; and who have more confidence about independent control with Internet use” demonstrates high levels of acceptance of e-learning (Aesaert & Van Braak, 2014, p. 329). With regard to the notion of time towards the use of digital technology, seemingly, most teachers and learners dedicate the majority of their time on personal communication to establish and maintain relationships, find information on various issues mostly for entertainment and recreational purposes rather than on teaching and learning (Glušac et al., 2015; Erdogdu & Erdogdu, 2015; Hung, 2016; Siddiq et al., 2016). The time allocated for lessons and their preparations is then misused as a result of both teachers and learners’ cyberloafing. For these reasons, there is a need to establish and improve teachers’ and learners’ levels of e-values, e-knowledge, e-experiences, e-language and e-symbols, e-attitudes and e-notion of time before the implementation of digital technologies to reveal significant potential for educational purposes. The next section discusses factors that contribute to appropriate e-culture in pedagogy.

Factors Contributing to E-culture in Pedagogy

Notwithstanding teachers’ and learners’ values, knowledge, experience, language and symbols, attitudes necessary for transformational pedagogy, “behaviour” also plays a crucial role. Davies’ Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) states that teachers’ and learners’ actions with regard to the adoption and use of ICT for knowledge transfer and acquisition are determined by their behavioural intentions (Teo, 2011; Aesaert et al., 2015; Valtonen, Kukkonen, Kontkanen, Sormunen, Dillon & Sointu, 2015; Wilson, Scalise & Gochyev, 2015; Domingo & Garganté, 2016; Hung, 2016; Siddiq et al., 2016). These behavioural intentions are determined by three elements, namely: attitudes, subjective norms and perceived behavioural control (Teo, 2011; Valtonen et al., 2015). Teachers and learners’ evaluation of certain behaviours either positively or negatively valued, is referred to as attitudes (Teo, 2011; Aesaert et al., 2015; Valtonen et al., 2015; Wilson et al., 2015; Domingo & Garganté, 2016; Hung, 2016; Siddiq et al., 2016). On one hand, subjective norms refer to the social aspect that relates to the behaviour and also focuses on how it is viewed by significant people, such
as teachers and learners (Teo, 2011; Wilson et al., 2015; Domingo & Garganté, 2016; Hung, 2016; Siddiq et al., 2016). While on the other hand, perceived behavioural control has to do with the resources and possibilities to support the behaviour and self-efficacy which is more on teachers’ and learners’ evaluation of their abilities and skills necessary to conduct the behaviour (Teo, 2011; Valtonen et al., 2015). According to Teo (2011), TPB is a valid model for explaining the behavioural intentions of teachers and learners towards the blending of e-learning with conventional didactics. Regardless of teachers’ and learners’ values, knowledge, experience, language and symbols, attitudes as well as behaviour there are five external factors that have effects on their e-culture necessary for blended pedagogies. The factors include socio-economic characteristics, ICT oriented home situations, general educational, classroom and school level factors (Durndell & Haag, 2002; Meelissen, 2008; Strudler & Harrington, 2008; Vansteenkiste, Sierens, Soenens, Tsai & Tsai, 2010; Vanderline & van Braak, 2010; Zhong, 2011; Verhoeven, Heerwegh & De Wit, 2012; Aesaert & van Braak, 2014; Peeraer & Van Petegem, 2014; Aesaert et al., 2015; Hung, 2016) which are discussed as follows:

Socio-economic Factors
The socio-economic characteristics that have the ability to influence the e-culture of both teachers and learners are sex, age and economic status (Durndell & Haag, 2002; Meelissen, 2008; Tsai & Tsai, 2010; Aesaert & van Braak, 2014; Peeraer & Van Petegem, 2014; Aesaert et al., 2015; Hung, 2016). Although there is no conclusive evidence about the relationship between sex and e-culture, it is perceived that females have relationship and communication focused ICT abilities as compared to males who possess more technical skills (Durndell & Haag, 2002; Aesaert & van Braak, 2014; Peeraer & Van Petegem, 2014; Aesaert et al., 2015). With regard to age, the older teachers and learners get, the more they tend to have less interest in technology (Tsai & Tsai, 2010; Meelissen, 2008; Aesaert & van Braak, 2014; Peeraer & Van Petegem, 2014; Hung, 2016). Apparently, teachers and learners with high economic status seem to hold strong e-culture compared to those who come from poor backgrounds (Durndell & Haag, 2002; Meelissen, 2008; Tsai & Tsai, 2010; Aesaert & van Braak, 2014; Peeraer & Van Petegem, 2014; Hung, 2016). This evidence suggests that accessibility to technological gadgets and the Internet as a result of affordability has effects on people’s e-culture. Thus, the socio-economic characteristics of teachers and learners can either support or hinder the adoption of educational ICT.

Family ICT Support
Another factor is the ICT oriented home situation with measures such as family ICT support, attitudes and availability of computer and the Internet (Tsai & Tsai, 2010; Zhong, 2011; Aesaert & van Braak, 2014; Peeraer & Van Petegem, 2014; Aesaert et al., 2015). Firstly, family ICT support entails the degree at which family members control and guide each other in the use of ICT by imposing rules, having talks about computer and Internet usage and doing some activities together (Tsai & Tsai, 2010; Zhong, 2011; Aesaert & van Braak, 2014; Peeraer & Van Petegem, 2014; Aesaert et al., 2015; Hung, 2016). Secondly, family ICT attitudes relates to the degree in which family members
believe that their ICT usage will economically, socially and educationally benefit them by developing their skills and competencies (Tsai & Tsai, 2010; Aesaert & van Braak, 2014; Peeraer & Van Petegem, 2014; Hung, 2016). In this case, teachers and learners who perceive their family members as supportive and encouraging with regard to ICT usage and related skills development, consider themselves to be better at adopting computers and Internet in pedagogy. Lastly, availability of computers and Internet at home refers to opportunities that family members have to develop their ICT skills and competencies by having access to necessary infrastructure in the comfort of their homes (Tsai & Tsai, 2010; Zhong, 2011; Aesaert & van Braak, 2014; Peeraer & Van Petegem, 2014; Aesaert et al., 2015). Thus, family computer ownership influences teachers’ and learners’ e-culture as it gives them an opportunity to relate to and be confident to use certain applications and programs.

**General educational factors**

In addition to the discussed characteristics of e-culture, there are general educational, classroom and school level factors which also have an influence on teachers’ and learners’ e-culture (Vansteenkiste et al., 2009; Verhoeven et al., 2012; Aesaert & van Braak, 2014; Peeraer & Van Petegem, 2014; Aesaert et al., 2015). The general education factors focus on teaching and learning motivation, style and analytical intelligence (Vansteenkiste et al., 2009; Verhoeven et al., 2012; Aesaert & van Braak, 2014; Peeraer & Van Petegem, 2014; Aesaert et al., 2015). Teaching and learning motivation encourages autonomous rather than controlled knowledge transfer and acquisition. In this case, teaching and learning that is motivated by pressure and related factors in transformation of pedagogy explain the lack of e-culture amongst participants (Vansteenkiste et al., 2009; Verhoeven et al., 2012; Aesaert & van Braak, 2014; Peeraer & Van Petegem, 2014; Hung, 2016). The teaching and learning style is also of importance in building a strong and stable e-culture. A more meaning-directed teaching and learning style encourages an effective e-culture towards achieving the desired transformation in pedagogy (Vansteenkiste et al., 2009; Verhoeven et al., 2012; Aesaert et al., 2015). Another education general factor is the analytical intelligence which is a measure of aptitude believed to have effects on both teachers’ and learners’ e-culture (Vansteenkiste et al., 2009; Verhoeven et al., 2012; Hung, 2016). Seemingly, teachers and learners who are able to apply their analytical intelligence in blended pedagogies have demonstrated a positive e-culture.

**Classroom factors**

Classroom factors which have a number of characteristics also affect e-culture of teachers and learners which include ICT experiences, logistic appropriateness, competencies and professional development (Vanderlinde & van Braak, 2010; Aesaert & van Braak, 2014; Peeraer & Van Petegem, 2014; Aesaert et al., 2015; Hung, 2016). Generally, the characteristics refer to teachers’ and learners’ personal ICT profiles and classroom conditions created to encourage the use of educational technology (Vanderlinde & van Braak, 2010; Aesaert & van Braak, 2014; Peeraer & Van Petegem, 2014; Aesaert et al., 2015). In order to develop the level of e-culture required for success of the blended pedagogies, the frequency of using ICT for teaching and learning in the classrooms must be improved (Aesaert & van Braak, 2014; Peeraer & Van Petegem, 2014). Appropriate logistics with
regard to the educational ICT are important in ensuring that both teachers and learners feel satisfied with the technological resources (Vanderlinde & van Braak, 2010; Aesaert & van Braak, 2014; Peeraer & Van Petegem, 2014; Aesaert et al., 2015).

The logistics revolves around ICT accessibility and availability of required software and hardware necessary for blended pedagogies. ICT competencies are limited to self-perceived technical, organizational and pedagogical-didactical ability to use technology in the classrooms (Vanderlinde & van Braak, 2010; Aesaert & van Braak, 2014; Peeraer & Van Petegem, 2014; Aesaert et al., 2015; Hung, 2016). Seemingly, high teachers’ e-culture is positively related to learners’ cognitive and emotional achievements as well as the development of values towards educational ICT. Additionally, teachers’ confidence in delivering lessons using technology and assisting learners to achieve their educational goals is positively linked to the development of learners’ e-culture (Vanderlinde & van Braak, 2010; Aesaert & van Braak, 2014; Peeraer & Van Petegem, 2014; Aesaert et al., 2015). That is, teachers who perceive ICT as useful and important in education encourages the learners’ e-culture to be able to excel in using the technology for knowledge acquisition. ICT professional development refers to the degree at which teachers and learners make efforts to keep informed about technology advancements and simultaneously engage in ICT-related professional development (Aesaert & van Braak, 2014; Peeraer & Van Petegem, 2014; Hung, 2016). Apparently, dearth of professional development especially among teachers is one of the challenges that negatively influence the e-culture in education.

**School level factors**

School level factors involve organizational factors that are related to teaching and learning such as the ICT support, coordination and vision and policy (Strudler & Hearrington, 2008; Zhong, 2011; Aesaert & van Braak, 2014; Peeraer & Van Petegem, 2014; Aesaert et al., 2015). ICT support focuses on quality technical and educational support that teachers and learners must receive in the implementation of blended pedagogies which can lead to strengthened e-culture (Strudler & Hearrington, 2008; Zhong, 2011; Aesaert & van Braak, 2014; Peeraer & Van Petegem, 2014; Aesaert et al., 2015). ICT coordination plays four supportive roles as a planner, technician, budgeter and educationalist in ensuring that the processes of the implementation of the blended pedagogies in schools unfold accordingly (Zhong, 2011; Aesaert & van Braak, 2014; Peeraer & Van Petegem, 2014; Hung, 2016). Apparently, the support from the ICT coordinator add value to the successful blending of pedagogies as challenges on the ground are realized and resolved as they emerge. School’s vision and ICT policy should consider prioritizing of the educational ICT goals as an essential component of blended pedagogies (Strudler & Hearrington, 2008; Zhong, 2011; Aesaert & van Braak, 2014; Peeraer & Van Petegem, 2014; Aesaert et al., 2015; Hung, 2016). Notwithstanding the school’s vision and ICT policy, teachers’ and learners’ e-culture to a large extent still determines the appropriate application of the blended pedagogies. Teachers and learners who hold positive e-culture have better chances of successfully integrating e-learning with conventional didactics.
However, institutional dynamics also affect the total level of e-culture in schools, something which cannot be addressed at individual level. The international application of the McNay’s Taxonomy in studies concerned with organizational culture provide examples of institutional types judged on their culture towards the core business of their institutions (McNay, 1995; McNaught & Vogel, 2006; Czerniewicz & Brown, 2009). McNay’s Taxonomy provides four organisational cultural types namely: collegium, bureaucracy, corporation and enterprise (McNay, 1995; McNaught & Vogel, 2006; Czerniewicz & Brown, 2009). This taxonomy has subsequently been extended and modified by McNaught & Vogel (2006) in order to categorise the culture towards the implementation of e-learning within educational institutions. McNay (1995) and McNaught & Vogel (2006) state that the collegium organizational culture is characterised by “loose institutional policy definition”, informal networks and decision arenas, and innovation at the level of the individual or department in the implementation of e-learning and/or blended learning. That is, this type of culture within an institution allows for lack of tight policies that clearly guide, control and manage e-learning activities however, willing individuals and/or departments randomly make decisions to adopt technology in their teaching and learning. The bureaucratic organizational cultural type is also characterised by “loose policy but strong regulation” and it is dominated by committees or administrative consultations with regard to the implementation of e-learning (McNay, 1995; McNaught & Vogel, 2006; Czerniewicz & Brown, 2009). In most cases, the decisions made during these “high regulatory” committees or administrative consultations around e-learning are not conducive to the required changes as they are determined by the “political authority” at that moment (McNay, 1995; Czerniewicz & Brown, 2009). The corporate organizational cultural type is defined by “tight policy definition, tight implementation and a culture of strong top down directives, implemented by institutional senior management” (McNay, 1995, p. 108). The corporate culture suggests that the implementation of e-learning is governed by strict policy and implementation processes which are managed specifically by senior management of the institution in question. Therefore, appropriate implementation of e-learning and the development of an effective culture lie with the senior management of the institution. The enterprise type has a “well-defined policy framework” which is informed by “learners as clients” who are considered as the dominant criteria for decision making (McNay, 1995; McNaught & Vogel, 2006; Czerniewicz & Brown, 2009). For this type of organizational culture, leadership in e-learning is decentralised to learners in order to ensure that the institution meet their needs and therefore, considering the market as a strong focus. As McNay (1995) and McNaught & Vogel (2006) emphasized, no institution can precisely be grouped under one type and as a result of continuous developments, institutions have the flexibility to change classification over time. Generally, appropriate e-culture should be well developed at the school level through appropriate policies and involvement of relevant stakeholders inclusive of teachers and learners for planning and governance of e-learning. The inclusion of teachers and learners will ensure that e-learning is not considered as one of the initiatives that are just imposed on them especially during the implementation phase. In the next section, the contribution of e-culture towards blended learning is discussed.

E-culture and Blending of Pedagogies
Seemingly, factors which include socio-economic characteristics, ICT oriented home situations, general educational, classroom and school level factors affect the level of e-culture among both teachers and learners. These findings reveals that during times in which educational policies are focusing on ICT integration and developing ICT frameworks and curricula, teachers and learners perceptions and judgment of their computer and Internet competences are still developing outside of the school setting, rather than inside the classroom. According to Zhong (2011), the home which is an out of school setting in which some teachers and learners use ICT, works as a more powerful predictor of e-culture than the classroom itself. In order to deal with the absence of e-culture in the formal education, learners should be taught to reflect on their own ICT attitudes and teachers be assisted to choose and develop ICT activities that are appropriate in terms of difficulty and ease as part of pedagogical aspects that ICT professional development should focus on. However, using self-efficacy as a measure for the level of e-culture, can results in validity problems as the results are based on teachers’ and learners’ own judgment, experience and expectations of their successful performance of computer and Internet related tasks. Perhaps the expectation that appropriate e-culture should be pinned down to teachers and learners only is misleading as well. The educational institutions should also ensure that their level of e-culture strongly supports and motivates both teachers and learners during the adoption and implementation of e-learning and/or blended learning.

The implementation of blended pedagogies requires an understanding of different contexts of both teachers and learners related to their values, knowledge, experience, language and symbols, attitudes and notion of time (Warschauer & Ames, 2010; Mdlongwa, 2012; Viriyapong & Hartfield, 2013; Aesaert & Van Braak, 2014; Aesaert, et a., 2015; Pruet et al., 2016) necessary to determine the appropriate culture for educational ICT. Therefore, blended pedagogies requires teachers and learners who value and appreciate, possess appropriate knowledge, have experience and are familiar with technological language and symbols, and their attitudes and use of time are all in support of educational ICT (Warschauer & Ames, 2010; Mdlongwa, 2012; Viriyapong & Hartfield, 2013; Aesaert & Van Braak, 2014; Aesaert et al., 2015; Pruet et al., 2016). ICT culture, is considered as one of the major preconditions of the successful implementation of e-learning and/or blended learning especially at institutional level which have the ability to influence individual cultures. Czerniewicz & Brown (2009) in their study established the importance of institutional culture in the implementation of e-learning and/or blended learning. The study drew data from a 2007 Statistics South Africa survey of ICT access and use conducted in six diverse South African universities which are located in five provinces (Czerniewicz & Brown, 2009). The data collected was used to demonstrate and argue the use of ICT in support of academic activities in South African higher education and thus determining the level of institutional culture in this universities (Czerniewicz & Brown, 2009).

The findings of the study revealed that the majority of the selected universities have adopted the corporate organizational culture which is associated with top down change management systems and processes for integration of e-learning into the existing curriculum (Czerniewicz & Brown, 2009). The major challenges this type of culture towards the planning and governance of e-learning are that they
are mostly not consultative and inclusive enough and as such have the possibility of being resented or resisted. In those universities, some academic staff members claim that they were forced to integrate ICT in their teaching (Czerniewicz & Brown, 2009). This finding suggests that teachers’ and learners’ level of e-culture does not support the implementation of e-learning because of their dissatisfaction with the institutional culture. Therefore, for a developing country such as South Africa which is so ambitious about educational ICT, institutional culture is critical to encourage and influence teachers’ and learners’ e-culture in order to ensure that they effectively implement e-learning in their institutions.

Conclusion
This paper identified and discussed the different dimension of e-culture which include values, knowledge, experience, language and symbols, attitudes and notion of time. Moreover, various factors which have effects on e-culture were also identified and discusses. The factors includes socio-economic characteristics, ICT oriented home situations, general educational, classroom and school level factors. Generally, these factors have the ability to influence teachers’ and learners’ ICT e-culture either negatively or positively. Therefore, for South Africa the individual (among teachers and learners) and institutional e-culture is crucial for the successful implementation of blended pedagogies and thus, should be prioritized.

References


Determinants of Fertility Decline in Namibia: An analysis of the Proximate Determinants

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Abstract: The paper examines trends in the proximate determinants of fertility in Namibia during the period 1992-2013, with a view to explaining the factors responsible for fertility decline in the country. The study uses the 1992, 2000, 2006 and 2013 Namibia Demographic and Health Surveys and Bongaarts’ model of proximate determinants. The study shows that marriage has a far more dominant inhibiting effect on fertility than the other proximate fertility determinants. Specifically, the fertility suppressing effects of marriage are more important than the effects of contraception and postpartum infecundability in explaining fertility levels and trends in the context of Namibia; the indices of marriage and contraception and an increase in the index of postpartum infecundability. The change is greatest in contraceptive, moderate in marriage and least in breastfeeding. The study recommends that strategies aimed at improving reproductive health services such as empowerment of women should be promoted in Namibia.

Keywords: nuptiality, contraception, post-partum infecundability, fertility decline, proximate determinants, Namibia.

Introduction

The subject of demographic transition has been one of the principal preoccupations of scholars and policy makers in the last few decades. Some researchers have observed that the ever-present differentials in the levels, trends and determinants of fertility warrant separate and detailed studies in various regions and countries in order to obtain a better understanding of the issues (Mirzaie, 1998). In this paper an attempt is made to examine the recent trends in fertility and its proximate determinants in Namibia. The need for research on the subject of fertility in Namibia cannot be overemphasized. Fertility is one of the most important determinants of population growth, which aspect has implications for the state of various social, economic and cultural factors in any given country. This is particularly true in the context of sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) which region has, until very recently, been characterized by high population growth rates and high levels of fertility. Fortunately, new evidence suggests that fertility levels have begun to decline in the region. However, the pace and intensity of such change among the countries of the region, has by no means been uniform. Moreover, in some cases fertility decline has stagnated or reversed altogether (Garenne...
This paper therefore examines the nature and determinants of fertility decline in the case of Namibia.

**Country background**

Namibia has a population of about 2.1 million and it is one of sparsely populated country in the world (Namibia Statistical Agency 2012). However, the population is unequal distributed in the country. More than half of the country’s population are at the northern part of the country, in rural areas and mostly engage in subsistence farming. The country is considered as one of the richest countries in terms of natural resources in the continent but one third of the population is living in poverty (UNAIDS, 2009). According to the United Nations (UN) the poorest 20% of the country’s population receives only 1.4% of the national income while the 78.7% of the national income is concentrated in the hands of the few richest 20% of the population (UNAIDS, 2009). The majority of the population suffer from food insecurity, have limited access to services and there is a problem of high unemployment in the country, which counts for about 37% (UNAIDS, 2009).

Namibia is a middle income country which is ranked 127 out of 187 countries and has a Human Development Index of 0.624 in 2013 (UNDP 2014). Although compared to other countries in the region the demographic indicators in Namibia are much better but they are worse with other middle income countries.

Available demographic statistics indicate that the Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) has declined from 56.6 per 1000 in 1992 to 38.1 in 2000 and increased to 46 in 2006 (MoHSS and ICF International, 1993, 2003, 2007). The estimate of IMR for 2013 is 39 per 1000 (MoHSS and ICF International, 2014). Moreover, the risk of Namibia women dying due to pregnancy and related complications is high and probably increasing. Maternal Mortality Ratio (MMR) was estimated to be 225/100000 in 1992, increasing to 271/100000 in 2000 and 449/100000 in 2006 before declining to 385/100000 in 2013 (MoHSS and ICF International (1993, 2003, 2007, 2014).

Similarly, expectation of life at birth for males was 59 years in 1991 and declined to 48 years in 2001 and increased to 53 years in 2011 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2010.). Similar estimates for females were 63, 50 and 61 years respectively (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2010.). The decline in expectation of life at birth between 1991 and 2001 and increase in maternal and child mortality rates over the same period are largely attributed to the HIV and AIDS epidemic. It is estimated that the 20% of all pregnant women in Namibia are infected and adult HIV prevalence rate is 14.3% [11.8% - 17.3%] (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2010).

Furthermore, studies have shown that major factors contributing towards poor health status among the majority of the people in the country are: poverty, high illiteracy rates, especially among women, too early, too many, too frequent and too late pregnancies and high fertility (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2010).
Total Fertility Rate (TFR) in Namibia has declined over the past few decades. TFR declined from 5.4 children per woman in 1992 to 4.2 children per woman in 2000 and further down to 3.6 children per woman in 2006 (MoHSS and ICF International, 1993, 2003, 2006, 2014). Thereafter TFR appears to have remained constant (MoHSS and ICF International, 2014). The decline in fertility could be attributed essentially to an increase in contraceptive prevalence rate. Contraceptive prevalence rate for all the methods for currently married women rose from 28.9% in 1992 to 43.7% in 2000, 55.1% in 2006 and to 56.1% in 2013 (MoHSS and ICF International, 1993, 2003, 2006, 2014).

