Aging in Rural Ethiopia: The Lived Experiences of Older People in Agrarian Community with

Particular Reference to Sedika Kersa Community, Arsi, Oromia

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A Thesis Submitted to the School of Social Work in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Abraham Zelalem, entitled "Aging in Rural Ethiopia:

The Lived Experiences of Older People in Agrarian Community with Particular Reference to

Sedika Kersa Community, Arsi, Oromia" submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for

the degree of Masters of Social Work complies with the regulations of the University and meets

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been previously

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Name: Abraham Zelalem Teshome

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Dedication

First and foremost, I would like to dedicate this work to my family, particularly my grandma, who has always been my courage and support to successfully pursue my education starting from the first day she sent me to school. Without her interminable bona fide love, prayer, encouragement and support, my dream could have not come true. My dear grandma, I cannot really thank you enough. I will always remain indebted to you. I cannot help but say thank you very much for all you did for me. May you live long!

Secondly, I would like to dedicate this work to all older people who are in dire straits in every corner of the globe. Thinking of the fact that many older people around the globe are wrestling with multifaceted hardship and laboriously toil each and every day to eke out a living on their own amidst their choking condition, it would be my greatest pleasure to see someone lending them a helping hand to extricate them from their hardship. Thus, I would be overjoyed if this work sheds light on their condition and motivates someone to tune into their needs.

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Whom should I thank in the first instance other than God, who has brought me up and guided me throughout my life journey, ever since I got out of my mother's womb! I cannot help but say thanks God for loving me, giving me dreams and lending me a helping hand to realize those dreams.

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Acronyms

AU: African Union

DCCSDS: Department of Communities, Child Safety and Disability Services

EWAS: Enhancing Wellbeing in an Ageing Society

HAI: HelpAge International

HAIARDC: HelpAge International Africa Regional Development Center

HARCRN: Healthy Ageing in Rural Communities Research Network

MoLSA: Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs

NGO: Non-Government Organization

NOVA: Norwegian Social Research

NSPAC: National Seniors Productive Aging Center

OCMOH: Office of Chief Medical Officer of Health

SNIPH: Swedish National Institute of Public Health

UNDP: United Nations Development Program

UNFPA: United Nations Population Fund

WHO: World Health Organization

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Abstract

The literature recognizes that gerentological enquiries are generally scarce in Africa. Despite the overall dearth of gerentological studies in Ethiopia, most of studies conducted on issues of older people hitherto excluded rural older people. Nevertheless, many of rural older people are totally excluded from public pension. Besides, rural older people have suffered a plethora of plights. The purpose of this phenomenological study was to explore, describe, and interpret experiences of ageing of older people in agrarian community. Hermeneutic phenomenology was used to look into the experience of 10 older people (6 male and 4 female) aged 70 and more years recruited purposively. In-depth interview and observation were used in order to collect data from the participants. The data were analyzed through phenomenological data explication guideline adopted from different authors. The findings of the study indicate that the participants of the study do not attach positive meanings to their ageing body. Though they do not nullify their children's filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity, they are displeased with them. Thus, they have developed sense of devaluation or sense of loss of worth. As a result, they are pessimistic about their future care when they totally lose their personal agency. Apart from decreased engagement, the participants have different socio-economic participations .The participants have suffered from different challenges .The findings of the study can sensitize policy makers and other concerned bodies to the needs of older people. Additionally, the study can be an input for future further studies on the issue. The implication of the study is that there is a need to enhance gerentological enquiries in the countryside and a wholehearted collaboration among various stakeholders to mitigate multifaceted challenges and meet needs of rural older people.

Key words: aging, filial responsibility, intergenerational solidarity, engagement

Chapter One: Introduction

Introduction to the Chapter

This chapter deals with the background of population ageing across the world, developing countries, Ethiopia and rural areas of Ethiopia and its implication for older people in Africa and Ethiopia. It also highlights on the circumstances of older people in Africa and Ethiopia. Afterwards, statement of the problem, research questions, purpose of the study, rationale of the study, delimitations, limitations and significance of the study, and eventually definitions of key terms are spelt out.

1.1. Background of the Study

The world has been undergoing a tremendous ageing ushering in a mounting number of older people in the total population (United Nations [UN], 2002; HelpAge International Africa Regional Development Center [HAIARDC] & African Union [AU], 2002; United Nations Population Fund [UNFPA] & HelpAge International, 2012; UN, 2007; Arshad & Bhat, 2013; Mathews & Straughan, 2014; UN, 2015; He, Goodkind & Kowal, 2016). Globally, there were 901 million people aged 60 years or over in 2015. The number is projected to mount to 1.4 billion in 2030 and to 2.1 billion by the year 2050. And the number of older people in Africa in 2015 was 64.4 million and it was projected to mount to 105.4 million by the year 2030 (UN, 2015).

In the case of Ethiopia, out of 81 million total populations, over 5% (3.6 million) are aged 60 years or more (CSA, 2007; HelpAge International, 2011; Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs [MoLSA], 2012). This number is expected to almost double to 9% by the year 2050 (HelpAge International, 2011).

Across the globe, the number of older people in the countryside has been increasing dramatically. However, the number of older people in rural areas of developing countries has been increasing at a faster rate than that of the developed countries (HelpAge International, 2014). Consequently, in many countries, the proportion of older people in rural areas is higher than in urban areas (UN, 2009). In Africa, for instance, the larger proportion of older people dwells in the countryside. Accordingly, the number of older people in rural areas of the continent is estimated to be 64% by the year 2020 (HAIARDC & AU, 2002). In the case of Ethiopia, for instance, according to CSA (2007), from the total older people population (3,568,810), around 3,036,629 (85.1%) older people reside in rural areas of the country.

Population aging entails important implications for the older people's social protection (Pedrazzi, Motta, Vendruscolo, Fabricio-Wehbe, Cruz & Rodrigues, 2010). For instance, in Africa, as the current economic and social policies of many countries are not in line with the needs of older population, greater portions of older people are living in abject poverty (Spitzer, Rwegoshora & Mabeyo, 2009; Lumun, 2013). Further, the social and economic systems of many countries have excluded many older people thereby thwarting them from social engagement. Thus, social exclusion, on its part, has played its role in exacerbating the vulnerabilities of older people (Spitzer, Rwegoshora & Mabeyo, 2009).

According to Lumun (2013), the eroding privileges of older people in contemporary African societies have driven them into a desperate condition. As a result, they have faced overarching challenges such as poverty, physical and mental health problem, malnutrition, transportation problem, problem of shelter, isolation and thought of death anxiety. These challenges are partly fuelled by the ubiquitous existence of ageism across the continent.

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Also, change in urbanization and globalization has played a role in aggravating the older

people's miseries (United Nations Development Program [UNDP], 2005; Kollapan, 2008). With

regard to the deplorable circumstances of older people in developing countries, of course, to

which Africa belongs, Dullemen (2006) in her article entitled, "Older People in Africa: New

Engines to Society?", describes:

> *In our fantasies, we see seniors in developing countries surrounded by*
>
> *happy grandchildren begging for another story. The reality is often very*
>
> *different. One in five of the poorest people of the world-those living on less*
>
> *than a dollar a day-are over 60 years of age. While their grown children*
>
> *leave for the cities, for Europe, the United States, or for the army, the*
>
> *elderly in developing nations struggle for daily survival...After having taken*
>
> *care of their dying relatives, many grandparents are left with emotional and*
>
> *financial burdens, often including the task of raising grandchildren* (p.99).

As mentioned above, a larger proportion of older people in Africa reside in the countryside.

Rural older people invariably have different characteristics and suffer peculiar challenges that

put them at a disadvantaged position (Rogers, 1999; Walsh, O'Shea & Schalf, 2012). For

instance, in several countries, rural areas experience higher child dependency and higher old age

than urban areas. Access to basic social services is also more limited in the countryside than in

urban areas (Nyga, 1997; UN, 2009). Moreover, poverty rate that is believed to be associated

with ageing is higher in the countryside than urban areas (UN, 2009).

Like many developing countries, the situation of Ethiopian older people is deteriorating.

The majorities of older people lead an impoverished life (MoLSA, 2006). From the total

3,568,810 population of older people in the country, only 500,000 older people are entitled to

public pension. The rest of them, live at the mercy of familial support, and their own hard-earned labor (MoLSA, 2012). The contributory pensions of the country exclude older people who work in informal sectors and rural areas. Absence of universal pension has a tremendous negative impact on the situation of older people because pension is believed to play a key role in old age support systems (HelpAge International, 2003). Added to absence of noncontributory public pension for the majorities of older people is economic exclusion that has limited employment opportunities of older people thereby hampering their access to basic services (MoLSA, 2006).

Concerned by ageing of the population of the country and the accompanying plights of older people, a handful of researchers (e.g. Goitom, 1998; Wubshet, Minewuyelet & Hanna, 2010; Abdi, 2012; Mussie, 2012, Alemnesh & Adamek, 2014; Samson, 2014, Segniwork, 2014; Zerubabel, 2014; Eskedar, 2015; Getinet, 2015; Hana, 2015; Messay, 2015; Tewodros, 2016; Zebib, 2016) in Ethiopia have tried to reveal the situations of older people of the country.

Though older people who live in the countryside are more numerous in number and have peculiar needs and challenges, they are nearly missing from gerentological studies in the country. Only relatively fewer studies (e.g. Kifle, 2002; Fantahun, Berhane, Hogberg, Wall & Bypass, 2008; Noguchi, 2013; HelpAge International, 2013) have tried to look into the situation of older people in the countryside.

The scarcity of gerentological studies in the countryside, I believe, is an exigent issue, because as to me, unless the on ground situations, experiences, needs, challenges and roles of older people in the countryside are studied, educational practices and policy moves with regard to older people and the overall knowledge of ageing situation in the country in general and in the countryside in particular would be incomplete in deed. This study, therefore, explored, described and interpreted the lived experiences of older people in rural areas in an effort to contribute to

the knowledge base of ageing, educational practices and policy moves concerning older people dwelling in rural areas of the country.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Gerontological studies recognize the impact of such variables as disability, social class, gender and health but ignore the influence of regional division particularly urban-rural disparity as far as older people are concerned (McCulloch & Kivett, 1997; Scharf, 2001). Most of the gerentological studies have focused on problems of urban older people (Lidgard, 2006).

Consequently, there is scarcity of empirical data pertaining to the condition of older people dwelling in specific rural setting (Scharf, 2001; Lingard, 2006; Milbourne, 2012; Walsh, O'Shea, & Scharf, 2012). Phillipson and Scharf (2005) and HelpAge International (2014) on their part also point out that data pertaining to rural and farm older people are obsolete. Thus, they assert that there is a strong need of up-to-date data in order to take policy and pragmatic measures in an effort to curb the plights of older people.

On the other hand, specifically with regard to Africa, as it was clearly stipulated in African Union Policy Framework and Action Plan on Ageing, AU and HAI (2002) called for more researches on issues of older people as there is dearth of data pertaining to the situation of older people in the continent. Three years later, Gachuhi and Kiemo(2005) in their article entitled, "Research Capacity on Ageing in Africa: Limitations and Ways Forward" argue that researches on aging in the continent are generally so scarce that there is a need to enhance gerentological studies in order to augment the existing knowledge about ageing in the continent.

Echoing the argument of Gachuhi and Kiemo (2005), Aboderin (2005) also contends that hitherto there exists scarcity of gerentological studies specifically in Sub-Saharan Africa and

urges for elevation of studies on issues of older people. And again, two years later by reiterating her former argument, Aboderin (2007) asserts that there is generally scarcity of gerentological researches in the continent and urges for more studies on the issue. This time, however, she goes on to argue, "To document the experiences and perspectives of older people in diverse settings, and to report the evaluations of practitioners working with the aged in different sectors, are essential building blocks for informed policy developments"(p. 18).

As to Ethiopia, other than negligence of urban-rural division, data about older people in general are scarce (Assefa & Frehiwot, 2003; MoLSA, 2006; Samson, 2014, Messay, 2015). Having recognized this reality, MoLSA (2006) called for more gerentological studies across the country. Meanwhile, concerning gerentological studies conducted hitherto in the country, most of them zeroed in on older people who dwell in urban areas and institutional care centers (e.g., Goitom, 1998; Wubshet, Minewuyelet & Hanna, 2010; Abdi, 2012; Mussie, 2012, Alemnesh & Adamek, 2014; Samson, 2014, Segniwork, 2014; Zerubabel, 2014; Eskedar, 2015; Getinet, 2015; Hana, 2015; Messay, 2015; Tewodros, 2016; Zebib, 2016).

On the contrary, a handful studies tried to explore the issues of older people in a few rural areas of Ethiopia. For instance, Kifle (2002) conducted a study on the lives of the older people among the rural Amhara of Ensaro. The study addressed such issues as emic definitions of old age, dynamics of old people's life styles, gender related activities of old people and intra and inter-generational ties between the old people and the younger generation. Fantahun, Berhane, Hogberg, Wall and Bypass (2008) on their part, assessed the demographic and health characteristics of rural older people in Butajira. Their study elicited that the number and life expectancy of older people are increasing in Ethiopia albeit rural women and illiterate women and men are at a disadvantaged position in this regard.

On the other hand, Noguchi (2013) examined the conditions of elderly individuals in Aari rural Southwestern Ethiopia by investigating their daily activities and work lives. In addition, HelpAge International (2013) explored the vulnerability of older people in three regions, namely Amhara, Oromia and Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples. The study came up with various socio-economic and health problems of older people in the study areas.

Besides the blindness of gerontological researchers to rural older people, the public also view older people as a single homogeneous group having similar situations (Cain, 1991; Phillipson & Scharf, 2005; Walsh, O'Shea, & Scharf, 2012; Office of Chief Medical Officer of Health [OCMOH], 2013). Further, rural older people are usually depicted as more resilient and self- sufficient thereby encouraging their hidden plights and justifying the ignorance of policy makers (Walsh, O'Shea, & Scharf, 2012). In reality, however, older people population is diverse group (Achenbaum, 1982; Ray & Philips, 2002; McCulloch & Kivett, 1997; Cain, 1991; Rogers, 1999; Ray & Philips, 2002; Victor, 2003; Hoff, 2008; WHO, 2015), and the rural older people have challenges and needs that differ from that of urban older people (McCulloch & Kivett, 1997; Rogers, 1999).

In farm-dependent communities, for example , higher older people population due to aging in place and outmigration of young people, the invariability and unreliability of farm incomes, land values and scarcity of local services are among several challenges that put them at a disadvantaged position (Rogers,1999). Additionally, as older people in rural areas are not employees of government or private enterprises, they are not entitled to pensions (MoLSA, 2006; Lowry, 2009; Abdi, 2012). Moreover, older people in rural areas lack basic services (UN, 2002; Hoff, 2008).

On top of that, filial support and traditional community support mechanisms that are normally considered as buffers against the plights of older people have diminished (Silverstein & Giarrusso, 2010; Eboiyehi, 2015). In the same vein, filial commitment and traditional support mechanisms for older people have eroded thereby exposing older people to a plethora of plights in Ethiopia (MoLSA, 2006; Misganaw, 2008; Abdi, 2012; HelpAge International, 2013).

These days, the attitude of societies towards ageing and older people is negative. Society accrue to exclude the older people and deny them responsibilities considering them as incompetent and unproductive (Dullemen, 2006; Hernandez, 2008). The reality, however, is otherwise. Older people can contribute a lot to the development of a country (AU & HelpAge International, 2002; UN, 2002; Assefa & Frehiwot, 2003; Gachuhi & Kiemo, 2005; Barness, Blom, Cox, & Lessof, 2006; Dullemen, 2006; MoLSA, 2006; Aboderin, 2007; Healthy Ageing in Rural Communities Research Network [HARCRN], 2010; Wubshet, Minewuyelet, & Hanna, 2010; HelpAge International & Cordaid, 2011; HelpAge International, 2013; AU, 2014; WHO, 2015). Likewise, productive ageing recognizes the contributions of older people to the development, growth and sustainability of a given community. Nevertheless, little is known about the participation and contribution of older people among rural community (National Seniors Productive Aging Center [NSPAC], 2010; Davis, Crothers, Grant, Young & Smith, 2012).

Specifically with regard to Africa, other than scarcity of information about the participation of older people in the countryside, according to AU and HelpAge International (2002), there is generally dearth of data pertaining to participations and contributions of older people across the continent. As such, they called for more enquiries into the contributions and participations of older people in an array of activities.

The depiction of stereotypes of aging can be fathomed by looking into how an older person perceives her/himself as an aged person. Some older people accept and adjust to the negative images attributed to them by young people. A great deal of older people, however, repudiates to be defined by age, convention or social expectations. Instead, they define aging hinging on their own beliefs, values and perceptions (Department of Communities, Child Safety, and Disability Services [DCCSDS], 2012; OCMOH, 2013).

On the other hand, Clarke and Korotchenko (2011) reviewed the socio-cultural research concerning the aging body, with particular emphasis on body image. In their review, they mentioned different research findings that indicate older people tend to defy ageist stereotypes by trying to maintain a youthful appearance and remain active thereby maintaining continuity. They, for instance, cited Kaufman (1986) as coining the term "ageless self", stating, "When old people talk about themselves, they express a sense of self that is ageless – an identity that maintains continuity despite the physical and social changes that come with old age" (p. 503).

Accordingly, Clarke and Korotchenko (2011) insist that there is a strong need to inquire both the views and the experiences of the aging body from the perspective of older people. Echoing the stance of Clarke and Korotchenko (2011), Lai (2007) also underscored the fact that studies on older people's attitude towards aging is scarce and recommended further studies on the issue with due consideration of specific societal values such as of respecting older people, living environment, intergenerational relationship in family and quality of life. Because, according to Togunu-Bichersteth (1988) and Swedish National Institute of Public Health [SNIPH] (2006), cultural milieu has an imperative role in capturing how aging and life satisfaction are viewed among older people. Thus, bearing the aforementioned issues in mind, I tried to answer the following research questions:

1.3. Research Questions

- What meanings do older people of the study area ascribe to aging and aging body?

- How do older people of the study area describe their experiences in terms filial responsibility expectations?

- How do older people of the study area describe their experiences with regard to their intergenerational solidarity?

- What are the experiences of older people of the study area in connection with socio-economic participations and contribution?

- How do older people of the study area describe their experiences with regard to challenges that are associated with old age?

1.4. Purpose of the study

The purpose of this phenomenological study is to explore, describe, and interpret experiences of ageing of older people in agrarian community. It intends to explore, describe and interpret the experiences of older people concerning ageing.

1.5. Rationale of the Study

First and foremost, the literature recognizes that gerentological enquiries are generally scarce in Africa (AU & HelpAge International, 2002; Gachuhi & Kiemo, 2005; Aboderin, 2005; 2007). As such, despite their calls for more gerentological researches, the issue itself entails the existence of need for more studies in this regard. On the other hand, despite the overall dearth of gerentological studies in Ethiopia (Assefa & Frehiwot, 2003; MoLSA, 2006; Samson, 2014, Messay, 2015), most of studies conducted on issues of older people hitherto excluded older people who dwell in the countryside. Nevertheless, concerning the circumstances of older people in the countryside, the fact remains that many of them are totally excluded from public pension

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(MoLSA, 2006). Besides, some studies elicited that older people in the countryside have suffered a plethora of plights (e.g. Assefa & Frehiwot, 2003; Kifle, 2002; MoLSA, 2006; HelpAge International, 2013). Hence, I personally believe, amidst such scarcity of researches on issues of older people in the countryside, conducting more study is reasonable to come up with "unheard voices" of older people dwelling in the countryside of the country.

On the other hand, the fact that I was born and brought up in the rural area of the country has accorded me opportunities to witness overarching challenges of older people on different occasions. Later, my acquaintance with social work as a profession that endeavors to reveal social injustices and challenge status quo, has rekindled my concern with older people. Especially, the last course, namely "Social Work Practice with the Elderly", which I took as of the year 2016, and the professor of that course have invigorated me to plan to conduct my thesis on an issue of older people which, of course, has long been on my mind due to my personal exposure. This is actually consonant with the assertion of Neuman (2014) who contends that selection of a research topic can be based on personal experience and personal value among others.

1.6. Delimitations

This study covered only experiences of older people in terms of aging, aging body, filial responsibility expectations , intergenerational ties, socio-economic participation and contributions, and challenges associated with old age.

With regard to sample size, I limited it to only ten participants during data collection guided by "diminishing returns" principle and recommendation of Creswell (1998) which argues that for phenomenological study 3-15 participants suffice to generate ample data. Data collection tools encompassed in-depth interview and observation. Setting wise, the study embraced older

people both male and female who are residents of Sedika Kersa Community located in Arsi, Oromia.

1.7. Limitations of the study

The study has its own limitations. In the first place, as the study employed small number of participants, its findings cannot be generalized to the whole population of older people in the countryside. Due to the nature of the study, namely phenomenology, other than the voices of the participants, others' views and ideas were not incorporated in the study in an effort to come up with balanced views particularly with regard to filial responsibility, intergenerational solidarity and challenges that the participants faced.

1.8. Significance of the Study

First and foremost, the findings of the study can be crucial inputs for the knowledge base of gerontology in general and of rural ageing in particular where studies on the issue in our country are extremely rare. Thus, it is an imperative ingredient of the reservoir of gerontological literature. From my personal experience, in social work education, both teachers and students usually resort to leaning on research findings conducted abroad which pragmatically in lots of scenarios do not describe and allure to the realities of our country. The findings of this study, therefore, are of great salience for social work education and practice in the area of gerontological issues pertinent to local realities and conditions.

Moreover, the findings of the study can sensitize and make heedful policy makers, government organizations, Non-Governmental Organizations, families and community to the needs and challenges older people in an effort to mitigate their plights. Thus, it can add impetus to overall efforts of different sectors to ameliorate the situation of older people. Additionally, the

study can be an input for future further studies on the issue as findings of phenomenological study can be uniquely essential base for further investigation (Sanders, 1982).

1.9. Definitions of Terms

According to Creswell (2014), whether or not a term should be defined is subjective to personal judgment. A term can be defined if the researcher thinks that there might appear the likelihood that readers will fail to understand it. Thus, depending on my own personal judgment, I have defined the following terms lest my readers will be confused while reading the whole thesis.

Community: It refers to people who dwell in a specific geographical area and reflect common culture, norms, and values (WHO, 2004). It also refers to a bond that ties them together, and gives them a sense of belonging with one another (Day, 2006).

Essence: Essence refers to the reality of phenomena that are revealed to rational thought to the contrary of what they are presupposed to be (Noonan, 2008). It is common experiences of the participants with regard to the phenomenon under inquiry (Creswell, 2007).

Filial responsibility: It refers to duty of grown children to provide protection, care, or financial support to an aging parent when needed (Bromley & Blieszner, 1997).

Gerontology: "Gerontology is the science concerned with the study of ageing. Also encompassed within the term is a more expansive definition of the study of ageing to include the study of later life, old age and older people" (Victor, 2003, p.1).

Chapter Two: Literature Review

 Introduction

This chapter commences with the definition of ageing and older people. Then, it goes on to deal

with several issues pertinent to the phenomenon under scrutiny such as legal instrument and

policy agenda concerning older people, none state social protection, situation of older people in

Ethiopia, poverty and ageing, ageism and older people abuse, ageing, rurality and social

exclusion, vulnerability and old age, intergenerational ties, participations and contributions of

older people, social theories of ageing, and theoretical frameworks. Eventually, it deals with

summary and conclusion of the chapter.

2.1. Defining the Concepts of Ageing and Older People

 2.1.1. Ageing

Ageing embraces three major perspectives: biological, psychological and social aspects. So, the

definition of ageing is also approached from these three different perspectives (Victor, 2003;

Giddens, 2006).

 2.1.1.1. Biological ageing

Ageing is viewed as an involuntary phase in the development of the organism that brings about a

decrease in adaptive capacities, and ultimately death (Victor, 2003; Varshney, 2007).

Universality, internality, progressiveness and inevitable death are characteristics of ageing that

distinguish it from disease (Strehler, 1962, as cited in Victor, 2003). The definition of biological

ageing is based on the vivid physical changes that accompany advancing age. Nevertheless, the

exact chronological age at which this deterioration sets on greatly varies from individual to

individual (Victor, 2003; Giddens, 2006; Varshney, 2007). The common effects of biological

ageing include declining vision, hearing loss, wrinkles, reduction of muscle mass and fat, and decrease in cardiovascular efficiency among others (Giddens, 2006).

2.1.1.2. Psychological ageing

The psychological perspective of ageing is concerned with issues such as personality, memory, self, and self-identity (Victor, 2003). Unlike effects of biological ageing, changes that are associated with psychological ageing are not markedly noticeable. Decline in memory, learning, skill, and motivation to learn is believed to be associated with ageing as to psychological ageing (Giddens, 2006).

2.1.1.3. Social ageing

Social ageing uses social perspectives to understand ageing (Victor, 2003). It is interwoven with a particular societal values, norms, and traditions. Particularly, role expectations are very important in defining social ageing. The social role expectations that are anticipated of old age could be negative or positive. Positive role expectations that are attached to old age tend to boost the wellbeing of older people whereas the negative role expectations of old age are more likely to give rise to diminished self-esteem and social network of older people. They often comprise stereotypes of older people that tend to discriminate against older people (Giddens, 2006).

2.1.2. Who are older people?

With regard to biological and psychological definition of ageing, there are no fixed agreed upon criteria as such. The common avenue by which age is often measured is chronological or calendar age, but varies across time and culture (Victor, 2003). Different countries, governments, societies and individuals define and understand the term "older people" differently. There is no an akin universal definition and understanding of the term (MoLSA, 2006). The UN, however,

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defines older people as people who are sixty years or more old. Ethiopia has also adopted this definition of older people. In Ethiopia, the definition of older people also correlates with the official retirement age (MoLSA, 2006).

2.2. Legal Instrument and Policy Agenda Concerning Older People

Since 1990's, there have been some crucial international policy documents endorsed due to concerns stemmed from unprecedented demographic change of older people and its multifaceted percussions. These international policy documents include UN Principles for Older People, Madrid International Plan of Action on Aging, and AU Policy Framework and Plan of Action on Aging. Initiated by the aforementioned policies, Ethiopia has also taken measures in adopting laws and policies in an effort to cater to the multifaceted needs of its elderly population (HelpAge International, 2013).

2.2.1. UN principles for older people

The UN General Assembly adopted Principles for Older people in 1991. The Principles consist of five core principles, namely independence, participation, care, self-fulfillment and dignity all aimed at addressing the challenges and needs of older people. To this end, for the successful implementation of the principles, the UN General Assembly called on every government to enmesh the Principles into their national programs as much as possible.

2.2.2. Madrid international plan of action on aging

MIPAA was adopted in 2002 at the Second World Assembly on Aging in Spain aimed at addressing the challenge of "building a society for all ages". It came up with a new agenda for dealing with plight of aging in the 21st century. Embedded in the document are three principal

priority areas: older person and development, advancing health and well-being into old age, and ensuring enabling and supportive environments for older people (UN, 2002).

The document sates that the primary responsibility for orchestration and leadership on all aging issues and implementation of the MIPAA is bestowed on governments. Nevertheless, effective collaboration from every sector and stakeholder was stated in the document as of utmost importance for the successful implementation of MIPAA. Thus, it calls on every person in every country across the globe to work individually and jointly towards the realization of equality for people of all ages (UN, 2002).

2.2.3. African Union policy framework and plan of action on aging

AUPFPAA, which binds all AU member countries to adopt their own respective policy on aging, was adopted in 2002. It essentially encompasses thirteen core areas of issues of older people that are deemed to be given due consideration thereby catering to the multifaceted needs of older people. The areas include rights of older people, information and coordination, poverty, health, food and nutrition, housing and living environments, family, social welfare, employment and income security, crises, emergences and epidemics, ageing and migration, education and training, and gender (HAIARDC & AU, 2002). Accordingly, all AU member countries were called on to adopt African Union Policy Framework and Plan of Action on Ageing in an effort to ameliorate the conditions of older population of the continent.

