

# Analysis of Gender Roles within Chagga Households that Practice Ripe Banana Street Selling in Moshi Rural, Tanzania

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## Abstract

Gender roles in most societies are classified based on culture - stereotypes which are socially constructed and can therefore be reconstructed. These roles affect household distribution of activities and performance as often division of household labour is based on gender. Therefore, this study analyzed gender roles within the Chagga households that were street sellers of ripe banana with the following specific objectives: (i) identify types of business found within Chagga households (ii) identify and analyze division of gender roles, and (iii) examine and establish how is access, benefits, and control of resources in the households. The study used a cross-sectional design with a total sample size of 100 respondents. Questionnaire was structured based on gender analysis framework (GAF) while data were analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 20. Findings revealed that there were inequality on gender division of labour, access to and control of resources, position of women in society plus levels of participation in production activities. Men ranked high in terms of control and ownership of resources compared to women. However, all activities related to street selling of ripe banana were dominated by women for over 90%. Similarly, control and ownership of the business was under woman which is a rear tradition in patriarchy societies. Although ripe banana business found to be the major alternative source of income for households in the study area, on the other hand it was a burden to women. The business took almost a day as a result household chaos and agricultural activities were poorly performed. It is therefore recommended that ward community development officers in collaboration with village leaders should provide gender awareness education on fair division of activities and resources in the study area.

**Keywords:** Gender roles, Chagga households, street selling of ripe banana

## 1.0 Introduction

Gender roles are set of social and behavioral norms that are generally considered to be appropriate for either a man or a woman in a social or interpersonal relationship (William, 2012). Gender roles can and do shift with social, economic, and technological change (World Bank, 2013). Since gender roles are typically based not on any inherent or natural gender differences, they can either be constructed or deconstructed (FAO, WHO, 2014). Gender roles debates are increasing worldwide with argument that they are not uniform throughout the world (Russ, 2011); vary depending on geographical area, culture and other factors (FAO 2014, Eitzen, 2000). Previous studies have indicated that gender roles reflect gender stereotypes in everyday behavior within our households but, they are performed different with unlike responsibilities which often have unequal statuses (WHO, 2014; USAID, 2012). Other literature shows that households which are less traditional in their beliefs and behaviours are more exposed to non-stereotyped models which have higher self-esteem, higher levels of identity achievement and more flexibility in a number of aspects of life (Berk, 2000 and Witt, 1997). But on other hand it is asserted that, frequently, a number of women especially from rural areas are victim of stereotyped replicas with less ownership and control over assets, reduced decision-making capacity and fewer educational and economic opportunities than men (USAID 2012, Blackstone, 2003).

In Tanzania, as other developing countries, social position of women makes them closer to a number of activities compared to men. However, these activities known as gender roles according to Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) (2006), involve unequal burdens of work distribution, resources, benefits and unequal decision making power- leading to gender gaps, disparities or inequalities. Though Tanzania is signatory to all major international and regional instruments that promote gender equality, implementation has been constrained by the delays (UN, 2011). Women particularly from rural areas in the country still have poor managing and ownership of economic resources. Being patrilineal tribe, Chagga households traditionally gender roles are based on agriculture (Carr, 2004), such as cultivation of various crops like yams, beans, maize and Arabica coffee which is the main cash crop exported to American and European markets (Moore, 2014; John, 2011). Due to the fall of world coffee prices, coffee production has been affected in the Chagga area. This fall in production caused to some extent, gender roles to change. For example, men are now selling crops like maize, beans and bananas which formerly were sold by women (Meena and Sharif, 2008). Also, because of coffee turgidity, households have shifted to other coping strategies to secure food like selling of maize and banana. In 1980's banana species known as *Malindi (Cavendish sp)* was introduced in study area and is mostly consumed as fruits when it is ripe (Muzanila and Mwakiposa, 2003). Now a number of Chagga households sell ripe Malindi.