In recognition of the important role demographic variables play in social and economic development, the Government of Namibia prepared and implemented a national population policy whose objective was “to contribute to the improvement of the standard of living and quality of life of the people of Namibia .... through the harmonization of the dynamics of Namibia’s population ... with the country’s resource potentials in order to accomplish development objectives” (Arowolo 2000b). Given that the Government of Namibia has embarked the process of reviewing the population policy it is important to understand the nature and patterns of fertility in Namibia so as to come up with achievable targets for the future.

In addition, the desired demographic goals have been set within the broader national development objectives that place poverty alleviation as top priority (GRN/NPC 1997). As such various policy documents including the national population policy have been prepared whose overall objective is to achieve sustainable population growth rates which are compatible with the attainment of the country's social and economic development objectives (Arowolo 2000b; GRN/NPC 1997).

Objectives

While various studies have documented fertility decline in Namibia (Shemeikka, Notkola and Siiskonen 2005; Indongo and Pazvakawambwa 2012)), no systematic attempt has been made to identify the factors responsible for this trend.

In view of the foregoing, this paper endeavours to examine the factors that have been responsible for the recent fertility decline in Namibia. Specifically the paper aims at analysing the levels of and trends in fertility in Namibia, with particular focus on the role of each of the proximate determinants in the fertility decline and unpacking reasons for the change in TFR between 1992 and 2000, 2000-2006 as well as between 2006 and 2013.

Data and methods

The study is based on an analysis of data obtained from the 1992, 2000, 2006 and 2013 Namibia Demographic and Health Surveys (MoHSS and ICF International (1993, 2003, 2007, 2014). All the surveys are nationally representative and have been implemented to allow analysis for the country of Namibia as a whole and separately by rural-urban areas. The last two surveys allow the analysis to
be conducted for selected districts. Both household and individual files have been used to obtain the necessary data.

**Bongaarts' model**

To meet the study objectives, the proximate determinants framework as developed by Bongaarts was been applied (Bongaarts, 1978, 1982, 1987). Bongaarts' formulae for estimating TFR and the corresponding indices are easy to use and sensitive enough to determine the nature and pace of fertility change and its determinants. Also, the relative importance of each of these determinants in influencing fertility levels can be assessed from this model.

Factors influencing fertility can be classified into two groups, namely intermediate fertility variables (or proximate determinants) and socioeconomic variables. The former, of interest because of its direct impact on fertility, consists of a set of biological and behavioural factors through which social, economic and cultural conditions can affect fertility. Stated otherwise, in the absence of these determinants, human fertility may reach a theoretical maximum of total fecundity (TF), accounting for an average of 15.3 births per woman. Thus, fertility differentials between regions and across time within the same region can always be traced to changes in one or more of the proximate determinants.

While Davis and Blake (1956) were the first to identify a set of eleven proximate determinants known as "Intermediate Fertility Variables", their classification did not get wide acceptance because it could not be easily incorporated in fertility analysis. Consequently, Bongaarts (1978) reclassified this list of determinants into seven variables, namely, marriage pattern, contraceptive use, induced abortion, lactation infecundability, spontaneous abortion, frequency of coitus and sterility. However, after various studies, Bongaarts (1982, 1987) realized that some of these factors are more relevant than others in determining the magnitude of fertility change. In fact, only four of them (proportion married, contraceptive use and effectiveness, induced abortion and postpartum infecundability) are the most important in explaining fertility variation, accounting for up to 96% of fertility change in some populations (Bongaarts, 1978; 1982; Bongaarts and Potter, 1983). In addition, it has been empirically shown that changes in these proximate determinants of fertility account for much of the variations in fertility among populations (Chuks, 2003; Casterline, 1994; Letamo & Letamo, 2001; Horne, 1992; Jolly & Gribble, 1993).

The fertility-inhibiting effects of the most important determinants are quantified in Bongaarts' model by four indices, each assuming a value between 0 and 1. When the index is close to 1, the proximate determinant will have a negligible inhibiting effect on fertility, whereas when it takes a value of 0, it will have a large fertility-inhibiting effect. It is important to note that since abortion is frowned upon in Namibia because of religious considerations, the index of abortion has been taken as 1, and, therefore, its contribution to fertility decline is virtually nil.
Bongaarts (1982) symbolized these four indices as follows: $C_m$ being the index of proportion married; $C_c$ as the index of contraception; $C_a$ is the index of induced abortion; while $C_i$ is the index of postpartum infecundability. The main equation of the model is thus:

$$TFR = C_m * C_c * C_a * C_i * TF$$

Where TFR is the Total Fertility Rate and TF is the Total Fecundity.

Regarding the estimation of the four indices, Bongaarts proposed the following treatments:

**Index of Marriage:**

$$C_m = \frac{\sum (m(a) * g(a))}{\sum g(a)}$$

Where, $m(a)$ is the age specific proportions currently married and $g(a)$ is the age specific marital fertility rate. In other words,

$$C_m = \frac{TFR}{TM}$$

Where TM is the total marital fertility rate.

**Index of Contraceptive Use:**

The index of contraceptive use ($C_c$) is calculated as follows:

$$C_c = 1 - 1.08 * u * e$$

Where, $u$ is the proportion currently using contraception among married women of reproductive age; $e$ is the average use effectiveness of contraception and 1.08 is the sterility correction factor. The method specific use-effectiveness level ($e_i$) is adopted from Bongaarts and Potter (1983). The weights are, in effect, equal to the proportion of women using a given method ($u_i$). Table 1 presents use-effectiveness of different contraceptive methods.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contraceptive Method</th>
<th>Use-effectiveness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pill</td>
<td>0.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IUD</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injection</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sterilisation</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Bongaarts and Potter (1983)

**Index of Postpartum Infecundability:**

The index of postpartum infecundability ($C_i$) can be estimated indirectly using the following equation:

$$C_i = \frac{20}{18.5 + i}$$

Where $i$ is the average duration (in months) of postpartum infecundability caused by breastfeeding or postpartum abstinence and is estimated using the following equation.
\[ i = 1.753 \times e^{0.1396 \times B} - 0.001872 \times B^2 \]

Where \( B \) = mean or median duration of breastfeeding in months.

According to Bongaarts, 20 is the average birth interval (in months in absence of breastfeeding and postpartum abstinence, while 18.5 is the sum of 7.5 months of waiting time to conception, 2 months of time added by spontaneous intrauterine mortality and 9 months of full term gestation. In absence of breastfeeding, the average duration of postpartum infecundability is assumed to be 1.5 months.

**Index of abortion:**

\[ C_a = \frac{TFR}{(TFR + (b \times TA))} \]

Where \( TA \) is the total abortion rate equal to the average number of induced abortions per woman at the end of the reproductive period if induced abortion rates remain at prevailing levels throughout the reproductive period. \( B \) is the number of births averted per induced abortion which may be approximated by the equation \( b = 0.4 \times (1+u) \). Owing to unavailability of requisite information on induced abortion in Namibia, we assume that the overall total induced abortion rate is zero. However, the effect of this variable will be automatically subsumed in the estimation of the total fecundity.

Having obtained the indices, it is possible to calculate the various levels of fertility by means of multiplication with the corresponding indices. The model relating fertility to the intermediate variables takes the following form:

- Total Fecundity Rate (TF) = 15.3
- Total Natural Marital Fertility Rate (TN) = TF \times C_i
- Total Marital Fertility Rate (TM) = TN \times C_e \times C_a
- Total Fertility Rate (TFR) = TM \times C_m

These are the four different types of fertility levels identified from which the impact of the proximate determinants can be obtained. With the inhibiting effects of all proximate determinants present, a population’s actual fertility level is measured by TFR. If the fertility-inhibiting effect of delayed marriage and marital disruption is removed without other changes in fertility behaviour, fertility will increase to a level of TM. If all practices of contraception and induced abortion are also eliminated, fertility will increase to a level of TN. Removing lactation and postpartum abstinence will, in turn, increase fertility to TF (Bongaarts, 1982).

**Results**

**Levels and differentials in fertility**

Table 2 presents various fertility indicators for Namibia calculated from the 1992, 2000, 2006 and 2013 NDHSs.
Table 2: Age Specific Fertility Rates and Other Measures of Fertility for Namibia 1992, 2000, 2006 and 2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>0.109</td>
<td>0.088</td>
<td>0.078</td>
<td>0.082</td>
<td>-19.3</td>
<td>-11.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
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<td>0.166</td>
<td>0.169</td>
<td>0.168</td>
<td>-19.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>-0.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>0.241</td>
<td>0.176</td>
<td>0.159</td>
<td>0.168</td>
<td>-27.0</td>
<td>-9.7</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>0.208</td>
<td>0.160</td>
<td>0.145</td>
<td>0.149</td>
<td>-23.1</td>
<td>-9.4</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>0.166</td>
<td>0.137</td>
<td>0.110</td>
<td>0.110</td>
<td>-17.5</td>
<td>-19.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>0.105</td>
<td>0.071</td>
<td>0.044</td>
<td>0.042</td>
<td>-32.4</td>
<td>-38.0</td>
<td>-4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>0.037</td>
<td>0.038</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>0.010</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>-78.9</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CBR | 42.0 | 30.5 | 29.2 | 29.5 | -27.4 | -4.3 | 1.0 |
GFR | 165  | 129  | 113  | 115  | -21.6 | -12.4 | 1.5 |
TFR | 5.4  | 4.2  | 3.6  | 3.6  | -22.1 | -14.7 | 2.2 |
M   | 29.7 | 29.7 | 28.4 | 28.4 | 0.1   | -4.6  | -0.1 |

Direct | 44.9 | 35.0 | 30.9 | 31.6 | -22.2 | -11.6 | 2.3 |
Indirect | 44.2 | 34.7 | 30.8 | 31.6 | -21.5 | -11.2 | 2.6 |

Source: ASFR were obtained from appropriate survey reports whereas all the other fertility measures were calculated by the author.

* The standardised birth rates were calculated using the 1996 South African age-sex structure and age specific fertility rates as the standards for the direct and indirect methods respectively.

The Crude Birth Rate (CBR) in Namibia declined from 42.0 in 1992 to 30.5 in 2000 and to 29.2 in 2006 (MoHSS and ICF International (1993, 2003, 2007). The estimate for crude birth rate for 2013 increased slightly to 29.5 (MoHSS and ICF International (2014). The General Fertility Rate (GFR), a measure of the number of children per 1 000 women aged 15-49 show a similar trend to crude birth rate in that it declined from 165 in 1992 to 129 in 2000 and 113 in 2006 before increasing slightly to 115 in 2013. As for the total fertility rate (TFR), Table 2 shows that it has gone down from 5.4 in 1992 to 4.2 in 2000 and to 3.6 in both 2006 and 2013. The stagnation of TFR and the slight increase in CBR and GFR is not atypical in Namibia but is a phenomena that has been observed in other African countries passing through the various stages of the demographic transition (Moultrie, Sayi, Timæus, 2012). This phenomenon has been described in literature as “fertility stall” which has been attributed to, among other things, the stagnation of socio and economic development (Garenne, 2007, 2008; Sayi 2014). The possibility that fertility has stalled in Namibia is an area requiring further investigation and discussion among population researchers.
Given that CBR is not a good measure of fertility, as it is affected by the age-sex structure of the population, standardised birth rates were calculated. Standardised birth rates have the advantage that they remove the negative impact of the age-sex structure. Standardised birth rates are also presented in Table 2. In general, like other fertility measures, standardised birth rates indicate a decline in fertility between 1992 and 2006 and suggest a slight increase in fertility between 2006 and 2013.

The Age Specific Fertility Rates (ASFRs) start from a low value in age group 15-19 rising to a maximum in age group 20-24 before declining to lowest value in age group 45-49. This pattern is observed in all data sets. Table 2 and figure 2 also suggest that the decrease in fertility in Namibia is primarily due to declines in the older age groups (say age groups above 30 years). ASFR at younger age groups (age groups below 30 years) appears to have risen. The shift in the timing of fertility is also indicated by the decline in the mean age of childbearing (m) from 29.7 years in 1992 and 2000 to 28.4 in 2006 and 2013. This observation is consistent with a finding by other researchers who noted that fertility patterns tend to concentrate and shift to younger years as fertility declines (Stover and Kirmeyer, 1999). On the other hand, this contradicts the assertion by Caldwell et. al. (1992) that “… the African fertility transition … will be characterised by fertility decline at all ages …”. Probably this claim is true at advanced stages of fertility transition and not at early stages as is the case with Namibia.

The age pattern of fertility indicates that Namibian women have children early in the childbearing period. For example, women under 30 years of age accounted for 57.3 per cent of the total fertility rate (TFR); women under 20 years of age accounted for only 29.5 per cent of the TFR. The corresponding figures obtained in the 1992 NDHS were 59.1 and 29.5 per cent, respectively. This indicates that fertility is shifting towards earlier ages. The shifting is also evident from a fall in the mean age at childbearing from 29.7 years in 1992 to 27.4 years in 2013.
childbearing is taking place relatively earlier now than it was previously, presumably because of greater fertility regulation at older ages in recent years.

Fertility change can also be traced by examining cohort parity progression ratios (PPRs). The PPR is defined for parity i as the proportion of women who proceed to the next birth, i+1, among those who have had an ith birth. PPRs show the proportion of women who proceed from one event in the childbearing sequence to the next (Feeny, 1991). Older women (40-49) are chosen so that their PPR will be closer to their final PPR. Table 3 and figure 2 present PPRs for Namibia for the data sets under review. Cohort Fertility Rate (CFR) has declined from 5.9 in 1992 to 4.9 in 2000 and 4.4 in 2006 and 3.9 in 2013 (see figure 3). Unlike the fertility measures presented in the previous paragraphs CFR suggest a continuation of fertility decline during the period under review. Overall, other things being equal, the fertility measures utilised in this section have shown that during the twelve-year period under consideration (1992 to 2004), fertility in Namibia has been declining.

Table 3 PPR for Namibia 1992, 2000, 2006 and 2013

<table>
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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>150.0</td>
<td>200.0</td>
<td>250.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2: Age Specific Fertility Rates for Namibia 1992, 2000, 2006 and 2013
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cohort Fertility Rate (CFR)</th>
<th>5.9</th>
<th>4.9</th>
<th>4.4</th>
<th>3.9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Source:** Calculated by the author.

**Figure 3:** Cohort Fertility Rate for Namibia 1992, 2000, 2006 and 2013
Proximate determinants of fertility

To improve an understanding of the causes of fertility decline in Namibia it is necessary to analyse the mechanisms through which socio-economic variables influence fertility. Davis and Blake (1956) referred to these mechanisms as the “intermediate fertility variables”. Later, Bongaarts developed a model which quantifies the impact of the intermediate variables (Boongaarts, 1978; Bongaarts and Potter, 1983). Furthermore Bongaarts (1978) has proposed that the principal proximate determinants are marriage, breastfeeding, contraceptive use and abortion. Recent review of the model has revealed that the original model is still relevant and robust (Bongaarts, 2015). The myriad social, economic and cultural factors that influence fertility act through one or more of the proximate determinants.

Age at first marriage and proportion married

Age at first marriage refers to the ages reported by the respondents as those at which they began their first marital relationships. Age at first marriage identifies the onset of exposure to continuous and socially sanctioned childbearing. Implicitly therefore, the earlier a woman marries, the longer her reproductive life span, and ceteris paribus, the higher the number of children she is expected to have at the end of her childbearing period. Conversely, an increase in the average age at first marriage in a population is associated with the transition to lower fertility, as the length of time the woman spends exposed to the risk of childbearing is reduced and consequently the number of children she will bear over her reproductive span declines.
In Namibia information on age at first marriage was collected by asking each ever married woman for the date (month and year) when she began living with her first husband. Respondents were also asked how old they were when hey first married. The results indicate that the singulate mean age at first marriage for females has increased from 26.4 years in 1992 to 28.3 years in 2000 and 2006 and declined to 27.9 years in 2013 (see Table 4). The findings seem to suggest that in Namibia, the mean age at first marriage is increasing. In 2000 the mean age at first marriage varied from 18.2 years in 15-19 to 17.9 years in 45-49. The same pattern is observed in the 2004 MDHS. Overall the values of mean age at first marriage suggest an increase in age at first marriage.

The increase in the age at first marriage could also be inferred from the decline in the proportion married in age 15-19. Table 3 indicates that 7.7% of the women aged 15-19 reported that they were ever married in 1992. This proportion declined to 5.5% in 2000 and 2006 and increased slightly to 5.9% in 2013. Similar percentages for the age group 20-24 were 31.1%, 24.1%, 24.1% and 22.1% respectively. However, although the mean age at first marriage appears to be increasing in Namibia, the results show that the increase is small and many women are remaining single.

Whereas slightly over half of the women were married before their thirtieth birth day in 1992 and nearly 40% of the women are married by age group 30-34.

Another way of looking at age at first marriage is to examine the singulate mean age at marriage (SMAM). The SMAM is the mean age at first marriage among those who ever marry (United Nations, 1983). Available information indicates that SMAM has increased from 26.4 years in 1992 to 28.3 years in 2000 and 2006 and declined to 27.9 years in 2013 (see Table 4). Although the available statistics in Namibia point to a rising trend in age at first marriage, the increase is still so small as to lead to drastic changes in fertility.

### Table 4: Proportion Ever Married by Age and singulate Mean Age at marriage, 1992-2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>92.3</td>
<td>94.5</td>
<td>94.5</td>
<td>94.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>68.9</td>
<td>75.9</td>
<td>75.9</td>
<td>77.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>57.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>44.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>36.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>30.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMAM</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>27.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Calculated by the author.

**Contraception**
Contraception has a direct negative impact on fertility. Available statistics indicate that the government of Namibia, with the help of the NGOs in the field, has made remarkable progress in the area of family planning. Results of the 2013 NDHS show that, among currently married women aged 15-49, knowledge about at least one family planning method is almost universal. Moreover, the use of contraceptive methods has significantly risen in Namibia during the period under review. Table 5 indicates that contraceptive prevalence rate for all the methods for currently married women rose from 28.9% in 1992 to 43.7% in 2000, 55.1% in 2006 and to 56.1% in 2013. These statistics suggest that contraceptive use in Namibia almost doubled within two decades after independence.

Table 5 also indicates the declining importance of the traditional methods. CPR by traditional methods has declined from 2.9% in 1992 to 1.1% in 2000 and 0.8% in 2013. At the same time, the CPR for modern methods has increased from 26.0% in 1992 to 42.6% in 2000 and to 53.4% in 2006 and 55.3% in 2013. This means that the increase in the overall CPR is due to the increase in modern contraceptives. This could be related to the national family planning programme and related campaigns that promote use of modern contraceptives.

Table 5: Contraceptive Use by age by Method: Namibia 1992, 2000, 2006 and 2013

<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>39.1</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>53.7</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>53.2</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>58.5</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>56.4</td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>57.6</td>
<td>58.4</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>57.6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>56.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>38.9</td>
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<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
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<td>45-49</td>
<td>36.6</td>
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<td>49.4</td>
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<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Source: Calculated by the author.
Figure 5: Contraceptive Prevalence Rate for Namibia 1992-2013

The specific methods used by Namibian women are indicated in Table 6 and illustrated in Figure 3. Apart from the increase in contraceptive prevalence, a marked change has also occurred in the mix of methods used for contraception. In 1992, the most commonly used methods were pills (8.3%), injections (7.7%), female sterilisation (7.0%) and IUD (2.1%). By 2000, the use of injections more than doubled whereas the use of pills remained unchanged. In 2000 the most commonly used methods were injections (18.7%), female sterilisation (8.5%), pill (8.2%) and condom (5.3%) and IUD dropped to the fifth position at 1.2%. The 2006 NDHS reveal further changes in the contraceptive mix in that the most commonly used methods were injections (21.8%), condom (10.7%), female sterilisation (10.3%), pill (8.6%) and IUD (1.4%). In 2013 the most commonly used methods are injections, condom, pill, female sterilisation and IUD. It is interesting to note that the use of pills and female sterilisation swapped positions.
Table 6: Contraceptive Method Mix for Namibia 1992, 2000, 2006 and 2013

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>71.1</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>43.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pill</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IUD</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injections</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condom</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Sterilisation</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Sterilisation</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abstinence</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>withdrawal</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbs</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Breastfeeding, postpartum amenorrhea, abstinence, and infecundability

Lactation (breastfeeding) and postpartum practices (amenorrhea and abstinence) are associated with fertility. Postpartum amenorrhea refers to the temporary disappearance of menstruation after childbirth at which period a woman becomes non-susceptible to conception. Various studies have established a direct relationship between the length and intensity of breastfeeding and the duration of postpartum amenorrhea (Bongaarts & Potter, 1983; Gutmann & Fliess, 1993; Mbamaonyeukwu, 2000, Chuks, 2003; Letamo & Letamo, 2001). Postpartum abstinence refers to the period of voluntary sexual inactivity following childbirth. Thus, women are considered infecundable if they are not exposed to the risk of conception either because they are amenorrhoeic or are abstaining from sexual intercourse after childbirth. Stemming from its defining characteristic, postpartum infecundability is one of the four proximate factors through which economic, social and other factors operate to influence fertility.

Table 7 shows the mean duration (in months) of breastfeeding, postpartum amenorrhea, abstinence and infecundability for 1992, 2000, 2006 and 2013. The table reveals that Namibia women breastfeed their infants for about two years. This is quite encouraging, especially when viewed against the background of the nutritional benefits of breast milk. The table further shows that this scenario has not changed much over the years. The results indicate that the older women consistently breastfeed for longer periods than the younger ones.

The finding seems to suggest that fertility decline in Namibia is partly attributed to the sluggish changes in breastfeeding behaviour. Breastfeeding is universal in Namibia with 98% of children born in the last five years having been breastfeed.

Furthermore, Table 7 shows that the mean duration of postpartum amenorrhea among Namibia women increased from 8.3 months in 1992 to 9.7 months in 2000 and declined to 5.5 months and 5.7
months in 2006 and 2013 respectively. These estimates imply that other things being equal, in the absence of contraception, Namibian women are likely to become pregnant sooner rather than later. A similar picture emerges when postpartum abstinence and postpartum infecundability (PPI) are considered. In fact, while PPI was 16 months in 1992, it declined to about 15 months in 2000 and 13 months in 2000. The mean duration of postpartum abstinence among Namibian women increased from 6.0 months in 1992 to 7.9 months in 2000 and declined to 6.8 months in 2006 and 6.3 months in 2013.