2.2.4. The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

The plight of older people of the country has already been constitutionally recognised from the onset of the FDRE constitution. Pertinent to this very particular issue of older people is Article 41(5) of the FDRE Constitution which stipulates, "the state shall, within available means,

allocate resources to provide rehabilitation and assistance to the physically and mentally disabled, the aged, and to children who are left without parents or guardians" (FDRE, 1994, p.14).

2.2.5. National plan of action on older persons

In response to the challenges and needs of the older people population of the country, MoLSA by the responsibility bestowed on it by Federal Government of Ethiopia, adopted NPAOP in 2006 that remained operational for ten years until 2014 since its inception. The Plan of Action constitutes of two essential priority directions, namely developmental aspect of aging, and humanitarian aspect of aging. The developmental aspect of aging stipulates that older people should be integrated into the developmental activities and participations to harness their contributions, skill and knowledge in an effort to elevate the overall development of the country whereas human aspect of aging states that needs of older people should be viewed as their rights and should be addressed accordingly (MoLSA, 2006).

Other than these two principal priority directions, NPAOP comprises thirteen key issues of older people. These include health and well-being, family and community care, rights, housing and living environments, social security, education and training, employment and income generation, poverty reduction, HIV/AIDS, gender and older people, food and nutrition, emergencies, and protection of life and property. In order for NPAOP to be successfully implemented, coordination of all concerned bodies and stakeholders was deemed to be of paramount significance and every concerned body and stakeholder was, therefore, called on to play their roles with commitment. With regard to its implementation, however, it turned out to be unsatisfactory at the end of the day. Consequently, the multifaceted needs of older people were not dealt with as envisaged by the Plan of Action (MoLSA, 2012).

2.2.6. National social protection policy

Motivated by the improved development of the country, the government of Ethiopia has restructured the social protection policy framework grounded on legal, institutional and fiscal frame aimed at providing effective, efficient and sustained social protection. Including older people, the policy embraces other wider range of segments of society that are believed to be in need of social protection. The policy envisages helping the needy through protective, preventive, promotive, and transformative actions. Lying at the heart of the policy document are four focus areas, namely social safety net, livelihood and employment schemes, social insurance and addressing inequalities of access to basic services (MoLSA, 2012).

Of the four focus areas mentioned in the policy document, only under safety net focus area were older people mentioned with regard to how their needs would specifically be catered. Thus, it promises to provide noncontributory pension to all older people who are above seventy years of age and who are not entitled to contributory pension. Nevertheless, the promise has remained pragmatically unfulfilled.

2.3. None State Social protection/Traditional mutual helping institutions

Intrinsically informal institutions provide material and psychological support for a community member. The formation of informal institutions is driven by the existing isolation and a need to be self-sufficient thereby resorting to one's own assets thereby maintaining cultural norms, customs and practice (Butcher, 2007). With regard to contribution of informal institutions in mitigating challenges, Butcher (2007) has the following to say:

> *Informal institutions play a significant role in protecting individuals and households within it from risk or shocks to their income, health or assets. Transactions are generally organized through a variety of personal*

networks in which all members are known to each other. Membership is

frequently based on fixed contributions in terms of cash, food or labor, or a

combination of these. It is frequently compulsory to attend meetings and

fines for non-attendance are common (Butcher, 2007).

In the case of Ethiopia, there are different traditional mutual helping institutions. The following ones are the common informal community based institutions that play different roles in providing different sort of support to individuals and/or groups.

2.3.1. Iddir

Iddirs are native voluntary associations established primarily to provide mutual aid in burial matters. Besides, it addresses other different sorts of community challenges (Butcher, 2007). It provides material and psychological assistance to the bereaved. Thus, it helps minimize the burden of loss of the bereaved by distributing the cost among the members of the iddir (Yimer et al, 2014). Membership of iddirs verified by fixed monthly contribution made on a regular basis. Contributions differ from iddir to iddir. Among poor iddirs, the contribution is usually less than one birr while it is more than ten birr among rich iddirs. Nevertheless, contribution is equal for every member of an iddir regardless of age or family size (Butcher, 2007).

It is worth noticing that *iddir* is not immune to demerit. Among its shortcomings is its exclusive nature— the poorest segment of a community cannot be a member of *Iddir*, as it requires contribution. In connection with this very issue, Butcher (2007) has the following to say:

A key element of Iddirs would appear to be the variety of forms in which

they exist. Although they may not reach the very poorest, where there has

been a need, there has been the evolution of different Iddirs with different

entry contributions to meet the needs of poorer sections of society. Their

strengths to date would appear in providing insurance for "single event"

risk and as savings and credit groups (p.24).

Accordingly, when it comes to the poorest segment of society, iddir might not favorable as it can leave them out. Hence, entrusting them naively with the care and support of the marginalized segment of the society, I believe, is problematic. Among segments of society, who can be left out by iddir might appear to be poor older people in the countryside.

2.3.2. Eqqub

Eqqub is an informal financial institution, which plays a salient role in mitigating challenges of individual as a none-state social protection. Yimer et al (2015) describes eqqub as follows:

Eqqub is a financial institution that functions by collecting money weekly

from its members and by paying the collected money to the member who

wins a lottery at a particular week. Eqqub members continue to contribute

till every member is paid. It is a sort of a system that provides funding on

rotation basis by collecting money from its members. That means a member

will lend money to another member of the Eqqub who wins a lottery to take

the money. When a member wins a lottery to take the money then she is

partly taking back the money she paid to members who won before her and

partly taking a loan from other members who still have not won the lottery.

The member, therefore, continues to pay weekly till the whole cycle is

completed (p.6).

People have different motives to join eqqub. Some join eqqub for saving while others become members in order to secure loan (Yimer et al, 2015). This non-sate social protection is usually characterizes urban community rather than agrarian community. As agrarian community lives on

volatile and subsistent productivity, they cannot afford to contribute on a regular basis. As such, they usually do not have access to join eqqub (Yimer et al, 2015).

2.3.3. Busa Gonofa

Busa gonofa is one sort of none state social protection that can potentially play a pivotal role in enabling the poor to remain resilient during risks and shocks. It is practiced predominantly among the Borana. Wassie (2011) has the following to say about busa gonofa:

> *[It] is a regular annual wealth redistribution scheme in which the rich are bound to restock the needy. The stocking process is based on prior assessments, made at annual sub-clan meetings (kora debanu), of the size and specific needs of poor members vis-à-vis the capacity to meet these needs. Only genuine claims are addressed. Eligibility is based on natural causes rather than abusive wealth consumption. The spirit of busa gonofa is still high among the Borana, but it is an institution in crisis* (p.7).

Nevertheless, access to busa gonofa is denied if the loss is triggered by negligence or inappropriateness (Edlam, 2003). As can be noticed from the aforesaid excerpt taken from Wassie (2011), it is naïve to think that this non-state social protection is still intact; it is in crisis as articulated by Wassie (2011). The major factor that has impinged on busa gonofa is the gap between demand for and supply of restocking induced by high population growth and deprivation faced by the actors (Wassie, 2011). The overall decline in livestock assets and the increasing number of 'livestock destitute' is the major reason for decline of busa gonofa (Edlam, 2003). Additionally, the discriminatory nature of busa gonofa has a hand in its erosion. Since the practice is based on reciprocity, individuals who own meager assets may be denied access to the practice, as they are thought to be unable to make the reciprocity (Edlam, 2003).

In a nutshell, apart from their roles in mitigating challenges, it is of significant salience to avoid "over- idealism". Informal institutions may consist of practices that may deter specific groups of marginalized people from becoming beneficiaries. For instance, informal institutions may or may not be accessed by the poor (Butcher, 2007).

2.4. Situation of Older People in Ethiopia

Hoff (2008) argues that the circumstances of older people are in line with the relative economic situation of a given country. With regard to economic situation of Ethiopia, Assefa and Frehiwot (2003) stated that Ethiopia is the poorest country in the world. Consequently, like many other developing countries, older people are in dire straits. The majorities of older people of the country wrestle with vicious cycle of abject poverty (MoLSA, 2006).

Old age can be viewed as an extension of problems that are experienced throughout the life course (Hoff, 2008). Likewise, older people in Ethiopia who led an impoverished life throughout their life prior to old age due to general poverty of the country are left with no option but culminate in chronic poverty in their old age (MoLSA, 2006). Moreover, economic exclusion of older people in such forms as retirement, according to Hoff (2008) makes older people even worse off. In the case of Ethiopia, the majorities of older people are excluded from employment opportunities and are not entitled to public pension (Assefa & Frehiwot, 2003; MoLSA, 2006; MoLSA, 2012). Hoff (2008), however, argues that pension policy has a pivotal role in keeping poverty at bay during old age. On the contrary, larger shares of older people in Ethiopia are devoid of ample income that hampered and limited their access to several social services (MoLSA, 2006).

As of the rural older people, they make up a larger portion of the total older population of the country. Concerning their living condition, the majorities of them are at the mercy of archaic

agricultural tools that require lots of physical strength and energy thereby exposing older people to poor living condition (Assefa & Frehiwot, 2003; MoLSA, 2006). In addition, they rely on subsistence agriculture whose reliability as a source of income is subject to seasonality and volatility of its productivity (HelpAge International & Cordaid, 2011). Added to the seasonality and volatility of subsistence agriculture is recurrent drought that deprives them of their assets thereby making them suffer from severe hunger (UNFPA & HelpAge International, 2012).

2.5. Poverty and Aging

Global economy has generally grown but arrays of older people are still wrestling with poverty (UNFPA & HelpAge International, 2012). Due to urbanization and "modernization", the decay of intergenerational solidarity and support forced older people without means to end up in poverty. Poverty is graver among older people. It troubles them in different such forms as poor health, eroding intergenerational support and care, lack of balance diet, housing problem, economic, and financial problem (HelpAge International, 2013). Older people are usually vulnerable to invariability of their income situation that is among factors that make them become prone to poverty (Hoff, 2008). Older people, thus, are stuck in impoverished conditions, income insecurity, lack of safety and poor access to health care and social care as well (WHO, 2015).

The problems of older people are context specific; it draws on the conditions of the country and community in which they dwell (Hoff, 2008; UNFPA & HelpAge International, 2012). A large number of older people in developed countries are better off than older people who dwell in developing countries. On the contrary, many older people in many developing countries suffer from poverty along with their multigenerational households (UNFPA & HelpAge International, 2012).

In Africa, for instance, older people wrestle with abject poverty. A larger proportion of older people in the continent are not entitled to formal social security. Additionally, their needs are quite often neglected in many programs and strategies formulated to reduce poverty. On top of that, they are susceptible to any structural adjustment move that does not recognize their needs. They are also denied access to various opportunities and services. As a result, they have no option but remain at the mercy of what their own labor and family render them (HAIARDC & AU, 2002). Such a situation of older people will continue to escalate in developing countries due to climate change, population aging, migration, and environmental degradation (UNFPA & HelpAge International, 2012).

2.6. Ageism and Older People Abuse

Ageism is the negative stereotyping or discrimination of people based on age (WHO, 2004; WHO, 2015). Even if it can be directed against other age category of people, it often refers to prejudice against older persons (Nelson, 2007; WHO, 2015). It consists of oppressive cultural attitudes, values and beliefs that affect the circumstances of older people (Constable, 2010). The patterns of ageism are not akin across the world. They exhibit variability across cultures based on how older people are treated in a given society (Nelson, 2007). So, the challenges of aging are relative to social and historical contexts of a given society (Turner, 1989). On the other hand, other than ageism, old age is also highly correlated with abuse. Put another way, older people are very susceptible to abuse by different parties including their own loved family members (Bond & Butler, 2013).

2.7. Aging, Rurality and Social Exclusion

According to Wenger (2001), there are various myths about older people dwelling in the countryside. The myths include that older people in the countryside live happily in a beautiful

setting, have robust and appropriate family networks and care, live in a community that respect and care for the elderly, and have better health and life satisfaction. However, these myths may be partially true or false hinging on the specific older people dwelling in specific rural setting, as they are not homogeneous group. According to Goldstein and Beall (1981), aging in the countryside has lately come to be regarded as problematic since modernization has eroded family and community esteem, respect and support for the older people.

Despite the wide belief that rural communities have robust bond, there are various disadvantages in rural areas for older people. Social opportunities and ample services, for instance, are highly limited for older people in the countryside (Keough, 2015). Challenging in the countryside for older people are numerous factors that can impinge on their overall wellbeing, but social isolation and loneliness are deemed the leading ones. Due partly to demographic change and erosion of community and familial support mechanisms, older people may wrestle with isolation in rural areas albeit the reality is quite intricate, because some might not face such a plight (Age Concern, 2003).

On the other hand, multifaceted barriers usually impinge on older people's access to various services in the countryside (Shergold & Parkhurst, 2012; Zanjani & Rowles, 2012). Inaccessibility of transport, for instance, is a profound challenge for older people in the countryside (Shergold & Parkhurst, 2012). Additionally, the services available to rural older people are not as good as that of urban older people's services in quality (Lowry, 2009). Closeness of services to where older people dwell is also a big issue in rural areas (Keough, 2015).

In the rural of several developing countries, there is an increasing trend of older people being left helpless without traditional family assistance and financial assets. They often lack

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essential services, inadequate economic and community support. Particularly elderly women are more susceptible to several plights, as they do not usually have decent work that generates adequate income. They are culturally restricted to domestic chores, which do not generate them income. Thus, they are economically at a disadvantaged position and more vulnerable (UN, 2002).

As older people in the countryside are different in many aspects from that of their counterparts in urban areas, there are also plenty of disparities among older people residing in rural settings (Lidgard, 2006). Moreover, the effects of population aging are more severe in rural areas than in urban areas. There is higher number of older people in the countryside than in urban areas (Winterton & Warburton, 2012). Despite certain positive aspects of ageing(where community and filial support and care mechanisms are in place) in the countryside, shortage of social and recreational facilities, basic services and lack of employment opportunities are among avalanche that rural older people are prone to(Centre for Ageing Research and Development in Ireland [CARDI], 2010; Keough, 2015).

2.8. Vulnerability and Old age

Lack of internal capacity makes older people vulnerable thereby deterring them from doing what they value. The financial resources, health, education, employment and social support determine the internal capacity of older people. Also, inherent process of aging that triggers changes also impinges on their internal capacity. For example, deterioration of health condition of older people affects their socio-economic engagement (Zaidi, 2014). In contrast, older people who are healthy may avoid dependence and loss associated with ageing (Strohschein, 2011). Discouraging social and physical environment also affect the personal capacity of older people (Zaidi, 2014).

2.9. Intergenerational Ties

In order to understand family relationship during old age, looking into intergenerational solidarity is an imperative avenue (Luescher & Pillemer, 1998). It normally refers to ties between generations that encompass reciprocity of assistance and care (WHO, 2004). It is believed to be ubiquitous across every society around the globe. It is characteristic of a society that shares common interests, affection, and interdependence. It can be demonstrated in the love and care that parents and children exchange irrespective of life situations and geographic distance (Cruz-Saco, 2010).

Intergenerational solidarity can be analyzed at two different levels: macro level and micro level. At macro level, it can be viewed as cohesion between the youth and older people in general. At micro level, it is viewed as the bond between the older people and children at familial level. Herein, the bond might be between parents and children, grandparents and grandchildren or great grandparents and great grandchildren (Bengston & Oyama, 2007).

At familial level, parents help their children when they are dependent throughout their childhood and adulthood. On the other hand, children support and care for their ageing parents in several aspects. It is the bedrock of familial bond, care, love and assistance (Cruz-Saco, 2010).

According to Silverstein and Bengtson (1997), intergenerational solidarity comprises of six enmeshed but not additive dimensions. The dimensions include:

- Structure: consists of such physical factors as geographic distances that encourage or discourage interaction among the family members.
- Association: refers to how often the members of the family contact one another and jointly participate on communal activities

- Affect: indicates the bond of emotional closeness and intimacy of family members

- Consensus: refers to the joint concord that the family members exhibit in opinions, values and lifestyle

- Function: refers to exchanges of material and financial transfers, care and support among the family members

- norms :indicate the strength of obligation that the family members feel toward one another

Nowadays, with regard to intergenerational ties, however, a growing body of studies has zeroed in on three sorts of ties, namely co-residence, time transfers and financial transfers (Bianchi, Hotz, McGarry, & Seltzer, 2007). Nevertheless, Silverstein and Bengtson (1997) aver that a study of intergenerational solidarity of modern family, which zeroes in on only one of the aforementioned six dimensions of intergenerational solidarity, particularly functional exchange might run the risk of either exaggerating or underestimating the bond of intergenerational ties. Thus, in order not to run the risk, they recommend that multiple dimensions of intergenerational solidarity should be synchronized and looked into simultaneously.

At familial level, intergenerational ties can be figured out by looking into the parental filial responsibility expectations and children's perceived filial obligations pertaining to aging and continuity of generations in a specific context (Bengtson & Oyama, 2007). The relations of older people and their children may involve giving and receiving, only receiving, only giving, or no exchange at all with regard to support (Kim & Kim, 2003).

In pre-modern societies, intergenerational solidarity was strong but families have now exhibited profound changes due to ageing. The ageing of families brings many changes in individuals' lives (Dykstra, 2001). Consequently, intergenerational tie has undergone a profound

transformation (Krzyzowski, 2011). Due to families aging, filial commitment and support for elderly for instance, has eroded (Silverstein & Giarrusso, 2010). Empirical inquires demonstrate that the erosion of traditional family is inevitable due to modern economic system. In modern economic system, children are forced to move to urban areas for education and employment purposes thereby distancing themselves from their parents physically as well as emotionally (Lowenstein, Katz, Prilutzky, & Mehlhausen-Hassoen, 2001).

For instance, on the account of erosion of traditional values and economic system, in Sub-Sahara Africa, tradition family system has diminished. The older people, especially in the countryside, are devoid of support amidst familial support system erosion. Thus, the future of older people is unpredictable (Adamchak, 1989). So, amidst such dramatic changes, looking into the present day intergenerational solidarity is of utmost saliency to fathom the situation of older people (Bianchi, Hotz, McGarry, & Seltzer, 2007).

2.10. Participations and Contributions of Older People

It is well known that meaningful community participation contributes to ageing well gracefully with research linking social participation to quality of life, emotional well-being, functional independence and better health (NSPAC, 2010). Viewing older people as generally dependent segment of the society is against the reality in lots of cases. Many older people have invaluable skill and knowledge that can enhance the social and economic resources of societies if harnessed properly (Butler, 1989; Cheal, 2000; Age Concern, 2003; Batista & Cruz-Ledón, 2008; UNFPA & HelpAge International, 2012; Arshad & Bhat, 2013).

Even though the participation and contribution of older people is culture specific, they can contribute a lot to the wellbeing of the wider society. So, homogenizing all older people as dependent is unfounded (Cain, 1991). Older people can contribute to a society as caregivers,

voters, volunteers, entrepreneurs, mediators, educators, workers, homemakers, as sources of knowledge and historical memory, and as guardians of culture (UNFPA & HelpAge International, 2012).

Nowadays, there is a tendency of ignoring older people and denying them opportunities giving rise to failure to harness their invaluable contributions (Assefa & Frehiwot, 2003). According to WHO (2015), the costliest expenditure of society is not incurred by investing on the older people in an effort to boost their physical functions rather by failing to invest on them thereby ending up missing their priceless contributions. Excluding older people from various participations and engagements weakens their wellbeing, contributions and impinges on the overall well-being of society (WHO, 2015). "Older persons in rural areas often have expert knowledge of farming practices, including ways of coping with environmental shocks and food shortages, which may be crucial for the survival of rural communities in times of crisis" (UNFPA & HelpAge International, 2012, p.35).

2.11. Social Theories of Aging

2.11.1. Disengagement theory

Disengagement theory states that older people inevitably withdraw willfully from a society and vice versa for mutual benefits ushering in diminished social contacts of the older people (Khullar & Reynolds, 1990; Victor, 2003; Hammond, 2010; Schaefer, 2006; Miller, 2012). Thus, all older people wish to withdraw from the previous activities (Constable, 2010). Embedded in the outcomes of disengagement are three things, namely withdrawal from social activities, dwindled emotional linkage with society and increased obsession with oneself (Schroots, 2007) and dwindled commitment to social values and norms (Victor, 2003).

Underlying disengagement theory is that older people willfully initiate the disengagement process and it is part of the natural ageing process and normal course of life when older people prepare themselves for death (Hall, 2012). In addition, it is believed to be a universal process (Sijuwade, 1994). Nevertheless, Amalia (2009) points out that against the will of older people there might exist occasions when society may oblige them to disengage from social activities and roles totally or partially.

In the light of this theory, aging is believed to be associated with powerlessness, loneliness, loss of role, sense of greater dependency and loss of sense of purpose. Consequently, as to this theory, older people are perceived to be unproductive and a daunting burden on the society (Hall, 2012). According to disengagement theory, successful aging occurs when older people willfully withdraw from social activities (Crawford, 1972; Victor, 2003).

2.11.2. Activity theory

The activity theory posits that successful aging and life satisfaction are achieved if older people remain involved in social activities. Otherwise, withdrawal from social activities in old age is more likely to affect life satisfaction of older people in a negative fashion (Hammond, 2010; Miller, 2012). Older people have needs that are akin to that of middle-aged people's needs and societal disengagement from older people is against the wishes of older people and results in their decreased social interaction (Holmes, 2006). Older people prefer engagement to disengagement in life (Holmes, 2006).Thus; a person's self-concept is validated through participation in roles that are characteristic of middle age (Hanson, 2015).

Therefore, activity theory asserts that older people should try to assume new and meaningful roles or activities when they incur loss of the previous roles due to old age to maintain their wellbeing and sense of purpose and meaning. Amalia (2009) asserted that

assuming new roles in old age when retirement sets on could insulate negative percussions of retirement. Successful ageing, therefore, leans on active ageing that defies challenges of old age (John, 1984; Khullar & Reynolds, 1990; Schaefer, 2006; Hall, 2012).

2.11.3. Continuity theory

The continuity theory dictates that older people can sustain patterns of life that they developed prior to the onset of old age. Hinging on their accumulated youthful experience and knowledge, older people adjust their life style to changes that appear with aging (Amalia, 2009; Hammond, 2010)**.** As to continuity theory, old age is, therefore, simply an extension of the former part of life: the values, belief and style of life that older people accumulated as younger people will be cushion against challenges that appear with aging (Hall, 2012). Thus, according to continuity theory, aging is regarded as a process of adaptation where personality of older people is believed to be a decisive component. Older people adapt to both biological and social changes that accompany old age by actively engaging in activities and creating life style that render them life satisfaction (Schroots, 2007).

2.12. Theoretical Frameworks

2.12.1. Phenomenological theory

In the light of phenomenologists' point of view, people do not passively follow and ascribe to social structures, social rules, and their internal self-motivation but actively construct their life (Denscombe, 2007). Pertaining to aging, phenomenological theory argues that facts and ideas about aging are best understood from the vantage points of older people who have experienced aging. As to this theory, older people are believed to be active actors that can make their own

contributions to social world. This is particularly of utmost significance in social policy formulation (Longino and Powell, 2009, as cited in Pierce & Timonen, 2010).

2.12.2. Social exchange theory

According to this theory with regard to aging, the more people get older, the more they become powerless and dependent on their caregivers. Their powerlessness and dependency expose them to various problems such as abuse (McDonald, 2007). It also argues that interaction among family members is based on reciprocal exchange of goods and services aimed at beefing up their own wellbeing. Thus, older parents attain the care and support of their children by giving them resource transfers (Bernheim et al, 1985, as cited in Bianchi, Hotz, McGarry, & Seltzer, 2007). Transfers are not necessarily made at the same time but can be made in the future for the services received in the past or at current moment (Bianchi, Hotz, McGarry, & Seltzer, 2007). Exchanges may include overarching "commodities, resources, or skills" (Rank & LeCroy, 1983).

In the process of reciprocal exchange, the less powerful actors are always at a disadvantaged position, because he/she benefits less compared to the powerful actor. In the light of this, older people are at a disadvantaged position in the exchange process at both familial and societal level (John, 1984). "…there is often deterioration in their bargaining position and decreasing power resources, resulting in increasing their vulnerability to a multitude of psycho-social factors" (Varshney, 2007, p. 6). But,... "family member receiving assistance may want to avoid feeling dependent on the support provider and may seek to reciprocate with other forms of assistance, such as emotional support or advice, thus "balancing" the support exchange in an effort to reciprocate" (Parrott & Bengtson 1999 as cited in Lowenstein, Katz, Prilutzky& Mehlhausen-Hassoen, 2001, p.14).

2.12.3. Modernization theory

Modernization theory argues that modernization has diminished the status of older people (Cherry & Magnuson-Martinson, 1981; Moody, 2002; Clarke, 2007; Hammond, 2010; Chatrungrueangchai, 2016). Modernization has eroded all the privileged roles of older people that were recognized and respected in pre-modern societies. Older people have now been deprived off their earlier valued status as sources of knowledge, skill and experience. The erosion of older people's prestigious status is partly attributed to education because it has made older people inferior to younger people in terms of knowledge (Cowgill, 1981; Amalia, 2009). Plus, modern economic and social systems have excluded older people from participation and engagement (Hammond, 2010).

On the other hand, it is believed that modernization has brought about the diminished familial and community respect and support for older people (Goldstein & Beall, 1981). Also, the erosion of the traditional veneration of older people is attributed to modernization wherein older people are treated as useless (Nelson, 2005; Cuddy, Norton & Fiske, 2005 as cited in Holmes, 2006). Due to requirements of modern economic system and impacts of urbanization, children are obliged to move to urban areas hampering proximity to their parents thereby weakening familial ties. This intern impinges on the care and support for their older parents (Lowenstein, Katz, Prilutzky, & Mehlhausen-Hassoen, 2001; Chatrungrueangchai, 2016).

2.12.4. Life course approach/perspective

Life course approach is very common in social gerontology. It is useful to illustrate how the current situation of older people is attributed to past values and to social changes of their society. (Settersten, 2002 cited in Kok, 2007). Age-related changes in a particular context of time and space are emphasized (Zaidi, 2014). Thus, it is of salient importance to study interaction between

the situations of individuals and social change (Kok, 2007). It views ageing as a 'lifelong process' and the influence of context particularly culture and place on ageing is emphasized (Stowe & Cooney, 2015). Turning points, which refer to a substantial change in the direction of one's life, is also part and parcel of life course approach. It is determined either subjectively or objectively (Hareven, 2000 cited in Kok, 2007). Also, the effects of history, social structure and individual meanings can be incorporated in this analytical approach (Bengston et al, 1997).

In life course perspective, diversity in ageing process is also emphasized. It also recognizes the antecedents and consequences of age-related changes (Strohschein, 2011). It is argued that adaptation in old age is related to values and behaviors of earlier life stage (Crosnoe & Elder, 2002). In sum, it can be used to enquire the interaction between individuals and macro social institutions such as culture, economy, social policy and the like (Kok, 2007). Life course approach comprises of the following principles:

Life span development— The current values and behavior of individual can be figured out by taking into consideration experience, values and behaviors of the individual in his/her earlier life stage (Crosnoe & Elder, 2002; Kok, 2007).

Agency— Individuals are considered as choice makers and agents of their own lives amid existing challenges and opportunities (Elder, 1994; Zaidi, 2014). Older people are considered as active actors and bearers of cultural and social values from both societal and individual perspectives (Motel-Klingebiel et al, 2015). Any personal decision aimed at challenging plights aimed at surviving is also taken into accounts (Hareven, 1982 as cited in Kok, 2007).

Time and place— it is argued that historical context and the situation of specific location affect individuals. The interaction between life courses and demographic, economic, institutional and cultural changes is taken into consideration (Kok, 2007)

Timing— The percussion of a transition/event that takes place in the life of an individual depends on its timing (Kok, 2007).

Linked lives— Individuals' life is encapsulated in social networks. Social regulation and support are addressed through this principle (Elder, 1994).

2.12.5. Intergenerational solidarity model

Bengtson and his colleagues have developed a conceptual framework for studying intergenerational relations: the 'Intergenerational Solidarity. The model conceptualizes intergenerational family solidarity as a multi-dimensional phenomenon with six components reflecting exchange relations: structural solidarity, associational solidarity, affectual solidarity, consensual solidarity, functional solidarity and normative solidarity (Lowenstein & Katz, 2003). Like stated earlier, the six components of intergenerational solidarity, namely structure, association, affect, consensus, function and norms of solidarity are addressed by the aforesaid six types of intergenerational solidarity respectively (Silverstein &Bengtson 1997).