Because of the shift, this paper documented and analysed gender roles within chagga households that practice street selling of ripe banana. The paper documented and analyzed ripe banana sellers from Kirima Boro and Kirima Kati villages. The two villages constituted the largest population of street ripe banana sellers from Moshi rural in Kilimanjaro region. The analysis specifically intended to:

- i) Identify types of businesses among street ripe banana sellers' households
- ii) Analyse division of gender roles within the households
- iii) Examine and establish how is access, benefits, and control of resources in the households
- iv) Identify effects of ripe banana business at household level

## **2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW**

Gender roles in most societies have been classified as socially and culturally that reflect different standards of behavior for men and women which few people questioned. From Eagly's (1987) social role theory suggested that, the sexual division of labor and societal expectations based on stereotypes produce gender roles. These roles are important source of prejudice and discrimination that have been accepted as natural and right by the entire society members (Kornblum, 2012). Gender roles are closely linked with gender stereotypes which affect couple and family interaction within household division of labor and resources as they built on gender. In this study gender roles were measured at household level. For this case a household refers to people living together in one house collectively, though they may or may not be related by blood. However, it has to be noted that there is no uniformity in defining a household across different surveys (UN, 2007).

The study adopted Harvard Analytical Framework (Gender Roles Framework/Gender Analysis Framework) which was developed by the Harvard Institute for International development in collaboration with the Women in Development (WID) office of USAID. The framework was used as the key in structuring the questionnaire for the study. The framework provided data that gave a clear picture of who does what, when and with what resources, makes women's role and work visible as well as distinguished between access to and control over resources. Accordingly, the framework proved to be easily adapted in a variety of settings and situations, as to this paper it responded well on the study objectives (ILO, 1998, Eitzen, 2000).

## **3.0 MATERIAL AND METHODS**

The study was done at Moshi District Council which is one of the seven districts in Kilimanjaro Region. It lies between longitude 37° to 38° East and latitude 2° - 30° - 50° south of the Equator. On the North it borders Rombo District, on the East it borders Kenya on the South borders Mwanza and Simanjiro Districts and to the Western side it borders Hai District. The District covers an area of 1,713 sq. km. or 171,300 Ha and the land is the highly dependent asset, 98% of total population in the district depend on it families own land under customary Law (Moshi District Council, 2011). According to population and housing census total population of the district was 466,737, where 225,767 were men, 240,970 women and average household size was 4.2 (NBS, 2013). The main activities are base on agriculture which is largely subsistence. There are three ecological zones found in Chagga land that are highland (where the Chagga home gardens, or Kihamba, are located) midlands and lowlands. Coffee/bananas are grown in the highland with different varieties of other crops that are intercropped (Meena and Sharif, 2008). For the fulfillments of the study objectives a cross-sectional research design was used in this paper. This method allows data to be collected at one point in time and is considered to be useful because of time limitation and resources constraints (Lomand, 2012). Then, two villages that were Kirima Kati and Kirima Boro were purposively selected out of three villages. These two villages were highly engaged in street selling of ripe banana; a random sampling technique was used to select targeted population of households that sells ripe banana. Household choice as a unit of analysis was based on the fact that it is the most appropriate unit for measurement when assessing socio-economic and socio-cultural factors in a society (ILO, 1998, Eitzen, 2000). The sample size of 100 respondents was selected, 50 from each village with gender balanced. Primary and secondary data were also collected were by primary data was collected through the use of structured questionnaire based on gender analysis framework (GAF) matrix, physical observation and checklist while secondary data were from e-sources and hard copies from ward office, village extension officers and nongovernmental organization. Quantitative data were analyzed by using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) software while qualitative data were analyzed by using content analysis.

## **4.0 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **4.1 Characteristics of the respondents**

The age distributions of studied respondents were between 28-37 and 38-47 age groups at Kirima Boro and Kirima Kati villages respectively. Kilima Boro had high count of female aged between 28- 37 compared to Kirima Kati. On marital status, 72% at Kirima Boro village were married compared to the 80% at Kirima Kati Village. The findings indicate that a large number of the respondents interviewed were married and were selling ripe banana. Widowed and single parent added up to 28% at Kirima Boro Village and 20% at Kirima Kati

village. The percentages constituted the highest number of female-headed households in the study area. Also, the households had 1-5 members which constituted 78% at Kirima Boro and 70% at Kirima Kati with 1-5 dependants by 90% in both villages. The number of household members agrees with the average household size indicated in the 2012 Population Housing Census at Kirima Ward of 4.6 (NBS, 2013).