Table 7: Mean duration of breastfeeding, amenorrhea, abstinence and insusceptibility for Namibia, 1992, 2000, 2006 and 2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Breastfeeding</th>
<th>Amenorrhoea</th>
<th>Abstinence</th>
<th>Insusceptibility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Calculated by the author.

The role of the four proximate determinants on the decline of fertility in Namibia

The indices of marriage, contraceptive use, induced abortion, and postpartum infecundability and the TFR and TF, as obtained from using Bongaarts’ model for the years 1992, 2000, 2006 and 2013 are presented in Table 8 and illustrated in figure 4. In analysing these findings, it should be kept in mind that the lower the value of an index, the higher the percentage reduction in the TFR due to that index. It is also important to point out that the data for the computing the index of abortion are not available hence was excluded from this study.

As it can be seen from Table 6, TFR has declined by 1.2 births from 5.4 in 1992 to 4.2 in 2000 and it declined by a further 0.6 births from 4.2 to 3.6 between 2000 and 2006.

In all the four surveys the most important proximate determinant explaining the level of fertility in Namibia is that of index of marriage (Cm). In both 1992 and 2000 the index of marriage is followed by postpartum infecundability and then index of contraception. In 2006 the index of contraception and index of postpartum infecundability have swapped their positions. As such in both 2006 and 2013 the indices are ranked as follows: index of marriage, followed by index of contraception and then postpartum infecundability.

Another aspect worth pointing out is that in calculating the index of marriage, ever-married women were considered instead of currently married women, because when currently married were used to calculate Cm, the
Table 8: Estimates of Selected Fertility Measures, Proximate Determinants and Indexes of Proximate Determinants for Namibia 1992, 2000, 2006 and 2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TFR</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TMFR</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>0.281</td>
<td>0.439</td>
<td>0.548</td>
<td>0.549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>0.263</td>
<td>0.409</td>
<td>0.500</td>
<td>0.499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breastfeeding</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cm</td>
<td>0.336</td>
<td>0.254</td>
<td>0.242</td>
<td>0.238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cc</td>
<td>0.920</td>
<td>0.806</td>
<td>0.704</td>
<td>0.704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tc</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ci</td>
<td>0.681</td>
<td>0.655</td>
<td>0.710</td>
<td>0.722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cm Cc Cc Cc</td>
<td>0.211</td>
<td>0.134</td>
<td>0.121</td>
<td>0.121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TF</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TNFR</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TMFR</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitted TFR</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TF</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TNFR</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TMFR</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitted TFR</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TFR</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TMFR</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TNFR</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TF</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Calculated by the author.
+ not calculated due to unavailability of data.
** Proportion childless could not be estimated for 1992, probably due to small sample size.

implied TFRs were very low. It should also be noted that the implied TFR in all cases is lower than the observed TFR. This may be due to the fact that the estimated value of TF of 15.3 as used in the model is lower than that found in Namibia.
The index of marriage declined from 0.336 in 1992 to 0.254 in 2000 and 0.242 in 2006. The recent NDHS of 2013 reveal a further decline of 0.238. The decline suggests that the changing patterns of marriage in Namibia played a significant role in fertility decline in the country. Another proximate determinant that played a role in fertility decline in contraceptive use. The index of contraception declined from 0.920 in 1992 to 0.806 in 2000 and to 0.704 in 2006. Between 2006 and 2013 the index of contraception remained the same probably indicating that contraceptive use had a minor effect in reducing fertility during this period. It may be noted as well that contraceptive use effectiveness has improved during the period under review, increasing from 26.3% in 1992 to 40.9% in 2000 and 50.0% in 2006. After 2006 contraceptive effective has remained unchanged. The factors responsible for the stagnation of contraceptive use and effective are beyond the scope of this study and require further scrutiny.

The index of postpartum infecundability declined from 0.681 in 1922 to 0.655 in 2000, increased to 0.710 in 2006 and increased further to 0.722 in 2013. These figures indicate that whereas Ci contributed to the decline in fertility between 1992 and 2000 the impact of this index was such that it increased fertility during the period 2000-2013.
Decomposition of the role of the four major determinants on fertility decline between 1992 and 2014

Table 9 indicates the magnitude of the total inhibiting effect being accounted for each proximate determinant at different time points starting from 1992 to 2013. The difference between the total fecundity and the estimated TFR demonstrates the resultant inhibitory effect of each determinant. The total inhibiting effect is prorated by the proportion of the logarithm of each index to the sum of logarithm of all indices.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximate Determinant</th>
<th>Births per woman</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contraception</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infecundability</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results indicate that out of the 12.1 births that were inhibited in 1992, 8.5 births (or 70.0%) were due to the effect of marriage, 3.0 births (or 24.7%) were due to post partum infecundability and only 0.6 births (or 5.4%) were due to contraception. Similarly, in 2000, the three proximate determinants (marriage, contraception and postpartum infecundability) inhibited 13.4 births, and these are distributed as 9.0 births (68.2%), 2.8 births (21.1%) and 1.4 births (10.7%), respectively. In 2006, 67.2% of the births averted were due to marriage, 16.6% of the births averted were due to contraception and 16.2% of the births averted were due to postpartum infecundability. Lastly, in 2013, 68.0% of the births averted were due to marriage, 16.6% of the births averted were due to contraception and 15.4% of the births averted were due to postpartum infecundability.

The analyses in the preceding paragraph indicate that the single most important proximate determinant of fertility in Namibia is Marriage. During the period under review marriage alone contributes to more than two thirds of the country’s fertility level. Over the same period the impact of contraception has increased. The impact of breastfeeding on fertility is on the decline as a result of reduced intensity of breastfeeding. The decline in breastfeeding is likely to increase in future as the status of women improves.

Discussion and concluding remarks
The study examined fertility trends in Namibia during the period 1992 to 2013. The findings of the study indicate that fertility continued to decline during the period under review with the exception of 2006-2013 period. The study also assessed the role and relative importance over time of three proximate determinants of fertility in Namibia using the four DHS surveys conducted in the country over time. In this regard the study show that the fertility-inhibiting impact of marriage is more significant than the effects of contraception and postpartum infecundability. The effect of
contraception is next in importance in inhibiting fertility whereas postpartum infecundability remains the least. However, the results reveal that there has been an erosion of postpartum practices over time. The percentage reduction attributable to PPI declined from 24.7% in 1992 to 16.2% in 2006 and 15.4% in 2013. The percentage reduction attributable to marriage has declined from 70% in 1992 to 68% in 2013. The contribution of marriage appears to have remained unchanged between 2000 and 2013. At the same time the results indicate that the importance of contraception has increased during the period under review. The percentage reduction attributable to contraception has increased from a meagre 5.4% in 1992 to 10.7% in 2000 and 16.6% in 2006. Furthermore the study indicates that the percentage reduction attributable to contraception remained unchanged at 16.6% in both 2006 and 2014. This finding could have given rise to the stall in fertility observed in Namibia between 2006 and 2014.

The role played by HIV/AIDS in fertility transition in Namibia remains to be quantified. It has been debated that HIV and AIDS would affect demographic parameters in Africa (Ntozi, 2002). HIV and AIDS have been observed to affect fertility and its proximate determinants in a number of ways (Guy, 1999; Ntozi, 2002). First, there can be a change in attitude and behaviour in people such that they decide to refrain from premarital sex and multiple sexual partners and postpone marriage indefinitely. The continued increase in age at first marriage in Namibia could be attributed to this phenomenon. Second, in contrast to most infectious diseases, which take their heaviest toll among the elderly and the very young, HIV takes its greatest toll among young adults such that many women die from AIDS before completing their reproductive years (Guy, 1999; Ntozi, 2002). Third, contraceptive use might increase due to the recommendations put forward in regard to the usage of the condom because of its HIV preventive qualities. Fourth, infected mothers might decide to terminate their pregnancies in order to avoid infecting their babies with HIV. All these four mentioned changes have a suppressing effect on fertility. Fifth, mothers in fear of transmitting HIV to their babies might decide not to breastfeed and take short periods of postpartum abstinence so that their partners do not engage in extramarital affairs, thus attracting early pregnancies and as a result enhancing fertility (Ntozi, 2002). Lastly, women infected with HIV might have lower fertility because of secondary sterility and foetal loss brought about by the disease and its associated infections. The last two factors have the effect of increasing fertility levels. However, to gain a full understanding of the impact of HIV and AIDS and fertility in Namibia would require a separate study being conducted on these aspects.

As noted earlier, the period between 1992 and 2006 witnessed the largest increase in the percentage contribution attributed to contraception. This is a reflection of the commitment made by the Namibian government to increase both the availability and utilization of contraception services in the country. The importance of contraceptive use however appears to have been surpassed by the changing patterns of marriage during the period 2000-2004.

This is an interesting finding and should be seen in light of the prevailing social, economic and political context.
The results of this analysis have important implications for policy planning and programme development in Namibia. The observed stagnation in contraceptive use should be a course for concern among those promoting the idea of family planning in Namibia. If the family planning programme is expected to play a leading role in reducing the rate of population growth in the country, as advocated in the national population policy, then the current family planning programme efforts at both governmental and nongovernmental levels should be vigorously pursued so as to raise the prevalence rate of contraception and hence further reduce levels of fertility.

Rising levels of mean age at first marriage for women is clear evidence of rising levels of educational opportunities. The current emphasis on the education of the girl child should be intensified so as to further reduce marriage at an early age. Moreover, sufficient female education acts as a catalyst in changing pronatalist tendencies, empowers the woman, and prepares her for gainful employment outside the home, all of which have a negative influence on the propensity for high levels of fertility.

Overall, the findings of this study show that the fertility-inhibiting effects of postpartum infecundability are more important than the effects of contraception and marriage patterns. Consequently, the promotion of the notion of prolonged breast-feeding duration should continue to receive the attention of the Government and other stakeholders because prolonged durations of lactation inhibit fertility. Moreover, the nutritional benefits of breast milk to children have been well documented.

In conclusion, there is need to manipulate the proximate determinants of fertility in order to realise further and faster fertility drop in Namibia. Three of the four proximate determinants considered in this study can be manipulated to influence future fertility trends in Namibia. However, not much can be done to increase the contribution of induced abortion to fertility decline in the country. This is due to the fact that abortion is illegal in Namibia largely as a consequence of religious beliefs and cultural prescriptions that forbid this practice. Government policies should concentrate on a) strengthening the national family planning programme with a view to increasing contraceptive utilization and effectiveness, b) encouraging breastfeeding and c) raising the age of marriage.

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Namibia Ministry of Health and Social Services (MoHSS) and ICF International. 2003. The Namibia Demographic and Health Survey 2000. Windhoek, Namibia, and Rockville, Maryland, USA: MoHSS and ICF International.

Namibia Ministry of Health and Social Services (MoHSS) and ICF International. 1993. The Namibia Demographic and Health Survey 1992. Windhoek, Namibia, and Rockville, Maryland, USA: MoHSS and ICF International.


Religiosity, Gender, and Educational Attainment as Predictors of Drug Abuse in South Africa: A Logistic Regression Approach*

Matthew O. Olasupo¹ ² Erhabor S. Idemudia¹

Abstract: The study examined religiosity, gender, and educational attainment as predictors of drug abuse in South Africa. Cross-sectional data from 2015 South Africa General Household survey was used for the study. Data was analyzed on 47,275 respondents ages 18 to 114 years. The mean age of the respondents was 40.3 (SD = 16.42). Results showed that religiosity has significant effect on drug abuse $\chi^2 (df = 3) = 37.81$, $p<.001$. Results further showed that gender has significant effect on drug abuse $\chi^2 (df = 3) = 26.77$, $p<.001$. Finally, the outcome of the study showed that educational attainment has significant effect on drug abuse $\chi^2 (df = 3) = 14.13$, $p<.001$. The result of the logistic regression showed that the hazard rate for the males was higher than that of the females. It was also revealed that as educational attainment increases, hazard rate for drug abuse decreases. The result further showed the hazard rate for the religious respondents to be lower compared to that of the non-religious respondents. As a conclusion, we recommend that drug abuse can be controlled by encouraging more religious practices, make education more accessible and affordable, and control the accessibility/availability of drugs of abuse, especially among the males citizens.

Keywords: Drug abuse, Educational attainment, Gender, Religiosity, South Africa.

Introduction
The problem of drug abuse is a universal health challenge. The 2015 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime Report estimated that globally a total number of 246 Million people, aged 15 to 64 used illicit drugs in 2013 (UNODC, 2015). The 2016 World Health Statistics report also estimated that as at 2010, 38% of the world population aged 15 and above had drunk alcohol in the last 12 months (WHO, 2016). Both these reports have pointed to the fact the problem of drug abuse transverse race, nationalities, and geographical locations. It cuts across gender, religion, socio-economic and demographic enclaves. The nation of South Africa is not exempted from the burden of drug abuse. According to the WHO World Health Statistics (WHO, 2016), 11.5 total alcohol per capita consumption for the population aged 15 and above was estimated for 2015. This figure is the highest in Africa following Gabon and Namibia with estimated total alcohol per capita consumption of 11.8. Furthermore, the analysis of the South African Community Epidemiology Network on Drug Use has shown that drug

* We are appreciative to the Statistics South Africa (statssa) for the opportunity to use the 2015 General Household survey for this study. We are indeed, grateful.
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Abuse is still a problem in South Africa and that more effort will be required to curb its escalating trend (Parry, Morojele, Myers, & Plüddemann, 2013).

Alcohol and tobacco remain the most commonly drugs of abuse in South Africa (Madu & Matla, 2003; Mohasoa & Fourie, 2012; Parry et al., 2002; Peltzer & Ramlagan, 2009, 2010; Ramlagan, Peltzer, & Matseke, 2010). Madu and Matla (2003) noted that alcohol use in South Africa has become a lifestyle for its users. According to these authors, most users of alcohol and cigarette use them to relax, to reduce tension, to mark weekend, and at parties. Other authors have indicated reasons why people engage in substance abuse to include childhood experiences (Collings, 2015; Darke & Torok, 2013), peer deviance (Kendler, Ohlsson, Mezuk, Sundquist, & Sundquist, 2015), cognitive factors such as attitude, outcome expectations, and self-control (Jalilian et al., 2015), depression (Edlund et al., 2015), school failure (Gauffin, Vinnerljung, Fridell, Hesse, & Hjern, 2013), advertisement and availability (Ondieki & Mokua, 2012), parental substance abuse (Lehikoinen, Orden, Heinonen, & Voutilainen, 2016; Ovens, 2008; Parolin, Simonelli, Mapelli, Sacco, & Cristofalo, 2016) among others.

Rogers (2011) defined drug abuse as the excessive, maladaptive, or addictive use of drugs for nonmedical purposes despite social, psychological, and physical problems that may arise from such use. Drugs of abuse can be classified according to their structures, pharmacology and primary effects (Hill & Thomas, 2016). The physical, psychological, economic, and social implications of substance to the user and the society can be overwhelming. Drug abuse has been linked to poor psychological wellbeing (Visser & Routledge, 2007), criminal behavior (Hamdulay & Mash, 2011; Pillay, 2000), HIV/AIDS risks (Akindipe, Abiodun, Ade, Lawal, & Rataemane, 2014), violence and aggression (Swartz et al., 1998; Thesnaar, 2011), poor oral health (Du et al., 2001; Van Zyl, 2014), dependence syndrome (Hall & Degenhardt, 2009) et cetera.

The term religiosity may be associated with various beliefs, behaviors, feelings, attribute, relationship, and experiences with the divine. It has been defined as a system of beliefs in a divine or superhuman power, and practices of worship or other rituals directed towards such a power (Zinnbauer & Pargament, 2014). Although it is often used interchangeably with spirituality, it is not synonymous with spirituality. Religiosity manifests in such acts like attendance at religious meetings, participating in religious rituals and rites, religious prayers, fasting et cetera. Studies have established links between religiosity and other psychological variables such as wellbeing, recovering, life satisfaction, purpose in life (Zinnbauer & Pargament, 2014). Wallace et al. (2007) in their study on religiosity and adolescent substance abuse established that religiosity affects substance abuse among American adolescents. Klein, Elifson, and Sterk (2006) in their study also reported that greater amount of drugs were used by respondents who were less religious. In another study, Bahr, Maughan, Marcos, and Li (1998) noted that students who were religious tended not to use drugs or have as close friends students who abuse drugs. Similarly, Adamczyk and Felson (2012) found that religious programs have positive effects on adolescents health-related behaviors.
A number of studies have also examined the effect of gender on the abuse of drugs. Buccelli, Della Casa, Paternoster, Niola, and Pieri (2016) examined gender differences in drug abuse in the forensic toxicological approach and found that male adults are more likely to abuse drugs than the female adults. Visser and Routhledge (2007) found that nearly twice as many males as females abused substances in their study. Similarly, Simoni-Wastila (1998) reported gender differences in illicit drug use in a UK study. Also, Becker and Grilo (2006) in their study on drugs and alcohol use in hospitalized adolescents reported a distinct pattern of drug use for males and females. Cotto et al. (2010b) investigated gender effects on drug use, abuse, and dependence, and found a significantly higher rate for males than for females.

The effect of educational attainment on drug use behavior has also been a subject of study among researchers. Obot and Anthony (1999) assessed the level of education on injecting drug use among African Americans and found a significant difference in the level of education and drug use. The study specifically found that drop-outs were 2-3 times more likely to have started and maintained injecting drug use (IDU) as compared to high school graduates. Also, Fothergill et al. (2008) investigated the effect of education on drug use disorders. Respondents with no education, poor education were more at risk compared to those with college degrees.

Given that studies have been carried out on the variables under investigation, these studies were not exhaustive as we have combined three variables in this study. Moreover, none of the above individual studies on the effect of gender, religiosity and educational attainment on drug abuse emanated from South Africa. An understanding of the effect of these independent variables on the dependent variable will complement existing efforts at addressing the problem of drug abuse in South Africa.

Method

Data

This study uses the latest (2015) South Africa General Household Survey. The population consists of all private (non-institutionalized) households and residents in workers’ hostels in all the nine provinces in South Africa. The South Africa General Household survey uses a Master Sample frame which was developed for as a general-purpose household survey frame. The sample for the GHS is based on a stratified two-stage design with Probability Proportional to size (PPS) sampling of primary sampling units (PSUs) in the first stage and sampling of dwelling units (DUs) with systematic sampling in the second stage. A standard questionnaire was used to elicit data from the respondents.

Measures

The dependent variable for the study is drug abuse. This was measured by having taken alcohol of any other drugs in the past three months. The independent variables included Religiosity, Gender, and educational attainment. Religiosity was measured by the question: “Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services?” Gender was measured with the question: “Are you a male or female?” while educational attainment was measured with the respondents’ highest educational qualification. There were 32-category responses to educational attainment in the original questionnaire which were recoded into four of (1) No Education, (2) Primary Education, (3) Secondary Education, and (4) Tertiary Education.
Data Analysis

Since there is a policy on the ground that forbids children ages 0 to 18 from accessing drugs in South Africa, all respondents in that age category were screened out of the study. Final responses were analyzed on 47,275 South Africans ages 18 to 114 years from all the 9 provinces. Simple percentages were used for the descriptive analysis (univariate analysis); chi-square test was used to test the effect of the individual IVs on the DV (Bivariate analysis), while logistic regression was used to confirm the predictive effects of the IVs on the DV (Multivariate analysis). The choice of Chi-square and logistic regression were informed by the dichotomous nature of the dependent variable and the nature of the population under study (Babbie, Wagner, & Zaino, 2015; Ho, 2013). Statistical Package for Social Sciences (IBM® SPSS®) version 23 was used for the data analysis.

Results

Table 1 presents the demographics of the respondents. Their age ranges from 18 to 114 years (M_{age} = 40.03, SD_{age} = 16.42). Young adults constituted 57.4%, middle adults constituted 34.1% while late adults were only 8.5% of the total respondents. Twenty-one thousand, eight hundred and five (21,805) and twenty-five thousand, four hundred and seventy (25,470) participated in the study. Further analysis of the table showed that 6.8% of the total respondents had no education, 11.1% had primary education, 68.7% had secondary education, and 13.4% had tertiary education. In addition, 75.9% of the respondents were religious while 24.1% were not religious. The percentages of study participants by province is as follows: Western Cape (10.6%), Eastern Cape (12.9%), Northern Cape (4.6%), Free State (5.9%), KwaZulu-Natal (17.6%), North West (6.4%), Gauteng (23.8%), Mpumalanga (7.6%), and Limpopo (10.4%). In terms of race, 79.7% of the participants were Africans/Blacks, 9.8% were colored, and 2.7% were Indians/Asians, while 7.9% were whites.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Adults</td>
<td>27,137</td>
<td>57.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Adults</td>
<td>16,120</td>
<td>34.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Adults</td>
<td>4,018</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>21,805</td>
<td>46.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>25,470</td>
<td>53.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Educational level:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Education</td>
<td>3,215</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>5,239</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>3,2473</td>
<td>68.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>6,348</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Religiosity:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non Religious</td>
<td>11,406</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>35,869</td>
<td>75.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Province:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics (Univariate Analysis)
Table 2 presents the results of the Chi-square analysis. The result showed that there is a significant effect of gender on drug abuse: $\chi^2 (df = 3) = 26.77$, $p < .001$. The effect of educational attainment on drug abuse was also significant: $\chi^2 (df = 3) = 14.13$, $p < .001$. Furthermore, we examined the effect of religiosity on drug abuse and was significant: $\chi^2 (df = 3) = 37.81$, $p < .001$.

**Table 2: Chi-Square Analysis of the effect of gender, educational attainment, and on drug abuse**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Drug use</th>
<th>$\chi^2$</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>21729</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>26.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>25439</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational level:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Education</td>
<td>3204</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>5218</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>32404</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>6342</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religiosity:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non Religious</td>
<td>11353</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>37.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>35815</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 presents the result of the logistic model (logit model), with drug use as the dependent variable and gender, educational level and religiosity as the independent variables. The results show that the hazard for female respondents is about 42%, implying a decrease of about 58% as compared to that of the male respondents taken as the reference category. This implies that males are more likely than females in drug and alcohol abuse. On educational attainment, we noticed that as the educational level increases, hazard rate decreases. For example, the hazard rate for primary education is about
110.8%, that of secondary education is 62% and that of tertiary education is 30%. This showed that as the educational attainment progresses, people are less likely to be involved in drugs and alcohol use. On the religiosity of the respondent, those that religious have hazard rate of about 42% compared to 100% for those that are not religious. This means that religious plays a significant role in determining the possibility of a person taking hard drugs or not.