2.13. Summary and Conclusion of the Chapter

There is no universal definition of older people or ageing. Different countries adopt different definition of older people. Though definitions of older people draw on chronological age, functional age and retirement age, the officially acceptable definition of older people in Ethiopia has been erected solely on retirement age. Such a sole official definition of older people calls for an enquiry into whether or not older people who are officially labeled "older people" espouse the label and act accordingly. Such an enquiry, of course, needs to be guided by a methodology that enables enquirers to tune into the meanings and definitions that older people attach to ageing and older people.

Ageing is associated with poverty. Such is the case in developing countries to which Ethiopia, of course, belongs. In a similar manner, the literature albeit scant indicates that older people in Ethiopia are among segments of society that are highly susceptible to poverty. The poverty and other overarching challenges of older people are attributed partly to the general poverty of the country, absence of non-contributory pensions and erosion of the traditional filial and family commitment to older people. Again, added to these factors are stereotypes and myths of ageing which stem from ageism: viewing older people as an onerous burden, which is considered as a drain on the resources of a country. Though scant, the literature points out that the situation of older people in rural areas is not as good as it used to be. Contrary to the arguments of the literature that older people have contributions to the overall wellbeing of a society, common stereotype is that older people are drain on resources of a country.

Taking into account the overarching needs of older people, Ethiopia has adopted a national policy aimed at mitigating the challenges of older people. The existing gap, however, is that the policy adopted in an effort to ameliorate the situation of older people of the country has not yet gone operational.

Therefore, amidst such a gap and prevailing myths of ageing in the countryside, in addition to what the literature points to, expectation or hypothesis can be made that there may abound overarching untold but lived stories in the life world of older people in the countryside. Such an enquiry, of course, needs a methodology that helps an investigator tune into the lived experiences and untold stories of the older people.

As to the literature, ageing can be experienced dissimilarly and realities about ageing and associated challenges are subjective to individual older person. This on its part calls for a research methodology that utilizes various theories of ageing and theoretical frameworks. Thus,

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in order to describe how ageing is experienced by different individual older person, alternatives may be taken among disengagement theory, activity theory and continuity theory depending on the emerging perspectives of the older people.

On the other hand, intergenerational ties, needs and plights of older people can be described within the framework of exchange theory modernization theory, life course approach and intergenerational solidarity model. Meanwhile, phenomenological theory of ageing and life course approach argue that older people actively construct their own life and meanings. Older people are not passively suppressed by societal values, norms and expectations. They, therefore, are of a salient importance to describe the roles of older people. Additionally, they are of imperative significance to describe how older people refute ageism thereby redefining ageing hinging on their own worldviews.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

Introduction

Under this chapter, philosophical assumption and paradigm of the research, research design, rationale for using qualitative research design and hermeneutic phenomenology, data sources, description of the study area, sampling technique and sample size, inclusion criteria, methods of data collection, procedure of data collection, credibility of the study, data storage, retrieval, analysis and reporting procedure and finally ethical considerations are thoroughly dealt with.

3.1. Philosophical Assumption of the Research

The research design process in qualitative enquiry commonly commences with philosophical assumption followed by the paradigm that the study rests on (Creswell, 2007). Encapsulated in philosophical assumption are ontology, epistemology, rhetoric, axiology and methodology (Creswell, 2007). Depending on the philosophical assumption of qualitative research outlined by Creswell (2007), the philosophical assumption of this particular research is delineated as follows:

3.1.1. Ontological assumption of the research

According to Creswell (2007), "ontological issue relates to the nature of reality and its characteristics (p. 16). Additionally, as to Creswell (2007), in qualitative research the notion of "multiple realities" is adhered to (p. 16). Likewise, the ontological (the nature of reality) assumption of this study is that reality is subjective and multiple drawing on the participants of the study under consideration (Laverty, 2003; Kafle, 2011). This ontological assumption is also associated with the stance of interpretivism paradigm upon which this study has been erected (Laverty, 2003).

3.1.2. Epistemological assumption of the research

With regard to epistemological assumption in qualitative research, Creswell (2007) contends that there should be a very close relationship between the researcher and the participants of the study. Accordingly, as to epistemological (the relationship between the researcher and the participants) assumption, there was as close relationship as possible between the participants of the study and me. In another words, the participants were co-researchers in tandem with me (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Yuksel & Yildirim, 2015). This facilitated collaboration between the participants and me thereby contributing to the verification of credibility of the enquiry (Creswell & Miller, 2000).

3.1.3. Axiological assumption of the research

Concerning axiology (role of values), I did not bracket my pre-assumptions and knowledge of the phenomenon under study, because as to hermeneutic phenomenologists, it is undesirable rather, "…the researcher should shift back and forth, focusing on personal assumptions ,and then returning to looking at participants' experiences in a fresh[hermeneutic circle]"(Finlay, 2009, p.13). Thus, instead of bracketing, I adopted phenomenological attitude (empathetic understanding and listening) and hermeneutic circle with regard to the perspectives and experiences of the participants (Finlay, 2009). Yet, on this juncture, it should be noted that by rejection of bracketing pre-assumption and understanding, I do not mean that my pre-assumption and understanding of the phenomenon under investigation impacted upon or were components of the findings of the study, rather I used them merely to figure out the perspectives of the participants pertaining to the phenomenon under investigation.

Self-reflection or "hermeneutic circle involves an ever-increasing development of understanding as we revise our pre-understandings in light of new experiences" (Newberry,

2012, p. 10). Van der Geest (2002) also argues for self-reflection as saying, "The implicit comparison between 'my' and 'their' experience is a prerequisite for understanding 'them'. If we do not recognize anything from ourselves in them, our data will remain, stale and meaningless" (p. 4). Aligned with the arguments of van der Geest (2002) and Newberry (2012) concerning hermeneutic circle is that of LeVasseur (2003, as cited by Newberry, 2012) that goes as saying, "In the hermeneutic circle, we make progress toward sense and meaning by questioning prior knowledge, thus expanding into new horizons of meanings. Yet, we never fully arrive, because to arrive would merely represent another stage of pre-understanding" (p.4). As such, I fully employed hermeneutic cycle and phenomenological attitude in an effort to fathom the perspectives of the participants that helped me a lot in analyzing the findings of the study.

3.1.4. Methodological assumption of the research

On the other hand, the methodological assumption of this study is that inductive logic and emerging design were used. In other words, questions and designs of the study were redesigned and modified leaning on the experiences gained from the field, because hermeneutic phenomenological enquiry intrinsically is believed to be circular in nature and complete understanding is unthinkable for that matter (Hein & Austin, 2001; Kafle, 2011; Newberry, 2012). Broadly speaking, "In qualitative research, decisions about design and strategy are ongoing and are grounded in the practice, process and context of the research itself…thinking about strategy and design should not stop there"(Mason, 2002, p. 24).

3.1.5. Rhetorical assumption of the research

The rhetorical (research language) assumption of this study is that the study was written in a literary, informal style using the personal voices in tandem with formal research language. Especially, adverbatims of the participants are replete with informal sayings and expressions. As

to this particular issue, Firestone (1987), states that rhetoric is the art of speaking and writing effectively. "Rhetorical analysis of research proceeds by examining the product of research in literary terms to identify the values, meanings, and beliefs projected by a work and the values to which it appeals either explicitly or implicitly"(p.17). Echoing the stance of Firestone, Kafle (2011) also argues:

> *Since hermeneutic phenomenology aims at explicating the core essences as experienced by the participants, the everyday language cannot do justice to express what is intended by the participants. That is why hermeneutic phenomenology demands for a typical rhetoric that best elicit the true intention of the research participants. A language mode with informal tone with idiographic expressions full of adages and maxims is considered suitable for reporting this type of research (*p.196*).*

Crystallizing the position of Kafle (2011), Henriksson & Friesen (2012) also assert, "…unlike many other phenomenological and qualitative research approaches, hermeneutic phenomenology is particularly open to literary and poetic qualities of language, and encourages aesthetically sensitized writing as both a process and product of research"(p.1). In a similar fashion, Finlay (2009) argues that a reporting of a research had better consist of both rigor (formal research language) and resonance (emotions) hinging on the audience that it envisions communicating with and the impact it wants to effect. Similarly, this stance is solidified by Creswell (2007):

> *There is rhetoric for the discourse of qualitative research that has evolved overtime. Qualitative researchers tend to embrace the rhetorical assumption that the writing needs to be personal literary in form (p.18).*

Additionally, According to Clandinin and Connelly (2000 as cited by Creswell, 2007), qualitative researchers "refer to themselves using the first-personal pronoun, "I" (p.18).

3.2. Paradigm of the Research

All research methods are founded on paradigm concerning collection and interpretation of data which on turn molds the researchers' approach to participants (Knox & Burkard, 2009). Also, an argument of an investigator is erected on paradigm: an essential model that guides the enquiry of a research (Rubin & Babbie, 2011). Accordingly, pertaining to social world paradigm, I have chosen interpretivism. The main reasons why I have espoused interpretivism are due to the following basic assumption of the paradigm:

Interpretive researchers have the stance that the best way to learn about people is to be flexible and subjective in one's approach so that the subject's world can be seen through the subject's own eyes. Interpretative researchers incline towards looking into the subjective meanings and social contexts of individuals' words or activities (Rubin & Babbie, 2011).

Despite their belief that objective reality might exist, interpretive researchers gravitate towards finding out how individuals perceive and experience the social phenomena based on their subjective perspective. Additionally, they believe that social world can be understood only when individuals' subjective interpretation of social world is looked into. Moreover, they concentrate on empathetic understanding of individuals' subjective meanings, interpretation of everyday experience and peculiar reasons behind their behaviors (Rubin & Babbie, 2011). Thus, reality is predominately rooted in and stems from social interaction molded by the relative social milieu and culture of each unique society (Creswell, 2007).

Matthews and Ross (2010) posit that ingrained in interpretive research approach are detailed and descriptive qualitative data collection, uncovering subjective meanings, interpretation of subjective meanings within the realm of specific social milieu and empathetic understanding of the experiences of the participants of the phenomenon under study. Hence, the research is grounded on the apprehension of individuals' interpretations of their social world and the data gathered encompass the meanings and purposes of the participants of the study (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). Qualitative research typically is grounded on interpretivism (Snape & Spencer, 2003; Creswell, 2007). Moreover, interpretivism is aligned with principles of Social Work such as empathetic understanding and contextualization of reality (Berrios, 1989; Mathews & Ross, 2010).

Hence, subscribing to the aforesaid basic assumptions of interpretive approach, I have decided to conduct this study via qualitative method, namely phenomenological method, which enabled me to tune empathetically into the subjective meanings and experiences of the participants with regard to the phenomenon under study (Berrios, 1989; Mathews & Ross, 2010).

3.3. Research Design

Every study has a design be it qualitative or quantitative. It is required in order to ensure the validity of the study (Yin, 2011).

3.3.1. Cross-sectional qualitative design

In cross-sectional research design, data are collected at one point of time (Rubin & Babbie, 2011). Cross-sectional research design is well known and vastly employed in social research as it enables a researcher to obtain result relatively swiftly (de Vaus, 2001. This study, therefore,

employed hermeneutic phenomenological approach purely based on cross-sectional qualitative research method.

3.3.2. Rationale for using qualitative research method

Qualitative research method is a preferable avenue to look into subjective meanings people attach to a social phenomenon in their particular social milieu (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994; Marks &Yardley, 2004; Wilkinson, Joffe & Yardley, 2004; Yin, 2011) and it helps to study the phenomenon in depth and detail(Mason, 2002; Patton, 2002). It also enables "contextual understandings" of the phenomenon under investigation (Mason, 2002). Additionally, it is highly applicable to social work because the discipline is interested in nuances of peoples' lives, and experiences (Krysik & Finn, 2010).

Qualitative research tends to focus on the meaning and motivations that underlie personal experiences and phenomena and on detailed understandings of processes in the social world from the perspectives of the participants (Flick, Kardorff & Steinke, 2004; Henn, Weinstein & Foard, 2006; Kalof & Dan, 2008; Creswell, 2009; Moriarty, 2011). To this end, it engages in textual descriptions of the phenomena under study (Polkinghorne, 2005; Vanderstoep & Johnston, 2009). Broadly speaking, "…qualitative research attempts to understand and make sense of phenomena from the participant's perspective" (Merriam, 2002, p. 6).

As such, cognizant of the fact that qualitative research is an appropriate approach to look into subjective meanings people ascribe to a phenomenon and their lived experiences within the realm of their particular social milieu and from their vantage point, I employed it to look into the lived experiences of the participants pertaining to the phenomenon under study.

3.3.3. Rationale for selecting hermeneutical phenomenology

Hermeneutical phenomenology

Technically speaking, there are three types of phenomenology: hermeneutic phenomenology, transcendental phenomenology and existential phenomenology (Patton, 2002; Kafle, 2011). They all have some elements in common that are deemed the hallmarks of phenomenology: data collection, participant selection, and focus on lived experience (Laverty, 2003).

As to Lin (2013), "Phenomenology is a recommended methodology when the study goals are to understand the meanings of human experiences or to explore concepts from new and fresh perspectives" (p. 469). According to Patton (2002), phenomenology facilitates the enquiry into "…how people experience some phenomenon— how they perceive it, describe it, feel about it, judge it ,remember it, make sense of it, and talk about it with others" (p. 104). It is an imperative avenue to attain a profound understanding of human experiences common to a group of people as it attempts to describe the meaning for several individuals of their lived experiences of a phenomenon that they have in common (Sanders, 1982; Creswell, 1998; Denscombe, 2007; Vanderstoep & Finlay, 2009; Vanderstoep & Johnston, 2009; Simon & Goes, 2011; Yuksel & Yildirim, 2015).

The understanding of the experiences of the participants is gained leaning on the participants' perspective, frame of reference or point of view (Titchen & Hobson, 2005; Griffiths, 2009). Explanations are not imposed before the phenomena have been understood from the perspectives of the participants of the study (Moran, 2000); because reality can only be understood in the context of the meaning assigned to it by an individual as reality is a socially and individually constructed phenomenon (Krysik & Finn, 2010).

In a similar fashion, hermeneutical phenomenology searches for personal experience and requires a description or interpretation of the meanings of phenomena experienced by participants in an investigation (Oliver, Tan & Wilson, 2009; Padilla-Diaz, 2015; Wertz, 2015). For that matter, Patton (2002) argues, "…descriptions of experience and interpretations are interwined that they often become one. Interpretation is essential to an understanding of experience and the experience includes the interpretation" (p. 106). Hermeneutic phenomenology, therefore, incorporates both interpretive and descriptive elements (Oliver, Tan &Wilson, 2009; Peter, 2013; Lakateb, 2014). Unlike the other types of phenomenology, enmeshment of description, interpretation and reinterpretation and self-reflection (incorporation of pre-understanding of the phenomenon under study by the researcher) is the peculiar hallmark of hermeneutic phenomenology that distinguishes it from other types of phenomenology (Laverty, 2003; Kafle, 2011; Henriksson & Friesen, 2012). In other words, unlike other phenomenological approaches, it rejects bracketing pre-understanding and assumptions about the phenomenon under investigation, transcendentalism that dictates that meanings and research conclusions are fixed once and for all, and the assumption that phenomena are studied as objective, rather as meaningful (Henriksson & Friesen, 2012).

Oliver, Tan and Wilson (2009) argue, "Hermeneutic phenomenology, being the process of interpreting and describing human experience to understand the central nature of that experience, is well positioned as a suitable methodology for human sciences research"(p. 2). Incorporation of description and interpretation in hermeneutic phenomenology is aligned with the argument of Mason (2002):

> *Qualitative research should produce explanations or arguments, rather than claiming to offer mere description... I do not think it is sufficient for a*

researcher to say that they wish simply to describe something, or explore what is happening. Descriptions and explorations involve selective viewing and interpretation; they cannot be neutral, objective or total (p. 7-8).

On the other hand, Newberry (2012) argues that hermeneutic phenomenological enquiry is consonant with social work research, since it involves interpretation, empathy, critical reflection and recognition for participants as active human actors. She goes on to say that hermeneutic cycle , focus on contextualized experiences of humans and attention to manifest (disclosed) and latent (undisclosed) qualities of the phenomenon under investigation are another attributes that make hermeneutic phenomenology an appropriate methodology for social work research.

Meanwhile, pertaining to whether or not a phenomenological research is phenomenological, Finlay (2009) states that, debates abound among phenomenologists. Put it another way, there is no common stance among phenomenologists as to whether or not a research claimed to be phenomenological study is really phenomenological inquiry in its nature. However, as to the assertion of Finlay (2009), it suffices for a phenomenological research to be considered as phenomenological when it encompasses rich description of lived experiences and when the researcher is guided by phenomenological attitude— openness to new perspectives without judging their realness or falsity.

Herein, however, it is worth noting that phenomenological descriptions should not be equated to conventional descriptions because it is applicable to solely subjective experiences (Berrios, 1989). Consonant with the argument of Berrios(1989) is that of Patton (2002) which goes as saying, "…one must undertake in- depth interviews with people who have directly experienced the phenomenon of interest; that is, they have "lived experiences" as opposed to secondhand experience" (p. 104).

Hence, as hermeneutic phenomenology can incorporate self-reflection, description, and interpretation in enquiring the lived experiences of participants, I have preferred it to other types of phenomenology that cannot synchronize these three purposes to the fullest level (van Manen, 1990; Laverty, 2003; Griffiths, 2009; Padilla-Diaz, 2015; Wertz, 2015).

3.4. Data sources

There are two types of sources of data that a researcher can collect information from pertaining to the phenomenon under enquiry, namely primary and secondary sources of data (Kalof, Dan & Dietz, 2008; Dawson, 2009). Thus, data that are pertinent to the phenomenon under study were collected from both primary and secondary sources of data.

3.4.1. Primary source of data

Primary data were collected from the participants of the study via in-depth interview guided by open-ended questions. The kinds of questions that were put the participants encompassed throw- away-questions, essential questions and probing questions all aimed at eliciting rich data from the participants to answer the research questions amply.

3.4.2. Secondary sources of data

Any relevant secondary data were exhaustively amassed from different relevant sources such as journals, book chapters, books, master's thesis, doctoral dissertations and internet.

3.5. Description of Study Area

Sedika Kersa Community is located in Arsi, Oromia on a distance of 250km from Addis Ababa. It is situated in Arsi Robe *woreda*. Robe *woreda* is situated east of mount Chilalo. It consists of 32 kebeles with total population of 197,234 inhabitants (CSA, 2013 as cited in Wubshet, 2014). Agriculture is the main economic base of the woreda. The agricultural practice of smallholders

farmers encompasses mixed farming system, production of crop along with livestock based on traditional method of farming ,which is characterized by low productivity (Wubshet , 2014).The same is true for Sedika Kersa community in this regard.

Residents of the community live on farming. Temperature wise, it belongs to a temperate (weinadega) zone. Common agricultural products harvested in the area include wheat, teff, nigger, sorghum, beans, lentils, legumes, heart beans, garlic, onions, chilies, lattice, cabbage, red beets, calabash, sunflower, maize, and legumes among others. Livestock reared in the area include cattle, sheep, goats, mules, donkey and horse. The population of the community is estimated to be around 20,000.The ethnic composition of the community is that the majorities of the residents are Oromo followed by Amhara and Gurage respectively. Religion affiliation includes Orthodox, Protestant and Islam (key informant interview).

The selection of the community as the study site for my research has been erected on three reasons. The first reason is ease of entry or familiarity with the community and its culture. I personally believe that my familiarity with the culture, norms and values of the community as an individual born and socialized in the community is a potential asset that contributed a lot to the study. I believe that study participants are more comfortable to talk with an insider than to an outsider. Since this study is a cross-language research, meaning that it was translated into a second language, namely English, translation was a must issue. Concerning translation in cross-cultural research, Filep (2009) argues that language competence, historical, and cultural knowledge about the context under scrutiny is paramount. Thus, having thought of such issues, I decided to conduct the study in the community with which I have a robust familiarity culture, language and history wise.

The second reason for selecting the site under consideration is due to my personal experience and observation that accorded me with exposure to witness the plights of older people in the community. On different occasions, I witnessed that older people in the community are mistreated by their very own family members, children, relatives and members of the community. These challenges of older people in the community have been my concern ever since I started realizing and observing them. On the other hand, I have observed many older people struggling on their own to eke out living amidst such challenges.

The third reason is absence of gerentological studies in the community under discussion. By this, however, I do not mean that there are no other communities devoid of gerentological studies but this is an add-on to the preceding two reasons.

Figure 1: Map of the study area
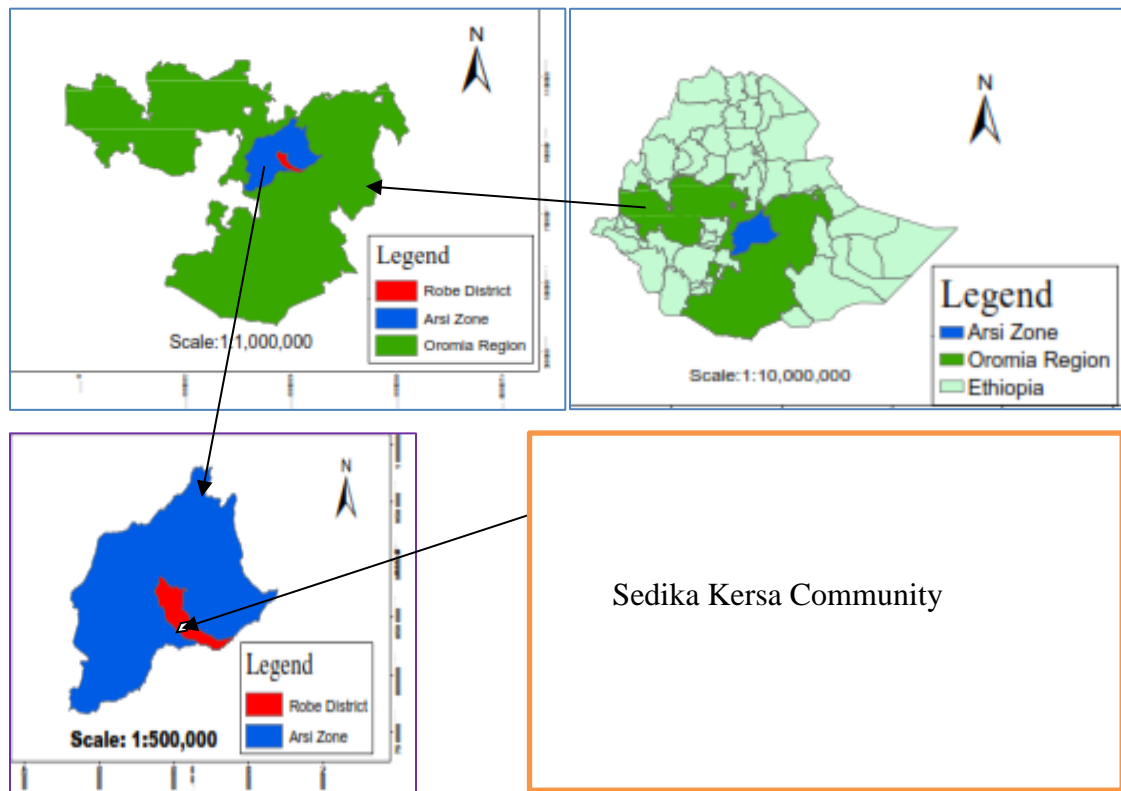
Source: Geographic Information System, 2007

3.6. Sampling Technique

3.6.1. Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling is a form of non-probability sampling where cases are judged as typical of some category of cases of interest to the researcher (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000; Babbie, 2007; Rubin & Babbie, 2011; Neuman, 2014). They are not selected randomly. In many situations, nonrandom sampling methods can be used to identify research participants efficiently and effectively. And it is frequently used in qualitative research (Gledhill, Abbey & Schweitzer, 2008; Gentles, Charles, Ploeg & McKibbon, 2015). While not ensuring representativeness, however, such a method of selection can provide useful information (de Vaus, 1995). It is normally characterized by the incorporation of specific criteria met by the participants during selection based on researcher's judgment and purpose of study (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000; Berg, 2001; Corbetta, 2003; Matthews & Ross, 2010; Padilla-Diaz, 2015). Thus, I selected older people, who met the eligibility criteria mentioned under eligibility criteria, with the help of a gatekeeper.

3.7. Sample size

Determining an ample size of nonrandom sample is not as fixed as that of random sample, because errors of estimation cannot be calculated (Anastas, 1999). Sample size cannot be determined until the data collection and analysis are underway. In such a case, the concept of *diminishing returns* can be deployed. When successive interviews are consistently yielding little or no new information or insight, the sample size is deemed be considered as large enough (Anastas, 1999; Dawson, 2009).

Specifically pertaining to phenomenological study, on the other hand, Creswell (1998) posited that the sample size of phenomenological study ranges from 3-15 participants. On the contrary, Sanders (1982) suggested that sample size for phenomenological research might range from 3-6 participants. However, for this very research purpose, I determined the number of participants leaning on what Creswell (1998) suggested and *diminishing returns* concept of Anastas (1999).Thus, I limited the sample size to 10 participants.

3.8. Inclusion Criteria

Rumsey and Marks (2004) point out that meticulous decision should be made in order to set eligibility criteria for study participants. On the other hand, Creswell (2007), states that a phenomenological inquiry intrinsically requires relatively homogenous participants who have meaningful experiences of the phenomenon under scrutiny. Besides, Thomas and Pollio (2002, as cited by Graves, 2006) contends that participants that are selected for phenomenological enquiry should possess the experience of the phenomenon under investigation. Additionally, the selection should be based on their good will and capability to describe their experiences of the phenomenon. By the same token, I sampled solely participants who met the following eligibility criteria:

- Older people who reside in Sedika Kersa Community
- Older People who are willing to participate in the study
- Older people who are 60 or older (I purposively avoided recruiting participants from limited age category in an effort to entertain various perspectives from all age-categories of older people).
- Older People who are capable of describing their lived experience

Concerning method of data collection, Mouton (1996) states that the researcher should describe the methods she/he uses to gather data from the participants. However, pertaining to choosing data collection methods, Alston and Bowles (2003) argue that technically speaking, there is no right or wrong methods for a particular methodology although the type of information sought, resources available and research questions are issues worth considering. The rule of thumb, however, is that an enquirer should choose a method that best helps him/her to come up with the desired data (Alston & Bowles, 2003).

That being said, Creswell (2009) stipulates that data pertinent to a phenomenon under study via phenomenological study could be best gathered through in-depth interview and observation. Echoing the idea of Creswell (2009), Padilla-Diaz (2015) also avers that though in-depth interviews are the most widely used data collection method in phenomenological study, observations and documents can be used to conduct the research. By the same token, I employed the following data collection methods in order to gather all data pertinent to the research questions of the study.

3.9. Methods of Data Collection

3.9.1. In-depth interview

First and foremost, qualitative interview is the most crucial and powerful data-gathering tool in qualitative investigation (Myers & Newman, 2007), and it is the most commonly used data collection tool in qualitative research (Mason, 2002; Seidman, 2006; Oltmann, 2016). Specifically, with regard to selection of interview as data collection method in phenomenological enquiry, Englander (2012) points out, "Phenomenological, human scientific researchers tend to choose the interview due to their interest in the meaning of a phenomenon as it is lived by other subjects"(p.14). I, therefore, prepared major topics of the in-depth interview prior to the

interview sessions (*see* Appendix B). At the beginning of the interview, "throw- away-questions" (initial questions) which are used to develop rapport with the participants and gather demographic data were used (Berg, 2001; Ligard, Keegan & Ward, 2003), because in interview I had to, first and foremost, develop rapport with the participants of the study(Dawson, 2009).

Throughout the in-depth interview with the participants, essential questions which are focused markedly on the phenomenon under study and probing questions which are used to gain complete and rich data from the participants were synchronized (Berg, 2001). Nevertheless, I did not ask the participants numerous questions to gain rich data rather fewer questions, because Sanders (1982) warns, "It is better to ask fewer questions and to probe them intensively than it is to ask many questions assuming that more questions will yield more data (p. 357).