**Table 1: Age of the respondents (n=100)**

Categories	Age group of respondents- Kirima Boro Village						Total
	18-27	28-37	38-47	48-57	58-67	68-77	
Male	3	8	8	2	3	1	25
Female	6	10	4	3	2	0	25
<b>Total</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>50</b>
Age group of respondents- Kirima Kati Village							
Male	2	7	6	4	6	0	25
Female	7	11	4	3	0	0	25
<b>Total</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>50</b>

Source: Field survey (2014)

In Tanzania, primary education provides the basic element of education and is mandatory. Over 90% of the respondents in both villages had primary education (Table 2). Few households in the study area had household members at tertiary level (colleges and universities) (Table 2). The reason for fewer household members at tertiary level mentioned by the village executive officer at Kirima Kati to be the fact that ripe banana business was not stable and profitable to sustain household social services in the study area.

#### 4.2 Types of businesses among the street ripe banana sellers' households

The study identified businesses among ripe banana sellers at Kirima Boro village and Kirima Kati village. The results in Figure one and two indicate that in both villages ripe banana selling constituted the highest count (over 12 counts). Both women and men mentioned to participate in the business but it was women who strongly participated in the business. Local brew selling was the second ranked business in the study area. The third and highly growing business in study area was motorcycle shuttle 'bodaboda'. Bodaboda business was dominated by men. The business was more popular at Kirima Boro village. It was reported by the VEO that the introduction of tarmac road from Kirima to Moshi Town attracted/encouraged the business. The findings imply that still the livelihood of the two villages depended much from agricultural activities and in particular the ripe banana selling. Accordingly, literature indicate that in many patriarchy societies men inherit and live on land next to other family members making their familial connection to the land strong and farms provide livelihood, sustenance, cash and business (Carr, 2004).

**Types of business done at Kirima Boro Village      Types of business done at Kirima Kati Village**

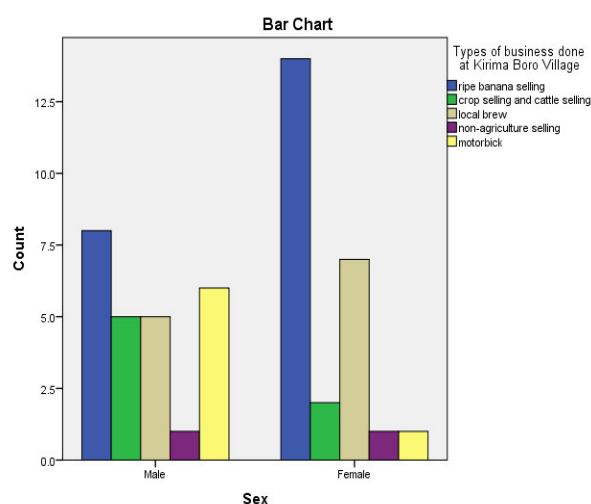


Figure 1  
 Source: Field survey 2014

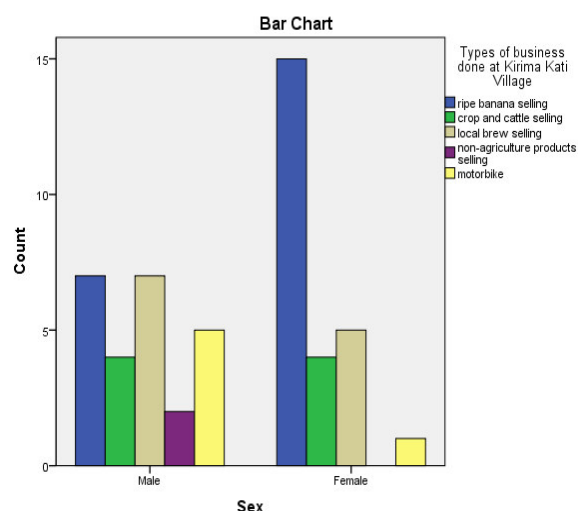


Figure 2  
 Source: Field survey 2014

#### 4.3 Division of gender roles within Chagga households

##### 4.3.1 Productive activities

Different positions and division of gender roles given to men, women and children in Chagga households originated from patriarchy (Kyauki, 2005) with men been powerful than women. From the study main