Table 3: Logit regression model of the effect of Gender, Educational Attainment and Religiosity on Drug Abuse (Multivariate Analysis)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Exp(β)</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>Confid. Interval</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male (Ref.)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>-0.881</td>
<td>0.415</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>(0.270, 0.637)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational level:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Education (Ref.)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>0.012</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>0.103</td>
<td>1.108</td>
<td>0.783</td>
<td>(0.533, 2.306)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>-0.478</td>
<td>0.620</td>
<td>0.144</td>
<td>(0.327, 1.177)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>-1.203</td>
<td>0.300</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>(0.110, 0.817)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religiosity:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Religious (Ref.)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>-0.862</td>
<td>0.422</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>(0.285, 0.625)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-4.760</td>
<td>0.009</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Discussion

This study found religiosity to be a significant predictor of drug abuse in South Africa. It was revealed that the hazard rate for the non-religious sample was higher than the religious group. Previous studies have also established similar results (Bahr et al., 1998; Brizer, 1993; Klein et al., 2006; Pullen, Modrcin-Talbott, West, & Muenchen, 1999; Wallace et al., 2007). It is a general notion that standard moral conduct is part of the core tenets of most religious organizations, just as the use of alcohol and other drugs are prohibited. This is accomplished through standard beliefs, values, norms, and behaviors practiced in most religious organizations. Human beings are also believed to be composed of spirit, soul, and body, and that the internal controls the external; the unseen control the seen. Through the acts of prayer and other religious rites/rituals, men are able to overcome the problems that come from within. Also, most religious leaders play the role of the counselor in advocating against social vices and health-risk behaviors.

This study also finds a significant relationship between gender and drug abuse. The hazard rate for substance abuse was found to be higher than that of the females. This is result is consistent with the outcome of previous studies (Becker & Grilo, 2006; Buccelli et al., 2016; Cotto et al., 2010a; Prendergast, Huang, Evans, &Hser, 2010; Simoni-Wastila, 1998; Visser & Routledge, 2007; Wu et al., 2010). This gender differences in drug abuse may be attributed to the greater sensitivity and
vulnerability to drugs among females to the males. Furthermore, types and direction of sensation seeking among males and females differ. While men may prefer the use of drugs and other substances as means of gratifying sensation, females prefer less hazardous means of gratifying sensations.

The findings of this study also showed that educational attainment has a significant effect on drug abuse. It was noted in the result that hazard rate for drug abuse was going down as the level of education was going up. Other studies such as (Barros, Santos, Mazoni, Dantas, & Ferigolo, 2008; Blum et al., 2014; Fothergill et al., 2008; Klisch, Bowling, Miller, & Ramos, 2013; Obot, Hubbard, & Anthony, 1999) have also found similar results. Education afford people the opportunity to know the danger involved in using drugs. Through education, most people are exposed to life skill training, drug prevention program, counseling et cetera. Some universities have drug abuse as part of their curricular while others encourage students to organize anti-drug clubs. All of these, in the long run, help to reduce the menace of drug abuse among students.

**Conclusion and Recommendations**

Based on the findings of this study, we concluded that religiosity, gender, and educational attainment are predictors of drug abuse. Therefore, as part of measures to curb the menace of drug abuse;

i. Religious intervention should be included as part of drug treatment program

ii. Religious leaders should be incorporated into drug counseling program

iii. More recreational facilities should be available for the men as a way of gratifying sensations

iv. More restrictions/regulations should be placed on the drugs of abuse

v. More effort should be investing in drug education

vi. Education should be made more accessible and affordable.
References


Exploring Suicide Acts and Its Consequences: A Sociological Investigation in Sylhet Region

Md. Abdul Ghani\(^1\) and Swarnali Chakrabarty\(^2\)

Abstract: The present research seeks to examine the motives, reality and language of suicidal ontological categories - the social totality which shape the very acts of suicide. It demonstrates that suicide act occurs through steps in individual's life, human well-being is ineffably threatened by the wave of suicide act among different human ages, groups, families, classes and communities of population. When a person commits suicide, he doesn't die alone; it also imposes stress on mental, emotional and physical injury on family members and the nearest kinsmen. Other cost involves public resources, as people who attempt suicide often require help from healthcare and psychiatric institutes. Suicide embodies results of interaction of several risk factors of life. The pathway to suicide follows the 'use of means of suicide, gain access to means of suicide, suicidal ideation, negative thoughts towards life, ground of suicidal acts and social facts of life events, economic recession, chronic social and mental stress and lack of social support etc. From related literature reviews, though it is found that Bangladesh is in vulnerable zone of suicide prone countries in South Asia, research and policy attention on suicide problem and its consequences have received relatively less attention in comparison with the magnitude of the problem in Bangladesh and specifically, such studies have been largely rare in the Sylhet region. From these hypothetical and theoretical summations, the main objective of this research involves to explore and analyze social conditions of suicide act. Specifically, the following research questions are involved: how are socio-demographic factors related to suicide acts? What are the ground and causes of suicide acts? How can we pattern and typify suicide acts? Moreover, it examines how familial affairs interact suicide acts and to examine the socio-economic upshots of suicide acts on family networks.

Keywords: Suicide Act, Pathway to Suicide, Suicide Ideation, Non-lethal Suicide attempt, Egoistic suicide, Anomic suicide, Fatalistic suicide.

Background and Introduction

The classic French sociologist Émile Durkheim, in his celebrated Book, *Suicide: A Study in Sociology* (1897), phrased, “...all suicides of the insane are either devoid of any motive or determined by purely imaginary motives. …the majority have motives, and motives not unfounded in reality. Not every suicide can therefore be considered insane, without doing violence to language”(emphasis added). By paraphrasing the tune of this excerpt, the interest of the present research focuses on the emphasized parts of the above excerpt. That *motives, reality and language* are the ontological categories, the social totality, which shape the very fact of many of our everyday life through which we decide to do

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things about life. Suicide is such a thing, an act, an intentional self-inflicted death act of an individual caused by socially analyzable operation. It is the phenomenon that occurs across worldwide social, economic, cultural, religious and geographic boundaries. Upon this consideration the present research observed and demonstrated that suicide act occurs through steps in individual’s life. Human well-being is ineffably threatened by the wave of suicide act among different human ages, groups, families, classes and communities of population. It also engages attention of serious public health priority. When a person commits suicide, he doesn’t die alone; it also imposes stress on mental, emotional and physical injury on family members and the nearest kinsmen of victim. Other cost involves public resources, as people who attempt suicide often require help from healthcare and psychiatric institutes. Suicide embodies results of interaction of several risk factors of life. According to the ‘The International Handbook of Suicide and Attempted Suicide’ the ‘Pathway to Suicide’ follows the ‘use of means of suicide, gain access to means of suicide, suicidal ideation, negative thoughts towards life, ground of suicidal acts and social facts being life events, economic recession, chronic social and mental stress and lack of social support etc. From related literature reviews, it is assumed that Bangladesh as a developing country is in the vulnerable zone of suicide prone countries of South Asia. Moreover, the research and policy attention on the problem of suicide and its consequences have received relatively less attention in comparison with the magnitude of the problem in Bangladesh and specifically, such studies have been largely rare in the Sylhet region. From this above theoretical summation, the main objective of this research is to explore and analyze social conditions of suicide act. Specifically, the following research questions are involved in exploring and examining with the general objective of this study. How are the socio-demographic factors related to suicide acts? What are the ground and causes of suicide acts? How can we pattern and typify suicide acts? Also, to examine how familial affairs interact on suicide acts and to examine what are the socio-economic upshots of suicide acts on family networks.

Method and Data
In this study, for examining, understanding and explaining suicidal acts an exploratory design and qualitative method is chosen. Exploratory research is usually used when topic or issue is new and when data is difficult to collect. Although suicide is not a new research topic, however, there are scarcity of both researched data. To build foundation of salient features and narration of the suicide acts, qualitative method is used in this research. But some statistical data have been used to describe the socio-demographic profile of the respondents.

The Sylhet Division in Bangladesh is selected purposively as the study area. It comprises of the four districts, namely- Habiganj, Moulvibazar, Sunamganj and Sylhet. Due to the fewer number of suicide incidents in respect to time and space, a purposive procedure of sampling has been used to select household with suicide incidents. During fieldwork suicide cases were selected purposively with the help of the third party’s references for having easy access to samples. The samples comprise of 19
cases of which 4 respondents were suicide attempts and the rests of 15 respondents were household heads/close associates of victims as the units of analysis.

Case study as an empirical inquiry that investigates a phenomenon within its real life context is best fitted to understand a sensitive topic like suicide, so case study technique has been chosen to collect primary data. In-depth interview has been used as a tool for case study. In this purpose, two different guide questionnaires for case study were separately developed to collect primary data. One guide questionnaire was to study committed suicide cases and another to study suicide attempted cases. With the consent of each respondent, case studies were recorded in an audio recording device during in-depth interview. Field work has been conducted during August 2016- October 2016. After data collection, audio recorded data has been transcribed into English. In field data description some excerpts as quotes of respondents in local dialectics is used where necessary. Then, cross-checks of transcripts and translations have been ensured for appropriate representation of the respondent words. Thematic analysis is used as method of analysis for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns of data. Themes are patterns across data that describe and answer to the phenomena associated to specific research question. The texts were reinterpreted subjectively into various factors that contributed to highlight suicide acts and its consequences.

Theory, Literature and Conceptual Framework

Theory: To the sociologists, suicide is not only an individual act but an active function of social integration and regulation. Few studies of suicide have simultaneously explained suicide at both individual and social levels and their combined effects on different suicide realms. In a classic sociological research, Emile Durkheim (1897) analyzed suicide as 'specific and dynamic social currents' - a nonmaterial social fact, 'which have the same objectivity and the same ascendancy over the individual'. In his celebrated book *Suicide* (1897), Durkheim demonstrated that social facts, in particular social currents, are external to, and coercive of, the individual. Durkheim chose to study suicide because it is relatively specific and concrete phenomenon. There are relatively good data available on suicide, and above all it is generally considered to be one of the most private and personal of acts (Ritzer, 1996).

Durkheim argued that particular circumstances could lead to a person to kill him or herself, but personal reasons are not sufficient enough to explain suicide rates. He mainly established the relationship between suicide and social facts. According to him, individual behaviour is profoundly influenced by one's social and collective life organized in society. Each society has its own set of rules, norms and values. Two forces, types of social currents normally maintain social order and prevent social chaos. First, social integration binds individual to society through the social norms and values of the group, and, social regulation aims at restricting behaviours that directly threaten public health, safety welfare or well being. Durkheim developed typologies of the social currents which produce changes in the suicide rate. The differing rates of suicide by religion, family, and political structure map out the first social current that affects suicide rates, that of integration. "When society is strongly integrated, it holds individuals under its control, considers them at its service and thus forbids
them to dispose willingly of themselves” (Durkheim, 1897). The social currents of differing levels of integration, affect changes in suicide rates. Second, in case of regulation, for society to regulate individuals’ cohesion into the society, “the passions first must be limited” (Durkheim 1897). This is usually done with an establishment of social codes, laws and rules. These rules function so that an individual can neither expect too much, nor too little, thus maintaining a happy equilibrium as to his place in society.

From these two typologies, Durkheim argues that four types of suicide can result, depending on whether an individual is part of society that is strongly integrated or not, and strongly regulated or not. **Egoistic suicide** focuses on individual functioning and lack of social interaction, the level of social integration is low here. The individual considers himself as an outsider to the society. There is a sense of meaninglessness of works among individuals. In traditional societies, with mechanical solidarity, this is not likely to be the cause of suicide. There the strong collective consciousness gives people a broad sense of meaning to their lives. Within modern society, the weaker collective consciousness means that people may not see the same meaning in their lives, and unrestrained pursuit of individual interests may lead to strong dissatisfaction. One of the results of this can be suicide. Individuals who are strongly integrated into a family structure, a religious group or some other type of integrative group are less likely to encounter these problems, and that explains the lower suicide rates among them. The factors leading to egoistic suicide can be social currents such as depression and disillusionment. These are social forces or social facts, even though it is the depressed or melancholy individual who takes his or her life voluntarily.

“Actors are never free of the force of the collectivity – however individualized a man may be, there is always something collective remaining – the very depression and melancholy resulting from this same exaggerated individualism. Thence is formed currents of depression and disillusionment emanating from no particular individual but expressing society’s state of disillusionment. The bond attaching man to life relaxes because that attaching him to society is itself slack. The individual yields to the slightest shock of circumstance because the state of society has made him a ready prey to suicide” (Durkheim, 1897).

**Altruistic suicide** is the opposite of egoistic suicide. Level of integration is high here, because of over integration or affiliation to a social group or society to the extent that they can sacrifice themselves this type of suicide occurs. This is the type of suicide that occurs when integration is too great, the collective consciousness too strong, and the “individual is forced into committing suicide” (Ritzer, 1996). Integration may not be the direct cause of suicide here, but the social currents that go along with this are very high degree of integration that can lead to this. Some may “feel it is their duty” to commit suicide. Examples in primitive society cited by Durkheim are suicides of those who are old and sick, suicides of women following the death of their husband, and suicides of followers after the death of a chief. According to Durkheim, this type of suicide may actually “[spring] from hope, for it depends on the belief in beautiful perspectives beyond this life.”

In **anomic suicide**, the degree of regulation is very low. Massive social change or stressful life event causes such suicide. This is a type of suicide related to too low a degree of regulation or external
constraint on people. With the anomic division of labour, this can occur when the normal form of division of labour is disrupted and “the collectivity is temporarily incapable of exercising its authority over individuals (Ritzer, 1996). This can occur either during periods associated with economic depression or over rapid economic expansion. In addition to economic anomie, Durkheim also spends time examining domestic anomie. For example, suicides of family members may occur after the death of a husband or wife. Fatalistic suicide, on the other hand, occurs when individual is over regulated or controlled by social group or society. When regulation is too strong, Durkheim considers the possibility that “persons with futures pitilessly blocked and passions violently choked by oppressive discipline” may see no way out. The individual sees no possible manner in which their lives can be improved, and when in a state of melancholy, may be subject to social currents of fatalistic suicide.

Relevant Literatures: According to the report of the WHO for the South East Asia Region, the estimated suicide rate is the highest as compared to other WHO Regions. Most suicides in the world occur in the South-East Asia Region of those 39% in low and middle income countries in South Asia. Of all the people reportedly dead worldwide due to suicide every year 2.06% were in Bangladesh. Bangladesh scored 10th position in the list of high suicide prone countries, as it witnessed nearly eight incidents of suicides among every 100,000 people (WHO, 2014). According to Beutrais (2006), approximately one million of individuals die of suicide, 10-20 million people attempt suicide and 15-120 million people of close relatives or associates are profoundly affected by suicide or attempted suicide in the world each year. Milner et al. (2012) correlates between socio-economic variables and gender specific suicide rates in context of 35 countries. The potential correlations between socio-economic variables and suicide rates were tested using data for 35 countries over the period 1980-2006. Results specify that increased in female labour force participation, unemployment, proportion of older people were closely linked with higher male and female suicide rates. Female labour force participation had a strong effect on male suicide rates. Jordans et al. (2014) reviewed a total of 114 studies across South Asian countries showing that the reported suicide rates in South Asia were higher than the global average and hanging and poisoning were consistently the most common methods of committing suicide.

Lotiffi et al. (2012), in a study in Iran, determined relationship between dimensions of religiosity, such as, ideology, emotion, ritual, knowledge, congregation and committing suicide. The study found that dimensions of religiosity among control group people are higher than that among the suicidal people. It meant that the more the dimensions and sub-dimensions of religiosity, the less the likelihood of suicide. In a survey by Suicide Prevention Australia (SPA) (2011) based on a position statement, showed that there is a significant connection between social inclusion-exclusion and suicide. Social exclusion is characterized by social isolation, a lack of connections and unequal access to resources, all known risk factors for suicide. Social inclusion involves in community wide social participation, integration, cohesion and access to connections. Thus, social inclusion is a suicide prevention guiding principles.
Brown (2011) dealt with various predictors of suicide ideation. She examined that suicide attitudes is a potential moderating factor in the relationship between predictors of suicide ideation. She surveyed 565 university students of which 386 were women and 179 were men enrolled in undergrad psychology courses. The primary goals of the this study were to establish depression, hopelessness, perceived stress and religiosity as predictors of suicide ideation among a sample of university students and to determine whether or not suicide attitudes moderate the relationship between depression and suicide ideation, hopelessness and suicide ideation, perceived stress and suicide ideation, religiosity and suicide ideation. The final results provided evidence that depression, hopelessness, perceived stress and suicide attitudes are independent predictors of suicide thoughts. But results did not support religiosity is a predictor of suicide ideation.

Chen et al. (2010) have found strong correlation between the unemployment rate and the suicide rate in Japan. In comparison with other Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, a cross country data were collected to gather information. The study also demonstrates a strong association between the suicide rate and unemployment rate among men in Japan based on domestic panel data. Findings show, there is a close link between non-regular job status and suicide. Helliwell’s (2004) analysis of data of 117 surveys from 50 countries covered by the World Health Survey and the European Values Survey shows a strong correlation between the different dimensions of social capital and suicide. The results showed that more social capital and higher levels of trust are associated with lower national suicide rates and higher levels of well-being. Taylor (1988) proposed a social-psychological model for suicide. There are two outcomes in his model: suicide acts that are either an ‘ordeal’ or are ‘purposive’. Theses outcomes depend on the degree of certainty or uncertainty that the suicidal person feels, and also their degree of attachment or detachment from others.

Stengel and Cook (1958) examined the act of suicide as a social process. They contended that the suicidal person usually wishes to live and to die. Often suicidal people tell others or give clues about their intentions. The response of others and the setting chosen determine whether the person is rescued before they die. Khosravi et al. (2014) argued that high levels of social capital are associated with lower mortality and suicidal incidents. For studying social environment risk factors for suicide attempt among African Americans, Compton et al. (2005) focused on two important dimensions of the social environment- family relationships and social support. They also focused on an important person level risk factor of depressive symptoms. Data were obtained from a case of control study of 200 African-American men and women aged 18-64 years. They found lower levels of family adaptability and family unity increased the comparative rate of suicide attempt. Similarly, lower levels of social inclusion and social support increased the relative rate of suicide attempt. It suggests that better family functioning and social supports have the potential to be the protective factors of suicide attempt.
In September 2005, WHO regional office for South Asia had published a report on “Suicide Prevention: Emerging from Darkness”. In Bangladesh part they overviewed that an average of 600 suicides per month during 1972-1988, the number of suicides has been increased to 948 per month during 1972-1993 (Bhuiyan, 2006). According to the latest WHO data published in May 2014, suicide deaths in Bangladesh reached 10,167 or 1.40% of total death. Ali et al. (2014) summarized from the post mortem examinations of 334 cases of suicide by hanging during the time period of 2010 to 2012. It was found that most of the victims came from middle socioeconomic group aged between 20-40 years and family disputes and harassment were the most common motives of suicides among the male, female and the married persons. Hossain et al. (2011) analyzed a cross sectional study from 3rd copy of the post mortem reports of the suicidal death autopsy in a cross sectional study of a total of 5114 autopsies. It resulted that most of the cases were between 21 to 30 ages, female victims were higher than male and hanging is the highest among various patterns of suicide.

Selim et al. (2013) focused on the risk factors of suicide in rural area of South-West Bangladesh and observed that married younger aged female from unitary family of low income group are more vulnerable to commit suicide. Several emotional factors, such as, presence of chronic diseases, familial suicidal disposition, mental state and pre-morbid personality and psychiatric syndrome have strong association with suicidal attempts. Ara, et al. (2016) argued that ‘relational’ problems like- unhappy love, family/marital problems, ‘instrumental’ problems like- financial or unemployment problems, failure in life, and ‘health’ problem are the main causes of suicide in Bangladesh.

In his study Yousuf (2006), took the first attempt to measure attitudes towards suicide in Bangladesh and noted some impressions of patterns of attitudes. He mainly identified multifarious factors associated with suicidal behaviour among adolescent in Bangladesh. Data were collected through Focus Group Discussion in four groups. Results expose that among the adolescents aged 15-24 years, 5.5% of girls and 4.8% boys reported a suicide attempt during the recent year. Many were exposed to suicidal behaviour among significant others: suicidal attempts, expression and ideation among family members, relatives and friends were 11.62%, 27.81% and 39.58% respectively. Moreover, suicide remains a major public health issue and is a devastating event for families and communities. Asian countries accounted for approximately 60% of the world’s suicides (Chen et al., 2011).

Health and demographic surveillance data were collected by ICDDR,B during 1983-2002 from rural and semi-urban sub-districts of Jessore in the South-East Bangladesh and it was concluded that between 10-19 years old, 61/100,000 were determined to have died from suicide every year. In that study, while the adolescents ranked the first, suicide ranked fifth among the overall most common causes of death (Bhuiyan, 2006). In 1998, ESCAP showed in their journal that nearly 30/100,000 of young adults every year have committed suicide in rural Bangladesh. ICDDR,B has conducted a population based study in Matlab and summarized that mortality rate by aged group 22-29 were relatively higher, nearly 50/100,000, than any other group (Bhuiyan, 2006).
Framework: From the above theoretical analyses and relevant literature reviews, the present study has constructed conceptual framework for conducting empirical investigation. This framework follows the steps as of grounds and causes of suicide, steps of suicide acts, family roles in suicide and typifying suicide. The grounds and causes of suicide comprise of the variables, such as, financial, emotional, communication difficulties, poverty, mental stress, isolation, family disharmony, helplessness and hopelessness. These grounds and causes of suicide steps up in developing the suicide acts which comprise of suicide ideation, suicide plans, suicide attempts and committing suicide. The family role can be both positive and negative or indifferent. The positive role may reduce suicide ideation or suicide act, and negative or indifferent role may induce higher suicide act. Finally, an analysis of suicide types is constructed in which empirical relevance of this study has been verified.

Data Analysis and Presentation: Findings of Thematic Analysis
The process is thematic data analysis and presentation of the case studies examined in both contexts of suicide act and suicide attempt- their backgrounds, causes, patterns, familial interactions and emotions and feelings of the suicide victims or suicide attempts. They are explored to ascertain developing theoretical conception from interviews with samples following key points of the research questions.