To this end, the interviews were audio-recorded depending on the permission of the participants because it is an ideal and crucial tool for qualitative interview (Sanders, 1982; Payne & Payne, 2004; Rubin & Babbie, 2011). Essential notes were also used in tandem with the audio recordings for the fear that mechanical failure might happen unexpectedly (Payne & Payne, 2004), and to facilitate the interview and analysis process of the enquiry (Patton, 2002).

Hence, I developed interview schedule (*see* Appendix B) prior to the interview drawing on the objectives of the study, because Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000) recommend preparation of interview schedule prior to the interview session by translating research objectives into questions. Similarly, Berg (2001) recommends preparation of interview schedule when an enquirer leans on semi-structured interview.

3.9.2. Observation

A crucial element for gathering data in any scientific enquiry is observation (Marczyk, DeMatteo & Festinger, 2005). It is the most basic avenue to gather data. The researcher records what he or she observes (Anastas, 1999; Matthews & Ross, 2010). Observation can be considered as a scientific data collection method when it enables the researcher to achieve the purpose of the study and when it applied purposively with meticulous plan (Kothari, 2004). Observation as data collection method is often presumed as being less biased than other methods of data collection based on self-report (Anastas, 1999).

Bailey (2008), points out, "Verbal and non-verbal interaction together shape communicative meaning" (p. 128). Similarly, in this very study under discussion, observation was synchronized with in-depth interview to collect observable data such as emotional expressions and symbolic gestures that the participants exhibited during the interview. As to this issue, Wilkinson, Joffe and Yardley (2004) point out:

> *There may be direct cues, such as tear welling in the eye or nervous laughter, or this may require empathy. In the latter case, the interviewer would need to tune into how they might feel in the situation that is being described by the interviewee, and to reflect upon this. However, interviewers must be careful not to impose their own viewpoint, by jumping to conclusions about how the interviewee might feel* (p. 46).

To sum up, as observation can purposively be used as a basic data collection method to capture observable cues in tandem with in-depth interview, I used it to gather data pertinent to the phenomenon under investigation. To this end, before embarking on observation, I prepared

observational checklists (*see* Appendix C) pertaining to what to be observed purposively in the field (Berg, 2001).

3.10. Translation of the Data

In cross-language research methodology, there should be transparency and rigor concerning translation (Chidlow, Plakoyiannaki & Welch, 2014). It is argued that, "The process of translation can itself be treated as data and the source of contextual insights and conceptual understanding" (Chidlow, Plakoyiannaki & Welch, 2014, p. 230). Accordingly, they argue that translation of data should be communicated in the methodology part of an enquiry. Temple and Young (2004) also argue that whether or not it is important to discuss the issue of translation in research depends on the paradigm of the research. If the research is based on the paradigm that acknowledges reality is subjective and contextual (e.g. interpretative and constructionist), translation should be one ingredient of the research process. Larkin, de Casterlé and Schotsmans (2007) also argue that failure to discuss the issue of translation in a research "might signify weakness in study design and rigor" (p.469).

Regarding translation, there are different types of translations, namely back translation and contextualized translation (Chidlow, Plakoyiannaki & Welch, 2014), literal translation, free translation and communicative translation (Filep, 2009). Back translation involves re-translating the data from the target language to the original language and contextualized translation is more of conceptual translation reflecting the culture and context of the source texts (Childlow, Plakoyiannaki & Welch, 2014). Literal translation, on the other hand, involves word-by-word translation that may not be in accordance with the grammatical and syntactical structures of the target language whereas free translation refers to conceptual translation obeying the grammatical and syntactical structure of the target language unlike the literal translation. As to communicative

translation when "in a given situation, the source text uses a standard expression in the source language for that situation, the translator in the target text chooses a target language expression for an equivalent target culture situation"(Suh, 2008 as cited by Filep, 2009, p. 68).

Filep (2009) recommends the use of free translation. Childlow, Plakoyiannaki and Welch (2014) also argue that even if back translation is commonly used in qualitative research, since it is solely preoccupied with lexical similarity of the target language and the source language irrespective of the contexts and culture of the source language, it is not a favorable approach. They even reproach back translation of being ignorant to the difference between the two languages (source language, and target language). As to them, source language, and the target language can never be symmetrical. Thus, back translation that seeks lexical similarity rather than reflecting contextual insights and conceptual understanding is not recommendable (Childlow, Plakoyiannaki & Welch, 2014). Filep (2009) also argues that in cross- cultural research not only language but also culture should be translated and addressed. Moreover, Temple and Edwards (2002) argue that as language is the reflection of "local realities", cultural meanings that are encapsulated in it should be emphasized."(p. 3).

According to Filep (2009), language competence, historical, and cultural knowledge about the context under scrutiny is of an imperative importance in translation. Thus, I embarked on free translation based on contextualized approach, as I am familiar with the historical and cultural background of the community where the study was conducted.

3.11. Procedure of Data Collection

First and foremost, with the help of gatekeeper, the participants were tracked and contacted for recruitment prior to the interview. The participants were recruited based on the inclusion criteria mentioned earlier. The participants who met the inclusion criteria were informed of the purpose

of the study and requested for their full consent/ good will to participate in the study. Attaining

their full consent, an appointment was made for an in-depth interview.

On the day of in-depth interview, I brought a consent form with me and asked the

participant to put his/her signature on the consent form prior to the interview session. The

consent form (*see* Appendix A) consists of the institution under whose authority I was doing the

study and my role in the institution. It also consists of such issues as of how privacy,

confidentiality, respect and dignity of the participants would be observed and ensured.

Additionally, guarantee of how deception and harm of the participant would be avoided and kept

at the bay was part of the consent form.

Afterwards, the participant was asked for her/his full consent to be audio-recorded for the

very success of the study. Having gained permission from each participant, I used digital audio-

recorder whilst interviewing and at the same time observed emotional and bodily cues pertaining

to the phenomenon under study. The types of questions that were put to the participants were

open-ended questions supported with probing questions, and clarification. Lastly, I gave the

participants an opportunity to voice their mind with regard to what were not asked throughout

the interview, but deemed worth mentioning by the participants. The duration of the interviews

ranges from 31 minutes to 75 minutes.

Immediately after the completion of each interview session, I embarked on making

transcription of recorded interviews and coherent description of the notes that had been jotted

down haphazardly during the interview lest important statements were forgotten as time passed

by (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994; Rubin & Babbie, 2011). Moreover, I commenced

phenomenological analysis as soon as possible without any delay because qualitative data

analysis often proceeds in tandem with data collection rather than commencing after its completion (Dey, 1993; Simon & Goes, 2011; Kerwin-Boudreau & Butler-Kisber, 2016).

3.12. Credibility of the Study

According to Shenton (2004), the credibility of qualitative research generally is not addressed in the same way as in quantitative research. According to Matthews & Ross (2010), credibility of a study refers to the believability of the researcher's interpretations of the data gathered from participants of the study without omission and distortion (Matthews & Ross, 2010). In qualitative studies, such terms as trustworthiness, authenticity and credibility address the issue of validity (Creswell, 2014). Thus, validity, credibility, rigor and trustworthiness are terms interchangeably used in qualitative inquiry to denote standards of quality of findings (Morrow, 2005).

In phenomenological study, researchers should ensure the credibility of the study (Laverty, 2003). To this end, steps taken to ensure credibility of the data should be described (Pyrczak, 2005). Accordingly, Creswell (2014) argues that credibility in qualitative study can be verified through such strategies as external auditor, triangulation, and rich thick description among others. Hence, in this study, I employed external auditor and rich thick description to ensure the trustworthiness of the findings of the study.

3.12.1. Rich tick description

According to Patton (2002), thick rich description forms the foundation for qualitative enquiry. And this can be facilitated by the fact that collection of rich data is inherent to qualitative enquiry (Chenail, 2011). Detailed descriptions of the phenomenon under study can give rise to the credibility of the findings of a study (Creswell, 2014). For that matter, the data that are inquired by the phenomenological study are concreteness whereby the descriptions involve details of the

lived experiences of each participant with regard to the phenomenon under investigation (Wertz, 2005).

A fresh and rich description of a phenomenon under inquiry as it tangibly lived by the participants is the hallmark of phenomenological study (Finlay, 2009). **"Rich description persuades by showing that the researcher was immersed in the setting and giving the reader enough detail to "make sense" of the situation"** (Firestone, 1987, p.16). Also, it takes the reader into the setting being described (Patton, 2002). In a similar manner, "Thick description presents human behavior in a way that takes not only the physical and social context into account, but also the actors' intentionality. In this way the meaning and significance of behaviors, or events are made accessible to the reader" (Schultze & Avital, 2010, p. 3). For that matter, qualitative studies embark on extensive verbatims, detailed descriptions and the investigator's observation concerning the phenomenon under enquiry (Kalof, Dan & Dietz, 2008).

To ensure the credibility of findings in qualitative research, an extensive coverage should be given to quotes of the participants of the study. In another words, quotes of the participants should outweigh the interpretations of the participants' experiences of the phenomenon under study by the researcher (Morrow, 2005).

> *An overemphasis on the researcher's interpretations at the cost of participant quotes will leave the reader in doubt as to just where the interpretations came from; an excess of quotes will cause the reader to become lost in the morass of stories. Just as numbers contribute to the persuasive "power" of a quantitative investigation, the actual words of participants are essential to persuade the reader that the interpretations of*

the researcher are in fact grounded in the lived experiences of the participants (Morrow, 2005, p. 256).

For the same reason, in an effort to elevate the credibility of this study, I presented detailed descriptions of the experiences of the participants with regard to the phenomenon under study using several perspectives of a theme along with several quotes of the participants. Balanced interpretations of the experiences of the participants, of course, were used to supplement the quotes of the participants because qualitative research cannot be devoid of interpretations (Ibrahim, 2012). In addition, verbatims alone cannot totally capture the experiences of the participants (Laverty, 2003). Finlay (2009) also asserts that description and interpretation in phenomenological research should be viewed as a continuum. Put another way, they are inseparable in phenomenological inquiry.

3.12.2. External auditor

Someone who is not a friend of the researcher can give an objective assessment of the study at each phase of the research, or at the finalization phase of the study (Creswell, 2014). In this particular study, therefore, I contacted my advisor and consulted him as an external auditor in an effort to verify the credibility of the findings of the study. To this end, I honestly reacted on every question raised by my advisor and seriously incorporated every comment, and suggestion he put forward concerning the study.

3.13. Data Storage, Retrieval, Analysis and Reporting Procedure

3.13.1. Data storage

Concerning data storage in this study, following the permission of the participants of the study, the interviews of each participant were audio recorded as a primary data storage method because

Ligard, Keegan and Ward (2003) state that interview data are generally audio-recorded since note taking by the researcher would change the pattern of the data. To this end, I used digital audio recorder.

Groenewald (2004) asserts that field notes are a secondary data storage method in qualitative study. Patton (2002) also argues, "The use of tape recorder does not eliminate the need for taking notes , but does allow you to concentrate on taking strategic and focused notes, rather than attempting verbatim notes"(p. 383). Despite serving as a backup in case the audio recorder fails, taking field notes facilitates both the interview process itself and data transcription process after the interview (Patton, 2002). Thus, field notes were used as data storage method in this particular study. Thus, I used both audio recording and field notes as primary data storage methods.

3.13.2. Data retrieval

Concerning data retrieval, I used reiterative reading, listening and meticulous transcription. Specifically, I reiteratively listened to the recorded audio and read the field notes in order to get familiarity with the data thereby engaging in transcription. In fact, data collection, retrieval, and analysis are not separate tasks rather interrelated and cyclical (Dey, 1993; Simon & Goes, 2011; Kerwin-Boudreau & Butler-Kisber, 2016).

3.13. 3.Data analysis procedure

With regard to data analysis in hermeneutic phenomenology, it is argued that there are no specific fixed steps, which are strictly adhered to by all phenomenological researchers in data explication (Hycner, 1985, Hycner, 1999, as cited in Groenewald, 2004; Laverty, 2003; Kafle, 2011). Absence of finite procedures in hermeneutic data explication is deemed important

because imposing empirically specific steps is inflicting the phenomenon under study with injustices (Hycner, 1985; Hycner, 1999 as cited in Groenewald, 2004).

Groenewald, however, states that instead of empirically specific steps for phenomenological data explication, there should be general guidelines (2004). As a result, there are some guidelines suggested by different authors for phenomenological data explication (e.g. Hycner, 1985; van Manen, 1990 as cited by Adam, 2012; Creswell, 1998; Biggerstaff & Thompson, 2008; Smith & Osborn, 2008), and, of course, Braun and Clarke (2006) for thematic analysis.

In this study, however, the data were explicated according to the phenomenological analysis guidelines adopted from Creswell (1998), Biggerstaff and Thompson (2008), Braun and Clarke (2006) and Smith and Osborn (2008) substantiated by ideas taken from others (e.g. Sanders, 1982; Day, 1993; Groenewald, 2004; Payne & Payne, 2004; Bailey, 2008; Yuksel & Yildrim, 2015). The analysis passed through the following phases:

Phase 1: Familiarization with data

Firstly, immersion in the collected data was made. Herein, all the collected data were thoroughly gone through repeatedly to get complete familiarity with the data. "…it is vital that you immerse yourself in the data to the extent that you are familiar with the depth and breadth of the content" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 16). This involved listening to the recorded interview now and then in order not to miss each trivial and crucial statement of the participants (Creswell, 1998). As a rule of thumb, repetitions of listening to the audiotape might be between 3-5 times depending on the length of the recording (Payne & Payne, 2004). Thus, I repeatedly listened to the audio-recorded data several times in an effort to get familiarity with the data.

Phase 2: Transcriptions

Secondly, I embarked on transcription of the data in Afan Oromo as they were gained in the in-depth interview. "Transcribing takes a long time (at least 3 hours per hour of talk and up to 10 hours per hour with a fine level of detail including visual detail" (Bailey, 2008, p. 129). Thus, audiotapes are transcribed into verbatims (Payne & Payne, 2004).

Phase 3: Horizontalization

Thirdly, I made data reduction whereby statements that were irrelevant (related to issues beyond the issue under scrutiny) to the phenomenon under study were eliminated (Yuksel & Yildrim, 2015). Data reduction in qualitative study is a vital process according to Bailey (2008) since interaction involves a bulk of information.

Phase 4: Translation

Fourthly, I translated to English the data that were transcribed in Afan Oromo. For this purpose, I used free translation based on contextualized approach.

Phase 5: Searching for themes

On this juncture, I clustered all statements and quotes of the participants into several themes categorically depending on their "importance and centrality" (Sanders, 1982, p. 357). On this phase, I identified about twenty themes.

Phase 6: Connecting and naming the themes

 Sixthly, I connected the identified themes to form refined super themes or concise categorically. At this juncture, I took a meticulous caution to cluster solely akin themes because Groenewald (2004) warns, "Care must be taken not to cluster common themes if significant differences exist" (p. 21). According to Smith and Osborn (2008), "Some of the themes will cluster together, and

some may emerge as superordinate concepts" (p. 70).Thus, by connecting the identified themes at phase 5, I reduced them to eight concise major themes. Then, I named each connected themes depending on its essential essence or centrality (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Phase 7: Textural description

On this phase, I embarked on presenting a complete textural description of each participant's experience of the phenomenon under study by crystallizing it with "adverbatim" quotations of the participant. The textural description and adverbatim quotations were written up based on the themes emerged in the process of clustering of the units of meanings. It was all about what the participants experienced not how they experienced (Sanders, 1982; Creswell, 1998).

Phase 8: Structural description

I engaged in writing up the structural description of the participants' experience of the phenomenon. According to Dey (1993), structural description involves detailed descriptions of the social setting or contexts within which the experiences took place and that impinged on how the participants experienced them. So, I made the structural description of the participants' experiences of the phenomenon under enquiry using literature and the theoretical frameworks I outlined under literature review. On this juncture, I used both descriptions and interpretations.

Phase 9: Essence/synopsis

Finally, depending on the textural and structural descriptions of the participants' experiences of the phenomenon, I wrote up the essence of the phenomenon under investigation. Underlying the essence of phenomenon are common things repeated in the data collected from the participants—shared meanings or experience.

3.13.4. Reporting the findings

Regarding the writing up and presentation of the full composition of the study, it was written in a literary, informal style using the personal voices in tandem with formal research language. According to Creswell (2007), qualitative enquiry uses a typical rhetoric. It, for instance, uses metaphors and first-personal pronoun, "I". Consonant with the assertion of Creswell (2007) is that of Finlay (2009) who argues that qualitative research should encompass both formal and informal style of writing. Likewise, hermeneutic phenomenology unlike other types of phenomenology embraces typical rhetoric— informal sayings, expressions and poetic style of language (Sanders, 1982; Kafle, 2011; Henriksson & Friesen, 2012).

3.14. Ethical Considerations

3.14.1. Permission

In order to comply with code of ethics of research in this particular study, in the first place an official cooperative letter was obtained from the School of Social Work, Addis Ababa University after approval of the proposal by the school as a go-ahead pertaining to the study.

3.14.2. Informed consent

Following the permission I obtained from the School of Social Work, I prepared a consent form (*see* Appendix A). Within the consent slips, the participants were informed about the purpose of the study and other pertinent issues regarding the study.

3.14.3. Privacy, anonymity and confidentiality

The greatest concern to protect the interests and wellbeing of participants lie in protecting their identity in the research (Babbie, 2007). In order to preserve anonymity and confidentiality, in this particular study, I used the fictitious names of the participants instead of their real names. On

the other hand, any individual participant identifiers was totally removed from the report of the findings of the study, because the major concerns to the confidentiality of the research are publication of participants' identifiers (Babbie, 2007; Kalof, Dan & Dietz, 2008). As such, some demographic information, which I thought, would reveal the identity of some of the participants was removed in an effort to preserve their identity.

In addition to the removal of individual participant's identifiers such as their real names and some demographic information of certain participants from the report of the findings, their audio-recorded and transcribed data and field notes were kept securely (Wilkinson, Joffe & Yardley, 2004). Pertaining to the right to privacy of the participants, I did not impinge on the participants not to withdraw from the study. For that matter, none of the participants exhibited any inclination to withdraw from the study. Also, I did not impinge on them to provide information that they did not want to divulge for the sake of their own privacy (Alston & Bowles, 2003; Ruane, 2005). Additionally, the settings of the interviews were selected drawing on the interest of the participants in an effort to observe the right to privacy of the participants (Ruane, 2005).

3.14.4. Protection from harm, deception and inhumane treatment

I took every crucial measure and caution not to inflict the participants with any harm, inhumane treatment and deceptions in the enquiry under discussion. Any likely emotional discomfort that might arise during interview session, however, was notified to the participants prior to participation during consent form signature.

3.14.5. Analysis and reporting

Babbie (2007) points out that despite responsibility to participants of the study, a researcher should be honest to the scientific community in his/her analysis and reporting of the findings. To this end, any shortcomings of the study should be communicated. Accordingly, I disclosed to the scientific community the shortcomings of this research in its reporting. Besides, I reported only the true findings of the research without distortion and omission (Ruane, 2005). I did not also invent data, suppress data or selectively report solely findings that subscribe to specific theories (Payne & Payne, 2004).

Chapter Four: Data Presentation and Analysis

Introduction

In this chapter, the study results and analysis are presented in detail. Below, the concise and refined themes gained after a laborious and reiterative reduction, naming and connecting the themes attained from the raw data collected from ten participants are presented in detail. The analysis process, of course, passed through the nine stages proposed under chapter three, namely familiarization with data, transcriptions, horizontalization, translations, searching for themes, naming and connecting the themes, textural description, structural description and synopsis.

This chapter, however, deals with the refined themes along with their detailed textural descriptions. I tried to present thick rich descriptions of experience pf the participants for each theme because thick rich description is the foundation of qualitative enquiry (Patton, 2002). For that matter, the data that are inquired by the phenomenological study are concreteness whereby the descriptions involve details of the lived experiences of each participant with regard to the phenomenon under investigation (Wertz, 2005). As such, I presented lots of adverbatims of the participants to enrich the textural descriptions of their experience in an effort to be in line with the assertion of Morrow (2005):

> *...Just as numbers contribute to the persuasive "power" of a quantitative investigation, the actual words of participants are essential to persuade the reader that the interpretations of the researcher are in fact grounded in the lived experiences of the participants* (Morrow, 2005, p. 256).

4.1. The study participants

The study embraced ten participants recruited purposively with the help of a gatekeeper. The participants' ages range from 70-100 years. Four participants of the study are females while six

of the total participants are males. The demographic information of the participants was gathered

during rapport building with the participants prior to the in-depth interview. The demographic

information of the participants include sex, age, marital status, ethnicity, religion, number of

children they have, living arrangement (with whom they live), and their livelihood or source of

income. The real names of the study participants were replaced with assigned fictitious names in

an effort to preserve the confidentiality of their data. Additionally, I omitted some demographic

information of the participants that I believe would endanger the confidentiality of the

participants' data if presented. The summary of the study participants' demographics are

presented below in table 4.1.

Table 4.1: The study participants' demographics

Pseudonym	Sex	Age	Marital status	Education	Religion	No. of children	Living arrangement	Livelihood
Abdisa	M	80	married	illiterate	Orthodox	7	with his own family	agriculture
Geletu	M	70	married	illiterate	Orthodox	9	with his own family	agriculture
Nanati	F	70	married	illiterate	Islam	7	with her husband	agriculture
Dinaol	M	70	married	illiterate	Orthodox	5	with his wife	agriculture
Bikila	M	100	widower	illiterate	Orthodox	5	with his son's family	agriculture
Ali	M	78	married	illiterate	Islam	11	with his own family	agriculture
Yodit	F	76	widowed	illiterate	Orthodox	3	alone	agriculture
Sifan	F	70	widowed	illiterate	Islam	5	alone	agriculture
Erena	M	76	married	illiterate	Orthodox	11	with his own family	agriculture
Hawi	F	79	widowed	illiterate	Protestant	12	alone	agriculture

Source: Researcher's own field interview (February, 2017)

4.2. Description of the study participants

Participant 1: Abdisa

Abdisa is an 80-year-old articulate man. He lives with his family, namely his wife and three of his children. Four of his children are married and live far away from him. He is an illiterate follower of Orthodox Christianity. His livelihood totally depends on agriculture. Currently, he is suffering from concurrent diseases. Above all, he reiteratively spoke of stomachache that has aggravated his ageing. According to his accounts, due to stomachache, he could not eat any food to the extent that he desired. According to his own accounts, due to lack of food intakes, his overall health condition and physical power have deteriorated so a lot that he has been forced to withdraw from several activities that require physical energy.

Participant 2: Geletu

Geletu is a 70-year-old hardworking man. He lives with his wife and two of his children. Seven of his children are married and lead their own independent life. He is illiterate and follower of Orthodox Christianity. He totally lives on agriculture whose productivity is volatile. Currently, he is suffering from mild back pain. He visited health centers on several occasions in order to gain relief from his sickness. Though he suffers back pain, he fully engages in agricultural activities including ploughing.

Participant 3: Nanati

Nanati is a 70-year-old illiterate woman. She is a Muslim who lives with her husband. Of her total seven children, none lives with her. All of them are married and lead their own independent life. Her livelihood draws on subsistent agriculture. She withdrew from many social activities since she decided to remain focused on transcendental activities. According to her accounts, transcendentalism is the herald of ageing when engagement significantly diminishes. Even

though she withdrew from many social engagements, she is still active on economic activities

such as agricultural activities and domestic chores.

Participant 4: Dinaol

Dinaol is a 70-year-old man who suffers from chronic disease. He never attended school and he

can neither read nor write. He is an Orthodox Christian who lives with his wife. He has five

children but none of them lives with him. He leads his life by harvests gained from small plots of

land. The harvests reaped from his small plots of land are too meager to lead a better living

circumstance. Thus, his living condition appeared to have deteriorated abjectly. Due to his

illness, he withdrew from many activities especially from agricultural activities. He wishes he

could participate in every activity that he used to engage in before he caught chronic illness.

Meanwhile, he is at odds with his children. They filed a case against him in order to take their

mother's share of his farms after she had passed away. Thus, he was left only with meager plots

of land whose harvest cannot sustain his life without seeking assistances from others particularly

government.

Participant 5: Bikila

Bikila is a 100-year old articulate but illiterate man. Even though he is an illiterate, he seems a

professional historian. He amazingly narrates the historical events took in Ethiopia almost sixty

years ago. He is a widower and follower of Orthodox Christianity. He has five children. He lives

with his oldest son's family. His source of income leans on agriculture that he gave to others for

equal share of its harvests. His moving capability was so weakened that he cannot walk long

distance except in the compound. He got problem in moving his legs at ease. Additionally, his

appetite diminished so substantially that he cannot eat a lot. He spends most of his time alone in

a hut located within the compound of his oldest son. Though he has withdrawn from plenty of

engagements, he insisted on maintaining his social interaction at least with his household members. He is still active on giving advice and telling history to those who volunteer to listen to him.

Participant 6: Ali

Ali is a 78- year-old illiterate man. He lives with his own family. He has eleven children. Nine of his children are married and have their own family. Only two little children and his wife live with him. He is a follower of Islam religion. His livelihood hinges on agriculture whose harvests are shared equally between him and those who work on his farms for equal share. He had been suffering from heartache for three months. Then, he almost recovered from it. But he gets very weary when he walks a distance of like two kilometers. He already withdrew from agricultural activities. But, he is still active on some social engagements and domestic activities.

Participant 7: Yodit

Yodit is a 76-year- old illiterate widowed. She has three children. They all are married. She lives alone. She attains her income from her farms on which she makes others work for equal share of their harvests. She is a follower of Orthodox Christianity. In addition to many challenges she faced as an old lonely widowed, she shoulders the responsibility of caring for her grandchildren whose mother is abroad as a domestic worker. Her greatest worry is that she lives alone and worries about her safety and soundness. She also worries about the safety of her assets.

Participant 8: Sifan

Sifan is a 76-year- old illiterate widowed. She has five children. She lives alone. Her livelihood is based on agriculture. She is a follower of Islam. Even though her physical energy diminished, she is adamant to continue to engage in different activities. She vowed not to withdraw from activities until she becomes too weak to move from place to place. She does not want to be

considered dependent old woman who cannot fend for herself. According to her accounts, that would demean her self-esteem. She does not want others to call her "jarti" (literarily means older woman). For her, "jarti" is an older woman who does not engage in any activities and totally submits to the hands of others for care. As she still fends for herself, she hates to be referred to as "jarti" (older woman). She is at odds with her son in this regard, as he refers to her as "jarti".

Participant 9: Erena

Sifan is a 76-year- old illiterate man. He has eleven children. He lives with four of his children and wife. His main source of income is agriculture. He is a follower of Orthodox Christianity. Even though he believes that his physical energy diminished tremendously, he still engages in plenty of activities. He had been active participant on any arbitration in the community. Currently, he decreased his participation on arbitration because he experienced despise and rejection by young arbitrators. He used to help conflicting parties through arbitration hinging on his ancestral norms and values.

Participant 10: Hawi

Hawi is a 79-year- old illiterate woman. She has twelve children. She lives alone. She draws her income from agriculture. She is follower Protestant Christianity. Currently, she is suffering from an eye sickness. She underwent an eye surgery but could not gain any relief. Her eyesight diminished a lot after she underwent an eye surgery. When she gazes at something, she would uncontrollably be in tears and feel pain. She withdrew from many activities due to an eye sickness and an overall loss of physical energy. She, however, still engages on some domestic chores.

4.3. Emerging Themes

I identified the themes depending on their "importance and centrality" (Sanders, 1982, p. 357). As I identified several themes in the first place, I tried to connect common themes across individual themes emerged from the individual narration of the participants in an effort to form superordinate themes. I, however, took a meticulous caution to connect only akin themes (Groenewald, 2004) letting others remain super ordinate concepts (Smith &Osborn, 2008).Then, I named the themes based on their essential essence (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

4.3.1. Overview of the emerging themes

From the whole narrative accounts of the participants, eight superordinate themes emerged. These major themes on which the analysis centered are the following one:

Nostalgia and sense of devaluation

The theme of "nostalgia and sense of devaluation" emerged as one superordinate theme from the narrative accounts of the participants. The theme, however, appeared to have two sub-themes, namely "nostalgia of youthful appearance and sense of devaluation", and "nostalgia of filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity in good old days and sense of devaluation".