productive activities were from *Kihamba* that provided livelihood as well as cash or trading income. A number of farm activities were mostly done by women in both villages such as farm preparation 36%, 26%, planting 34%, 16%, weeding 36%, 28%, farm inputs 26%, 32%, harvesting 20%, 18% and storage 34%, 36% in Kirima Boro and Kirima Kati villages respectively. In comparison to men on the same activities it was observed that, less were participating in farm preparation 06%, 10%, planting 06%, 04%, weeding 06%, 04%, farm inputs 08%, 14%, harvesting 08%, 06% as well as storage 08%, 12%. Also, some of the activities above were observed to be highly attended by both mother and children like planting 24%, 34%, weeding 24%, 26%, but by both parents high score 30%, 40% was in farm preparation from both villages respectively. Cattle keeping was another activity found in study area and it was by zero grazing for animals like cow and goat. However, this activity was not well practiced. Women were mostly involves 34%, 40% and women with children by 22%, 24%, in both villages. Also, it was observed 30%, 24% men respondents were employed in formal jobs guards, shop sellers at Moshi Municipality from Kirima Boro Village and Kirima Kati Village.

#### **4.3.2 Reproductive activities**

The study also aimed to analyze reproductive activities in the study area. The results showed that more than 24% and 32% of women participants fetches water with their children compared to men by 12% and 04%, in Kirima Boro and Kirima Kati villages respectively. Food preparation including purchasing up to the table, results revealed that over 50% from both villages were done by women with the help of their girls. Similarly, results indicated that men poorly participated in cleaning by 08%, 04% in both villages. The amazing finding was on the under-five caring, as women were involved in street ripe banana selling (which took almost a day plus), men were not/less concern on the under-five child care. Similar findings observed also by Raser (2010) which concluded that to a large extent Chagga men rarely care about their families. Furthermore, the findings indicated that the under five-children were taken care by mothers in laws who lived in/nearby households by 20%, 32% in the two villages. Since, Chagga households are built on *Kihamba* that passed down to families via boy children for generations (Carr, 2004) this was one of the reason made married women to live with or be nearby mother in laws. On health and education related issues, women participated more compared to men. Men participated more on fuel and repairing related activities by 42%, 30% in both villages. The inequality in gender roles has been also reported by Raser (2010) that, Chagga women take care of animals, crops, clean home, cook for the family, and pay school fees for their children, while subservient to their husbands because of strict patriarchal family structure.

#### **4.3.3 Community activities**

The study aimed to analyze the community activities too in the study area. The findings on showed that men dominated in terms of participation to meetings/activities by over 70%, 60% in the two villages as compared to women. However, women and children participated more in religious activities by more than half in both villages. On the other hand recreation took most of the respondents' time, respondents used recreation time to drink local brew (*Mbege*) and men had more opportunity compared to women. It was women who provided money to their husbands for buying *mbege*. The money was essentially sourced by these women through ripe banana sells. Previous findings by Asantemungu (2011) also revealed that women were households' income earners while husbands' being users.

#### **4.4 Access, control and benefits to resources**

Despite of Chagga women being household wives, mothers, producers, cultivators, labourers and business makers still faced inequalities in terms of ownership and control of resources. In this case land was the main resource which provided source of livelihood maintenance in the study area (Sanga, 2009). The findings proved that there was no equality by 90% on ownership and control of resources. The inequality was highly skewed to land ownership. Women had only full access to land and other resources such as cattle, houses and household equipment and not ownership to any. Notwithstanding, Chagga women who participated in various businesses they had to give their husband part of income for drinking. Moreover, benefits accrued from businesses men had control over them compared to women and many men by 65%, 50% from the two villages' used the benefits for their personal consumption rather than family livelihood. Study by Moore (2014) reveals the same that, intestate inheritance of land and more other economically significant are from male to male property.