Suicide Acts: Suicide, Attempt Suicide and Socio-Demographic Factors: The present study demonstrated the following socio-demographic features and factors associated with suicide act. In this study, among all 19 cases, 11 cases were in Sylhet, 7 in Moulovibazaar and 1 case in Sunamgonj districts. It is also found that 10 males and 9 female have committed suicide or have taken suicide attempts of whom 5 are married and 14 are single, 10 rural and 9 are urban. The mean and median ages are respectively 26 and 24 years, range is between 15 to 55 years. Among all 19 cases, as high as 13 cases hanged themselves, 3 cases overdosed, 2 cases poisoned and 1 case drowned, thus non-lethal means of incidents are of more common. As high as 15 cases happened from January to June, the rest 4 cases happened from July to December. Regarding family type, among all 19 cases as high as 13 cases were from nuclear type, the rest 5 cases from joint type. Regarding education grades, among all cases, as high as 6 cases were in university level, 3 cases in higher secondary, 5 cases in secondary, 3 cases in primary and 2 cases illiterate. For occupation, varieties are found in which more comprise of university or Madrassa students/unemployed of whom women are more. Besides others comprises of business and self-employed, labourer, quack, school teacher, professional cook and goldsmith worker. According to social class hierarchies, 3 cases came from rich family, 7 cases from upper and middle class, 8 cases from lower middle class and 1 case poor. In respect to suicide types following Durkheim’s suicide classification, as high as 12 cases could be considered as egoistic, 5 cases as anomic and 2 cases as fatalistic. No case is found as altruistic.
Patterning Suicide: In this study, suicide acts follow some patterns. First, these statistics imply that people below 30 years are more vulnerable and it is even higher among teenagers and youth in both cases of suicide acts and there is no significant difference between rural and urban origin in suicide acts. Both acts of suicide are higher among the unmarried/single persons than that of married persons. Nuclear and middle-upper class type of families was more frequent than joint and other type families. For occupation, most cases comprise unemployed/students though others have no obvious relations. Hanging is the highest case, then, drug-overdosing, poisoning and drowning are recognized as the means by which suicides are committed in accordance with the proximity of easier access to the means. All these socio-demographic variables are found logically best fit with the greater incidences of egoistic with non-lethal means, then anomic and in the last fatalistic types of suicides.

Secondly, impulsivity and suicide tendency have strong associations between suicide attempt and impulsivity. Those who took impulsive decision of attempting suicide many of them had sudden expression of anger, stubbornness and hopelessness. They did not think about the aftermath of suicide attempt. This study has identified impulsivity as a common correlate and risk factor for suicide acts. It is a characteristic of non-lethal suicide attempt. Out of anger, revenge frustration and without thinking of the consequence some (case nos. 3) suicide attempts happened. It has also occurred where several cases have suicidal tendencies and have tried more than once and followed almost the same path before successfully committing suicide. Thus, there is a negative connection between impulsivity and higher suicidal tendency and a positive connection between impulsivity and non lethal suicidal attempt.

Thirdly, in terms of Suicidal planning, time and place selection, in majority cases (case nos. 10) victims killed themselves either in a locked room or bathroom or they were waiting for a perfect time to commit suicide when family members will be away. Maximum suicide occurred at mid night compared to other time. Fourth, among the suicide attempts all of their suicide idea was copycat suicide. One suicide attempt (case no. 1) tried three times with different mode of substances, taking sedative, poisoning and then, hanging. Her lethal action was rising step by step. Among four attempt cases, two cases (case nos. 2) informed about suicide intent or ideation prior to the attempt and other two cases (case nos. 2) informed that they did not communicate with suicidal intent before their suicide attempt. One respondent (case no. 1) shared that she has been planning for 2-6 months about suicide attempt. By this time, uncountable time suicidal ideation crossed her mind.

Grounds and Causes for Suicidal Acts
A total of 15 committed suicide cases were studied to give an overview of suicide acts. In in-depth interview of family members of suicide victim it is shown that some triggering factors were the basic and primary for suicide acts. The following features are to be accounted for the grounds and causes of suicide acts.
Poor socio-economic status: In most cases suicide happened in economically poor and lower middle class families in which male subjects who were households head or responsible member of family committed suicide for poverty and poor economic condition. They have not had sufficient level of earning to maintain family which provoked them to idealize committing suicide (case nos. 3). Among the suicide attempts, less connection and inconsistency with parents’ strong integrity and over consistency due to joblessness and poor socioeconomic status is associated with suicide attempt. One case (case no. 1) reported that because of over consistency, positive family environment and sense of serious responsibility for family were the reason of attempting suicide. He had long time unemployment and was not able to maintain and support family financially.

Communication difficulties with family: Networking and communication enhances intimate relations and helps to cope with stress and traumatic events, thus society integrates. People communicate their difficulties to their family members are less likely to kill themselves. When communication fails, the risk for suicide arises. Data show that those who committed suicide majority were introvert, calm and quiet in nature and highly sensitive. Maximum cases (case nos. 9) show a common trend. The victim has been suffering from stressful life events but could not share problems with family members, relatives or friends. They were unable to seek help and eventually committed suicide.

Relational problem and emotional reason: Because of problematic, complicated and unhappy love relationship, insecure sexual relationship with partner, sexual abuse and distance relationship and communication gap with parents majority of teenagers commit suicide. It was found that (case nos. 5) uncontrolled emotional relationship leads to complexities in life, such as, unwanted pregnancy, ditched by partner, insecure extra-marital relationship and to escape from shame and social harassment they committed suicide. Among suicide attempts, majority respondents (case nos. 3) shared their feelings that, unrestrained emotional relation causes further complexities in their lives, such as, mental and emotional dependency and emotional distress. After a certain stage of active physical involvement with partner it brings frustration and helplessness, feelings of shame and humiliation. All these factors influenced to attempt suicide. In a case (case no. 1) it was found that rejection and failure in love made him stubborn and frustrated, his academic result was also deteriorating.

Mental pain and stress: Psychic or unbearable mental pain and stress that causes to suicide resulted in frustrated or thwarted essential needs- to love, to have control, to protect one’s self image, to avoid shame, guilt, and humiliation and to feel secure which arouse a mixture of negative emotions, such as guilt, shame, hopelessness, disgrace, rage and defeat. These are states of emotional perturbation where ones choose to escape the unbearable pain by committing suicide. It was obvious from majority cases (case nos. 7) where mental pain and lack of problem sharing capacity works together to motivate the concerned persons to engage in suicide acts.
Substance abuse: All substance use disorders increase the risk of suicide. Family members of victim’s (case nos. 3) shared their experience that, male victims who committed suicide were drug addicts, alcoholic and substance abusers. One attempt case (case no. 1) exposed that he was addicted to marijuana and after taking over dosed marijuana she decided to commit suicide.

Traumatic childhood and family history and personality traits of suicide: Aggressive and hostile family setting causes sense of insecurity, mental-physical breakdown since early age and such feeling grow up like cancer silently. A respondent (case no. 1) shared that his brother committed suicide for antagonistic family atmosphere and continuous physical/mental torture by step mother. Regarding personality trait, one suicide attempt’s personality weakness works as a triggering factor of suicide ideation and suicide attempt. This also covers those young male and female (case nos. 4) attempted to suicide had lack of coping skills, lack of problem solving skills, pessimism, panic disorder, hopelessness, perfectionism and rigid/polarized thinking.

Familial Interactions towards Suicidal Acts
It is argued that risk of suicidal behaviour decreases when protective factors, such as, minimizing interactional conflicts, losses or discords guard against it. The familial interaction comprises of the individuals closest to social circle, such as, partners, family members, peers, friends and the significant others. Familial members and friends lend significant resources of social, emotional and financial support and buffer the impact of external stresses. Regarding this, some key features came out from analysis.

When Family members could not recognize suicidal motives: It was found in many cases that many victims’ close associates and family members could not even identify their suicidal gestures and suicidal thoughts. The family members (case nos. 8) never imagined that their closest one could end up with suicide, so they did not realize the importance of inquiring their thoughts deeply.

When Family members recognized suicidal motives: Some other members than the interviewees from victims’ family (case nos. 6) reported that they guessed their family member had suicidal ideation before 1 year to 20 days of their demise. One common action in most cases that after recognizing suicidal behaviour ideation they only monitored victim’s movement. But they could not recover communication gaps with the victims which were highly needed. Only a few were thinking about medical care for the victims.

When victims left clues but family members failed to recognize: Information came out from in-depth interview (case nos. 6) that many victims often talked openly about suicidal acts but family members did not take it seriously and they thought talking about suicide is just a sudden expression of anger, stress and depression. In the study area both rich and poor, literate and illiterate people have lack of knowledge about how to treat a suicide patient and what should be the right step after identifying someone with highly suicidal tendency. For suicide attempt cases, data shows that (case nos. 3)
those who were introvert, less active and less connected with family, friends, family, neighbors and relatives, and had inconsistency with parents about their life styles. Thus, they all were alienated from parents and peers. They lacked healthy egos and coping skills. They were unable to find the emotional support that should have come from the parents. They perceived (case nos. 3) profound rejection by their parents. Moreover, due to restricted and aggressive family environment in terms of money and power, as case 19 shows, after a certain stage of suffering, victim lost patient and positive attitude towards family and life, in the end attempted suicide. One suicide attempt case (case no. 1) stayed with parents. After her suicide attempt family members realized their fault and recovered their negative attitude towards victim. Victim’s guardian turned out as a supportive and positive shelter to protect her from further suicide attempt.

Socioeconomic Upshot on Family Network: Although all individuals’ stories, socioeconomic status and situation were different but immediate aftermath of losing a family member is heart breaking, shocking and equally pathetic for other family members. The death of a loved one has profound impact on the family’s ability to function and greatly disrupts its equilibrium and can provoke a series of aftershocks that can impact the family system for years.

Victim’s economic status and consequence on family’s financial condition: From data it was found that among 15 committed cases 10 victims (case nos. 10) were dependent on their family or they were not the only earning person of family, so after their demise financial impact on the family concerned has of no significance. These families’ financial condition does not change anyway by suicide. But other 5 victims (case nos. 5) were household head and only earning source of their family. Some of them were debtor and bankrupt. After their death their family faced limitless financial difficulties.

Vulnerability of females: Women were the most tragic sufferer whose husband or close family members died by suicide. With children or without children women whose husband committed suicide are the most insecure citizen in social and financial terms. Many respondents (case nos. 5) reported that they did not get any social support instead immense social, mental and financial harassment from influential society members and relatives.

Social harassment: One respondent (case no. 1) informed that due to superstition and fake religious practice, villagers did not let her to bury her husband’s body inside of the village. In the study area, social insecurity and problematic love relation are the main inducing cause of female suicide (case nos. 4). In many cases known people and close family relatives were responsible for death. But to avoid further harassment, embarrassment and other possible worst occurrence victim’s family did not take any legal step against the responsible person. Thus, criminals remained unpunished. For suicide attempt cases, the survivors (case nos. 2) faced massive social harassment after their suicidal tendency was revealed. Most of them did not get any mental support from family because they did not let the family know about their suicide attempts.
**Family breakdown:** The demise of a family member brings severe traumatic experience, depression, grief and family breakdown. At the same time, other family members may possibly be affected by suicide contagion as an immediate shock of suicide. Besides, so-called traumatic family faced social harassment for specific reason of suicide, such as, unwanted pregnancy, problematic love relationships etc.

**Analysis of Suicide Types in terms of Theoretical Framework:** Following types of suicide identified by Durkheim, we can construct the suicide types on the basis of the present study. We will explore, upon the thematic analysis and derivation of the theoretical framework, appropriate types of suicide, their corresponding social facts, mechanism and the experiences of the cases.

For **egoistic suicide**, the appropriate social facts are comprised of complicated and failure of love relationships, teenage love, extramarital affairs, uncertain actual cause, personality traits, sensitivity and egoism. The mechanism of less or lack of integration is found in all the facts. The experiences the cases faced were guilt feelings, unwanted pregnancy, mental conflict with and sense of isolation from families and friends even from light and sound, chronic physical problem, restricted and suffocated family environment, stubbornness, persistent insecurity, feeling of insecure future and lack of confidence about self, feeling to be betrayed, incapable of problem sharing, workload etc. The implications towards mental health which could have lead to suicide acts are comprised of mental instability, stress, schizophrenic, frustration, shame and humiliation, disappointment, demoralization, depression, helplessness and anger.

For **altruistic suicide** no case was found in this study.

For **anomic suicide**, the appropriate social facts are accounted for: betrayed by close relative, loss of money, bankruptcy, unemployment, debt and poverty, low and poor economic status, chronic physical problem, religious, and being spoilt son. The mechanism of no or less of regulation is found in all the facts. The experiences the cases faced were financial crisis, persistent quarrel and disharmony in family, being alcoholic, isolation and self-missing from family, incapable of problem sharing and superstition. The implications towards mental health which could have lead suicide acts are comprised of mental instability, stress, schizophrenia, frustration, hopelessness, addiction, anger and hostility and depression.

For **fatalistic suicide**, the appropriate social facts are indignation by step mother, inherited family history of suicide, restricted and hostile family environment and chronic physical and serious psychological problems. The mechanism of too much regulation is found in all the facts. The experiences the cases faced were physically and mentally tortured, sense of insecurity, feeling of discrimination, traumatic childhood, social instability, severe physical sickness, psychological disorder, poor integration with family, lack of coping skill with family, restricted positive opportunity from family and disagreement with parents about study and career. The implications towards mental
health which could have lead suicide acts are comprised of mental break down, depression, hopelessness and helplessness.

Conclusion
The research sought to explore motives, reality and language of suicidal ontological categories- the social totality which shape the very fact of the acts of suicide. In this regard it investigated the patterning of suicides acts, grounds and causes of suicide, and suicide types in terms of theoretical framework. The work resulted in some interesting newer findings. Suicide acts follow some patterns. First, teenagers and youth, married, nuclear and middle-class type family members are more vulnerable to suicide act irrespective of place of origin. Secondly, impulsivity and suicide tendency have a strong association between suicide attempt and impulsivity, those who took impulsive decision of attempting suicide many of them had sudden expression of anger, stubbornness and hopelessness. Thirdly, Suicidal planning, time and place selection involves in most cases the isolated places and off time periods. Fourth, suicide attempts follow copycat type in which cases consecutively use different modes of substances. For ground and causes of suicide, a number of variables are associated with the cases which includes poor socioeconomic status, communication difficulties with the families and feeling isolation, relational and emotional problems, mental stress, traumatic childhood and family background, socioeconomic upshots and so on. For the types of suicide, egoistic type is prevalent, then, anomic and fatalistic types are also present. The social facts involved in suicide acts are the different patterns of generic and interactional variables of egoism, anomic and fatalism analyzed in this study. In conclusion, it is the invariable social totality which shape the very fact of the acts of suicide.

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Socio-Economic Determinants of Wife-Battering Among Ever-Married Women in Somolu Local Government Area, Lagos, Nigeria

Adeyemi Oladipo Olatunji

Abstract: Wife-battering refers to the maltreatment of a wife by the husband which includes physical assault such as beating, biting, flogging and kicking. Socio-economic factors such as educational attainment, income and employment status were contributing factors to experience of wife-battering. This study examines the socio-economic factors of wife-battering among ever-married women in Somolu Local Government area of Lagos-State. In enhancing the explanatory power of this paper, Circle of violence theory and Marxist theory was utilised as theoretical underpinnings. The cross-sectional descriptive survey design was adopted for the study. Multi-stage sampling technique was used to select a sample size of Four hundred and twenty (420) respondents. The quantitative method of data collection was adopted for the study. Univariate and bivariate analysis were the statistical tools adopted for analysing the field data. The findings of the study aver that there are significant relationships between educational attainment (0.000), income (0.000) and the experience of wife-battering, but there is no relationship between employment status (0.360) and wife-battering. Premised on these findings, Government must introduce stiff measures to discourage perpetrators of wife-battering and also give women the requisite empowerment that will shield them from their batterers.

Keywords: Socio-economic factors, Ever-married women, Somolu, Wife-battering

Introduction

Wife-battering denotes a brutal attack on women’s physical and emotional well-being. A little push to get a wife out of the way or holding her to keep her in control and other actions that may result into injuries requiring hospitalisation are all forms of wife-battering (Wetzel and Ross, 1983). Wife-battering is the maltreatment of a wife by the husband which includes physical assault such as beating, biting, flogging, kicking, et cetera, Stank (1985). Wife-battering, according to Herbert (1983), refers to violent acts – psychological and/or sexual made with the intent of controlling the partner by inducing fear and pain.

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The word: ‘battering’ according to Ezeilo (2008) is unlawful application enforced on another person resulting in “harmful or offensive contact”. It is the criminal act of treating somebody violently Hornby (1995). The above definitions are quite in agreement with the view of the researchers who consider battering as an inappropriate manner of handling someone with a view of inflicting or hurting the person’s physical and emotional well-being.

General epidemiology studies on wife-battering are very uncommon in Africa. This is largely because, until freshly, the phenomenon did not attain the status of a social problem in a continent where poverty, political instability, religious fanaticism, corruption, high crime rate and other significant social ills compete for attention and solution Adewale (2007). The widespread incidences of wife-battering in Africa have been associated with its social and cultural acceptance as a means of physical chastisement of women. It goes with the belief that husbands have the right to discipline their wives. This is based on the assumption that at marriage a woman automatically becomes the man’s property Adewale (2007).

Violence is a major threat to social and economic development UN (2006) and the most widespread and socially tolerated way in which women and girls are denied their basic right DFID (2007). Violence Against Women (VAW) was first established as a development issue at the United National Decade for Women’s meeting in Nairobi in 1985 (Machera, 1997:28). Violence against Women (VAW) generally includes any type of harmful behaviours directed at women and girls because of their sex (CHANGE, 1999:3). World Health Organization has noted that about 16-52% of women in every country have been physically abused or assaulted by their partners Tracy (2006). The World Development Report of the World Bank reveals that domestic violence, physical abuse, and rape have claimed the lives of many women between ages 15 and 44 more than cervical cancer, breast cancer, and motor accidents WHO (2011). Furthermore, a World Health Organization (WHO) multi-country study has shown that about 15–71% of women reported to have experienced a form of physical and/or sexual violence by an intimate partner at some point in their lives.

The roles of socio-economic variables such as income, status of employment and educational status in the occurrence of wife-battering cannot be overlooked. Violence against women is also associated with their employment status. Women who stay at home and do not work outside the home as paid worker are at greater risk of being abused. When women have few personal resources severity of violence against them also increases. However, in some studies the situation is differently reported that housewives had a lower risk of violence than employed women. (Levinson 1989). Perry-Jenkins et al (2000) defined employment status as someone in employment either as an employee or working on his/her own account (self-employed). This study categorized employment status of women into 4 groups namely; those working in public sector, private sector, self-employment, and unemployment.

According to Mama (1993) the confinement of women to economically dependent roles is a condition which has made it very difficult for many women to leave unbearably violent situations. Similarly, a
woman might remain in an abusive relationship for purely economic reasons. She may be unskilled, semi-skilled or unemployed as in the case of a full-time housewife. If she has been a housewife for a long time, it may be very difficult for her to venture into the labour market. Also fear of hunger, fear of raising children on her own, et cetera (Ilevbabor, 2004).

**Statement of the Problem**

On a daily basis, women are beaten and "punished" for supposed wrongdoings, raped, murdered and even in some cases, cruel acid attacks by members of their family leave them with disgusting deformities Fatusi & Alatise (2006). It has also been observed in Nigeria that the law allows a man to reasonably chastise his wife Akande (1993). More so, Sociologically, a woman that is constantly battered hardly plays her role effectively. If a woman who is very close to the children is badly battered, by implication the social and emotional life of her children might be affected negatively.

According to Ella (1999:145) a woman that is deprived of the care and comfort of home and allowed to exhaust her strength through anxiety will not play her role as a mother." The early training needed by children, the formation of habits during early years of infancy will be marred by her own unlovely temper and this will not augur well for the children's academic progress.

Wife-battering continues because discriminatory laws condone and even legitimize certain forms of violence against women. Dismissive attitudes by the police and an inaccessible justice system compound the failures of the state to protect women's rights. Most of the studies carried out have considered the socio-economic impact of wife-battering among heterosexual couples in Lagos-state and beyond, but this study will beam light on the socio-economic correlates of wife-battering among ever-married women in Somolu Local Council development area of Lagos-state.

**Objectives of the Study**

The broad objective of the study is to examine the socio-economic determinants of wife-battering among ever-married women in Somolu Local Council Development area, Lagos State, Nigeria.

**Specific Objectives**

(i) To ascertain the relationship between educational status and wife-battering.

(ii) To examine the relationship between income and experience of wife-battering.

(iii) To investigate the relationship between status of employment and wife-battering.

**Hypotheses of the Study**

**Hypothesis One**

\[ H_0: \text{There is no significant relationship between educational status and wife-battering.} \]

**Hypothesis Two**

\[ H_0: \text{There is no significant relationship between income and experience of wife-battering.} \]
Hypothesis Three

H₃: There is no significant relationship between status of employment and wife-battering.

Theoretical Orientation

The role of theoretical framework in the explanation of any sociological study cannot be overlooked. Theoretical framework is an indispensable component of research work as it plays a prominent role in providing the appropriate means by which sociological studies are elucidated. In order to enhance the explanatory power of this study, two theories suffice, namely: (1) Marxist theory and (2) circle of violence theory.

Marxist theory is the theoretical formulation of the German social philosopher and sociologist, Karl Marx. The Marxist theory theorise that capitalism places women among the deprived class in the society as they are denied economic control of sources of production, political power, and status.

Marx’s theory of alienation is premised on assumptions about the nature of human being, involving the ideas of freedom, self-expression, creativity and sociality (Marx 1964 [1844]). The situations of everyday life in which patriarchy and sexism obtain—the situations in which existing social relations of power, authority, and dominance are assigned on the basis of gender and sex, including: marriage, the family, and the workplace—create a situation of alienation and domination for women. Similarly, Marx’s theory of exploitation extends very naturally to the social relations of patriarchy. Patriarchy and the bourgeois family system embody exploitation of women, within the household and within the workplace (Marx 1977., 1867).

The cycle of violence theory, on the other hand, is a social cycle theory which emerged from the research conducted by Lenore Walker (1979) on battered wives; to explain the dynamics of an abusive relationship. It is premised on the fact that women are not constantly being abused, and their willingness to remain in an abusive relationship is related to cyclical fluctuations between periods of abuse and relatively peaceful coexistence.

The theory helps to expatiate the passive behaviour that is common-place among women who remain in dangerous living conditions even when an escape route stares them in the face (is possible), or who return to live with their assailants, even after being severely battered and injured. The cycle of violence theory is associated with domestic violence in which wife-battering is a subset, and breaks down into three stages: the honeymoon phase, the tension building phase, and an acute explosion. These phases are depicted to center around denial by both parties in the relationship that the problem exists, or is as severe as it is.

- Tension building
Stress builds from the pressures of daily life, like conflict over children, marital issues, misunderstandings, or other family conflicts. It also builds as the result of illness, legal or financial problems, unemployment, or catastrophic events, like floods, rape or war (Willis and Esmeralda, 2010). During this period, the abuser feels ignored, threatened, annoyed or wronged. The feeling lasts on average several minutes to hours, it may last as much as several months (Scott, 2006). This is the phase that falls between the honeymoon phase and the acute explosion phase. In terms of behavior by the aggressor, this stage includes derogatory remarks toward the victim, hyper-critical comments and nitpicking, extreme moodiness, possible drinking and/or drug abuse, yelling, and the withdrawal of affection. She might cook the aggressor his favorite meals, attempting to soothe him, and agree with statements made by the aggressor (even when they are derogatory comments towards herself). Frequently, the victim feels as though she is 'walking on eggshells'.