The sub-theme, "nostalgia of youthful appearance and sense of devaluation" emerged from the narrative accounts of the participants pertaining to the subjective meanings the participants ascribe to their ageing body. It demonstrates that the participants are nostalgic of their youthful appearance. Embedded in their nostalgia of their past body appearance is their wish to regain their youthful body appearance. It appeared that they do not ascribe positive meanings to their ageing body.

The second sub-theme, "nostalgia of filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity in good old days and sense of devaluation" emerged from the whole narrative accounts of the participants pertaining to their experience with regard to filial responsibility expectation and intergenerational solidarity. It depicts that the participants are nostalgic of their past filial responsibility they discharged for their parents and the then good intergenerational solidarity they enjoyed. The contextual factor that forced them to be nostalgic of their past filial responsibility and intergeneration solidarity is their displeasure with their children's filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity.

Determination to retain personal agency

This theme of the experience of the participants shows that the participants are determined not to withdraw from engagement. They hate withdrawal from engagement. Fear of mistreatment by their own children encouraged them to stick to engagement in an effort to retain their personal agency. Moreover, they use engagements as means of slowing down the process of ageing—fighting ageing.

Reduced engagement

Encapsulated in this theme of the experience of the participants is the fact that they have reduced engagement, if not withdrawn totally, due to factors stood against their wishes. The contextual factors for their reduced engagement include deterioration of health condition, enervation and mystification by younger generation culture, which rejects older people. Despite reduced engagement, participations and contributions of the participants is also an integral part of this theme of the experience of the participants.

Deteriorated health condition and enervation

This theme emerged from the accounts of the participants pertaining to their views of ageing. The participants asserted that deteriorated health condition and enervation are the two major forces that mark the onset of ageing thereby forcing older people to minimize or withdraw from engagement. Included in their assertion is also the notion that these two forces also aggravate the living condition of older people.

Experiencing old age as a period of concurrent plights

This theme emerged from the whole narrative accounts of the participants concerning their experience with regard to challenges associated with ageing. The participants appeared to have faced several challenges in old age. Central to this theme is also the participants' view of ageing as a period of influxion of challenges from every direction.

Drained happiness

This theme indicates that the participants are sorrowful due to concurrent challenges they faced in old age. Different challenges associated with ageing have been a drain on their happiness that they seek in old age. They are sorrowful with their life like never before.

Sense of gratefulness

Except their displeasure with their children's filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity, the participants do not nullify the occasional supports they receive from different parties including government. They gratefully recognize them albeit scant.

Sense of pessimism

This theme of the experience of the participants captures the participants' concern and pessimism about their future when they get totally dependent on others for care. Their current experience

with their children's filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity made them become pessimistic with regard to getting reliable caregiver in the future.

4.3.2. Textural descriptions of the emerging themes

The detailed descriptions of the aforementioned themes are presented below along with their detailed narrative accounts of the participants in an effort to illustrate the themes with rich tick descriptions thereby contributing to the credibility of the study.

> *An overemphasis on the researcher's interpretations at the cost of participant quotes will leave the reader in doubt as to just where the interpretations came from; an excess of quotes will cause the reader to become lost in the morass of stories. Just as numbers contribute to the persuasive "power" of a quantitative investigation, the actual words of participants are essential to persuade the reader that the interpretations of the researcher are in fact grounded in the lived experiences of the participants* (Morrow, 2005, p. 256).

Thus, I tried to enrich the textural descriptions of each theme of the experience of the participants with adverbatims of the participants.

4.3.2.1. Theme 1: Nostalgia and sense of devaluation

The theme of "nostalgia and sense of devaluation" appeared as one superordinate theme throughout individual narration of the study participants. Though it did appear as one independent superordinate theme, it appeared to have sub-themes. The sub-themes encapsulated in the superordinate theme "nostalgia and sense of devaluation" are "nostalgia of youthful appearance and sense of devaluation", and "nostalgia of filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity in the good old days and sense of devaluation". Put another way, the nostalgia of the

participants consists of different dimensions such as youthful appearance, filial responsibility, and intergenerational solidarity along with associated sense of devaluation or sense of loss of worth.

4.3.2.1.1. Sub-theme 1A: Nostalgia of youthful appearance and sense of devaluation

"... I wish I could retain my youthful body appearance. But that would be unrealistically impossible; it would be just imaginary" (Geletu).

The quote of Geletu above can capture the experience of the participants. This sub-theme emerged from the accounts of the participants that they articulated when I asked them about the meanings they attach to their ageing body. The participants nostalgically talked about their beautiful body appearance they had before they experienced ageing. In their narration, they indicated that they wish they could regain their youthful appearance. On the other hand, they are not happy about their current ageing body. They hate it. Put simply, they appeared to have developed negative view of their aging body—they do not ascribe positive meanings to their ageing body in general.

In his quote below, Abdisa, for instance, appeared to have hated his current ageing body. Comparing his current body appearance with his former one, he flashes back to the days when he was handsome. Also, it seems that his self-esteem has been diminished due to his aging body appearance. This fact can be pinpointed in his excerpt below:

"When I nostalgically go back to the good old days, I become suicidal...my body appearance has deteriorated and my posture has changed. Thinking of this, I feel agonized and sad" [shaking his head left, right, and frowning]. The shaking of his head entails his displeasure with his ageing body. He proudly talked about his previous beauty. Thinking of his former beauty, he is not happy with his current ageing body.

In a similar fashion, Dinaol articulated his nostalgia of his past body appearance. In his articulation, he appeared to have attached a positive meaning to his past body appearance. He used descriptive words 'beautiful and fat' to describe his past body appearance. He used these two descriptive adjectives to indicate that he attaches positive meanings to his past body appearance. On the contrary, he used descriptive adjectives such as ugly, skinny and dirty to refer to his current body appearance. His usage of these descriptive adjectives indicates that he does not ascribe positive meanings to his current ageing body. On top of that, he appeared to have developed sense of devaluation. He used "despised and neglected" to reflect his sense of devaluation. He felt that he was undermined by others. In addition, it seems that his ageing body and the associated sense of devaluation triggered a sorrow in his current life. His following excerpt taken from his narrative accounts can illustrate this issue:

> *Thinking of my current body appearance, I nostalgically go back to my youthful appearance when I was beautiful and my body was fatter. Consequently, I feel sorrow because my current physical appearance is ugly, skinny, and dirty and I am despised. I feel like 'why have I been despised and neglected?' [Hitting ground with his cane: hints at his anger].*

A thorough look at the whole narration of Dinaol indicates that he has experienced despise and neglect. In his extract above also, he gave a clue to the fact that he has experienced despise and neglect. Also, It seems that he attributed despise and neglect to partly his ageing body.

Like stated above, courtesy of the comparison of their current ageing body with their former 'beautiful' appearance, the participants became displeased with their ageing body. They believe that they have grown ugly. Their referral point or yardstick is, of course, their past body appearance to which they refer as 'beautiful'. In the light of this yardstick, they believe that they

have grown ugly. This very issue can be elaborated on further by an excerpt taken from the narration of Hawi:

> *See, my body appearance has changed a lot. I resemble "cooked beans" [ugly]. Thinking of my youthful appearance, I do not love myself. I do not really love myself. I wish I could get my beautiful appearance restored [shaking her head left and right which hints at her sadness]. But the plain fact remains that it is impossible despite my wish.*

In her aforesaid extract, Hawi purposively used the metaphor "cooked beans" in order to refer to her current body appearance. She used the metaphor to indicate that she has grown ugly. Consequently, she appeared to have hated herself. She reiteratively used the sentence "I do not love myself" to indicate that she is displeased with her ageing body. This, of course, entails the fact that she does not attach positive meanings to her ageing body. It seems she developed hatred for her body because of the abuse she experienced and the associated sense of devaluation she developed.

Additionally, according to the narrative accounts of the participants, it seems that the irreversibility of their ageing body made them sound desperate. They indicated in their articulation, despite their wish, that restoring their previous beauty is inconceivable. This fact can be pinpointed in their narration pertaining to their youthful appearance. In fact, their wishes with regard to restoration of their youthful appearance can provide a clue to this fact:

> *When I think of the time I was young and beautiful, I tend to hate myself. I wish I could regain my youthful beauty. I am not happy about my ageing body. When I nostalgically go back to the good old days when I was dazzlingly beautiful wearing 'keya' [locally made makeup], I feel sorrow.*

> *After all, nothing can I do to change that, can I? But, now I would like to*
>
> *pray to God to have good health and longevity in good living condition*
>
> (Nanati).

This excerpt of Nanati can capture the experience of other participants. They wish they could regain their past beauty. They, however, said with desperation that they could do nothing to reverse their aging body despite their wishes. In her aforesaid extract, Nanati, for instance, asserted that she could do nothing to restore her previous beauty.

4.3.2.1.2. Sub-theme 1B: Nostalgia of filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity in the good old days and sense of devaluation

This sub-theme of "nostalgia of filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity in the good old days and sense of devaluation" emerged from the narrative accounts of the participants pertaining to their experience with their filial responsibility and their overall intergenerational solidarity in old age. It embraces such issues as support, care, love, respect, and obedience among others.

Pertaining to their filial responsibility expectations and intergenerational solidarity, they used their filial responsibility expectations that they properly discharged back in the good old days and the then marvelous intergenerational solidarity they enjoyed as the yardsticks to measure their children's filial responsibility expectations and intergenerational solidarity. Like the preceding sub-theme, embedded in this sub-theme is the tendency of the participants to rush nostalgically to their filial responsibility they discharged back in the days for their parents and the then marvelous intergenerational solidarity they enjoyed with their parents.

A thorough look at their whole accounts indicated that they sounded devalued by their children, grandchildren and the youth in general in their community in the light of their previous

filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity⸺ the yardsticks they used to view their children's filial responsibility expectations and intergenerational solidarity. In fact, their experience with regard to this sub-theme can be illustrated by their excerpts taken from their whole narrative accounts:

> ***...****comparing their [children] filial responsibility with my filial responsibility that I used to discharge in the good old days, they are incomparable. They [children] are not discharging their filial responsibility in a manner that I used to discharge my filial responsibility for my parents in the good old days. They do not love me as much as I used to love my parents in the good old days* (Ali).

Although the accounts of the participants do not entail an utter failure of their children's filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity, they are not pleased with them. Rather, they indicate that they are occasional and unsatisfactory. For instance, from Ali's quote above, it can be figured out that his referral point or yardstick is his filial responsibility expectations he discharged back in the days and the then intergenerational solidarity he experienced. In the light of that, the execution of his children's filial responsibility and his filial responsibility are incomparable⸺ he executed his filial responsibility expectations much better than his children have executed their filial responsibility expectations. On the other hand, in his quote above, he stated that his children do not love as much as he used to love his parents. His assertion that his children do not love him as much as he used to love his parents hints at his displeasure with his current intergenerational solidarity⸺ poor affectual solidarity and consensual solidarity.

Throughout the in-depth interview held with the participants, it appeared that the participants are not happy with their children's overall filial responsibility and their

intergenerational solidarity. Instead of praising their children's filial responsibility and their overall intergenerational solidarity, they accrued towards talking nostalgically about their filial responsibility they discharged properly for their parents in the good old days and the good intergenerational solidarity they enjoyed in their good old days. Further, the following quote excerpted from the whole narration of Abdisa can highlight this issue:

> *The respect that I used to give to older people in the good old days is nonexistent these days. When I was a child, my parents used to order me to work for others despite working for them...This all is obedience⸺ the obedience that used to exist during those days. Even during my adulthood, I used to work for others under the order of my parents. I used to do whatever they ordered me. When I failed to accomplish their order, I used to justify my failure with respect. Thus, they heart would settle. Then, harmony and love used to exist.*

In his quote above, Abdisa talked about obedience, respect, love and harmony that he experienced back in the good old days. By obedience, he might refer to filial responsibility expectations he discharged for his parents. On the other hand, by respect, love and harmony he might refer to intergenerational solidarity⸺ consensus, affect and norm. Thus, he praised his filial responsibility he discharged properly for his parents and the then good intergenerational solidarity he enjoyed with his parents.

Meanwhile, a thorough look at the whole narrative accounts of the participants came up with the participants' belief that they should have been treated with respect .The fact, however, according to their views, remains that they are treated as 'useless assets' which triggered sense of devaluation on the part of the participants. This might indicate that there is no consensus between

the participants and their children concerning values, which is, of course, an integral part of intergenerational solidarity. "These days, there is no respect for older person, not at all. An older person is treated like a broken utensil thrown away which is considered as useless any more .The living condition of older person is like that" (Abdisa).

The participants are not happy with their children's filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity. The overall accounts of the participants indicate that they are displeased with associational solidarity, affectual solidarity, consensual solidarity, functional solidarity and normative solidarity of their children, grandchildren and the younger generational in general. They articulated various complaints in this regard. For instance, Yodit described her experience with regard to her children's filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity. In this regard, she feels sense of devaluation— neglect.

In her quote below, norm, which is an integral part of intergenerational solidarity, can be pinpointed. It seems that the sense of obligation of her daughter to help her mother is weak. Yodit appeared to have expected her daughter to help her with some domestic chores. She, for instance, mentioned such activities as making coffee, washing her dirty clothes and cleaning her dirty house. Nevertheless, her daughter failed to meet these expectations whose percussion led Yodit to develop sense of devaluation— neglect.

A meticulous look at the whole narrative accounts of Yodit indicates that no matter how little is the support she expects of her children, she appeared to have wanted them to visit her purposively and show her moral encouragement and consideration by helping her with any activity they like, be it significant or insignificant. She wants her children spend time with her thereby giving her encouragement and sense of being valued. The failure of her children to meet her expectations led her to develop sense of devaluation thereby leading her to become

pessimistic about her future with regard to getting reliable caregiver when she gets wearier and wearier. She seemed to have believed that the sense of moral obligation of her children or norm is weak and unreliable. Thus, she came to believe that she has lost people to lean on.

> *I have no one who would say to me, 'Dear mama, this cloth of you is dirty. Take it off and wear this one'. They [children and grandchildren] do not wash my clothes... one of my daughters, for instance, came to my home yesterday. My house was extremely dirty. Rubbishes were scattered all over the floor. She entered my house and sat down with equanimity as if the house were clean. I made her coffee and she drank it. Then, she begged me lots of things. Eventually, she went away without helping me with anything [gently pummeling her palm and gnashing which hint at her anger]. She talked to me about her issues leaving aside my problems and dirty clothes. Nobody visits me to check my wellbeing* (Yodit).

The participants also complained about abuses they faced. Yodit, for instance, in her quote below, described how hurt she is by an abuse she experienced. She was emotionally abused by her own grandchildren on several occasions. In order to indicate how painful the abuse was, she asserted that she would rather be battered than be insulted, because an insult would leave a consequence that cannot be healed. She used a metaphor, "a wound in my stomach" to describe the repercussion of an emotional abuse which she considers as incurable. As to her narrative accounts, the abuse she experienced triggered a deep sorrow in her life:

> *When my grandchildren tell me off, I groan deep in my stomach. I feel like a batter is better than an insult for me because even if it can create bruise, it can be healed leaving scar behind. But an insult creates a wound in my*

stomach that can never be healed. I feel a grave sorrow deep in my heart

when my grandchildren tell me off [groaning— grief indicator].

The experience of Nanati can also further capture the experience of the participants in this

respect. Having nostalgically spoken of the respect for older people in the good old days, she

went on to describe her own experience with regard to respect. From her accounts, it appeared

that she was abused emotionally and physically. She views the abuses as embarrassing. In the

light of this, she sounded undermined. She appeared to have felt that it is embarrassing to talk

about her children's filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity. According to her, their

filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity are not worth talking, as she believes they are

displeasing:

There is no respect for older people. Thinking about the good old days,

there is no respect for older people these days. For instance, the other day,

the wife of my husband's nephew embarrassingly insulted me publicly. I do

not have words to tell you how much I was embarrassed by her insult. And

my husband's nephew insulted me publicly. Furthermore, he threw a stone

at me and hit on my shoulder. I narrowly escaped death that day. On the

other hand, disobedience and disrespect of my children, the grumble they

give me whenever I try to order them to do me something is more than I can

explain to you. It is despicable. Please leave it [feeling irritated].

As a matter of fact, a thorough look at the whole narrative accounts of the participants came up

with the participants' belief that they should have been treated with respect .The fact, however,

according to their views, remains that they are treated as 'useless assets' which triggered sense of

devaluation on the part of the participants. This might indicate that there is no consensus between

the participants and their children concerning values, which is, of course, an integral part of intergenerational solidarity. "These days, there is no respect for older person, not at all. An older person is treated like a broken utensil thrown away which is considered as useless any more .The living condition of older person is like that" (Abdisa).

On the other hand, Erena, on his turn, used the metaphor "ugly face of old age" in order to indicate his unhappiness with the filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity of his children. In his quote, he indicated that his children do not help him as much as he used to help his parents. According to the vantage point of Erena, poor filial responsibility of his children is the ugly face of old age, which he does not like but experienced. This can be illustrated by his excerpt below:

> *I wish my children had helped me as much as I used to help my parents. Nevertheless, children of these days are not as obedient as we [older people] used to be. I am also saddened in this regard because I have experienced all of this ugly face of old age.*

In his following excerpt reminiscent of his intergenerational solidarity, he took the level of disrespectfulness of young generation to the realm of social engagement— poor intergenerational solidarity. This time, however, he described his experience with regard to intergenerational solidarity in social arena. On this juncture, he described the sense of devaluation he experienced within social realm. His quote concerning this very issue goes as follows:

> *Back in the good old days, I used to respect older people in every aspect. They are worthy of respect. I used to prioritize older people in in every social issue. These days, however, the young generation tends to give a*

blessing a head of older people. They tend to thwart older people to speak a

head of them. I am deeply saddened by this reality.

With regard to letting older people speak ahead of others in social arena, Erena appeared to have been neglected by others to speak and give a blessing a head of the youth or adults. This sense of devaluation or neglect drove him sad⸺ deeply saddened. A careful look at the whole accounts of Erena indicated that he felt the sense of devaluation because he faced rejection and scorn⸺ young arbitrators rejected and despised him on arbitration.

Another sense of devaluation that the participants raised was absence or rarity of greetings. In their articulation, they also stressed the value they attach to greetings and complained about their children for they failed to greet them. Bikila, for instance, averred that he values greetings more than he values other things such as food. Additionally, he needs others to spend time with him and talk to him. This may entail his desire to be valued and respected. But, apart from his eldest son, most of the time, others neglect him and do not greet him or talk to him. It seems that the emotional bond between him and the rest of his children is loose. This may give a clue to the nature of their intergenerational solidarity. Thus, he felt sense of devaluation⸺ neglect. The following quotes can accentuate this fact:

See, for my breakfast, lunch and dinner, I cannot eat up one enjera. I

cannot eat a lot in this respect. Nevertheless, I need one thing a lot⸺ I want

them [his children] to greet me...I need them to talk to me. Nevertheless,

only my eldest son greets me and talks to me. Most of the time, others

ignore me and let me alone.

Dinaol also described the same story regarding his lived experience concerning the devaluation he experienced in terms of greetings. The sense of devaluation he might have developed can be

figured out from his statement that says, "...they [his children] do not even respond to my greetings". When he greets them, they would not respond to his greetings. This, among other factors, might have led him to develop sense of devaluation— sense of being ignored. His excerpt below is, of course, self-explanatory: "For instance, my older son leaves nearby my compound. However, he never says to me, 'Good morning papa; good evening papa'... they [his children] do not even respond to my greetings".

Sifan also voiced the same experience with regard to her children's failure to greet her. In her quote below, it can be pinpointed that she felt the sense of devaluation —unworthiness and neglect. She seemed to have believed that her son's failure to greet her stemmed from the disrespect and contempt he has for her. Her quote concerning this issue goes as follows:

> *In addition to other people, my son disrespects and despises me. I swear!*
>
> *He disrespects me. My own son despises me. I am worthy of greetings. But*
>
> *he does not greet me...These days children are unkind [with tears in her*
>
> *eyes].*

On the other hand, the participants described any act that unfairly treats them as devaluation of older people. In this respect, they believe that kebele administration devalued them. On that account, all participants complained about local administrators. The complaint of the participants is that local administrators neglect or unfairly treat them during crop failure. The financial and material assistances that are sent for them would be scrambled among the young and healthy. They stipulated that they should have been prioritized. For that matter, they believe that the government underscored the prioritization of older people during aids. Accordingly, they complained that kebele admiration mistreated them in this respect. This issue can be illustrated

by excerpts taken from the narrative accounts of the participants. For example, this issue was indicated in the following quote of Abdisa:

> *Whenever government sends us aid, it would not reach us. It would be scrambled among local administrators. For instance, until recently, the government has sent us financial aids three times. However, local administrators took larger portion of the money. Only meager remnant of the money we received.*

Likewise, Erena described his experience with regard to kebele administration. He felt discriminated— sense of devaluation. He also voiced the same critique of kebele administration whereas he is grateful federal government. He described his complaint as follows:

> *See, the government has assisted us [older people]. The government has actually sent grains to every poor individual. Additionally, it has sent fertilizers. But, local administrators have mistreated us [older people]. The government has not neglected us. The government has also sent us [older people] food oils and cattle. But the assistances were divided among the haves. There is a serious problem with kebele administration in this respect.*

As can be pinpointed from the aforementioned narrative accounts of the participants, they felt treated unfairly by kebele administration. They came to believe that they were devalued by kebele administration; that is why they were mistreated in terms of assistances sent for them. They have the belief that they should have been prioritized though.

4.3.2.2. Theme 2: Determination to retain personal agency: A means to fight devaluation and ageing

This theme of "determination to retain personal agency" involves the participants' firmness not to withdraw from activities in an effort to retain their status. They do not want to hinge on others for care as far as they can engage in activities themselves. The participants consider engagement not only as a means of retaining their personal agency or status, but also as a means of fighting ageing. For instance, in the quote below, Abdisa is so determined to retain his personal agency that he is not poised to lean on his children for care. He stated that he does not consider ageing as a time to withdraw from engagement. He appeared to have the stance that sitting idly without engagement is detestable. His assertion is that it would kill his appetite, which discreetly might entail that he believes it would speed up his ageing. He described his determination not to withdraw from engagement till he stops "breathing"— till he passes away.

> *As far as I am alive, I do not want to quit work. I want to survive by toiling.*
> *The fact that I am an old person would not make me withdraw from*
> *engagement and eat food by sitting idly. See, I am not accustomed to sitting*
> *idly without engagement. It would rather kill my appetite. I will continue to*
> *work till I stop breathing.*

From the accounts of the participants, it appeared that as far as they are healthy and energetic, they do not want to give up their personal agency. Deterioration of their health condition and enervation, by their own account, are the two forces that would oblige them to resort to withdrawal.

> *After all, as far as I am both healthy and capable, I do adhere to*
> *engagement. Unless my health condition and physical capacity force me to*

> *quit engagement, I do not want to withdraw fully from engagements thereby*
>
> *sitting idle and waiting for others' hands to feed me* (Geletu).

The determination of the participants to retain their personal agency is also used as a means of fighting devaluation and abuse even amidst deteriorated health condition and enervation. Abdisa, for instance, is currently suffering from concurrent sicknesses and enervation. These challenges, however, could not deter him from engagement. Rather, he desperately adhered to engagement amidst discouraging challenges⸺deteriorating health condition and enervation. He adhered to engagement in an effort to stave off devaluation and abuse⸺to retain his personal agency. He said, "I do not want to be inferior to others", which might indicate that he believes withdrawal from engagement would make him lose his personal agency thereby making him inferior to others. His quote goes as follows with regard to this issue:

> *…I prefer to struggle to survive to the best of my capacity. See, why do I*
>
> *strive to work whilst headache makes me walk unsteadily like a drunkard?*
>
> *It is why I do not want to be inferior to others. If I stay at home, it would be*
>
> *agonizing. Children may emotionally abuse me. Then, it would anger and*
>
> *sadden me. It would make me nostalgic. I would feel that they treat me the*
>
> *way they like for I am weary, sick and stay at home. That is why I prefer to*
>
> *wander in the meadow. Even if my power does not allow me to work, I*
>
> *would go and visit my farms and manage my home lest things get spoiled.*

The determination of Sifan to adhere to engagement as a means of fighting abuse and loss of personal agency can be noticed from her excerpt below. In the quote, she appeared to have been adamant to maintain her personal agency thereby fighting the label of "jarti", which she views as an abuse. In Afan Oromo, the word "jarti" literally stands for female older person. In the

community, nevertheless, it does not carry positive connotation. If a female becomes "jarti", she would be anticipated to withdraw from engagement and lean on others. That is why Sifan remained firm to refute the label of "jarti". She even considered it as an insult—an emotional abuse. Her assertion is that as far as she actively engages in activities, she should not be referred to as "jarti", which connotes loss of personal agency. She stipulated that she would rather die than lose her personal agency. This indicates that she is so determined to sustain her personal agency. The excerpt can accentuate this fact:

When I run out of my energy, I would probably withdraw from activities. Nevertheless, it is not my willing to withdraw from engagement as far as I have power to manage my issues. I do not want to submit to the hands of others for care. I would rather die than to submit to the hands of others for my care. I insist on working relentlessly till my energy vanishes. See, my son always refers to me as jarti [literarily it refers to female older person]. I do not want him to call me jarti because I have not yet submitted to his hands for care. I am not waiting for his hands to feed me. I am not sitting around fireplace and wait for food cooked by others. I always quarrel with him whenever he calls me 'jarti'. Calling me, 'jarti' is a big insult for me. As far as I engage in activities to feed myself, I should not be called 'jarti'. For me, jarti is someone who cannot work and sits around fireplace waiting for food cooked by others. On the contrary, I live independently in my home and still work to feed myself. I do not sit around others' fireplace and wait for their food. I fend for myself.

The participants also indicated that they use engagement as a means of fighting ageing. For example, Erena adhered to engagement as a means of fighting ageing. From his excerpt below, it can be pinpointed that he adhered to engagement as a means of fighting ageing. He also described it as a means of fighting loss of an appetite. He believes that he would lose appetite and age faster if he withdraws from engagement. Consequently, he is adamant to retain his personal agency till he becomes too weary to stand up.

> *I will not stop working as far as my soul is on my inside. If I run out of energy, I would resort to beseeching my children to support me. I would be able at least to look after cattle then. Otherwise, my appetite would diminish. If I sit idly, I would age faster. I will withdraw from activities only when I become too frail to stand up.*

In sum, it appeared that the participants are stout to engage in every activity to the best of their ability. But, a thorough look at their whole narrative accounts indicates that their determination to retain their personal agency does not imply that they do not require any support with activities from their children. Rather, it points out that they want their children help them with several activities that they engage in. They tend to complain to their children when they fail to help them with activities. A quote of Abdisa below can crystalize this fact:

> *See, when I was piling the chaff, he [son] was watching me hands in pocket as if I were working to establish my own organization solely for my personal benefit. When I was gathering this maize from the farm, he was sitting arm-crossed on a stone. I cannot help but continue to toil till my death .He would notice my contribution after my death.*

4.3.2. 3.Theme 3: Reduced engagement: Reduced socio-economic engagement

The theme of "reduced engagement" emerged from the narration of the participants in connection with their experience regarding socio-economic participation and contribution. When they are still eagerly interested in engagement, they were forced to minimize their engagement due to different factors. Despite diminished engagement, nonetheless, all participants, one way or the other, have contribution for the wellbeing of their family, neighbor or community. Their participations and contributions include domestic chores, agricultural activities, arbitration, giving advice and blessing, attending funeral ceremony and wedding, consoling bereaved families and the like.

> *When challenges prevail in a community, older people can resolve them...A community without older people is nothing. A community that does not have older people vanishes when chaos occurs. When chaos occurs, older people resolve it before even government reaches for the community* (Ali).