#### **4.5 The effects of ripe banana business**

In 1980's, coffee prices dropped considerably that lead to poorly coffee production and people no longer see coffee as source of household income (Meena and Sharif, 2008). Coffee was the main export crop and men property in the study area. However, due to its fall down women in the study area replaced it with ripe banana selling (Figure 1 and 2). The type of banana mainly sold were *Malindi (Cavendish sp.)* which women widely sold when they were ripe. Study results in both named villages indicated that women were not only sellers of ripe banana but also they were decision makers in all the banana logistics. They owned, and controlled the business (Table 3). The findings were contrary to the chagga tradition where banana is male property together

with whatever property rights women might have within the household (Moore, 2014). The business was conducted along roads from their households to Moshi town. Women carried the ripe banana on head while men very poorly participated in the business (Table 3). Despite the business being an alternative sources of income to the households (Figure 1 and 2), it added more burden to women. The ripe banana business led to poor households care and farms in the study area. It was reported by the village executive officer at Kirima Kati that, the village introduced a bylaw (a penalty of 50,000/=) to penalize households that left farms without care. The finding implies that banana business had negative implication in terms of household care and farming in general. Accordingly, banana business was noted to be tiresome and unhealthy job to women as it involved them to walk almost a day while carrying banana on their heads.

## 5.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In many societies women and men have different gender roles and responsibilities in their own lives, families, households, and communities. However, these roles show inequality and in most case bear double burden work and family responsibilities to one group been women as has been noted by the study. The findings indicate that in both villages ripe banana selling constituted the highest count in the study area. Most of the women in the study area experienced inequality in terms of land ownership, control of resources and benefits accrued from ripe banana selling compared to men. Moreover, the ripe banana business led to poor households care and farms in the study area. The study therefore recommends that ward community development officers in collaboration with the village leaders should provide gender awareness education on fair division of activities and resources in the study area. Bylaws that sensitize fairness among women and men should be introduced at village level. Accordingly, gender awareness education on fair division of activities and resources should be permanent agenda in all village meetings.

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**Table 2: Other characteristics of respondents (n=100)**

Categories	Marital status - Kirima Boro Village	
	Frequency	Percentage
Married	36	72
Single	13	26
Widowed	1	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>
	Marital status - Kirima Kati Village	
Married	40	80
Single	8	16
Widowed	2	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>
	Household members in group- Kirima Boro Village	
1-5	39	78
6-10	10	20
11-15	1	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>
	Household members in group- Kirima Kati Village	
1-5	35	70
6-10	14	28
11-15	1	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>
	Dependants group- Kirima Boro Village	
1-5	48	96
6-10	2	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>
	Dependants group- Kirima Kati Village	
1-5	47	94
6-10	3	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>
	Level of education – Kirima Boro Village	
Primary	46	92
Secondary	4	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>
	Level of education –Kirima Kati Village	
Primary	47	94
Secondary	3	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>
	Children in studying- Kirima Boro Village	
Primary	21	42
Secondary	3	6
Primary and secondary	16	32
College	4	8
Not in school	6	12
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>
	Children in studying- Kirima Kati Village	
Primary	22	44
Secondary	7	14
Primary and secondary	15	30
College	3	6
Not in school	3	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 3: Activities in Banana business (n=100)**

			Responses - Kirima Boro Village	Responses - Kirima Kati Village
SN	Activities in banana business	Who were involved	Count	Count
1	Banana preparation before marketed	Father	00	00
		Mother	40	41
		Both parents	10	09
2	Owner of the business	Father	02	00
		Mother	50	49
		Both parents	01	01
3	Price setting	Father	00	00
		Mother	49	49
		Both parents	01	01
4	Transport to the market	Father	00	00
		Mother	46	49
		Both parents	04	01
5	Decision making on the uses of money	Father	00	00
		Mother	46	50
		Both parents	04	00
6	Who like the business?	Father	02	01
		Mother	27	12
		Both parents	21	14



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