- **Acute Explosion**

The **acute explosion phase** involves an act of violence on the part of the aggressor toward the victim in the relationship. It is not uncommon for the aggressor to hit or use weapons on the victim, or possibly choke, rape, or even imprison them. In some cases, the aggressor uses verbal abuse or humiliates the victim. The **Acute violence phase** is often characterized by outbursts of violent, abusive incidents which may be preceded by verbal abuse (Willis and Esmeralda, 2010) and include psychological abuse (Scott, 2006). During this stage the abuser attempts to dominate his/her partner (survivor), with the use of domestic violence.

- **Reconciliation/honeymoon**

The **honeymoon phase** in the cycle of violence is the calm stage of the relationship, that which may appear to be the most 'normal.' During this stage, everything seems peaceful and the relationship seems to be going well. The aggressor may appear affectionate, passionate, and even jealous, making the victim think that the aggressor is concerned about her. He also may be apologetic and promise to never act abusively again. He may make other promises regarding his behaviour to win back the victim's trust and affection.

The abuser may use self-harm or threats of suicide to gain sympathy and/or prevent the survivor from leaving the relationship. Abusers are frequently so convincing, and survivors so eager for the relationship to improve, that survivors (who are often worn down and confused by longstanding abuse) stay in the relationship (Walker, 1979; and Brewster, 2006).

**Research methods** The cross-sectional descriptive survey design was utilised for the study. The location for the study is Somolu Local Government Area of Lagos State. Somolu Local Governments (Lat. 6.540833° and Long. 3.387222°) lie in the Ikeja Division of Lagos State, Nigeria. It has a population of about 403. 559 NPC (2006) and has a land area of 11.6 km². In the North it shares boundary with Bariga Local Government and in the South it shares boundaries with the Akoka
communities. In the East the boundary is the major Ikorodu road from Fadeyi to Anthony and at the West, Abule-Ijesha. A residential suburb of Lagos, the town is plagued by problems of Overcrowding, Poor housing, and Inadequate sanitation. Most of its inhabitants are Yoruba. The town's local activities include work in leather handicrafts and printing. The study population for this cross-sectional survey consists of ever-married women aged 20 years and above living and/or working within Somolu Local Government area. Multi-stage sampling techniques were used for this study. Stage one: There are Fifty-seven Local Council Development Areas in Lagos-State out of which the researcher randomly selected Somolu LCDA. Stage two: Somolu LCDA of Lagos-State has eight (8) political wards. Stage three: there are over eight hundred streets in the eight geo-political wards in Somolu LGA. Stage Four: from the over eight hundred streets in Somolu LGA are houses where respondents were ultimately drawn. The questionnaire method of data collection was adopted for the study. The univariate (for running the frequency distribution of respondents) and bivariate (for establishing the relationship between variables of study using Chi-Square $X^2$) method of data analysis was utilised for the study.

**Results and discussion of findings**

Table 1 indicate that the study is an all women affair. This is so because all the 420 (100%) respondents are females. Furthermore, 6.4% (27) of the respondents were between ages 20-25, 26.0% (109) of the respondents were between ages 26-35, 43.6% (183) of the respondents were between ages 36-45, 19.3% (81) of the respondents were between ages 46-55, 4.3% (18) of the respondents were between ages 56-65 and 0.5% (2) of the respondents were between ages 66 and above. The result in table 1 shows that majority of the respondents falls between the age range of 36-45 which is more or less an economically active age group.

A total of 27.1% (114) of the respondents are Muslims, 67.8% (285) of the respondents are Christians and 5.0% (21) of the respondents are adherents of African traditional religion. This distribution by religion shows that majority of the respondents were Christians. The status of employment of the respondents indicated that 36.2% (152) were employed in the public sector, 13.3% (56) were in the private sector, 26.2% (110) were self-employed and 24.3% (102) were unemployed. This is a marker that majority of the respondents are employed in the public sector.

The respondents’ monthly income indicated that 41.2% (173) earned below ₦40,000; 12.9% (54) of the respondents earned between ₦40,000 and ₦49,999; 8.6% (36) of the respondents earned between ₦50,000-₦59,999; 11.7% (49) of the respondents earned between ₦60,000 and ₦69,999 and 25.7% (108) of the respondents earned ₦70,000 and above. This distribution by income shows that majority of the respondents earned below ₦40,000. This monthly earning of women is worth a paltry 80 US dollars and needless to say that this is very low when we put into cognisance the economic recession that is bedevilling the country at the moment, never mind the high cost of goods and services. The study further reveals that 67.9% (285) of the respondents are married, 5.7% (24) of the respondents are divorced, 14.8% (62) of the respondents are separated and 11.7% (49) of the
respondents are widowed. This distribution by marital status reveals that majority of the respondents are married.

The educational level category of the respondents avers that 6.9% (29) of the respondents had non-formal education, 7.9% (33) of the respondents had Primary education, 33.6% (141) of the respondents had Secondary education, 47.6% (200) had Tertiary education, 4.3 (15) had other forms of education and 4.0% (17) of the respondents have attained other categories of Education. This distribution implies that majority of the respondents are graduates of the tertiary institution.

The table also shows that 4.0% (17) of the respondents were Hausa, 13.1% (55) of the respondents were Igbo, 77.9% (327) of the respondents were Yoruba and 5.0% (21) of the respondents were of the other ethnic groups in Nigeria. This distribution shows that majority of the respondents are Yoruba.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
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<td>0.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
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<td>Age Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>Under 25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>26-35</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-45</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>43.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46-55</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56-65</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66 and older</td>
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<td>0.5</td>
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<td>Total</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>67.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>27.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Traditionalist</td>
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<td>5.0</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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<td>100.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Status of employment</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Public sector</td>
<td>152</td>
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<tr>
<td>Private sector</td>
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<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>110</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>24.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income Range</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below – N40,000</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>41.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N40,000–N49,999</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N50,000–N59,999</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N60,000–N69,999</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N70,000 – Above</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>25.7</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Married</td>
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<td>67.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
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<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>420</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hausa</td>
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<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Igbo</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>77.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>420</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Attainment</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No formal education</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
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<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>33.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>47.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>420.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Author’s analysis of research data, (2016)
Table 2 shows frequency distribution of respondents by whether they have experienced wife-battering. Data garnered from the field avers that 56.8% (196) of the respondents have experienced battering before, 43.2% of the respondents have not experienced battering from their partners. By implication, majority of the respondents have experienced wife-battering before. This is contrary to the clause that when some women informants were asked whether they had ever been hit, slapped, kicked or otherwise physically hurt by intimate partners, 38.5% admitted that they had experienced such, as observed by Knapp (2001).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Experience of wife-battering</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experienced</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>56.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not experienced</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>43.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s analysis of research data (2016).

Table 3 shows the frequency distribution of respondents on knowledge of wife-battering. Data obtained shows that 82.3% (284) of the respondents have the knowledge of wife-battering, 17.7% (61) of the respondents did not have the knowledge of wife-battering. It can be deduced from this table that majority of the respondents have the knowledge of wife-battering. This is contrary to the inference drawn by Oyedokun (2008) that there is scant information on wife-battering in Nigeria and that there is no proper documentation to support its existence. According to him, People do not talk about domestic violence because it seems to be an acceptable part of marriage. Furthermore, the table also showed that 11.9% (50) of the respondents’ source of knowledge on wife-battering is from schooling, 71.0% (298) did not have the knowledge from schooling and the question was not applicable to 17.1% (72) of the respondents. 29.0% (122) of the respondents get the knowledge of wife-battering from radio and TV programmes, 53.8% (226) of the respondents did not get their knowledge of wife-battering from radio and TV programmes and the question did not apply to 17.1% (72) of the respondents. 27.4% (115) of the respondents knew about wife-battering through relatives and friends, 55.5% (233) did not know it through this source and the question was not applicable to 17.1% (72) of the respondents. 11.9% (50) of the respondents got the knowledge of wife-battering through colleagues at work, 71.0% (298) of the respondents did not have this knowledge through colleagues at work and the question was not applicable to 17.1% (72) of the respondents. 3.8% (16) of the respondents have the knowledge of wife-battering through health seminars, 79.1% (332) of the respondents did not know about wife-battering through health seminars and to 17.1% (72) of the respondents the question was not applicable. Less than 3% of the respondents have the knowledge of wife-battering through other sources like religious programmes, social media, gossips, et cetera, over 80% did not have the knowledge through this source and to almost 20% of the respondents the
question was not applicable. Derivatives from the findings above show that a lot of things still have to be done in order to acquaint women with the knowledge of wife-battering. Increased social awareness would go a long way in making know more about this violence against women and also where to report such.

Table 3: Knowledge and source of knowledge of Wife-Battering (n=420).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of wife-battering</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>82.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge through schooling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>71.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge through Radio/Tv Programmes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>53.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge through relatives and friends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>27.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>55.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge through colleagues at work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>82.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge through health seminars</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>82.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge through other sources</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4 showed frequency distribution of respondents by how often they are involved in wife-battering. Data reveals that 7.4% (31) of the respondents are always involved in wife-battering, 24.5% (103) of the respondents are occasionally involved in wife-battering, 35.0% (147) of the respondents are hardly involved in wife-battering and 33.1% (139) of the respondents have never been involved in wife-battering. This is an indication that majority of the respondents have in one way or the other been involved in wife-battering because just over thirty percent of them claimed their non-involvement.

Testing Hypothesis One

The relationship between educational attainment and experience of wife-battering avers calculated value as 48.71 and p-value at 0.000 which is less than the level of significance (0.05). Hence, the null hypothesis is rejected while the alternative hypothesis is accepted. Therefore, there is a significant relationship between educational attainment of women and experience of wife-battering. Education is power, key and the bedrock of any nation. The higher and lower the educational attainment of women, the stronger tendency that they will be victims of wife-battering. A well-educated woman, in most cases, understands her rights, is exposed to a lot of things such as the violence that women often experience in the hands of men; not just that, have the tendency to question the obvious, criticise conventions and would likely not be mute when her self-esteem is eroded or when the respect due to her is relegated to play second fiddle. All these dispositions of well-educated women, covertly or overtly, get in the way of men who hold firmly the unwavering traditional believe that it is a man’s world - the system of patriarchy still reign supreme and that no matter how educated a woman is, a man always have the final say. Violence always ensue when this sense of authority is questioned by an educated woman. The less or none educated woman, on the other hand, who is lacking in so many areas to the extent that she is made a full-time housewife; and without vocational skill or other empowerment, will always be at the mercy of her husband. Such women depend on their husbands for all basic needs and failure to get an attention or help is a recipe for preposterous things, wife-battering inclusive.

Testing Hypothesis Two
The relationship between income of women and involvement in wife-battering shows calculated value as 25.44 and p-value at 0.000 which is less than the level of significance (0.05). Hence, the null hypothesis is rejected while the alternative hypothesis is accepted. Therefore, there is a significant relationship between the income of women and their involvement in wife-battering. Income is a very vital economic variable that often sustain most marital relationships. This is further underlined by the fact that most spinsters and bachelors are always afraid to go into long term marital commitment when the flow of income is not steady and forthcoming. In view of this, one could be forgiven for saying that most marital relationship is premised or built on what (income) husbands and wives brings to the table to ensure that daily and basic needs are met, and the home continue to thrive. However, the inability of either of the partners to bring something to the table when there is need to offset utility bills, buy food items, pay children school fees, take care of medical bills, pay for rent (if they are tenants), et cetera, is always greeted with resentments and this often triggers wife-battering. If a man cannot establish his authority economically or financially and take responsibility, he tend to do so physically through wife-battering. Similarly, women with low income and who hardly support their husbands because of this incapacitation are not likely to be respected and would be victims of wife-battering, even at the slightest provocation.

Testing hypothesis Three
The relationship between status of employment of women and experience of wife-battering shows calculated value 3.215 and p-value at 0.360 which is greater than the level of significance (0.05). hence, the null hypothesis is accepted while the alternative hypothesis is rejected. Therefore, there is no relationship between employment status of women and women’s experience of battering. The status of employment cannot be seen as a trigger for wife-battering. Other socio-economic factors such as income and educational attainments of women have clearly indicated strong relationship with wife-battering.

Table 5: Chi-square analysis of respondents selected socio-economic characteristics and experience of Wife-battering (n=420)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>$X^2$</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>Decision</th>
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</thead>
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<td>Educational attainment</td>
<td>48.711</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>25.440</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status of employment</td>
<td>3.215</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.360</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s analysis of research data, (2016)

Recommendations
In view of the findings of this study, the following recommendations suffices:

- Government must formulate policies that will ensure that women are protected against all forms of violence that usually emanate from the family-context.

- There appears to be a law that was put in place by some state governments in Nigeria to punish perpetrators of domestic violence and to also check the menace, but little has been
achieved in this regard. Nevertheless, Government must ensure that adequate laws are put in place to severely punish all the perpetrators of wife-battering (violence against women). The perpetrators must not be given the opportunity to benefit from or revel in wife abuse. It is in doing this that strong signal would be sent to other men who have the tendency to also beat their wives.

- Non-Governmental organisations, local governments, state governments and the federal government must organise programmes that will be geared towards sensitising men about the need to always show more support and care to women and to also see the ills that is enmeshed in wife-battering.

- Government must also intensify efforts to ensure that women are given the necessary empowerment in the areas of education, finance, et cetera, so that they will not be victims of violence as a result of over-reliance on men for their basic needs, among others. Education is the bedrock of any nation. Any nation that does not take to heart the education of women will likely struggle to attain positive development. Hence the education of women must be taken seriously as this will give them the requisite empowerment to know their rights and report cases of domestic violence.

Conclusion

Violence against women has been deemed to be a global phenomenon and Nigeria is not an exemption. In a relative sense, there appears to be an increase in what is known about wife-battering in the country. However, much still need to be done to further create a social awareness that will encourage women to start speaking out and stop dying in silence as a result of violence that is domiciled within the family context. Income, religion affiliation and educational status have been found to be significantly linked to wife-battering. Hence all hands must be on deck to ensure that women are no longer victims of economic suppression, religion extremism and educational marginalisation which inadvertently occasion violence.

References


Ilevbabor, J. 2004. "How much pain can a woman take? Wife-Battery is a major challenge, facing Nigerian women but for how long". In a Preliminary Investigation and Overview of Wife-Battering in Africa. Volume 9, Issue 1, Article 13


Job Stress and Marital Quality among Married Women Bankers in Ilorin Metropolis

O. A. Fawole¹, A. A. Isiaq²

Abstract: This paper examines the impacts of job stress on marital quality among married women bankers in some selected banks in Ilorin metropolis. A total of 296 married women working in commercial banks in Ilorin, Kwara State Nigeria, participated in this study. Data was collected through the use of questionnaires while multiple regression analysis was used to determine the relationship between job stress and marital quality. The results from the analysis obtained showed that working hours, heavy work load and inequality at work on marital quality was significant. The study found that job stress does predict marital quality. The paper concluded that married women bankers experienced tremendous stressors from the job and family, and these stressors may have negative consequences on their marital quality and relationships. Therefore, the paper recommended that there is the need for vast improvement and inclusion of the variety of women’s need in work-family policies or initiatives.

Keywords: stress; stressors; married women bankers; family; marital quality.

Introduction
Marital quality is an overall evaluation of the state of one’s marriage and a reflection of marital happiness and function (Schoen et al, 2002) and women’s roles in marriage are nearly always more demanding than their husbands’, especially for employed women who encounter additional responsibilities (being wife, mother, homemaker, and employee). Because women and men usually are differently socialized, the emotional expectations of women are often not met by men. Everyday stress in modern life can affect all aspects of human life including family and marital relationships. Stress significantly determines marital quality and the development of close relationships (Neff & Karney, 2004; Story & Bradbury, 2004). Stress in couples has a mutual influence; the stress of one partner can affect the other one if he/she cannot cope adequately with it. Work stress has negative effects on the workers’ well-being and on effectiveness of the organizations (Cory, 2007; Roberts & Levenson, 2001).
Married women bankers encounter many stressors in their jobs. They are faced with severe suffering, emergency situations, and shift work, combined with a very high level of responsibility. Investigations of job stress in married women bankers reported that customers’ complaints, time pressure, heavy workload, inadequate salary, and inequality at work are perceived as major sources of stress among married women bankers (Adeb-Saeedi, 2002; Mosadeghrad, Ferlie, & Rosenberg, 2011). Such stressors can lead to physical and psychological symptoms, and failures at work. The results of several investigations revealed that a stressful job situation can affect married women’s quality of life and marital relationships (Hamaideh, 2012). Job stress can reduce the time that partners spend together and the time that they are emotionally available; it can negatively affect sexual interest, activities, and satisfaction, reduce the frequency of shared experiences, the amount and intensity of shared emotions, and reduce the feeling of “we-ness” (Bodenmann, 2000), which may hamper the level of productivity. It is against this background that this paper critically examines and reviews some empirical and theoretical works on the impacts of job stress on the marital quality among the married working women in the banking sector.

Pearlin (1989) suggests that contextual factors such as role strain trigger the stress process. Lazarus (1985) suggested that felt stress outcomes are a consequence of situational demands, including role strain, acting in concert with perceptions or appraisals of the extent of the potential threat of the stress, and coping strategies selected to minimize or eliminate the stress. According to Lazarus (1991), when an individual faces a stressful event, two processes, cognitive appraisal and coping are employed. Both of these processes serve as powerful mediators in reports of emotional outcomes.

Because career married women are under tremendous stress, often dealing with extreme measures of role overload (Emmons et al., 1990), stress and coping theory provides a solid foundation for a conceptual model to examine the effects of this role overload. The theory in this paper examines both individual and relational coping strategies and resources, using the relational outcome, marital quality. In this way, the theoretical assumptions follows the basic underlying principles of stress and coping theory, as well as extends it beyond individual coping strategies such as problem-focused and emotion-focused coping typically used, to include relational coping. By doing so, this paper answers the call for research to consider the personal and social context of coping with stressful circumstances (Schaefer & Moos, 1992).

Nigeria currently operates a fairly open banking system. The Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) is at the apex of the banking system and it is responsible for formulating and monitoring the banking system to ensure that operators comply with monetary, credit and foreign exchange guidelines. Over the last decade, developments in information technology have changed the banking landscape in Nigeria, especially in terms of efficiency, effectiveness and commercial practice (Oke & Patrick, 2008). The stiff competition among banks in the industry has led to an increase in banking services, therefore resulting in changes manifesting in the form of a system of work that is western in orientation, with a focus on individual responsibility and accountability. Work is more impersonal; task oriented, uses
close supervision and operates within a strict disciplinary code. Therefore, employees have very little autonomy and decision-making power. This system of management is representative of a postcolonial heritage, in which there is little room for worker initiative. The system is risk averse, hierarchical, centralized, authoritarian, and non-consultative (Mordi, Mmieh & Ojo, 2013).

**Methodology**

The study adopted a descriptive survey research design and employed questionnaires in collecting data to determine the relationship between job stress and marital quality among the married women bankers Ilorin, Kwara state. The population for this study consisted of the married women bankers in Ilorin metropolis. A total of 343 married women bankers participated in this study, out of which 296 correctly filled and returned the questionnaires. Data was then analyzed using multiple regression analysis, to determine the relationship between job stress and marital quality.

**Results**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of days worked</th>
<th>frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 days</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 days</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>68.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 days</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>27.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**No of working hours per day**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No of working hours per day</th>
<th>frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5-6 hours</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>2.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-8 hours</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-10 hours</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>90.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>2.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Respondent’s department**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent’s department</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Customer service</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>15.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operations</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brand services</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal control</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash and teller</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>43.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other department</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Authors' research (2015).

From the table 1, several parameters were used to access the number of days worked per week in the bank studied. The number of work days varied between 5 and 7 days. 4.05 percent of the respondents worked for 5 days, 68.58 percent worked for 6 days, while 27.37 percent worked for 7
days. This points to the notion that a few of the employees were deprived of the needed rest and private time by working round the week. The scheduling of hours plays a significant role in marital quality. Generally, research suggest that traditional Monday through Friday daytime jobs led to greater marital satisfaction and stability than do other schedules (NHNRC, 2006). Aside the working days, a number of hours worked were also a strong indicator of the practices in the banking sector. A total of 2.70 percent of the respondent indicated they work 5-6 hours daily; 4.39% worked between 7-8 hours on a typical work day. 90.88 percent of the respondent worked between 9 and 10 hours, while 2.03 percent worked more than 11 hours. Work hour is very significant when referring to the level of work stress or an individual is experiencing because this directly or indirectly affect some other area of an individual life. The fact remains that spending more time on the job is associated with an increase in marital discomfort (NHNRC, 2006).

Table 2: Summary of Regression of Job of Married Bankers on Marital Quality.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R²</th>
<th>Adjusted R</th>
<th>Standard error of the estimated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>.519</td>
<td>.339</td>
<td>.345</td>
<td>4.2103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source of variance | Sum of square | Df | Mean square | F | p |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regression</td>
<td>18051.743</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3610.3486</td>
<td>41.506</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residual</td>
<td>17351.418</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>59.8324</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35403.161</td>
<td>295</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Significant at 0.01 level.

Table 2 shows a combine influence of the five independent variables (working day, working hours; heavy work load, customer complaint and inequality at work predicting the marital quality among the married bankers in Ilorin metropolis, gave a coefficient of multiple regression (R) of 0.519 and a multiple regression (R²) of 0.339, adjusted R² =0.345, also indicated in the tables is the analysis of variance for the multiple regression which produce F. ratio (f,295) =41.516 and found to be significant at 0.05 level.

The result obtained show that the joint and relative effect of working days, working hours, heavy work load, customer complaint, and inequality at work on marital quality was significant (f,5,295) =41.516; R=0.519; R²=0.345; adjusted R²=0.345; p < 0.5). Based on the above result, it can be inferred that job stress does predict marital quality.
Findings
The results of this study are in line with the studies of Rogers and May (2003) who reported that increase in marital satisfaction correlated with lower job stress. Married women bankers are confronted with many stressors at work, such as high levels of responsibility (Laranjeira, 2011). Long working hours (i.e. more than 48 hours a week) are associated with increased errors, workplace injuries and health problems (Sparks et al, 1997). Cooper, (1998) argued that a long working hours culture, heavy workloads and lack of flexibility in the use of time provoke stressful conflicts between work and private life for many career married women, and this is likely to have negative impact on organizations. This stress can threaten the physical health, mental health, and marital relationships of married women bankers (Peimanpak, et al, 2013; Wu et al, 2011). Women experience multiple-role stress that can affect their marital, parental, and occupational situations (Kandel, Davies, & Raveis, 1985). Career married women who are exposed to stressful work reported more marital dissatisfaction and less marital support (Crouter, Bumpus, Head, & McHale, 2001; Hughes & Galinsky, 1994). Stress negatively impacts marital satisfaction in three ways: it influences couple communication, decreases the time spent together, and increases health problems (Bodenmann, 2005).