However, they were forced to minimize engagement due to different factors. The factors include deterioration of health condition, enervation, disrespect and religious activities. Abdisa, for instance, has minimized engagement since the last four years due to deterioration of his health condition and the associated frailty. He described his reason for his diminished engagement as follows: "...due to my deteriorating health condition, it has been four years now ever since I have been forced to minimize engagement."

Even though he has minimized engagement, he is still active on some domestic activities and agricultural activities. He can still participate in weeding, collecting and piling chaffs and look after cattle. On the other hand, he is still active on arbitration. He also participates in consoling bereaved family and attends funeral and wedding ceremonies. His

participation in arbitration, consoling bereaved family, and attending funeral and wedding ceremonies might show his social engagement and contribution.

Some of the participants minimized social engagement due to rejection and scorn. Erena, for instance, minimized participation in arbitration because he faced rejection and scorn by young arbitrators. Put another way, his mystification by youth perspective forced him to limit his participation in arbitration. In his quote below, he described his mystification by youth perspective and the associated sense of devaluation that led him to limit his participation in arbitration:

> As I said, people of this generation hinge on the law to resolve conflict through arbitration. We [older people], however, adhere to ancestral norms and values to settle conflict through arbitration. When I suggest something, young arbitrators would call it 'outdated'. Consequently, they would call me unwise. Thus, being discouraged by rejection of the young arbitrators, I have limited my participation in arbitration.

Meanwhile, a couple of participants minimized social engagement due to religious activities. Sifan and Nanati minimized their social engagement due to transcendentalism. They preferred to focus more on transcendental activities—religious activities. They believe that ageing should be associated with more engagement in religious activities like never before. Underlying factor for their gravitation towards religious activities is their belief that they are approaching death— imminence of death. As such, they appeared to have limited their social engagement.

> See, now I have focused more on prayer, because during old age one's attention should gravitate towards transcendental activities. I have totally

submitted myself to the hands of God. I have focused on transcendental

activities because I am approaching death (Sifan).

Apart from limited social engagement, they are still active participants in domestic chores, agricultural activities and limited social engagement.

4.3.2.4. Theme 4: Deteriorated health condition and enervation: The herald of ageing

Unlike the period prior to old age, the participants faced concomitant sicknesses. The participants reiteratively mentioned deteriorated health condition and enervation as the two forces that aggravate ageing and their living condition. On the other hand, they view ageing as the period when health condition deteriorates and enervation emerges. Also, they consider deterioration of health condition and enervation as the two major factors that spell out ageing and bring about the minimization of or withdrawal from engagement. The excerpt below taken from the narration of Abdisa can point out this fact:

Every person is unhealthy. I, for instance, do not know types of sicknesses I

am suffering from. And I cannot explain the pain they inflicted upon me.

See, for instance, I am now sick with stomachache. If I get thirsty, I cannot

drink water to quench my thirst. If I get hungry, I cannot eat food. If I eat

food, I would get agonized to the extent that I am about to pass away. There

is a time when I take a small amount food only once in twenty-four hours. I

can drink neither water nor a cup of coffee... I am in a gruesome agony due

to my health condition. On the other hand, I am also suffering from

headache. I cannot clearly identify things I see. Even the meadow resembles

> *as white as snow to me. See, my eyesight has been weakened. I cannot*
>
> *manage to go home from the meadow when it gets dusky.*

From the quote of Abdisa, it can be pinpointed that he suffered from some sicknesses. The pain they inflicted upon him is abject. On top of that, his sicknesses forced him to live only on a small amount of food intake and drink. It seems that his sicknesses might have exposed him to enervation thereby impinging on his engagement, because he stated that deterioration of his health condition and enervation deterred him from engaging in several activities to the fullest level. He described that he faced multiple sicknesses just in old age like never before.

> *Back in the days, I did never catch diseases such as branchiate, pancreatitis*
>
> *and the like. I did not even hear them with my ears. I used to live happily.*
>
> *All these plights have come to me just in old age...I was born normal and*
>
> *healthy. Today, however, I have become "station of diseases" [to mean to*
>
> *live with multiple concurrent sicknesses]* (Abdisa).

On the other hand, Ali considers himself as an older person because he faced enervation and withdrew from several activities that he used to engage in before he faced enervation. Accordingly, he views ageing as a period when enervation kicks off. As to his view, enervation is the herald of ageing. His excerpt below can illustrate his experience in this respect:

> *I consider myself as an old man, because my power has diminished and it*
>
> *will continue to diminish. I cannot do what I used to do. ...I have*
>
> *experienced weariness. See, this year I have given my farms to other*
>
> *farmers in order to share the harvests reaped equally. But, I have not paid a*
>
> *visit to the harvests on the farms. I could not manage to reach where they*

> *are located. When I reach there, I would become very weary. My energy*
>
> *has diminished. I consider myself as an old person on this account.*

According to the accounts of the participants, the gravest challenge in their current life that affected their living condition a lot is the deterioration of their health condition. In the nutshell, the participants asserted that deteriorated health condition and enervation mark the onset of ageing thereby impacting on their overall engagement— socio-economic engagements.

4.3.2.5. Theme 5: Experiencing Old age as period of concurrent plights

"Old age is like the sunset: It brings disrespect and challenges" (Yodit).

Another theme emerged from the whole accounts of the participants is 'experiencing old age as a period of concurrent plights'. The participants articulated various challenges they experienced in old age. In fact, their stories indicate that old age is associated with multifaceted challenges. The challenges include shrinkage of assets [e.g. farms, livestock and crops], hatred, disrespect, abuse, and limited social services. The brief excerpt of Yodit above I used as a prelude exemplifies the participants' experience with regard to challenges in old age.

All participants faced shrinkage of assets. Drawing on her own lived experience, Sifan, for instance, described ageing as a period during which one faces shrinkage of assets:

> *Old age is associated with plights, because you would eat up what you had*
>
> *saved prior to old age. Poverty exacerbates in old age...when what you had*
>
> *saved prior to old age are finished, old age would aggravate...ageing would*
>
> *accelerate when you run out of assets. ...hatred would also emerge from*
>
> *every direction.*

Regarding shrinkage of assets, the participants mentioned shrinkage of their livestock and farms. Pertaining to shrinkage of farms, which are among principal assets of the participants, Dinaol's excerpt can capture the experience of most of the participants:

> ...I really wish they [children] had let me use my farms till I die. When I die, they [farms] would belong to them. The day they cased a file against me to take the portion of their mother from my farms, I really went crazy. I was thoroughly irritated. I believe they should have let me use them since all of them had already got farms.

From the whole accounts of Dinaol, it appeared that he was left with only one *kert* (2500m^2) of farm. He reiteratively stated that the harvests reaped from the farm could not cover his needs. In fact, the participants described several challenges they faced in old age. They also described their experience with regard to crop failure and unproductivity of agriculture, which contributed to the shrinkage of their assets. Climatic change impinged on the productivity of agriculture and crop failure. Geletu has the following to say about volatility of agriculture:

> Each year does not hold the same problem and opportunity...One year might bring harsh climate, which affects our livestock. Another year might bring harsh climate, which affects our harvest. Our living condition is at the mercy of type of climate that comes with each year.

This challenge of the participants can further be accentuated by the following excerpt of Abdisa:

> For instance, this year our niggers were destroyed by rust and we left empty handed. On the other hand, from a mammoth heap of teff, we got only half of a quintal. See, our living condition has turned out to be what I am telling you and tormented us accordingly.

On the other hand, amidst their diminishing assets, the rising costs of services and commodities became a drain on scanty assets of the participants. Amidst the financial difficulty they faced, the participants were forced to wrestle with the rising costs of services and commodities. This has become a greater challenge for them when they still lean on meager money. Specially, the prices of healthcare service and agricultural inputs contributed to the financial hardship of the participants. Financial hardship deterred them from seeking better healthcare service.

> *These days, if I feel sick and visit health centers, they [healthcare providers]would tell me that my diseases are pancreatitis, branchiate and the like .Then, they would 'rob me of my money' [to mean to make someone pay more than one can afford] and let me go home. Despite the costs I incur, the service I get would not heal my sicknesses. Now, I have given up. Expenses for health services have almost finished my resources... I am still struggling to pay back my debts. On the account of financial difficulties, diseases have 'built their caves upon me' [to mean living with concurrent diseases] and tormented me* (Abdisa).

With regard to challenges they the participants experienced in connection with cost of agricultural inputs, Abdisa has the following to say from his lived experience:

> *Here, the price of fertilizer is so costly...This is a calamity brought to this generation...For instance, this year alone, I bought insecticides four times to rescue my harvests. See, I used up all my money to do so. The same trouble will occur next year. Only God knows why he has brought this climatic change. Thus, living condition has weakened us.*

Furthermore, the participants faced shortage of social services. Ali, for instance, stated that having recognized the shortage of potable water in the community, government promised to solve the problem a decade ago. Nevertheless, it failed to materialize its promise. Consequently, they continued to suffer shortage of potable water. The quote of Ali below can illustrate the accounts of the participants pertaining to their experience with regard to challenges in connection with potable water:

> ...*Shortage of pure water is affecting us a lot. My wife goes to the ditch during the night. My child also goes to the ditch during the night. The ditch is located in a deep forest. I am very concerned about their safety for the fear that they might be devoured by hyenas. I do not have someone who fetches me water because my wife is getting weaker and weaker.*

In addition to the aforementioned challenges under the theme "experiencing old age as period of concurrent plights", the challenges of the participants also include abuse, neglect, disrespect, and disobedience. These challenges of the participants have been, of course, described one way or the other under other themes of the study. On this juncture, I, therefore, believe it is worth noticing that they appeared to be among the challenges of the participants in addition to the challenges dealt with so far under the theme, 'experiencing old age as period of concurrent plights'. Nevertheless, I believe that it would be reiteration if I present them again under this theme as they were already dealt with under other themes.

4.3.2.6. Theme 6: Drained happiness: Prevalence of sadness and worry

This theme of "drained happiness" indicates that due to the concurrent challenges of the participants faced in old age, their happiness drained like never before. This issue can be

discerned from the adverbatims of the participants. Abdisa, for instance, described his situation as follows:

> *How can I be happy? See, I am telling you my misery. I would be happy if I get lots of livestock and they get ample pasture so that I can get ample milk .Then I would for sure rest and my heart would settle...I am in an agony when I should deserve rest and comfort. See, old age should not be a period of plights. Thus, I have nothing about which I am happy...you would eat what you had saved prior to old age. But, my assets are not capable of rendering me rest and comfort.*

The above quote extracted from the narration of Abdisa indicates that due to diminishing of his assets and the associated challenges, his happiness has drained. As can be pinpointed from his excerpt above, he appeared to have experienced shrinkage of assets. His shrunk assets could not retain his happiness that he used to enjoy back in the days.

On the other hand, on the account of recurring sicknesses, the participants lost their happiness. For example, Abdisa leads a sad life because he suffers from concurrent sicknesses. His attempt to regain his happiness by getting better healthcare, however, was deterred by financial hardship he encountered. He even sometimes gets suicidal due to drained happiness he encountered in old age. His following quote can illustrate this experience: "So how can I get pleased as far as I am unhealthy and have poor appetite?"

Furthermore, the participants are worried due to the sense of devaluation they experienced in old age. Like stated earlier, sense of devaluation was triggered in the life of the participants by challenges such as disrespect, disobedience, abuse and neglect. These challenges along other miseries remained a drain on their happiness. Dinaol, for instance, is in a grave

sorrow because he has experienced disrespect and neglect. Due to the sense of devaluation he encountered, he wishes he had died when he still was energetic and healthy. Even now, he prefers death to life. This may indicate that he has run out of happiness. Here is his excerpt pertaining to this issue: "...Seeing all this disrespect, I wish I had died timely. Consequently, I feel a great sorrow. I say like, 'God there is no respect for older people. Then, why do you not kill me?'

The participants are also unhappy due to poor filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity. Hawi, for instance, due to her children's filial responsibility failure, she became sorrowful. She, however, specified her major concerns in this regard:

> With regard to fence, I really feel sad. My fence has fallen down. I have asked them [her children] to renew it. But my request has reiteratively fallen on deaf ears. On the other hand, see my door is about to fall down. Even if I made a plea to them now and then to repair it for me, they have reiteratively given me a procrastinatory promise. In this regard, I feel so sorrowful. As I told you, my door is about to fall down. If someone kicks it, it would fall down easily. I am concerned for my safety. I also have problem with potable water. Most of the time, I use water from this pool [pool dug in the compound].I have no one to fetch me potable water.

They are also sorrowful because they minimized engagement or withdrew from activities due to deterioration of health condition and enervation. The following quote of Hawi can illustrate the experience of the participants with regard to sadness triggered by withdrawal from or minimization of engagement:

I feel a deep sorrow because I have withdrawn from many activities when I am still hungry for engagement. I have withdrawn from engagement not because of ageing but because of sicknesses. I see my peers working as much as they desire. They can still travel long distances without a hitch. On the contrary, I cannot even travel up to this church of mine [about 2km].I feel a deep sorrow because of my incapability to travel such a short distance...I feel sorrow because I cannot work whilst I am eager for engagement.

4.3.2.7. Theme 7: Sense of Gratefulness: Recognizing the good part of old age and occasional support

All participants view ageing as a transition and a privilege to the few that should be celebrated despite the challenges that are associated with it. Consequently, they are grateful to God for getting this privilege, which many people do not experience due to demise: "Ageing is a privilege given from God. Many people have passed away when they were still young" (Nanati).

On the other hand, the participants also recognize the occasional support they receive from children, grandchildren and government. Additionally, they recognize the existence of intergenerational solidarity and filial responsibility albeit poor according to their whole accounts. They do not dare to nullify them. For instance, an excerpt taken from the accounts of Erena goes as follows concerning this issue: "One of my daughters who live far away from me, sends me different sorts of clothes once in a year or two years. She helps me in such a way. I am very grateful to her". He went on to describe his gratefulness to the association solidarity he has with his children. From his quote below, it can be figured out that he would get happy whenever they pay a visit to him:

Of all my children who live far away from me, only four of them occasionally pay a visit to me. Whenever they visit me, I would forget the bad things they did to me when they were with me. I would treat them with respect when they pay a visit to me.

The participants are also grateful to the government for the assistances they received during crop failure. Even if they experienced discrimination from local administrators, they recognize the effort of the Federal Government to help them during their crop failure. This experience of the participants can be illustrated by the following excerpt taken from the narrative accounts of Abdisa: "Thanks to our government, we have survived by the dint of its generous aid. We have been provided with seeds and got our farming land tilled".

4.3.2.8. Theme 8: Sense of Pessimism about future caregivers

From the accounts of the participants, it appeared that they are concerned about their future caregivers. Put simply, they sound that they would not have reliable caregivers when they totally become dependent for their care. Thus, they wish they would die before they totally become dependent on others for their care. Hawi, for instance, described her experience as follows:

I am so concerned about my future. In the near future, I will have no one even to make me coffee let alone to help me with many activities. To be honest with you, I am so concerned about my immediate future. For sure, I will get troubled in this regard.

Also, Ali wants to die before he gets utterly dependent on his children. His concern is that his children would not reliably care for him. Rather, they would neglect and abuse him. So, he prays to God to kill him before he becomes utterly dependent on his children. His quote below can elaborate on this concern of him with regard to future caregiver:

> *I wish to die before I experience harsher challenges and before I lose my eyesight. I wish to die before I totally surrender to the hands of my children for my own care. They would neglect and despise me when I totally become dependent on them for my care. In old age, I wish this and pray to God to give me things of my wishes.*

Likewise, Geletu wishes he would die before utter dependence on his children. His fear is that they would mistreat him when he submits to their hands for his care. This can be accentuated by his excerpt below:

> *I wish I would die timely before utter dependence on others for my care. I do not want God to deliver me to the hands of others for my care. I want to die before I become utterly dependent on others for care, because they would despise and mistreat me. They would not care for me for even a single weak. If I totally become dependent on them for my care, they would consider me like a utensil and treat me accordingly.*

In a nutshell, the participant's pessimism stemmed from their experience of filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity of their children or grandchildren. In other words, their dissatisfaction with their current filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity eroded their hope that they would attain reliable care from their children and grandchildren.

Chapter Five: Discussion and Essence

Introduction

In this chapter, the major findings of the study are discussed in line with the research questions leaning on each theme identified in chapter four. Thus, each theme is discussed by dint of literature, theories and theoretical frameworks discussed under literature review part of the study.

5.1. Theories and Theoretical Frameworks Guided the Interpretation of the Findings

Within each theme identified under chapter four, it appeared that the lived experience and meanings of the participants pertaining to the phenomenon under scrutiny are multiple and various. Thus, the experiences and meanings of the participants are not addressed by a single theoretical framework or theory. Various theoretical frameworks and theories were used to address the experience of the participants. In connection with this, I espoused the assertion of Patton (2002) which argues that using different theoretical perspectives to interpret the data is considered as triangulation whose contribution is of great saliency in an effort to ensure the credibility of the study.

Accordingly, life course perspective, intergenerational solidarity model, modernization theory, exchange theory, activity theory, phenomenological theory and pertinent literature were employed as guiding lenses to address different segments of each theme of the experience of the participants in an effort to come up with structural descriptions of the participants' experience. Different parts of each theme were addressed by different aforementioned theoretical frameworks along with pertinent literature.

5.2. Structural Descriptions of the Emerging Themes

5.2.1. Theme1: Nostalgia and sense of devaluation

The first theme emerged from the narrative accounts of the participants—"nostalgia and sense of devaluation" embraces the fact that the participants are nostalgic of their youthful body appearance, their filial responsibility they discharged and the intergenerational solidarity they enjoyed back in the good old days. They wistfully talked about their past beauty, their own filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity back in the good old days. Thus, embedded in this theme are two sub-themes: Nostalgia of youthful appearance and sense of devaluation, and nostalgia for filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity in the good old days and sense of devaluation.

5.2.1.1. Sub-theme1A: Nostalgia of youthful appearance and sense of devaluation

The sub-theme *"nostalgia of youthful appearance and sense of devaluation"* indicates that the participants are nostalgic of their youthful physical appearance. When asked about meanings they ascribe to their ageing body, the participants rather preferred to talk wistfully about their past beauty, which they seemed to have believed that they do not possess that beauty any longer. The comparison they made between their current ageing body and their past beauty indicates that they concluded that they are ugly. Their nostalgic wish of retaining their past beauty demonstrates that they are displeased with their current ageing body. As such, they do not ascribe positive meanings to their ageing body.

This current behaviour of the participants, namely their wishes to retain their past beautiful physical appearance can be addressed by life course perspective. According to life course perspective, experiences, values and behaviors of individuals in earlier life stages can

impinge on their current behavior or situation (Crosnoe & Elder, 2002; Kok, 2007). Perhaps, the participants used to be told that they were beautiful and appreciated for their beautiful physical appearance in their earlier life stages. Due to that reiterative appreciation and love they used to receive because of their beautiful physical appearance, they might have developed sense of valuing beautiful physical appearance and sense of worth.

On the other hand, as both antecedents and consequences of age related changes are salient interest of life course perspective (Strohschein, 2011), the nostalgia of the participants of their past beauty can be attributed to the repercussions triggered by their ageing body. The experience of the participants demonstrates that they faced stereotypes and abuses due to their ageing body in their community. The abuses they faced because of their ageing body might probably imply that positive meanings are not attached to ageing body among the community of the participants. This on turn might be attributed to ageism (Macnicol, 2006; Nilsson, 2008 as cited in Motel-Klingebiel et al, 2015).

Thus, the abuse they faced might have forced them to be nostalgic of their past beauty, which was associated with love and respect unlike their ageing body. At the same time, the cultural value attached to ageing body might have a hand in the nostalgia of the participants. In connection with this issue, Stowe and Cooney (2015) argue that the context of culture can impact the situation of ageing. Likewise, life course perspective states that ageing process might be shaped by cultural meanings ascribed to ageing (Baltes, 1987; Bengtson and Allen, 1993; Elder, 1991, 1992; George, 1993 as cited in Bengston et al, 1997). In this respect, ageism which embraces negative cultural attitudes, values and beliefs (Constable, 2010) about ageing and ageing body probably has obligated the participants to be nostalgic of their past physical body thereby making them attach negative meanings to their ageing body.

The nostalgic statements of the participants pertaining to their past physical appearance indicate that they had beautiful physical appearance. They proudly described their past beautiful physical appearance and sense of worth they developed because of that beauty. Their self-concept that they were beautiful and the associated sense of worth might be attributed to the definition and approval they gained in the process of interaction with others in their social milieu.

As indicated above, the participants do not ascribe positive meanings to their ageing body. They demonstrated sense of loss of worth due to their ageing body. Encapsulated in their accounts is the desperation that they could do nothing about their ageing body in spite of their wish to retain their past beauty. Probably, the negative connotation the participants attached to their ageing body might be the ramification of the cultural meanings attached to ageing body. Thus, it obliged the participants to develop sense of loss of worth.

Likewise, this segment of this theme can also be addressed by modernization theory. Modernization theory posits that erosion of veneration for older people is attributed to effects of modernization (Goldstein & Beall, 1981; Nelson, 2005; Cuddy, Norton & Fiske, 2005 as cited in Holmes, 2006). The narrative accounts of the participants demonstrate that unlike the past these days, older people are not venerated. The sense of loss of worth that the participants depicted, therefore, can be attributed to erosion of veneration for older people triggered by ramifications of modernization. Accordingly, the abuses that the participants faced whose ramification led them to be nostalgic of their past beauty and develop sense of loss of worth can be attributed to effects of modernization in this respect.

5.2.1.2. Sub-theme 1B: Nostalgia of filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity of the good old days and sense of devaluation

The theme, "nostalgia of filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity of the good old days and sense of devaluation" addresses the participants' nostalgia of their filial responsibility they discharged and intergenerational solidarity they experienced back in the good old days. It appeared that the wistful feelings of the participants for their past filial responsibility and intergeneration solidarity were triggered by their displeasure with their children's filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity. When asked about their experience with regard to their children's filial responsibility expectations and intergenerational solidarity, they were inclined to compare them with their past filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity.

Their experience demonstrates that they are displeased with their children's filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity. Also, they exhibited sense of loss of worth. The sense of loss of worth was triggered by their belief that they were neglected by their children, grandchildren and the younger generation of the community in general. This sense of neglect is attributed to the poor filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity of their children, grandchildren and younger generation of their community in old age.

Like described in chapter four, the participants employed their own filial responsibility that they discharged and the marvelous intergenerational solidarity they experienced back in the good old days as yardsticks to evaluate their children's filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity. Accordingly, they all proudly talked of their past filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity. Besides wistfully talking about their past filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity, they reproached their children and grandchildren for their failure to meet their expectations in terms of filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity.

Their wistful feelings for their past filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity can be looked into through the lens of life course perspective. The experience, values and behaviors of the participants in earlier life stage appeared to have forced them to be nostalgic of that experience— proper filial responsibility they discharged and robust intergenerational solidarity they enjoyed back in the good old days. On the other hand, their belief that the filial responsibility that they discharged and the intergenerational solidarity they enjoyed in the good old days have now eroded forced them to develop sense of loss of worth. As a matter fact, individuals' meanings pertaining to their situation is also of greater importance according to life course perspective in order to analyze their experience(Bengston et al, 1997).Thus, they believe that their filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity are poor. In turn, this can be attributed to social change they experienced with regard to filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity. For that matter, the interaction between the situation of individuals and social change is recognized by life course perspective (Kok, 2007).

In addition, 'linked lives' one of the principles of life course perspective stipulates that individuals' life is embedded in social relationships through which support is regulated— interdependence of individuals in social milieu(Elder,1994). In the light of this principle, the participants came to believe that their tie with their children, grandchildren and younger generation is loose which impinged on their sense of wellbeing and worth as a result. They felt that they were neglected by their children, grandchildren and younger generation. It is this sense of neglect that led them to develop sense of loss of worth. As such, throughout their narrative accounts, it was indicated that elder people are treated as useless creatures, which alludes to the fact that they have developed sense of loss of worth— sense of devaluation. Their social

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relationship with their children and grandchildren through which their support is regulated (Elder, 1994) became so loose that the support they receive from them is meager and occasional.

The weakening of social relationships of the participants with their children and grandchildren can be attributed to ramifications of modernization according to modernization theory (Goldstein & Beall, 1981; Lowenstein, Katz, Prilutzky, & Mehlhausen-Hassoen, 2001; Chatrungrueangchai, 2016). In fact, some of the children and grandchildren of the participants moved to urban areas to pursue education or seek job thereby impinging on their association with their ageing parents or grandparents. This in turn, limited the support the participants should get from their children and grandchildren. This is supported by the argument of Lowenstein, Katz, Prilutzky and Mehlhausen-Hassoen (2001) which contends that in modern economic system, children are forced to move to urban areas for education and employment purposes thereby distancing themselves from their parents physically as well as emotionally.

On the other hand, the sense of loss of worth of the participants can be attributed to effects of modernization wherein older people are considered as useless segments of society (Nelson, 2005; Cuddy, Norton & Fiske, 2005 as cited in Holmes, 2006). In connection with this particular issue, the participants indicated that they are considered as burdens by their own children, grandchildren and the younger generation in general. As such, their sense of loss of worth can be attributed partly to ramifications of modernization.

On the other hand, according to exchange theory the powerlessness of older people may expose them to different sorts of abuses (McDonald, 2007). Consonant with this assertion of exchange theory is the experience of the participants, which indicates that they experienced abuses due to their powerlessness in the process of their relationship with their children, grandchildren and the younger generation. Consonant with the experience of the participants in

this respect is the assertion that older people are very susceptible to abuse by different parties including their own loved family members (Bond & Butler, 2013).

Another segment of this theme that can be looked into through the lens of exchange theory is the participants' statements whereby they indicated that they took care of their children and grandchildren with the expectation that they would take care of them in return when they get older—the transfer made in the past with expectation that would be repaid in the future (Bianchi, Hotz, McGarry, & Seltzer, 2007). Contrary to the expectations of the participants, their children and grandchildren failed to meet their expectations—an expectation that went awry. This also contributed to the sense of loss of worth of the participants.

Also, discrimination and rejection the participants faced in social arena in their relationship with the younger generation can be attributed to erosion of veneration for older people which emanated from the ageism that considers older people as useless, unproductive and dependent. This mistreatment of older people may be attributed to consequences brought by modernization.

More than other theories, this theme of experience of the participants can be illustrated by the lens of intergenerational solidarity model. Even though there are overlapping components of filial responsibility expectations and intergenerational solidarity, their components can be synchronously illustrated by intergeneration solidarity model.

Like illustrated earlier, the participants are displeased with their children's filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity. Some children or grandchildren of the participants live far away from the participants due to education or job purpose. The complaint of the participants with regard to children or grandchildren who live far away from them is that they do

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not regularly visit and support them— their visit and supports are occasional. This in turn, obliged the participants to develop sense of neglect— sense of devaluation.

In the light of intergenerational solidarity model, the participants are not happy with their structural and associational solidarity. This weak structural and associational solidarity, according to intergenerational solidarity model (Silverstein &Bengtson, 1997; Lowenstein & Katz, 2003), probably can be attributed to physical distance, which might have hampered structural and associational solidarity of the participants. Additionally, weak filial responsibility and functional solidarity of the participants might be due to the physical distance, which might have impacted on their filial responsibility and functional solidarity.

On the other hand, the participants asserted that their children do not love them as much as they used to love their parents back in the good old days. In the light of intergenerational solidarity model, this assertion of the participants indicates that they are displeased with affectual solidarity between them and their children. This entails that their affectual solidarity is weak.

Like stated earlier, in terms of modernization theory, the erosion of affectual solidarity is attributed to ramifications of modernization which brought about erosion of consensual solidarity— difference of values and life style between parents and children. The participants posited that their children do not cherish the value that older people should be venerated and loved; that is why they disobey, and disrespect them according to the accounts of the participants. Likewise, the weakness of their children's filial responsibility that was reiteratively mentioned throughout the accounts of the participants may indicate that their normative solidarity is weak. The accounts of the participants indicate that their children do not feel the obligation that they should care for and support their parents— weakness of normative solidarity.

5.2.2. Theme 2: Determination to retain personal agency: A means to fight devaluation and ageing

This theme of "determination to retain personal agency" captures the experience of the participants pertaining to their adamant stance to retain their personal agency in an effort to maintain their status. The participants do not want to draw on others for care as far as they are energetic enough to engage in several activities to fend for themselves. Important is that they use engagement not only as a means of retaining their personal agency but also as a means of fighting ageing— engagement as a means of slowing down ageing.

This theme of the experience of the participants can be looked into through the lens of life course perspective. In the light of life span development principle of life course perspective, the experience, value and behavior of the participants in their earlier life can mold their current situation or behaviour (Crosnoe & Elder, 2002; Kok, 2007).The preference of engagement to disengagement by the participants is considered as an adaptation taken by the participants in later life. This is consonant with the assertion of Crosnoe and Elder (2002) wherein they argue that adaptation in old age is related to values and behaviors of earlier life.

According to the narrative accounts of the participants, it appeared that they are not accustomed to sitting idly without engagement, because the value they developed back in their earlier life discourages disengagement. Consequently, their determination to retain their personal agency can be partly attributed to the value they developed back in the days. Their cherished value for diligent engagement was the result of their socialization into the culture of their family, which highly values engagement. Thus, their early experience has contributed to their current determination to retain their personal agency in the light of life course perspective.

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On the other hand, the principle of agency dictates that older people are active choice makers and actors in the context of changing society (Elder, 1994; Zaidi, 2014; Motel-Klingebiel et al, 2015). Any personal decision aimed at challenging plights in an effort to survive is also taken into accounts (Hareven, 1982 as cited in Kok, 2007). In connection with this issue, the changing context of society such as erosion of veneration and support for older people forced the participants to remain determined to retain their personal agency aimed at survival. According to agency principle of life course perspective, individuals try to determine their own destiny amidst challenge. It also recognizes every decision and tactic individuals make in an effort to survive amidst challenges (Hareven, 1982 as cited in Kok, 2007).

In the light of this principle of life course perspective, the participants are determined to retain their personal agency in order to survive amidst several challenges such as poor filial responsibility, abuse, neglect and discrimination. It was noted that the accounts of the participants indicate that the challenges that they encountered forced them to retain their own personal agency. Like stated earlier, they also use engagement as a means of fighting ageing which they use implicitly to slow down their dependence on others for their own wellbeing or care. Thus, according to the principle of agency of life course principle, they actively determine their destiny.

Likewise, the assertion of activity theory is also in line with the agency principle of life course perspective. It states that like middle-aged people, older people want to remain active—they prefer participation to disengagement (Holmes, 2006). The participants of the study asserted that they want to remain active rather than depending on others. Their stance is that they would remain active as far as enervation and deterioration of health condition do not hamper them to engage in different activities—a stance, which is consonant with activity theory: older people

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maintain middle-age activities as far as their personal capacity does not deter them to do so (Holmes, 2006).

Like stated earlier, the participants are determined to retain their personal agency to curb different challenges and status loss. This experience of the participants is supportive of activity theory in this respect as well: older people have the need to remain active and fight role loss (Hanson, 2015). The participants stated that they are displeased with disengagement; that is why they prefer engagement to disengagement. This is also congruent with the assertion of activity theory: older people are more satisfied with life when they remain active (Hanson, 2015). Furthermore, the participants stated that disengagement makes them develop sense of loss of worth. This is also supportive of activity theory. It states that self-concept of older people is validated by engagement that is characteristic of middle age (Hanson, 2015).

5.2.3. Theme 3: Reduced engagement: Reduced socio-economic engagement

This theme deals with the reduced engagement of the participants. This theme captures the fact that despite their determination to retain their personal agency, the participants were forced to reduce their socio-economic engagement due to different factors. The factors include deterioration of health condition and enervation, disrespect, mystification by youth culture and transcendentalism.

Above all, the participants reiteratively mentioned enervation and deterioration of health condition as the two principal factors that forced them to minimize their engagement in several socio-economic activities. However, it is worth mentioning that this reduced engagement is against their wishes to retain their personal agency. According to Zaidi (2014), lack of personal capacity is affected by different factors such deterioration of heath condition and the intrinsic ageing process that triggers changes during old age. As a result, it deters older people from

engaging in what they value. In the light of this assertion of Zaidi (2014), the participants of the study were forced to minimize their engagement because their personal capacities were reduced by enervation and synchronic illnesses. Accordingly, they were deterred from engaging in what they value. In fact, the minimization of or withdrawal from engagement is against their willing or values which confirms the assertion of Zaidi (2014). Congruent with the assertion of Zaidi (2014) is that of Strohschein (2011) who states that deterioration of health condition of older people hampers their efforts to maintain their personal agency.

Other factors such as disrespect and mystification by youth culture can be attributed to ramifications of modernization. These factors discouraged the engagement of the participants in social activities. The discouraging effects of these factors can be illustrated by the lens of modernization theory. Rejection and disrespect as discouraging factors in social activities can be attributed to ramifications of modernization. According to modernization theory, erosion of veneration for older people is brought by effects of modernization, which devalue older people as useless (Nelson, 2005; Cuddy, Norton & Fiske, 2005 as cited in Holmes, 2006).

Mystification by youth culture can also be viewed as an effect of modernization. According to Moody (2002), modernization makes older people inferior to others in terms of knowledge, because the younger generations do not any longer depend on older people as source of knowledge and skill. Instead, they shift their dependence from older people to modern education system thereby devaluing them. Thus, their knowledge is considers as obsolete (Moody, 2002).

Looking at the experience of the participants with regard to this particular issue through the lens of modernization theory, due to their dependence on their ancestral norms and values pertaining to social engagement, namely arbitration, the participants were considered as obsolete

and rejected by the younger generation. The accounts of the participants also indicate that younger generation lean on the law of the land in order to settle conflict through arbitration but older people stick to ancestral norms and values to settle conflict through arbitration. Thus, the participants were mystified by this culture of the youth. This mystification of the participants by youth culture was also aggravated by the associated erosion of veneration for them (Goldstein & Beall, 1981; Nelson, 2005; Cuddy, Norton & Fiske, 2005 as cited in Holmes, 2006).

Despite decreasing social engagement, they have relentlessly remained active on economic activities in order to retain their personal agency. Apart from diminished engagement, the participants still have participation and contribution for their own family, neighbors and community. Their participation and contribution albeit decreased can be illustrated by different theories and concepts.

From the view of life course perspective, the participation and contribution of the participants of the study are supported by principle of agency, which considers older people as active actors and creators in several settings (Elder, 1994; Zaidi, 2014; Motel-Klingebiel et al, 2015). Like sated earlier, the participants are determined to retain their personal agency which elaborates on the fact that they consider themselves as active actors and creators in their community. Even if they believe that they were viewed as useless by others, they still believe that they have contribution for their family, neighbors and community at large.

Their participation and contributions include both economic and social engagements albeit reduced. Many of them still participate in agricultural activities such as weeding, ploughing, and threshing. Some participate in social engagement such as arbitration, consoling bereaved family, attending funeral ceremony, and attending weeding ceremony. Others embark on domestic chores and taking care of grandchildren. This experience of the participants with

regard to socio-economic participation and contributions confirms the assertion of phenomenological theory of ageing which posits that older people are active actors that can make their own contributions to social world (Longino and Powell, 2009, as cited in Pierce & Timonen, 2010).

5.2.4. Theme 4: Deteriorated health condition and enervation: The herald of ageing

This theme emerged from the narrative accounts of the participants concerning ageing and engagement. Pertaining to ageing, they indicated that deterioration of health condition and enervation are the two major forces that signal the commencement of ageing. Regarding engagement, they posited that deteriorated health condition and enervation are the two factors that forced them to reduce engagement thereby affecting their living condition. As to their accounts, they faced synchronic sicknesses like never before. On the other hand, they view ageing as the period when health condition deteriorates and enervation emerges.

This theme actually emerged from the questions that put to the participants pertaining to how they view ageing. They reiteratively asserted that enervation and deterioration of health condition mark the onset of ageing. Otherwise, as far as an individual is healthy and energetic enough to engage in different activities, he/she deemed not to be called to have experienced ageing.

In connection with this assertion of the participants, phenomenological theory of ageing posits that individuals actively construct the world they live in—they construct their own reality (Denscombe, 2007). Even though the law of the country posits that any individual who is 60 years or older are deemed to be called older, the assertion of the participants of the study does not ascribe to this definition. According to the participants, it does not matter how old an individual is; as far as he/she is healthy and energetic enough to engage in different activities

he/she is deemed not to be called older⸺ old age is determined by enervation and deterioration of health condition not by life expectancy. The social ageing of the community may be against the interpretation the participants gave to ageing. They applied here their own interpretation or definition of ageing. This alludes to the assertion of phenomenology that states that individuals do not passively adhere to social structures or social rules but actively construct their own definition of social phenomena (Denscombe, 2007).

Life course perspective also asserts that older people have social and cultural values from both 'societal and individual perspectives' (Motel-Klingebiel et al, 2015). In the light of this assertion of life course perspective, the peculiar definition the participants of the study ascribed to ageing and onset of ageing can be attributed to their own individual perspective as to what ageing is all about and what marks its onset⸺ enervation and deterioration of health condition.

Despite the peculiar definition the participants ascribed to ageing, they averred that enervation and deterioration of health condition impinged on their living condition. Due to enervation and deterioration of health condition, they minimized engagement. On the other hand, minimization of their engagement also aggravates their living condition by affecting their capacity to work hard to better their living condition. Zaidi (2014) asserted that diminished personal capabilities deter older people from harnessing opportunities or curbing challenges that they face (Zaidi, 2014). Aligned with this argument is the participants' assertion whereby they stated that enervation and deteriorated health condition impinged on their capacities to curb their challenges and harness opportunities available to them.

5.2.5. Theme 5: Experiencing old age as period of concurrent plights

This theme, "experiencing old age as period of concurrent plights" emerged from the accounts of the participants pertaining to their experience with regard to challenges in old age. The whole narrative accounts of the participants indicated that they have faced multifaceted challenges ever since onset of old age. Their stories demonstrate that old age is associated with multifaceted challenges.

Among challenges the participants mentioned is poverty. The participants faced diminishing assets that drove them into poverty. Like never before, their assets diminished thereby exposing them to financial difficulties. Poverty has aggravated their living condition and accelerated their ageing process. Embedded in their fragile living condition worsened by poverty are neglect, hatred and abuse. Their assertion is that aggravation of poverty in old age is associated with other challenges such as hatred, neglect and abuse. One common assertion of the participants about ageing in connection with challenges is the participants' belief that challenges particularly poverty accelerates the process of ageing which is against their wishes. Poverty shortens life expectancy of older people according to the narrative accounts of the participants.

The challenges of the participants can be explained by vulnerability concept. According to vulnerability concept, physical and social environment can impact on the conditions of older people by affecting their capacities to harness opportunities or resiliently curb challenges they encounter (Zaidi, 2014). In the light of this concept, the participants' accounts indicated that their poverty is partly attributed to restricting physical environment. The volatility of their agricultural products is at the mercy of their physical environment, which is vulnerable to unreliability, and unseasonableness of rainfall. As such, their crops failed on several occasions due to concurrent

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droughts thereby exposing them to financial hardships. The assertion of the literature is also in line with the experience of the participants in this respect.

The literature states that poverty is common among older people in the countryside. HelpAge International and Cordaid (2011), for instance, stipulate that older people in the countryside rely on subsistence agriculture whose reliability as a source of income is subject to seasonality and volatility of its productivity. Added to the seasonality and volatility of subsistence agriculture is recurrent drought that deprives older people of their assets thereby making them suffer severe hunger (UNFPA & HelpAge International, 2012). Likewise, the participants faced crop failure on different occasions due to drought and unseasonableness of rainfall. Thus, crop failure affected their living condition. Lloyd-Sherlock (2000) also avers that older people may face many constraints. Likewise, the participants of the study faced several challenges associated with poverty. Due to financial difficulties triggered by poverty, the participants could not seek better healthcare to get relief from concurrent illnesses.

As such, concurrent illnesses also became among restricting challenges for the participants, which led them to minimize their engagement. In connection with this issue, MoLSA (2006) states that health problem is among many challenges that older people face amid lack of support from others. Like stated earlier, the inability of the participants to seek better healthcare is partly attributed to high cost of healthcare. The participants also reiteratively stated that high cost of healthcare they have experienced so far is another extra factor that impinged on their financial wellbeing. According to Lloyd-Sherlock (2000), poor older people face several barriers to healthcare service. As such, the participants of the study also experienced financial hardship and high cost of healthcare services as barriers to seek better healthcare service.

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Other than rising prices of healthcare services, the participants also faced rising prices of commodities such as agricultural inputs and the like. The shrinkage of participants' assets weakened the buying capacity of the participants even to buy commodities that they used to afford to buy before the shrinkage of their assets. This implies that the economic situation of the participants is worse —an argument, which is in line with the assertion of Assefa and Frehiwot (2003) and (MoLSA, 2006) pertaining to the living condition of older people of the country. As stated by Assefa and Frehiwot (2003), the financial hardship of the participants can be attributed to the shrinkage of their assets.

The assets of the participants, which shrunk, include farms and livestock. With regard to farms, the participants were forced to give away most portions of their farms to their children or grandchildren. To give away the farms is against the wishes of the participants. The participants wish they had been let use the farms till they pass away. The reality, however, remains that they were forced to give them to their children or grandchildren. Thus, they are now left with only meager farms whose harvest could not cover the needs of the participants.

Consequently, they were forced to remain vulnerable to financial hardship. This experience of the participants is congruent with the claim of the literature on this particular issue. Pertaining to financial hardship of older people MoLSA (2006), avers that larger shares of older people in Ethiopia are devoid of ample income, which hampers their access to several services. In fact, the financial hardship of the participants limited their access to different services such as healthcare. Though they have suffered from concomitant diseases, they could not seek better healthcare due partly to their financial hardship. Consonant with the experience of the participants is the assertion of (Abel-Smith, 1994 cited in Lloyd-Sherlock, 2000) which states that poverty limits access to healthcare service of older people. Lloyd-Sherlock (2000) also

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stipulates that economic situation of older people can be barrier to access to healthcare service for older people. This in turn, confirms what HelpAge International (2013) indicated: limited access to health services is among challenges of rural older people.

As stated earlier by HelpAge International and Cordaid (2011), the financial situation of the participants is at the mercy of subsistent agriculture whose productivity is seasonal and volatile. Moreover, crop failure due to drought and unseasonable rainfall, impacted on their financial and overall living condition. Amidst this challenge, their exclusion from entitlement to pension impacted on their financial situation and living condition as stated by Assefa and Frehiwot (2003), and MoLSA (2006; 2012).

Shortage of potable of water is also among multifaceted challenges of the participants. Since there are only a few wells in the community, the participants are bothered to get ample potable water. In order to get water, the participants would have to wake up in the middle of the night. Otherwise, they would spend a day without water. This particular experience is also in line with the findings the findings of HelpAge International (2013) which indicates that different basic services are limited for older people in the countryside thereby impacting their overall circumstances adding to the multifaceted plights they suffer.

As to life course perspective, the situation of individuals is affected by circumstance of specific location in which they dwell (Kok, 2007). The location of the community of the participants has impacted on the situation of the participants in this regard. The location of community lacks ample springs, which affected older people due to shortage of potable water. On the other hand, the location of the community of the participants is far from a town where pump water is located. Thus, its location also affected the situation of the participants with regard to shortage of potable water because HARCRN (2010) and Martin (2013) aver that

distance of rural older people from several social services is the forerunner challenge that impinges on their circumstances.

Apart from the aforementioned challenges under the theme 'experiencing old age as period of concurrent plights', the challenges of the participants also include abuse, neglect, disrespect, disobedience and discrimination. The extent of these mistreatments stretches to the level of community beyond familial realm. The participants were inflicted upon abuse, neglect, disrespect, and disobedience by their own children or grandchildren. Due to these mistreatments, they came to develop sense of loss of worth or devaluation. Additionally, the younger generation devalued the participants according to their own narrative accounts. Their yardstick is the situation of older people they witnessed back in the good old days. Currently, they believe that the value that used to be ascribed to older people back in the good old days has eroded. This change can be looked into by life course perspective and modernization theory.

In the light of life course perspective, interaction between life course and institutional and cultural change is taken into consideration among other factors (Kok, 2007). According to the narrative accounts of the participants, cultural change specifically erosion of cherished values attached to older people has affected the situation of older people. The abuses, neglect, disrespect, disobedience and discrimination that the participants encountered are attributed partly to cultural change. Thus, some of the challenges the participants faced in old age stemmed from the interaction between life course and social change specifically erosion of cherished values attached to older people.

Likewise, modernization theory attributes the mistreatments and devaluation of the participants to repercussions of modernization. The erosion of veneration of older people is the result of ageism triggered by modernization wherein older people are treated as useless segments

of society (Nelson, 2005; Cuddy, Norton & Fiske, 2005 as cited in Holmes, 2006). On the other hand, restricting social environment can affect the situation of older people according to vulnerability concept (Zaidi, 2014). For example, the discouraging effect of youth culture from arbitration can be taken as restricting social environment. Accordingly, the experience of the participants demonstrates that social environment has impacted on their situation.

5.2.6. Theme 6: Drained happiness: Prevalence of sadness and worry

This theme of "drained happiness" entails that due to the concurrent challenges of the participants faced in old age, their happiness drained like never before. Among many factors that eroded the happiness of the participants is shrinkage of their assets. The shrinkage of their assets aggravated their living condition in old age thereby eroding their happiness with their current situation. The living condition of the participants is worse than their previous living condition. Accordingly, the shrinkage of their assets has been a drain on their happiness with their living condition.

It appeared that the participants considered shrinkage of their assets as a turning point in their life. Their nostalgia of their past situation with regard to assets exhibited that they were better off in terms of assets. As to life course perspective, turning point refers to a direction of change in one's life, which can be determined objectively, or subjectively (Hareven, 2000 cited in Kok, 2007). In the light of this concept, the subjective view of the participants with regard to their living condition is that they have lost many of their previous assets thereby experiencing down ward journey in life— a life that is worse than that of their previous one. This subjective view of the direction of the turning point of their life led them to develop unhappiness with their current circumstances. The previous living condition of the participants has thus impinged on the current situation of the participants with regard to diminishing happiness with their situation in

old age— the shrinkage of their previous assets, with which they were happy, now made them unhappy.

The recurring sicknesses of the participants also have been a drain on their happiness with their situation in old age. They have experienced synchronic sicknesses in old age like never before. Synchronic sicknesses have been obstacles to active engagement of the participants. They also brought about a loss of happiness of the participants. With regard to this experience, the participants nostalgically talked about their situation before onset of old age.

On the other hand, sense of loss of worth or devaluation made the participants become displeased with their life. Like stated earlier, disrespect, disobedience, neglect and discrimination obliged the participants to believe that they have been devalued by others. Thus, they became to develop sense of loss of worth. This sense of loss of worth became a drain on their happiness with their life in old age. This can also be considered as a negative change that is associated with ageing.

A change that is associated with ageing is illustrated by life course perspective (Strohschein, 2011). Hence, sense of loss of worth, which became a drain on the happiness of the participants, can be viewed as a change that is associated with ageing in the light of life course perspective. According to life course perspective, individual meaning is an integral component of analysis (Bengston et al, 1997). Thus, the meaning, which the participants ascribed to loss of happiness in old age due to sense of loss of worth, is attributed to mistreatments they experienced in old age. They asserted that this change is the ramification of ageing. On the other hand, drained happiness of the participants can be attributed to social change whose ramification brought about the erosion of veneration of older people. At the same time, drained happiness of the participants can be attributed to effects of modernization, which, according to modernization

theory (Goldstein & Beall, 1981; Nelson, 2005; Cuddy, Norton & Fiske, 2005 as cited in Holmes, 2006), brought about erosion of veneration of older people.

Another factor, which led the participants to loss of happiness in old age, is minimization of engagement due to different factors. Like stated earlier, the participants wish they could engage in every activity. As to the experience of the participants, engagement is used as a cushion against sense of loss of worth. On top of that, they believe engagement is a means of fighting deterioration of their living condition. Hence, they are sorrowful because they were forced to minimize their engagement, which could have toned down mistreatments and deterioration of their living condition. Sense of loss of worth might allude to the fact that their self-concept has been weakened due to minimization of engagement because according to Hanson (2015) self-concept is validated by participation in activities that characterize middle age. According to the narrative accounts of the participants, the prevalence of unhappiness and worry is associated with ageing— a change, which is viewed as part and parcel of life course according to life course perspective.

5.2.7. Theme 7: Sense of Gratefulness: Recognizing the good part of old age and occasional support

This theme of "sense of gratefulness" captures the experience of the participants with regard to the meanings they ascribe to ageing. It also deals with the support they receive from different parties in old age. This theme of the experience of the participants demonstrates that the participants recognize the good part of old age and occasional support available to them from different parties.

Since life course perspective values individual meanings in analysis (Bengston et al, 1997), illustrating the subjective meanings the participants attach to ageing is of greater

importance. Likewise, phenomenological theory prioritizes subjective experiences of aging (Longino & Powell, 2009, as cited in Pierce & Timonen, 2010). In a similar fashion, pertaining to ageing, the participants consider ageing as a process of transition and a privilege. They asserted that only a few experience ageing. The majority pass away before undergoing a transition to ageing— a privilege that only a few experience. Consequently, they are grateful to God for enabling them to live longer or experience ageing.

Though they believe that ageing is associated with several challenges that they do not like to witness, they consider having longer life expectancy as a good part of ageing. This subjective meaning the participants attached to ageing is consonant with the assertion of life course perspective, which states that older people are bearers of subjective meaning of social phenomena besides social and cultural meanings of social phenomena (Motel-Klingebiel et al, 2015). It is also consonant with the assertion of phenomenological theory of ageing which states that older people actively construct their own meanings of social phenomena.

The participants also recognize the occasional support they receive from children, grandchildren and government. In addition, they recognize the existence of intergenerational solidarity albeit poor as to their whole accounts. The participants did not dare to nullify the supports they receive from their children, grandchildren and government. They recognize them although they are displeased with them. Consequently, they are grateful to them for the supports. They are also grateful to their children and grandchildren for their occasional filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity. Nevertheless, the supports they received from these parties, the filial responsibility of their children and intergenerational solidarity is far from being immune to their critics.

5.2.8. Theme 8: Sense of pessimism about future caregivers

This theme of "Sense of pessimism about future caregivers" captures the participants' concern about their future with regard to getting reliable caregivers when they become totally dependent on others. They are pessimistic about getting reliable caregivers when they totally become dependent for their care. Thus, they wish they would die before they totally become dependent on others for their care. They are not sure about what the future holds for them with regard to caregivers.

The factors that led them to become pessimistic about their future are the current situation of their children's filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity. Like stated earlier, the participants are highly critical of their children's filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity. As looked into through intergenerational solidarity model, the filial responsibility of the participants' children and intergenerational solidarity appeared to be poor in the light of the narrative accounts of the participants. The situation of their children's filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity led them to develop pessimism about their future with regard to getting reliable caregivers. In other words, the contextual factor that obligated them to become pessimistic about their future is the current situation of their children's filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity— unreliability of filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity.

This unreliability of filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity is attributed to ramifications of modernization according to modernization theory— ageism, which is associated with modernization brought about erosion of veneration of older people and the cherished values attached to older people. Thus, pessimistic sense of the participants is indirectly attributed to ramifications of modernization. The current mistreatments of the participants, which are also

ramification of modernization (Goldstein & Beall, 1981; Nelson, 2005; Cuddy, Norton & Fiske, 2005 as cited in Holmes, 2006) is also responsible for the pessimism they developed pertaining to their future.

5.3. Essence/synopsis

The participants do not ascribe positive meanings to their aging body. They do not like their ageing body. The social value attached to ageing body impinged on them to dislike their ageing body. Due to their ageing body, they felt sense of loss of worth or devaluation. Probably, the negative connotation the participants attached to their ageing body might be the ramification of the cultural meanings attached to ageing body. Thus, it obliged them to develop sense of loss of worth. The narrative accounts of the participants demonstrate that unlike the past, these days, older people are not venerated. The sense of loss of worth that the participants depicted, therefore, can be attributed to erosion of veneration for older people triggered by ramifications of modernization. Meanwhile, though they asserted that old age is associated with a plethora of challenges, they are positive about getting older⸺they consider it as a blessing to the few.

Even though they recognize the occasional supports they receive from different parties including their children, the participants are critical of their children's filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity. On the account of poor filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity, they came to believe that they have been devalued⸺sense of loss of worth.

The participants have still participations and contributions for the wellbeing of their family, neighbors and community. They are determined to retain their personal agency by engaging in different activities. The engagement of the participants was encouraged partly by their need to retain their personal agency thereby curbing mistreatments and slowing down the process of ageing.

They faced different challenges associated with ageing. Contextual factors that contributed to their multifaceted challenges include restricting environment, crop failure, mistreatment associated with erosion of veneration of older people, poor filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity. They are concerned and pessimistic with regard to getting reliable caregiver in the future when they become totally dependent on others for care. Their experience with their filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity made them pessimistic about their future.

Chapter Six: Conclusions and Implications

Introduction to the Chapter

This chapter deals with the conclusion and implications of the study. The conclusion is presented in line with the research questions and the existing literature about the phenomenon under enquiry. Encapsulated in the implications are the implication of the findings of the research for future research, social work education, social work practice, and policy.

6.1. Conclusions

In the literature pertaining to the situation of Ethiopian older people in the countryside, it was dimly pointed out that erosion of traditional filial responsibility and community supports for older people have been addressed slightly because studies on ageing in the countryside of the country are scant. The assertion that has been slightly pointed out in the literature so far concerning erosion of traditional supports of older people can be added on by the findings of this enquiry.

Any assumption that ageing in the countryside is far from challenges associated with ageing is problematic according to the findings of this study. From the accounts of the participants, it can be discerned that the traditional supports of older people have eroded like never before. This in turn has affected the living condition of the participants for worse. The pessimism of the participants about their future with regard to getting reliable caregiver, for instance, can hint at their current situation. Their current experience with regard to filial responsibility and traditional mechanism of support made them pessimistic about their future. This can in part be attributed to erosion of social norms and values attached to older people. Thus, entrusting the traditional mechanism of supports with the care of older people is

problematic. The assumption is outdated and it is no longer in place as can be discerned from the findings of this study. In a nutshell, the following conclusion can be made from the findings of the study.

- ➢ The participants have their own definition of what ageing is all about
- ➢ The participants defy ageist stereotypes and prefer continuity of their youthful styles, values and behaviour
- ➢ The participants' filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity is not robust as they are thought to be by the public. This may probably hint at the fact that filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity in the countryside is not as robust as it used to be.
- ➢ The participants are far from being more resilient and self-sufficient. Probably, this may hint at that rural older people are not more resilient and self-sufficient as the public view. Thus, leaving older people to traditional mechanism of care and support might be problematic though it requires further investigations.
- ➢ The participants have many socio-economic contributions for their family, neighbors, and community in general. Perhaps, viewing rural older people as dependent is against the existing reality

6.2. Implications of the findings of the study

6.2.1. Implications for social work education

The findings of the study can be of salient significance for social work education. From my experience, teachers often use research findings conducted in another continent and countries, which in most cases do not subscribe to the realities of older people of our country. Thus, the findings of this research can be a crucial input for class uses on gerentological issues of the

country. Thus, instructors may incorporate the findings of the research into their lessons as an add-on to other findings to enlighten their students on gerontological issues of the country.

Additionally, the findings of the study imply that issues of older people in the countryside should be incorporated into the curriculum of Social Work. The scarcity of gerentological researches in the country in general and in the countryside in particular calls for a need to design gerentological course at BMS and MSW level in such a way that it incorporates mini research on gerontological issues in the countryside. Thus, Schools/departments of Social Work should design 'Rural Social Work' a course which deals with vulnerable groups including older people both at BSW and MSW level. Through this course, instructors can encourage their students to be concerned about the needs and challenges of older people in the countryside.