Also, Rogers and May (2003), investigated process of spillover between marital quality and job satisfaction among married individuals. Results indicated that increase in marital satisfaction was significantly related to a decline in job satisfaction. They emphasized that processes operate similarly for married women and married men. Also the result of the study conducted by Fieldler et al, (2000) on the relationship between domestic-based stress and pilot’s perceptions of their effectiveness in the cockpit and in the office showed that the effects of domestic stress carry over to the pilot’s work directly influence work stress and indirectly affect pilot’s perception of their flying performance. In addition, Cousineau, Hall, Rosik, and Hall (2007) found that job performance was positively correlated with the trait of group – orientation on the 16 personality factor (16 PF) and negatively correlated with marital distress.

Research focusing on the role context in marriage has revealed that the more distressing elements of the environment – elements contributing to one’s level of stress – are associated with negative marital processes and outcomes, a phenomenon often referred to as stress spillover (Brock and Lawrence, 2008). Beauregard (2006) argued that as the employee experienced much of the conflict between work and family their stress increases and their productivity also decreases.

Conclusion
Women’s priorities are always centered around their family first but the demands of work are such that they always do not get to spend quality time as they desire with their children. Their marital life is under tension, women are of the opinion that the needs of children cannot be suspended for several years. If work demands become heavy, the fact remain that marital roles cannot be shelved or neglected for long also. Tension between the two boundaries will require a compromise, women, will
take the choice of keeping their family rather than work. It can be concluded that various factors contribute to stressful experiences of women in the Nigerian banking sector. It has been argued that the banking sector is a non-traditional female field, but presently, it has the fast growing inclusion of women in the work force. The dynamics of the Nigerian banking sector with reference to time schedule in the work place and its resultant effect on employee retention and the necessity in the demands for a better policy as per the wide range of unmet work-life balance needs of women in the banking sector. There is the need for vast improvement and inclusion of the variety of women’s need in work-family policies or initiative.

References


Does Development Aid Work? Improving Aid Effectiveness in International Development Cooperation Efforts

Soo Bong Uh¹ and Md. Roknuzzamn Siddiky²

Abstract: While development aid has long been recognized as an important instrument for socio-economic development of the developing countries, there is a growing debate about its effectiveness in the academic world taking into account its contentious performance in international development cooperation efforts. Hence, the paper attempts to examine the role of development aid to achieve its intended development outcomes and look at present discourse on aid effectiveness. The paper also seeks to provide some policy implications as to how aid effectiveness can be improved. The study is mainly qualitative in nature involving document analysis method, and qualitative interviews with a total of 12 concerned officials from Korea and Bangladesh dealing with Korea’s ODA programs. The paper suggests that whereas development aid has worldwide mixed development outcomes, it may work better, if both the partner countries – developed and developing – follow the core values of the partnership-based approach and exercise the practices of good governance in development cooperation. Moreover, building absorptive capacity and supportive government’s policy to utilize TC programs are pivotal to improve aid effectiveness.

Keywords: Development Aid, ODA, Ownership, Alignment, Partnership-based Approach, Good Governance Practices, Absorptive Capacity

Introduction

Foreign aid, often regarded as development aid, is an integral part of international development cooperation efforts. It encompasses all official grants and concessional loans, in currency or in kind, that are broadly aimed at transferring resources from developed to less developed nations on development grounds (Todaro and Smith, 2008). It has received enormous attention in the world since the implementation of European Recovery Program, the Marshall Plan, following the Second World War. Marshall Plan served as a keystone for development aids. Since the Marshall Plan has been regarded as a model of successful aid and development cooperation efforts, its success has helped to motivate the United States and other developed countries to provide LDCs with development aid. However, in course of time, there have been changes in the objectives and patterns of aid. Presently it has become an important area in the overall policy for global development. Today, the main objective

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² Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, Rajshahi College, Rajshahi, Bangladesh, Email: rokonsiddiky@hotmail.com
of development aid is to promote economic and social development of the developing countries (Riddell, 2007). However, development aid provided by the Development Assistance Committee or DAC member-countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) to the developing world is commonly known as official development assistance, namely ODA which has received growing attention from the international community so as to promote economic development and welfare of the developing countries. The OECD’s DAC is the key forum in which the major bilateral donors work together to coordinate development cooperation and to increase the effectiveness of their efforts to support sustainable development. As Sengupta (2002) put forward that ODA becomes one of the most effective methods of promoting development in low income countries, because their financial institutions are weak, physical infrastructures are underdeveloped. Moreover, since market prices often fail to give the right signals, and resources are immobile, market failures are endemic in low income countries.

Thus, development aid is always targeted to contribute to the economic and social development, reduce human poverty, and mitigate human sufferings of the developing countries. It can take many forms, including financial and technical assistance as well as emergency aid. It involves an increasing variety of institutional actors such as governments, international organizations, non-governmental groups and private foundations (United Nations-NGLS, 2008). Development aid is usually provided by the developed or industrialized countries through their bilateral institutions such as USAID, JICA, KOICA, CiDA, DANIDA, NORAD, and so on. It is also channelled through several multilateral development organizations including IDA (World Bank), ADB, IMF, and such bodies of the United Nations as UNDP, UNICEF, UNESCO, ILO, WHO, and so on. Most of the forms of development aid come from the member-states of the DAC and European Union (EU). Hence, development aid is channelled through a number of bilateral and multilateral organizations and the UN bodies which are committed to promote economic development and welfare of the poor countries through their development interventions.

While various developed nations and multilateral organizations are playing a pivotal role to support the developing countries to achieve economic growth and sustainable development, there is a growing debate in the academic world as to the effectiveness of their aid in different issues of development (Boone, 1996; Burnside and Dollar, 1998; Kanbur, 2000; Alesina and Dollar 2000; Fukuda-Parr, Lopez and Malik, 2002; Nakamura and McPherson, 2005; Chirino and Melian, 2006; Herfkains and Bains, 2008; Kindornay and Morton, 2009; Siddiky, 2013, 2014). As such, the paper aims to illustrate the holistic picture as to the effectiveness of aid taking into account a variety of areas of development interventions so that proper policy could be formulated. Given the significance of the effectiveness of aid in international arena, this paper also attempts to examine how aid effectiveness could be improved. Therefore, the present paper seeks to investigate the following queries:

a) What is the role or effectiveness of development aid in developing countries taking into consideration diverse issues of development interventions across the world?

b) What is the present discourse on aid effectiveness in the world?
c) What policies should be taken to improve aid effectiveness in the developing countries?

Methodology of the Study

The study is a qualitative study in nature. The study employed document analysis method as well as interview method. Both the secondary and primary types of data were used in the study. The secondary data for this study were generated through examining a variety of secondary sources such as relevant books, research papers, journal articles, and other related publications. However, to gather primary data, some qualitative interviews were carried out. The qualitative interviews involved face to face conversations with a total of 12 officials purposively selected from concerned government bodies of Korea and Bangladesh. Of a total of twelve respondents, six (06) officials were selected from the Korea International Cooperation Agency, namely KOICA, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MOFAT), Korea and the rest six (06) were selected from the Economic Relations Division (ERD) of the Ministry of Finance, Bangladesh responsible for mobilizing external resources for socio-economic development of Bangladesh. The respondents were interviewed in-depth as to how development aid or ODA can be effective in the light of their experience to deal with Korea’s ODA to Bangladesh. The primary data were analyzed and interpreted through deeper understanding of underlying concepts, contexts, and reasoning. Finally the study attempts to theorize aid effectiveness on the basis of finding connection among underlying concepts or themes derived from the interviews.

Characteristics and Forms of ODA

ODA consists of grants and concessional loans provided by the DAC member countries of the OECD for the socio-economic development of the countries and territories as listed by the DAC as ODA recipients. The transfers from the OECD donor countries to developing countries or multilateral institutions must meet three requirements to be considered as ODA are as follows:

a) they are undertaken by the official sectors;

b) the main objective is the promotion of economic development and welfare;

c) they are provided on concessional financial terms (if a loan having a grant element of at least 25%. In addition to financial flows, technical cooperation is included in aid. Grants, loans and credits for military purposes are excluded (Degnbol-Martin and Engberg-Pederson, 2003; OECD, 2006a).

ECOSOC (2008, 2009) put forward that the types of flows classified as being ODA include program and project assistance, humanitarian assistance, debt relief, costs of education provided to developing country nationals, in the donor country, administrative costs of ODA programs, subsidies to NGOs, and so on. ODA can also include technical assistance (TA) or technical cooperation (TC) programs in the form of transfer of knowledge, skills and advice to the developing countries. However, ODA involves two kinds of assistance in terms of its channel – bilateral aid and multilateral aid. If aid is given directly by the DAC member-countries through their official aid agencies, it is said to be bilateral aid or bilateral assistances. As Riddell (2007) states that ODA is said to be bilateral when it is provided directly by governments, through their official aid agencies, to an aid recipient country. About three-quarters of
ODA consist of bilateral aid. In contrast, if aid is given by multilateral or international agencies active in development, it is called multilateral aid or multilateral assistance.

Table 1: The DAC’s Allocation of ODA and ODA/GNI Ratio in 2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SL #</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>ODA USD (in Millions)</th>
<th>ODA/GNI Ratio (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Iceland</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Slovak Republic</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Luxemburg</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>0.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>718</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>1207</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>1292</td>
<td>0.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>1604</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>2566</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>3538</td>
<td>0.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>3844</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>4287</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>3222</td>
<td>0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>4278</td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>5813</td>
<td>0.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>7092</td>
<td>1.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>9320</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>9226</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>17779</td>
<td>0.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>United Kingdom (UK)</td>
<td>18700</td>
<td>0.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>31076</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The Table 1 illustrated above shows the allocation of ODA from the OECD’s DAC member-countries in 2015, which is expressed in terms of USD in millions and ODA/GNI ratio. As can be noticed from the table that the United States allocated the highest amount of ODA of USD 31076 million with ODA/GNI ratio of 0.17%, followed by United Kingdom (USD 18700 million with GNI/ODA ratio of 0.71%), Germany (USD 17779 million with ODA/GNI of 0.52%), Japan (USD 9320 million with ODA/GNI ratio of 0.22%, and France (USD 9226 million with ODA/GNI ratio of 0.37%). However, out of world’s top five ODA
donor countries, four could not meet the UN target of 0.7% of ODA/GNI ratio including USA and Japan. The table shows that only 6 member countries of the OCED’s DAC met the UN target of 0.7% of GNI. These countries were: Sweden, Norway, Netherlands, Luxembourg, UK, and Denmark. It is noteworthy to state that most of the countries that met the UN target of 0.7% of GNI were Scandinavian countries. In 2015, the DAC member countries allocated a total of USD 131586 million ODA with an average ODA/GNI ratio of 0.41% which lags behind the UN target of 0.7% of GNI.

**Aid Effectiveness Literature**

Development is a broad and multidimensional concept as it takes into account a wide range of areas or issues to be addressed. As noted earlier, a number of bilateral and multilateral organizations are providing their development aid to the developing countries to support them in their economic and social progress. They are also striving for building human, institutional and governance capacities in the developing countries where the LDCs have been given special attention. However, there are shortages of literature that can reflect the holistic picture on aid effectiveness. As such, the paper attempts to examine carefully various aid effectiveness literatures involving a variety of issues. Aid effectiveness literature can be presented briefly in terms of following notions:

**Economic growth and aid effectiveness**

A number of economists, scholars and researchers have devoted themselves to look into the effectiveness of aid, especially to investigate the effect of aid on raising economic growth of the developing countries. However, they have differed from each other in terms of their findings. Boone (1996) held that aid has not significantly contributed to economic growth in the developing countries. According to the World Bank (1998), aid works best when local governments practice “good management” of social, political and economic institutions. World Bank (1998) also suggested that aid can be effective in raising growth but only in a good policy environment. Burnside and Dollar (2000) reported that aid has a positive impact on growth in developing countries with good fiscal, monetary, and trade policies but has little effect in the presence of poor policies. Good policies are ones that are themselves important for growth. The quality of policy has only a small impact on the allocation of aid. They suggested that aid would be more effective if it were more systematically conditioned on good policy. Gunning (2000) also proposed that aid is effective only in good policy environments.

However, Hansen and Tarp (2000) observed that aid has significant effect on growth. They examined the relationship between foreign aid and growth in real GDP per capita. They found that aid in all likelihood increases growth and this result in not conditional on ‘good’ policy. In the context of some developing countries, Alesina and Dollar (2000) found that aid has been partially successful in promoting growth and reducing poverty. One reason for this is the poor performance of the bureaucracies of receiving countries. The allocation of bilateral aid across recipient countries provides evidence as to why it is not more effective in promoting growth and poverty reduction. Ovaska (2003), on the other hand, put forward that there is negative correlation between development aid and economic growth. He found that a 1 percent increase in aid as a percentage of GDP decreased annual real GDP per capita growth by 3.65 percent. Moreover, Ovaska (2003) pointed out that aid given to countries with
a better quality of governance was not found to improve the effectiveness of aid, in contrast to the statement made by Burnside and Dollar (2000). Degnbol-Martin and Engberg-Pederson (2003, p. 239) pointed out that aid has not promoted economic growth and development in recipient countries. Aid has replaced or reduced domestic savings and investments instead of supplementing and promoting them. Rajan and Subramanian (2005) suggested that aid inflows do have systematic adverse effects on growth, wages, and employment in labor intensive and export sectors.

Conversely, in the contexts of six countries, Botswana, Ethiopia, India, Sri-Lanka, Kenya and Tanzania, Hatemi-J and Irandoust (2005) reported that Swedish aid had a positive significant impact on their the economic activity (real economic growth). Reddy and Minoiu (2006) found that official development assistance promoted economic growth in the long run. In a study carried out by Togo and Wada (2008), ODA was found to be effective on economic growth in the perspective of Botswana. Inanga and Mandah (2008) pointed out that aid could generate economic growth if it is effectively utilized in stable macroeconomic environment. Khan (2008) found that financially aid works in a good policy environment. Minoiu and Reddy (2009) found that development aid promotes long-run growth. The effect is significant, large and robust to different specifications and estimation techniques.

**Poverty reduction, human development and aid effectiveness**

Poverty reduction and human development have long been recognized as the key concerns for development interventions in most of the developing countries. These issues have received increasing attention from the developed countries, in particular, the OECD’s DAC member countries, a number of multilateral organizations and the UN bodies and thus have been central to their aid allocations to the developing countries. Given their significance in socio-economic development, these issues are regarded as the core objectives of development aid on the part of both donors and recipient countries. However, there is no consensus among the researchers regarding the effectiveness of development aid on poverty reduction and human development.

Boone (1996) argued that aid has not benefited the poor as measured by improvements in human development indicators. Burnside and Dollar (1998) argued that in developing countries with weak economic management, there is no relationship between aid and the change in infant mortality while there is a relationship between aid and the change in infant mortality in the cases where a recipient country exercises good economic management. Thus, aid could reduce infant mortality under good economic management. However, Collier and Dollar (1999) pointed out that aid is effective in lifting around 30 million people annually sustainably out of absolute poverty. With a poverty-efficient allocation, this would increase to around 80 million people. The role of ODA had been investigated by the DANIDA whether it was playing an effective role in reducing poverty or not. The DANIDA conducted an evaluation study in 1995-96 in some developing countries with regard to the effects of its bilateral development assistance in reducing poverty. The DANIDA found that there is a positive relation between Danish bilateral development assistance’s contribution to improving poor people’s access to resources, services, employment and other development opportunities, as well as their knowledge and
ability to improve their livelihoods while it has pointed out that aid has not been sufficiently goal oriented in relation to poverty reduction (as cited in Degnbol-Martin and Engberg-Pederson, 2003, p. 261). In the context of Papua New Guinea, Feeny (2003) found that the allocation of foreign aid by sector has positive impact on reducing poverty and increasing human well-being.

World Vision (2006) suggested that aid has been often effective in reducing suffering and assisting development. Aid has played an important role in improving the health of children and adults in the poorer countries and has contributed to improved education, literacy and the advancement of human rights, peace and better governance in many developing nations. However, based on their panel study of 49 developing countries including Sub-Saharan Africa, Nakamura and McPherson (2005) proposed that aid has no significant effect in reducing poverty. Chirino and Melian (2006) found that ODA is not effective in reducing poverty, on the ground that it does not enable developing countries to overcome their poverty. They observed that the rate of school attendance does not rise and that of infant mortality does not fall. With regard to the role of ODA in human development in Sub-Saharan Africa, Akinkugbe and Yinusa (2009), on the other hand, pointed out that ODA has resulted in sustained increased in human development in Sub-Saharan Africa. Hence, aid has mixed impacts to reduce poverty and promote human development worldwide.

Dependence, governance and the role of aid
Aid has been criticized to create a situation of dependence in developing countries. The more a country receives aid, the more it is likely to be dependent on aid. Aid dependence has been defined as a situation in which a country cannot perform many of the core functions of government, such as operation and maintenance, or the delivery of basic public services, without foreign aid funding and expertise (Brautigam, 2000). Azam, Devarajan and O’Connel (1999) pointed out that if foreign aid undermines institutional development, aid recipients can experience the symptoms of “dependence” – a short run benefit from aid while increasing the need for aid that will damage in the long run. Most of the developing countries are more or less affected by aid dependence and they cannot come out of it. As Brautigam (2000) pointed out that the growing amount of official debt in poor countries creates the need for continued aid. When aid intensity continues over a long period of time, it can create aid dependence in the developing countries and thereby impact their governance and economy. Aid can distort political accountability, weakens government ownership of reforms. The way in which international aid system operates tends to reinforce the lack of ownership by aid dependent countries. When local institutions are weak, donors tend to take over. Mali is a classic example from African countries where aid dependence reduced the incentives for bureaucrats to cooperate with efforts to reform weak and corrupt governments (Brautigam, 2000). Azam, Devarajan and Connel (1999) argued that where institutions are already weak, institutional capacity collapses, and foreign aid eventually finances the entire public budget. When they are initially stronger, the result can close to institutions-sensitive equilibrium.

Aid and corruption
Aid has been criticized to be associated with raising corruption in developing countries while there is a disagreement regarding the notion. The countries that are aid dependent generally tend to have worse rankings on corruption and institutional quality indices than developing countries that are not (as cited in Brautigam, 2000, p. 41). Considering the case of Mozambique, Hanlon (2004) put forward that the donors promote corruption as donors are more likely to give aid to corrupt governments.

Tavares (2002) estimated the impact of foreign aid on corruption using geographical and cultural distance to the donor countries as instrumental variables to assess causality. Tavares (2002), however, found that aid decreases corruption. He claimed that his results are statistically and economically significant and robust to different controls. He argued that foreign aid may be associated with rules and conditions that limit the discretion of the recipient country’s officials, thus decreasing corruption—a conditionality effect. In the context of some African countries, Lerrick (2005) pointed out that corruption prevented aid from benefiting or even reaching the poor. Transparency International (2006), however, demonstrated that humanitarian aid tends to be corrupted. There are three particular reasons why humanitarian aid is at risk from corruption: conditions inherent in humanitarian emergencies; characteristics of the ‘humanitarian aid system’; and levels of transparency and accountability in recipient countries.

External influence, conditionality and the role of aid

In the light of dependency theory, development aid can be seen as a means of maintaining external influence, control and domination over developing countries (Degnbol-Martin and Engberg-Pederson, 2003). By providing development aid, the developed countries are likely to interfere in the domestic affairs and policy making of the developing countries and thereby can distort their indigenous way of development. Aid conditionality usually is a situation where aid is given by the donors on the basis of certain imposed conditions to fulfill. Tied aid can be an example of aid conditionality in which aid is provided on the condition that recipient countries have to procure goods and services from the donor countries. However, excepting the case of tied aid, donors can impose some other sorts of conditions on the recipient countries to restructure or reform their existing policies. There are some studies relating to aid conditionality, that is, conditional aid works or not. Kanbur (2000) argued that aid conditionality has been failed in Africa. Aid conditionality on policy does not work due mainly to different views held by donors and recipients about the program (Quibria and Ahmad, 2008; Quibria, 2010). However, Svensson (2002) reported that aid has a positive impact on growth under certain conditions, but that foreign aid has not been systematically channeled to countries where those conditions prevail. He argued that this finding is partly driven by a common feature in the donor agencies’ incentive system: the low opportunity costs of committed funds. However, Montinola (2010) argues that conditional aid is effective but its efficacy depends on recipient countries’ level of democracy. So, there have been mixed experiences worldwide whether aid conditionality works or not.

Human and institutional capacity building and the role of TC

A substantial share of development assistance is provided in the form of TC programs. The logic for this type of cooperation is that developing countries lack the capacity and expertise for development.
Hence, TC comprises activities designed to increase the capacity of developing countries and includes the elements like study assistance through scholarship and traineeships, supply of personnel, including experts, teachers and volunteers from the donor country to a developing country (OECD, 2006b). As such, TC is directly concerned with building human and institutional capacities in the developing countries. In view of nature and purpose of TC, it may be argued that TC is of great significance in the context of LDCs to address their poor or weak human, institutional and governance capacities. Hilderbrand (2002, p. 20) reported that support for scholarship and universities in Uganda helped to create a base of well-educated professionals, many of whom are now leaders in government, the private sector and institutions of higher education in the country. Hilderbrand (2002) further reported that TC largely contributed to strengthen Bolivia’s national capacity in some areas including education.

Nevertheless, the role of TC has been controversial and criticized for being less effective in order to promote human and institutional capacities in developing countries. Arndt (2000) argues that TC can undermine institutional capacity in the LDCs where administrative capacity is weakest and aid flows most important in relative terms. Fukuda-Parr, Lopez and Malik (2002) argued that TC undermines local capacity rather than assist to build sustainable institutions and other capabilities. TC also ignores local wishes, that is, the donors pay little attention to communities who are supposed to benefit from the development activities.

Korea’s TC has been found to have mixed results to facilitate human and institutional capacity building in Bangladesh. Siddiky (2013) propounded that KOICA’s TC in the form of invitational trainings are effective to enhance the management and technical capacity of the government officials. He reported that the government officials of Bangladesh have developed many skills and management capacities such as analytical ability, policy analysis skills, negotiation skills, planning and policy making skills, policy formulation and implementation skills, decision-making skills, project assessment skills, especially assessment of the projects from the environmental point of view, and so on from participating in various training programs offered by the KOICA.