For the fact that gerentological enquiries are scant in the country in general and in rural areas of the country in particular, instructors through this course may motivate their students to conduct studies on issues of older people in the countryside. Moreover, mini researches on elderly issues in the countryside can be incorporated in the course as one requirement for partial fulfillments of the course. To attain rich data on elderly issues from culturally diverse rural parts of the country, arranging things for students to conduct mini research in summer when they return home, I believe, would probably pay off. Doing so would play a pivotal role in bridging the existing discrepancy concerning gerentological studies in the countryside.

Additionally, assigning students in different rural parts of the country for field practice would also be one additional avenue to reveal the needs and challenges of older people. I personally believe that assigning students in different institutions, agency or NGOs per se for field practice has been a trend that has denied other vulnerable groups such as older people in the countryside opportunities to be heard. Their voices have relatively been ignored in this regard.

So, schools/departments of social work should also give older people in the countryside opportunities to disclose their experience.

6.2.2. Implications for social work practice

The findings of the study can provide all bodies that work on issues of older people with information pertaining to the situation of older people in the countryside. The bodies that can be informed by the findings of the study about the situation of older people in the countryside may include families, neighbors, community, social workers, mass media, religious leaders, government, NGOs and private sectors. Thus, the findings of the study can help them design an intervention in the line with health and socioeconomic needs of older people revealed by the study. Hence, any intervention made in an effort to ameliorate the living condition of older people should embrace health and socio-economic components as revealed by the study.

Families should try to tune into the needs of older people and listen to their concerns. Any support, be it trivial or big, would mean a big thing to them. The findings of the study indicate that the participants are hungry of social interaction and greetings. Families, therefore, should try to interact with older people and give them greetings as much as possible. That would really mean a big thing to them. A thing that we think is trivial would literally mean a big thing to them. Above all, veneration appeared to have special place in the life of the participants. So, families should try to render older people every respect they deserve in every scenario. Families should try to value older people lest they develop sense of loss of worth.

Neighbors and community can also do the same thing to older people with families. Neighbors can support older people to meet their social, emotional and economic needs. They can also rebuke families when they believe an older person has been abused or neglected by the family. They can also report to religious leaders so that they can rebuke the family.

Community should try to establish community based care for older people in close collaboration with other stakeholders. At community level there should exist a marked day on which all residents of the community come together and learn skill, experience, wisdom and history from older people. The day may provide an opportunity for an exchange of experience, knowledge, and skill between older people and younger generation thereby maintaining intergenerational solidarity. The day can also be considered as a day on which younger generation renew their covenant to venerate and care for older people. On the day, younger generation can commemorate good deeds of older people and praise them for what they did to the community. Such a culture can fight erosion of traditional veneration and support of older people thereby ameliorating the living condition of older people.

NGOs that work on issues of older people and private sectors can work in close collaboration with government to support the effort of government. They can provide financial supports and agricultural inputs for older people by champion the cause of government in this regard. They can also sponsor gerentological enquires in the countryside to come up with challenges and needs of older people in the countryside. In this regard, they can sponsor large-scale survey to collect demographic data as well as living condition of older people in the countryside. Sponsoring radio programs and TV shows focusing on issues of older people in the countryside can be viewed as a crucial contribution. Additionally, they can work in close collaboration with families and communities to support community based care for older people.

Religious organizations, I believe, can play a crucial role in preaching the veneration that older people deserve. Thus, religious leaders can teach their congregation about the veneration of older people. Their teaching can rejuvenate the eroded social norms and values pertaining to respecting, obeying and supporting older people. The teachings of religious leader

concerning veneration and care of older people can also reinforce filial responsibility and intergenerational solidarity. Other than that, religious organization at community level can support older people. They can also rebuke children and younger generation when an incidence of abuse, disrespect, neglect and disobedience is reported. They can also orchestrate community-based care for older people. Thus, they can work in close collaboration with neighbors, families and community.

Mass media can also play their role in curbing the challenges of older people by disseminating information about perils and needs of older people in the countryside. Also, they can disseminate contributions and legacies of older people in an effort to fight stereotypes of older people. They should take caution not to present older people negatively on media. Presenting older people negatively in such a way that it maintains the existing stereotypes of older people would aggravate the situation. As such, older people should not be presented negatively on books, drama, and movies in such a way that it supports the already existing stereotypes and myths of older people in the countryside.

6.2.3. Implications for policy

The government has prepared a National Social Protection Policy wherein it promised to support all older people aged seventy and above with universal pension. The promise, however, has remained immaterialized. It appeared that financial hardship is among multifaceted challenges of older people. So, Federal Government should take a wholehearted commitment towards materializing its promise without any further delay in an effort to ease the challenges of older people. Besides, it should help poor older people in the countryside with different agricultural inputs as their life is at the mercy of agriculture. In order to solve financial hardship of older people in the countryside, government can facilitate access to credit service.

Assigning social workers to at least each kebele in the countryside so that they can monitor the situation of older people and other vulnerable groups would also play a crucial role in addressing their needs immediately. Despite monitoring the situation of older people and other vulnerable groups, rural social workers can work in close collaboration with their community in an effort to address the needs of older people. They, for instance, can raise the awareness of families and community pertaining to the needs and challenges of older people. They can also organize community level conversation with regard to needs and challenges of older people and mechanisms to address their needs and challenges. Through such effort, they can organize community-based care for older people. As such, they can play a crucial role in mobilizing resources for older people at community level.

Expanding social infrastructure in rural communities such as potable water, road and the like would be a stride towards resolving challenges of older people. On the other hand, data on situations and demographic information of older people in the countryside are scant. This calls for a need to conduct nationwide survey in order to come up with data revealing situation of older people in the countryside. Government should champion this cause.

On the other hand, the findings of the study allude to the need that government should design strategy whereby poor older people in agrarian community are supported with agricultural inputs not only aftermath of crops failure or drought. Financial hardship may impose a deterrent effect on the productivity of agriculture of poor older people.

6.2.4. Implications for future research

This study indicates that there are potential areas for future researches on gerentological issues in the countryside. Methodology wise, a research whose methodology can include the voices of two generations namely older people and the younger generation pertaining to intergenerational

solidarity and filial responsibility might reveal additional views on these issues. Embracing the voices of the two generations may represent balanced views and existing gaps concerning intergenerational solidarity and familial responsibility.

Also, a research on intergeneration solidarity at community level might come up with rich data regarding erosion of traditional mechanisms of support, veneration and values of older people. On this juncture, such research questions as how younger generation view older people, the sorts of venerations that younger generation think older people deserve, sorts of care and supports that they think older people deserve and the like can be employed.

In an effort to reveal the assets of older people, strength based approach can be employed in an effort to enquire sorts of coping mechanisms older people use amidst their multifaceted challenges and needs. These mechanisms may be incorporated into any future intervention aimed at helping older people in the countryside. Also, a research methodology, which employs large sample size, would pay off in an effort to look into the participations and contributions of older people in the countryside. To this end, cross-cultural studies can be conducted in the countryside to come up with different sorts of participations and contributions of older people.

On the other hand, the findings of the study hinted at elderly abuse in the countryside. In urban areas of the country, some studies were conducted (e.g. Samson, 2014). On the contrary, to the best of my knowledge, no study has been conducted on elderly abuse in the countryside. So, any research on elderly abuse in the countryside of the country can incorporate such issues as types, prevalence, cause, perpetrators and effects of elder abuse.

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Addis Ababa University, Addis Ababa

Appendices

Appendix A: Consent Form

Dear participant, my name is Abraham Zelalem. I am MSW student at Addis Ababa University. Currently, I am conducting a study on "Ageing in Rural Ethiopia: The Lived Experiences of Older People in Agrarian Community with Particular Reference to Sedika Kersa Community, Arsi, Oromia". To this end, you are being asked to participate in this research. This form provides you with information about the study. I will describe this study to you and answer all of your questions. Please read the information below (for literate participant) and ask questions about anything you do not understand before deciding whether to take part. Your participation is entirely voluntary and you can refuse to participate without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Title of the thesis

Aging in Rural Ethiopia: The Lived Experiences of Older People in Agrarian Community with Particular Reference to Sedika Kersa Community, Arsi, Oromia

Name and address of the Researcher

Abraham Zelalem Teshome

Mob: +251910125491

Email:abexiye@hotmail.com

Role of the researcher at the institution

I am currently MSW student at Addis Ababa University, School of Social Work

Purpose of the Study

The intent of the study is to describe the lived experiences of older people in the study area. It will be conducted in Partial Fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master in Social Work.

Things you will do if you participate in this study

You will be requested to respond to questions I will ask you honestly. If you come across a question that you do not want to respond to, you can refuse to do so. In the study, I will consider you as co-researcher along with me because without your unreserved cooperation and honest commitment, the study would be unthinkable. The interview may last for 60-120 minutes.

Compensation or benefit for your participation in this study

You will get no material or financial benefit for participating in the study. Nevertheless, the findings of the study will in the end, contribute to the efforts of all bodies that are concerned with the needs and challenges of older people in order to mitigate their challenges across the country. To this end, the information that you will honestly provide me will have a priceless role in this regard.

Possible risks and discomforts that you may encounter for participating in the study

Despite personal discomforts that can be provoked by reminiscing past and/or present plight in life, there will be no risks encountered for participating in the study. I will by no means deceit or harm you. I will treat you with all respect and dignity.

Costs you may incur for participating in the study

Apart from sacrificing your time, there will be no cost incurred by you for participating in the study. You will be requested solely to cooperate with me in providing true data about your lived

experiences of the phenomenon under study.

Possible risks that you may encounter for refusing to participate in the study

There will be no risk encountered by you for refusing to participate in the study as the study is based on your full consent. Thus, you have full right to refuse to participate in the study if you do not want to do so. No one by any means can oblige you to participate in the study.

What happens to the data collected from you

Beyond the immediate purpose of the study, the data collected from you will be used only for academic, practice and policy purposes. Nevertheless, prior to its dissemination for purposes such as aforesaid, you will be informed and any obvious identifiers will be removed from the information that you will provide in order to preserve your privacy and confidentiality.

Risks you will encounter if you withdraw from the study

You have full right to withdraw from the study anytime you want to do so. There will be no risk incurred by you for withdrawing from the study at any stage of the study. I will not oblige you not to withdraw from the study if you do not like to do so. Your participation in the study is at the mercy of only your good will.

What you can do if you have any questions now or later about the study

You can ask any question before signing this consent form. You can also ask any question whenever you fail to understand questions or face unclear questions, or any concern about the study throughout the study process. I will entertain your questions with great joy and respect.

How your privacy and the confidentiality of your research records will be protected

I hereby affirm that I will never reveal or in any manner disclose information obtained during the course of this study. The data collected from you, will be identified with fictitious name instead

of your real name. In any reports, papers, or published materials that I write, I will remove all

obvious identifiers of you to reserve your privacy and confidentiality. If the results of this

research are presented at scientific meetings, your identity will not be disclosed.

Name of the researcher: Abraham Zelalem Teshome

Signature_____

- I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study
  and have had the opportunity to ask questions. YES/NO

- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any
  time, without having to give any reason, and without my care or legal rights being
  affected. YES/NO

- I agree to take part in the above study. YES/NO

Name of the research participant_____

Signature of the research participant_____

Date_____

Appendix B: Interview Schedule

A. Questions pertaining to background of the participants

- Would you please tell me about yourself: Age, marital status, ethnicity, religion, number of children, family(with whom you are living), livelihood/source of income

B. Meanings older people ascribe to aging and aging body

- What is it like ageing for you?

- What does it mean for you being an older person?(I will probe into any sign of adherence to continuity or withdrawal, rejection or acceptance of ageist stereotypes)

- How you feel about your changing bodily appearance?(I will Probe into any attempt to retain youthful appearance or accept the changing appearance)

C. Older people's description of their experiences in terms filial responsibility expectations:

- What do you expect from your children or grandchildren with regard to the supports and care they should give you?

- How do you describe your filial support, care and commitment you have been provided so far?(I will probe into discrepancy between expectations and experiences meaning whether or not filial responsibility expectations have been met, any complaints, regrets or disappointments in this regard)

- Any wish concerning your filial responsibility expectations..?(I will probe into any discrepancies between expectations and experiences by his/her wishes)

D. Older people's descriptions of their experiences with regard to their intergenerational solidarity:

- What does the relationship you have with your children, or grandchildren look like?(I will probe into how the participant has experienced intergenerational ties in terms of *structure, function, association, affection, consensus*, *and norms)*

- Probe: how the experience of her/his intergenerational ties impinge on her/his current circumstances

- Probe**:** any wishes in terms of intergenerational ties?(I will probe into his/her experiences hinging on his/her wishes as they may subtly entail lived experiences)

E. Experiences of older people in connection with socio-economic participations and contribution:

- How do you describe your experiences in terms of socio-economic participations and contributions in your family and community?(I will probe into any tendency of continuity or withdrawal, experiences of ageist stereotypes, repudiation or obedience of ageist stereotypes in this regard).

- Probe: (their roles in terms of economic and social participation: domestic chores, wisdom, experience, skill, arbitration, advice, non-domestic activities e.g. participation in agricultural activities and community activities…etc.)

- Probe:(how their experience of economic and social participation impacted their situation, any subscription to societal values and norms with regard their roles, and any repudiation of social norms and values concerning their roles)

- Any wishes concerning your socio-economic participations and contributions?(I will be alert on her/his wishes because her/his wishes may entail lots of things such as belief in activity, continuity, withdrawal, rejection or adherence to ageist stereotypes)

F. Older people's description of their experiences with regard to challenges associated with old age:

- Would you please tell me any problem with which you are wrestling?

- Probe**:**(social, economic, ecological and health aspects of their challenges)

- Probe**:**(probe into any incidence of abuse from family members, neighbors and community members in terms of *physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional abuse, abandonment, neglect, self-neglect, and material abuse*)

- How do you view these problems?

- Probe: (If there is any acceptance or denounce)

- Before finishing the interview, do you have anything to articulate that I have not so far asked you about your experiences of ageing?

Thank you very much for participating and sharing your priceless information in the study!

Appendix C: Observation Checklist

- Emotional clues synchronized with bodily expressions (e.g. *happiness, sadness*, *regret, disappointment, etc.*

Appendix D: Afan Oromo Version of Consent Form

Xummeewwan

Xummee A: Unka Fedha-qabummaa

 Kabajamoo hirmaataa, maqaan koo Abrahaam zalaalam jedhama. Yunibaristii Finfineetti barataa Maastarii Sooshaal Warkiiti. Yeroo ammaa kana,qorannoo mata-duree, "Dulluummaa Baadiyyaa Itoophiyaa Keessatti: Muuxannoo Jiruu fi Jireenyaa Maanguddoota Hawaasa Qonnaan Bultoota Saddiiqaa Qarsaa, Arsii Oromiyaa irratti Xiyyeeffatu" jedhu irrattan dalagaa jira. Kanaafuu, qorannicha kanarratti akka hirmaattan kabajaan isin gaafadha. Unki kun waa'ee qorannichaa ilaalchisee ibsa isiniif laata. Anis waa'ee qorannichaa ilaalchisee ibsa isiniif nan kenna; gaaffii keessan kamiifuu immoo deebii nan laadha. Ibsa armaan gadii kana dubbisaa(hirmaataa dubbisuu danda'aniif) .Wanti ifa isinii hin taane yoo jiraate, hirmaachudhaaf murteessuu keessaniin dura, gaaffii kamiiyyuu gaafachuu ni dandeessu. Hirmaannaan keessan guutumaan guututti fedha qabummaarratti kan hundaa'e waan ta'eef, adabbii yookaan miidhaa faayidaa kana dura qabdan tokko malee hirmaachuu diduu dandeessu.

Mata-duree qorannichaa

 "Dulluummaa Baadiyyaa Itoophiyaa Keessatti: Muuxannoo Jiruu fi Jireenya Maanguddoota Hawaasa Qonnaan Bultoota Saddiiqaa Qarsaa, Arsii Oromiyaa irratti Xiyyeeffatu"

Maqaa fi teessoo qoratichaa

Abrahaam Zalaalaam Tashoomaa

Lakkoofsa moobayilii: +251910125491

Iimeeylii: abexiye@hotmail.com

Gahee qoratichi dhaabbaticha keessatti qabu

Yeroo ammaa kana Yunbaristii Finfinnee Iskuulii Sooshaal Warkiitti barataa Maastarii Sooshaal Warkiiti.

Kaayyoo qorannichaa

Kaayyoon qorannoo kanaa muuxannoon jiruu fi jireenya maanguddoota iddoo qorannoo kanaa keessa jiraatan maal akka ta'e ibsuu dha. Qorannoon kun kan dalagamuuf, wantoota Maastarii Sooshaal Warkii argachuudhaaf akka dabalataatti gaafatamu guutudhaafi.

Qorannoo kanarratti yoo hirmaattan wanta dalagdan

Gaaffii ani isin gaafadhuuf, amanamummaadhaan deebii naaf laattu.Yoo gaaffiin isin deebii laachuufii hin barbaanne sin qunname,diduu ni dandeessu. Qorannoon kun hirmaannaa fi gargaarsa hin laafne, akkasumas murannoo keessan isa dhugaarratti hundaa'e malee waan hin yaadamneef,qornnoo kanarratti ana faana akkuma qorattoota taataniittiin isin ilaala. Afgaaffiin kun tarii daqiiqaa 60-120 turuu mala.

Qorannoo kanarratti waan hirmaattaniif durgoo ykn faayidaa argattan

Qorannoo kanarratti waan hirmaattaniif faayidaan qodaa ykn maallaqaa argattan tokko hin jiru. Garuu, argannoowwan qorannichaa dhumarratti carraaqqii qaamoleen rakkoo maanguddootaa salphisuudhaa fi wanta isaan barbaachisu guutudhaaf biyyattii keessatti tattaafatan hunda gargaaruu ni danda'a. Kana waan ta'eefuu, kallattii kanaan ragaan isin amanamummaadhaan naaf laattan qarshiin kamiiyyuu bituu kan hin dandeenyedha.

Qorannoo kanarratti waan hirmaattaniif miidhaa fi isinitti toluudhabummaan sin mudatu

Rakkoolee kana dura dabarsitaniifi amma dabarsaa jirtan yaadachuurraa kan ka'e gammachuu dhabuu dandeessu. Kanaan ala, rakkoon isin mudatu hin jiru. Anis qorannoo kanarrati sin hin gowwomsu ykn sin hin miidhu. Araa Kabajaa fi ulfina guddaadhaniin isin ilaala.

Qorannoo kanarratti hirmaachuu keessaniin kafaltiin isin mudatu

Qorannoo kanarratti hirmaachuu keessaniin kafaltiin isin mudatu hin jiru. Ragaa dhugaa waa'ee muuxannoo jiruu fi jireenya keessanii qofa naaf laachurratti akka na gargaartan isin gaafadha.

Qorannoo kanarratti hirmaachuu yoo diddan miidhaan isin mudatu maali?

Qorannichi fedha keessanirratti waan hundaa'eef hirmaachuu diduu keessaniin miidhaan isin mudatu hin jiru. Kanaaf, qorannicharratti hirmaachuu yoo hin barbaanne diduudhaaf mirga guutuu qabdu. Eenyullee karaa kamiinuu qoranicharratti akka hirmaattan sin dirqisiisuu hin danda'u.

Ragaaleen isinirraa guuraman wanta irra oolan

Kaayyoo Maastarii Sooshal Warkii argachuudhaaf oolun alatti, ragaaleen isinirraa funaanaman kaayyoo barumsaa fi imaammataa qofaaf oolu. Haata'u malee, kaayyolee armaan olitti eeraman kanaaf ooluu isanitiin dura hubachiisni isin qaqqaba. Ragaalee keessan dhimmoota armaan olitti eeraman kanaaf yeroo tamsaasaman iccitii keessan dhoksuudhaaf ragaaleen eenyummaa keessan ifa gochuu danda'an ni dhabamsiifamu.

Qorannicharratti hirmaachuu eegaltanii yoo gidduutti adda kuttan miidhaan isin qaqqabu

Hirmaannaa qorannicharatti gootan yerooo barbaaddan adda kutuuf mirga guutuu qabdu. Sadarkaa qorannichaa kamiirrattuu hirmaachuu keessan adda kutuudhaan miidhaan isinirra gahu

hin jiru. Anis hirmaannaa keessan akka addaan hin kunne isin hin dirqisiisu. Hirmaannaan isin qorannicharratti gootan fedha keessan qofarratti kan hundaa'eedha.

Ammas ta'ee booda gaaffii yoo qabaattan wanta gochuu dandeessan

Unka fedha-qabummaa kanarratti mallatteessuu keessaniin dura gaaffii kamiiyyuu gaafachuu ni dandeessu. Akkasumas, booda gaaffiin ifa isinii hin taane yoo isin mudatee fi waa'ee qorannichaa ilaalchisee yaaddoo yoo qabaattan gaafachuu ni dandeessu. Anis gaafii keessan gammachuu guddaa fi kabajaanan keessummeessa.

Iccitiin Jireenya keessanii fi ragaalee keessanii akkaataa itti eegaman

Ragaaleen ani qorannoo kanaan isinirraa sassaabu kamiiyyuu iccitii keessan akka ifa hin goone isiniifan mirkaneessa. Ragaaleen isinirraa sassaabaman maqaa keessaniin osoo hin taane maqaa sobaatiin kaa'amu. Yeroon barruu adda addaarrattis barreessu ragaan eenyummaa keessan ifa gochuu danda'an kamiiyyuu ni dhabamsiifamu. Bu'aan qorannoo kanaas yeroo waltajjii garaagaraarrattis dhihaatu eenyummaa fi iccitiin keesssan ifa hin bahan.

Maqaa qoratichaa: Abrahaam Zalaalam Tashoomaa

Mallattoo_____

Hirmaataadhaaf:

- Ibsa armaan olitti laatame akkan dubbisee fi gaaffis gaafadhe nan mirkaneessa. EEYYEE/MITI
- Hirmaannan kiyya fedhaqabeessa akka ta'ee fi yeroon barbaade immoo sababa tokko malee akkasumas mirgi kiyya karaa seeratiin qabuu kamiiyyuu osoo hin miidhamiin hirmaannaa kiyya adda kutuu akkan danda'u hubadheen jira. EEYYEE/MITI
  Qorannoo armaan olii kanarratti nan hirmaadha.

Appendix E: Afan Oromo version of Interview schedule

Xummee B: Ijoo Af-gaaffii

A. Gaaffilee waa'ee hirmaataa

- Maaloo waa'ee keessan natti himuu dandeessu?

Umrii, bultii, qomoo, amantii, baay' ina ijoollee, eenyu faana akka jiraattan, maalin akka

jiraattan (madda galii)

B. Ilaalcha dullummaa fi dullummaa bifaa irratti maangudoonni qaban:

- Isiniif dulloomuun maal fakkaata mee?

- Isiniif maanguddoo ta'uun maali?(bara dullummaa hojiitti amanuufi amanuu dhiisuu

  isaanii akkasumas ilaalcha dogoggoraa hawaasni dullummaadhaaf qabu fudhachuu ykn

  balaaleffachuu isaanii nan sakatta'a)

- Jijjiiramuu bifa keessaniitti maaltu isinitti dhagaahama?(yaalii isaan bifa dargaggummaa

  isaanii tursiisudhaaf godhan jiraachuu fi jiraachuu dhiisuu isaa nan sakatta'a).

C. Ibsa maangoddoonni waa'ee muuxannoo dirqama ijoolleen warraaf oolu qabdu

irratti laatan:

- Ijoollee ykn ijoollee ijoollee keessaniirraa gargaarsaa fi kunuunsa isiniif laachuu qaban

  ilaalchisee dirqama maaliit eegdu?

- Gargaarsaa fi kunuunsa hamma ammaatti ijoollee ykn ijoollee ijoollee keessaniirraa

  argattan akkamitti ilaaltu? (dirqama isaan ijoollee ykn ijoollee ijoollee isaaniraa eeganii

  fi wanta isaan gama kanaan hamma ammatti argatan gidduu hanqinni jiraachuu fi

  jiraachuu dhiisuu isaa nan sakatta'a).

- Gama dirqama gargaasa ijoolleen ykn ijoolleen ijoollee keessanii isiniif kennuu qaban irratti hawwiin isin qabdan jiraa?(hanqina jiru wanta saaxiluu maluuf akka sakattaatti nan fayyadama).

D. Ibsa manguddoonni muuxannoo hariiroo warraa fi ijoollee/ijoollee ijoollee irratti qban laatan :

- Hariiroon isin ijoollee ykn ijoollee ijoollee keessanii faana qabdu maal fakkaata?(Sakattaa: Muuxannoon hirmaataan gama hariiroo ijoollee ykn ijoollee ijoollee waliin qaba maal akka fakkaatu gama fageenyaa, tumsa qodaa/maallaqaa, yeroo waliin dabarsuu, jaalala waliif qaban ,waliigaltee fi safuu isaanii ilalchisee nan sakatta'a)

- Sakattaa: muuxannoon hirmaataan gama hariiroo ijoollee ykn ijoollee ijoollee faaana qaban haala jireenyaasaanirratti jijjiirama akkamii akka fide nan sakkata'a

- Hawwiin isin gama hariiroo isinii fi ijoollee ykn ijoollee ijoollee keessanii faana qabdan ilaalchisee hawwitan maali?(hawwiin isaani hanqina jiru saaxiluu waan maluuf akka sakattaatti nan fayyadama).

E. Muuxannoo jiruu fi jireenyaa maanguddoonni gama hirmaannaa fi gumaacha hawaasummaa fi diinagdeetiin qaban:

- Muuxannoo jiruu fi jireenyaa gama hirmaannaa fi gumaacha maatii fi hawaasa keessan keessatti gootan akkamitti ibsitu?(dalagaa bara dullummaa keessatti amanuu fi amanuu dhiisuu isaanii,muudannoo fi muuxannoo ilaalcha dogoggoraa hawaasni isaanii gama kanaan qabu ilaachisee, akkasumas eejjennoon isaan ilaalcha dogoggoraa kanaaf qaban mal akka fakkaatu nan sakatta'a).

- Sakkattaa: (muuxannoon isaan hirmaannaa hawaasummaa fi diinagdee keessatti qaban maal akka fakkaatu nan sakatta'a: hojii manaa, muuxannoo beekumsaa, dandeettii, jaarsummaa, gorsa laachuu fi hojii alaa fakkeenyaaf hirmaannaa qonnarrattii fi hojii hawaasarratti qaban fi kkf).

- Sakattaa:(hirmaannaan isaanii jireenya isaanirratti jijjiirama qabu, safuu hawaasnii isaanii gahee maangudootaa ilaalchisee qaburratti ilaalchi isaanii maal akka ta'e)

- Gama kanaan hawwiin isin qabdan jiraa?(hojii bara dullummaa keessatti amanuufi amanuu dhiisuu isaniitii fi ilaalcha dogoggoraa hawaasni gama kanaan maanguddootaaf qabu irratti eejjennoon isaanii maal akka ta'e saaxiluu waan danda'uuf hawwiisaanii akka sakattaatti nan fayyadama).

F. Muuxannoo gama rakkoolee dullummaatiin wal qabatee dhufu ilaalchise ibsa maanguddoonni laatan:

- Rakkooleen dullummaa faana jireenya keessan keessatti argitan maal fakkaata?

- Sakattaa:(hawaasummaa, dinagdee, fayyaa fi naannoo ilaalchisee)

- Sakattaa:(miidhaa gama qaamaa, saalaa, xinsammuu, kophaatti dhiifmuu,gatamuu, of gatuu, saamamuu qabeenyaa)

- Rakkoolee kana akkamitti laaltu?

- Sakattaa: (ni balaaleffatu moo callisanii fudhatu?)

- Xummuruu kiyyaan dura, hamma ammaatti muuxannoo jiruu fi jireenya dullummaa keessaa ilaalchisee hin kaane yoo jiraate itti dabaluu ni dandeessu.

Tumsa naaf gootaniif guddaan isin galateeffadha.