However, they are moderately effective to benefit the government organizations for institutional capacity building since there are little scopes or opportunities to apply acquired expertise in line with service due to lack of proper policy, and frequent transition or rotation of the government officials from one organization to another. Siddiky also (2014) found that while Korea provided advanced technology and sufficient other technical supports to Bangladesh, to enhance vocational and institutional training capacity of the Bangladesh-Korea Technical Training Centre (BKTTC), it has been moderate effective to generate skilled manpower and technicians in Bangladesh due mainly to lack of proper policy, and lack of absorptive capacity of the training institute, and lack of proper alignment between beneficiaries’ wishes or desires and TC program.

Present Discourse on Aid Effectiveness

“All too often, aid is driven more by politics than by need, undermining its effectiveness”
- Ban Ki-Moon, the UN Secretary General
Over the last couple of decades, developed countries and international development organizations have been working to facilitate the effectiveness of aid to achieve development goals in developing countries. While aid allocation may be driven by good intentions, a significant amount of aid fails to achieve its intended purpose. Utilization of aid is often hampered by unrealistic targets, budget constraints, divergent political interests and a lack of coordination among development partners and recipient organization. While the volume of aid is important, there is growing recognition that the quality of aid also matters and is critical to maximizing the development impact of aid. Hence, over the past few decades, aid effectiveness has been a matter of debate or a centre of discussion around the world. Aid policy makers have increasingly debated on whether aid fosters development and what should be done to improve aid effectiveness (Herfkains and Bains, 2008; Kindornay and Morton, 2009; Brookings, 2010; Booth, 2011; KPMG International, 2011).

Aid effectiveness may be defined as the effectiveness of development aid in achieving development goals: economic or social or human development. According to the World Bank (2011), “aid effectiveness is the impact that aid has in reducing poverty and inequality, increasing growth, building capacity, and accelerating achievement of the MDGs set by the international community (as cited in KPMG International, 2011, p. 2). The OECD (2007) says that it is bolstered by enhancing partner country’s ownership, reducing aid delivery transaction costs, avoiding overlapping and contradictory interventions and increasing the accountability of both sets of partners to their sources of finance (as cited in KPMG International, 2011, p. 2) Put another way, aid effectiveness can be defined as the arrangement for the planning, management and deployment of aid that is efficient, reduces transaction costs and is targeted towards development outcomes including poverty reduction (Kindornay and Morton, 2009).

In 2000, world leaders made a series of historic commitments in the United Nations Millennium Summit. They pledged to work together to address a number of global issues to support global development taking into consideration the needs of the developing world. Their wide ranging commitments – known as MDGs – includes efforts to address extreme poverty, environmental degradation, gender inequality and HIV/AIDS as well as improve access to education, health care and clean water for the world’s poorest. When countries agreed that the MDGs should be achieved by 2015, a negotiation was made, that is, whereas developing countries have primary responsibility for achieving the Goals, donor countries would have a particularly important role to play in supporting a global partnership for development. This includes commitments to increase both the quantity of aid to developing countries, and to improve its quality—in other words, to increase aid effectiveness. Increasing the effectiveness of aid means ensuring that aid helps developing countries to improve the welfare of their poorest populations (Herfkains and Bains, 2008).

In March 2005, senior officials from over one hundred aid receiving countries and donor agencies met in Paris to take concrete steps to increase the aid effectiveness. The concrete steps they agreed on are set out in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness. The Paris Declaration has laid out a practical,
action-orientated roadmap to improve the quality of aid and its impact on development. It has introduced a series of specific measures for implementation and establishes performance indicators that assess progress. It also called for an international monitoring system to ensure that donors and recipients hold each other accountable – a feature that is unique among international agreements. The Paris Declaration contains 56 partnership commitments organized around five principles for making aid more effective. These five principles are ownership, that is, developing countries play an active role in setting their own development strategies; alignment, that is, donor countries and organizations bring their support in keeping with the development strategies of the developing countries; harmonization, donor countries and organizations coordinate their actions and simplify procedures; managing for results, that is, developing countries and donors focus on producing – and measuring – results; and finally mutual accountability, that is, donors and developing countries are accountable for development results (OECD, 2005).

Some development experts suggest that a donor-driven aid program diminishes the accountability of developing governments to citizens and their elected representatives. The only way that donors can ensure that their funding is well used is if governments and donors work together to monitor implementation of a country’s development strategy and national budget, making decisions based on the whole picture, rather than a small part of the picture (Herfkains and Bains, 2008). The Brookings Institution as part of the ‘Catalyzing Development’ project had assessed the experience of Korea, Vietnam, Indonesia and Cambodia to find out whether there is any link between the Paris principles and development outcomes. The findings showed that ownership, alignment, predictability, and capacity development have positive impacts on development outcomes (as cited in Killen, 2011).

‘Tying’ aid practices force poor recipient countries to purchase goods or services which are usually more expensive than if they were sourced locally, to pay shipping costs, and deal with extra administration. All of this substantially reduces the value of the aid provided for the recipient country. The OECD estimates that tied aid raises the cost of many goods and services by between 15 and 30%, and for food aid by 35%. In addition, the goods and services provided with tied aid often do not conform to the needs of the recipient country. This type of aid tends to favor capital-intensive, high-technology projects, which require expensive upkeep and donor-country based experts. As such, aid to be effective, untying aid practices should be encouraged (Herfkains and Bains, 2008, p. 16).

In Accra, Ghana, on 4 September 2008, developed and developing countries came together and endorsed the Accra Agenda for Action (AAA) to strengthen and deepen implementation of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness. In addition to ownership and delivering results, the AAA put emphasis on inclusive partnership in which all partners – not only DAC donors and developing countries but also new donors, foundations and civil society – participate fully. The AAA also proposed that donors should focus on untying aid, and civil society should help to ensure that donor and developing countries fulfill their commitments for aid to be effective (OECD, 2008a).
The Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness, namely HLF4 – which took place in Busan, the Republic of Korea from 29 November to 1 December 2011 – aimed both to evaluate progress already made towards achieving more effective aid, and to define an agenda for the future. At the HLF4, the Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation was endorsed. It not only stressed prioritizing the specific needs of the developing countries that shifted a paradigm from a donor-led or a supply-driven approach to a developing country-led or demand-driven approach but also focused on building global partnership for effective development taking into account the role of all partners in development including DAC-member countries, middle-income countries that are acting as both donors and recipients (South-South cooperation), multilateral organizations, international financial institutions, and non-governmental bodies such as the private sector and civil society organizations. It also stressed the needs for making effective institutions and policies, minimizing corruptions, strengthening developing countries’ capacities in order to promote aid effectiveness, in particular development cooperation effectiveness. To improve aid effectiveness, development partners are advised to review how and for what purpose aid is invested, ensuring that it is in line with the commitments towards human rights, decent work, gender equality, environmental sustainability and disability. Since the endorsement of Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation, a notion has come into being in the policy discussion on aid effectiveness. As mentioned earlier, this new notion is viewed as development cooperation effectiveness, simply known as development effectiveness\(^1\) that has received much importance in the OECD’s policy level too in recent years in contrast to aid effectiveness recognizing the fact that aid is only part of solution to development and is a complement to other sources to development financing. Hence, aid alone cannot break the poverty cycle (OECD and MOFAT, 2011; OECD and MOFAT, 2012). The aid effectiveness program is criticized to be a highly technical process with insufficient attention and resources to assess and monitor actual impacts in terms of achieving development goals such as poverty reduction, pro-poor growth and the elimination of all social discrimination and disparities, including gender inequality.

As such, the BetterAid, the platform of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), calls for a new approach to development cooperation focusing on development effectiveness rather than aid effectiveness. Development effectiveness has been understood as about the impact of development actors’ actions on the lives of poor and marginalized populations. Development effectiveness promotes sustainable change that addresses the root causes as well as the symptoms of poverty, inequality, marginalization and injustice. This should be pursued through a new international development architecture that is inclusive, nationally-owned, rights-based and democratic. The new framework should promote environmental sustainability, elimination of tied aid, elimination of donor-imposed policy conditionality,  

\(^1\) While both the terms- aid effectiveness and development effectiveness- are used interchangeably by the aid agencies, the use of development effectiveness in aid literature is more likely to be used by the multilateral institutions and UN organizations including the World Bank, UNDP, IFAD, and so on understanding the fact that aid effectiveness is too narrow to describe results of the overall development process (Kindornay and Morton, 2009). However, since development effectiveness is an emerging concept and has not been still widespread, the authors intentionally have used the term ‘aid effectiveness’ rather than development effectiveness.
increased aid transparency and predictability, multi-stakeholder participation, sovereignty and coherence (BetterAid, 2010).

Analyzing Qualitative Interviews

**Question:** How can development aid/ODA be effective in the light of your experience to implement Korea's ODA programs in Bangladesh?

To investigate the aforesaid question, the six (06) officials from the ERD of the Ministry of Finance, Bangladesh were first interviewed as to how aid could be effective. In their interviews, they put some personal views or comments that are presented in the following table. Moreover, based on their views, the study identified some concepts or factors that are necessary for making aid effective.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents' Identity No.</th>
<th>Respondents' Personal Views</th>
<th>Derived Concepts/Factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>“ODA to be effective, KOICA should provide adequate monitoring and supervision along with its Bangladesh counterpart during the implementation of a project so that problems can be identified, and can be addressed accordingly”.</td>
<td>- joint supervision and monitoring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>“To maximize the effectiveness of ODA, in particular, TC, it should be fully directed to addressing the development needs of Bangladesh such as education, ICT, good governance and so on”.</td>
<td>- need based or demand driven TC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>“There should be a joint responsibility and mutual efforts between the Government of Korea and the Government of Bangladesh to identify training needs or the areas of development interventions for Bangladesh so that TC can be effective”.</td>
<td>- joint responsibility - prioritizing needs of the developing countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>“Bangladesh Government along with its counterpart should identify or determine what type of technology and what type of training Bangladesh needs and then place the needs accordingly to KOICA”.</td>
<td>- joint responsibility - need based TC - demand driven TC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>“To get efficacy out of development cooperation, building institutional capacity is very important”</td>
<td>- institutional capacity building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>“Development aid to be effective, it must be aligned with national development strategy of Bangladesh and it should be demand driven and untied”.</td>
<td>- demand-driven aid - alignment - ownership - untied aid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 1 focuses on the development of the key concept-I from the concepts or factors rooted in the qualitative interviews with the ERD officials of Bangladesh. The derived concepts are need-based, ownership, alignment, mutual responsibility, and untying aid. These are the common practices or core values of the Partnership-based Approach in development cooperation. Development partner countries must design their aid to fit the national development strategies of recipient partner countries. As AIDLINK (2010) suggested that Partnership-based Approach involves a shared vision and a commitment to work together to bring real and sustainable benefits to the poor and marginalized. It requires a long term promise, clearly defined expectations and shared responsibility for goal achievements. It values the unique contribution and strengths of all partners, and is based on partners working in an open, accountable and transparent manner. Biondo (2014), on the other hand, proposed that partnership-based model in development cooperation founded on a relationship between development partner countries and their developing partner countries that involves recipients’ need-based or demand driven, mutual trust and joint responsibility, untied aid, budget support, alignment, and ownership, the idea that the developing countries take the lead in the formulation of development strategies. We find that each of the derived concepts may have a positive effect on aid effectiveness. Hence, it may be argued that aid effectiveness can be maximized if both the partner countries exercise partnership-based approach in international development cooperation.

The six (06) officials from the KOICA and MOFAT were also asked the aforesaid question. Their personal views are presented in the following table. Based on their views, the study identified some concepts so as to improve aid effectiveness.
Table 3: Qualitative interviews with the KOICA officials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents’ Identity No.</th>
<th>Respondents’ Personal Views</th>
<th>Derived Concepts/Factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>“Korea’s ODA to be effective in Bangladesh, Bangladesh should ensure transparency, accountability or responsibility while implementing aid programs. Bangladesh government should be prompt in decision making while undertaking any action”.</td>
<td>- transparency and accountability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>“Development aid to be effective, Bangladesh Government should strengthen bureaucracy through civil service reforms and minimize the bureaucratic complexity in the process of decision making”.</td>
<td>- bureaucratic competence - minimizing complexity in decision making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>“To get efficacy out of Korea’s development cooperation, Bangladesh Government must ensure transparency, accountability and eliminating corruption”.</td>
<td>- transparency - accountability - eliminating corruption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>“TC to be effective in Bangladesh, Government should minimize corruption, reduce frequent transition or rotation of govt. officials, and build on intuitional capacities”.</td>
<td>- minimizing corruption - reducing frequent transition of govt. officials - institutional capacity building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>“ODA to be effective, it is necessary to ensure efficient bureaucracy and build up the joint responsibility to implement and monitor development projects successfully”</td>
<td>- bureaucratic competence - building joint responsibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>“Development cooperation to be effective, it is very necessary to identify the priority areas or needs for development interventions in Bangladesh together with the counterpart. As such, Country Partnership Strategy (CPS) will be instrumental to set out ODA for each partner country”.</td>
<td>- need-based ownership - setting Country Partnership Strategy (CPS) - alignment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In view of the aforesaid derived concepts from qualitative interviews with the KOICA officials, we can develop the following central theme or key concept so as to find out relationship with aid effectiveness:
As depicted in Figure-2, transparency, accountability, minimizing corruption, prompt decision making and bureaucratic competence are the derived concepts from the qualitative interviews with the KOICA officials. These are the common practices of good governance. So, we can develop **Good Governance** as another central concept to find out relationship with aid effectiveness. Brautigam (2000) put forward that good governance involves improvements in political accountability, bureaucratic competence and fiscal management. Herfkains and Bains (2008) suggested that donors and developing countries need to ensure that their governments are accountable for their commitments. Lack of accountability is one reason why donors and developing country governments have fallen short on development. Donors and developing countries must not only be mutually responsible for development results, they must be accountable to the people they represent. KPMG International (2011) on the other hand, argued that aid effectiveness requires greater accountability in both donor and recipient countries, to ensure that both taxpayers and beneficiaries achieve the targeted development results. If corruption occurs in the delivery and in the management of aid, development aid may not achieve its expected development outcomes.

As Carlsson (2009) argued that the greatest threat to effective aid is the prevalence of corruption in environments where aid operates ((as cited in OECD, 2010, P. 88). Aid recipient governments must acquire the skills, institutional capabilities, resources and operating space to more directly drive the development process. Development aid works well when there are supportive institutional capacities and proper government’s policy to manage aid (UNDP, 2007; OECD, 2008b). The Advisory Board for Irish Aid (2008) suggested that the effectiveness of aid depends heavily on conditions in the recipient country, and fundamentally on its governance and politics. A Transparency International’s empirical study suggested that there is a direct link among the quality of governance, lower levels of petty bribery.
and positive development outcomes in partner countries (Transparency International, 2011). Since each of the derived concepts may contribute to the aid effectiveness, it may be argued that aid may be effective in the developing countries in the presence of good governance practices.

![Figure 3: Theorizing aid effectiveness](image)

The Figure-3 describes the theorizing aid effectiveness. As discussed earlier, we have developed two central key concepts/themes (partnership-based approach and good governance) from our qualitative interviews containing a number of factors that can contribute to aid effectiveness. Hence, we can theorize that partnership-based approach in development cooperation and the good governance practices may have positive impact on improving aid effectiveness. In other words, it can be argued that if both the partners – the developed and developing – follow core values of the partnership-based approach and exercises the practices of good governance, development aid may work better or achieve its intended development results. Moreover, it can be said that both partnership-based approach and good governance practices may reinforce each other since they can create an enabling environment for each other.

**Policy Implications for Improving Aid Effectiveness**

The aid effectiveness literature, present discourse on aid effectiveness and our qualitative interviews put forward several implications that should be taken into consideration to improve aid effectiveness or get expected development outcomes out of international development cooperation. **First**, to improve aid effectiveness, it is very necessary on the part of both partner countries – developed and developing – to conform to the principles of Paris Declaration for Aid Effectiveness and Accra Agenda for Action. As such, it is imperative to make sure that aid is aligned with recipient partner countries’ national development strategies and that country systems are used for the delivery of aid. Donors must design their aid to fit the national development strategies of recipient partner countries. This ensures that they are responding to genuine local needs and priorities, and that recipient countries are exercising genuine leadership over development policies and aid.

**Second**, there should be proper alignment or consistency between the objectives and nature of the TC programs and the needs or desires of the targeted groups or beneficiaries. If a TC program cannot
meet the needs and expectations of the beneficiaries, it will fail to achieve its development outcomes. Hence, before undertaking any development project in a developing country, the official aid agency of the development partner country (e.g. JICA, KOICA etc.) has to determine in consultation with its counterpart whether or not the project would be consistent with the needs and desires of actual beneficiaries, and whether the project could produce long-term benefits or not. To determine these issues, the concerned agency should carry out a pilot survey or a feasibility test along with its counterpart of the developing partner country;

Third, building partnership-based approach has been considered as a key element in Paris and Accra agendas for effective aid. OECD and many development thinkers and practitioners suggest that development aid to be more effective, partnership-based approach in development cooperation involving mutual trust and responsibility, accountability, ownership, alignment, untying aid, budget support, and so on is imperative. In this approach to development, both the partner countries will work together on the basis of mutual trust and shared responsibility to identify development needs or the areas of development interventions in line with recipient or developing partner country’s development strategies. In this respect, Biondo (2014) suggested that a partnership-based agenda does not only mean that donors work closely with recipient governments, but also that they do this mainly to satisfy recipient needs rather than to defend their own interest. Hence, Country Partnership Strategy (CPS) should be formulated putting emphasis on developing partner’s needs and national priorities. By doing so, development aid or TC program will be need-based or demand-driven rather than supply-driven. In a partnership approach, developing country takes the lead in setting their development goals and managing their own development works on the ground;

Fourth, many evidences suggest that development aid works better in the presence of good governance practices including political accountability, transparency, responsibility, rule of law, absence of corruption, good economic management and policy, building institutional capacities, bureaucratic competence, prompt decision making and so on. Both the partner governments must be accountable and responsible to each other and to their respective national legislative bodies or the parliaments on the spending and management of aid. If there is accountability and transparency in the delivery and management of aid, corruption or mismanagement of aid can be checked and proper measures can be undertaken accordingly and thereby aid effectiveness can be improved. Hence, efficient, accountable and responsive bureaucracy is required to formulate supportive policy in line with country’s development strategies and changing needs so as to achieve potential outputs out of development cooperation;

Fifth, the associated personnel of the TC recipient organizations must have necessary knowledge and skills to deal with the management of TC programs or to execute development projects. Hence, building absorptive capacity has much broader implications to utilize external resources (knowledge, skills & tools) and thereby maximize the effectiveness of development cooperation in a least developed country like Bangladesh; Therefore, this is recommended that the Government of Bangladesh should focus on
advanced and continuous skill development trainings for the personnel dealing with external knowledge and skills;

**Sixth**, development cooperation to be effective, especially in the case of project-type cooperation, continuous sound supervision and monitoring is necessary from both concerned agencies of development partner (e.g. KOICA, JICA) and its developing partner not only during implementation of the project but also after implementation of the project;

**Seventh**, in a true partnership-based approach, now-a-days, budget support has become an important instrument of development aid. It has received growing attention from bilateral donors and international financial institutions in the context of a partnership-based approach to development cooperation. Donors and recipient countries have been gaining experience with this aid modality, which promises greater scope for scaling up development assistance, reduced transaction costs, greater country ownership and potentially greater development effectiveness than traditional modes of aid delivery. Hence, budget support as an aid modality should be incorporated into partnership-based approach in order to improve aid effectiveness;

**Eighth**, TC to be effective, selection of government officials for overseas invitational training should be based on their needs and merits corresponding to their jobs while their motivation and dedication throughout the service should also be taken into consideration. Some evidences suggest that frequent transition or transfer of the government officials from one organization to another interrupts the process of institutional capacity building in the public sector of a developing country like Bangladesh. Thus, it is highly recommended that the public officials holding overseas trainings should be allowed to serve for a certain period of time in such organizations where they could apply their acquired knowledge and expertise developed from overseas trainings. Supportive policy should also be undertaken so that concerned officials could apply their expertise in their respective organizations in order to support in policy-making and implementation. By doing so, TC could be effective since overseas invitational training would support in the institutional capacity building in the public sector of the developing countries. Moreover, job satisfaction in terms of salary, promotion or any sort of incentive is necessary for the personnel dealing with any development project since it may minimize the chances of corruption and apathy;

**Ninth**, while bilateral aid has been allocated for preserving national security and economic interests, multilateral aid through the UN bodies has been founded on moral, humanitarian and global security perspectives. Moreover, multilateral development agencies are more technocratic and specialized than most bilateral aid agencies. Nevertheless, they do not receive full support from their members. As such, development aid to be effective, it should be channeled through multilateral development organizations, in particular the UN bodies.
Tenth, the Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation focuses on building global partnership that would serve as an important instrument for making development cooperation effective. Global partnership is based on the joint responsibility of all actors in development including DAC-member countries and their partners, middle income countries acting as both—donors and recipients, multilateral development organizations, international financial institutions and civil society organizations to work together to address a number of global issues like poverty, corruption, climate change, gender equality, women’s empowerment etc that hinder the socio-economic and sustainable development of the developing countries. It encourages some complementary forms of development cooperation like south-south cooperation, triangular cooperation, public-private partnership. For example, south-south cooperation is a form of development cooperation which is based on horizontal interaction, mutual trust and altruistic perspective where developing countries or southern countries benefit from themselves by their sharing knowledge and skills. Hence, it is recommended that the development countries should engage in south-south cooperation to get mutual benefit out of their cooperation.

Conclusion
In view of the aforesaid discussion, it may be argued that development aid may work and can be a powerful catalyst to eradicate poverty, support in human and institutional capacity building and achieve sustainable development and economic growth in the developing countries like Bangladesh while its effectiveness mostly depends on prioritizing the needs of the developing partner countries and actual beneficiaries or targeted groups, absorptive capacity of the recipient organizations, and supportive government’s policy as well. Moreover, mutual trust, shared responsibilities and mutual accountability of both parties—developed country and its developing partner, good governance practices are instrumental to make development cooperation more effective. As such, Accra Agenda for Action along with Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation has much broader implications. Finally, it may be argued that to improve aid effectiveness or development effectiveness, developed countries have to focus their development cooperation programs in keeping with their developing partner countries’ needs and national priorities on the basis of partnership-based approach involving joint efforts and shared responsibility to realize development goals or maximize development results.

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