

AN INQUIRY INTO THE SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS AFFECTING  
THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN NORTHERN NIGERIA:

A CASE STUDY OF NORTHERN NIGERIAN WOMEN IN MONTREAL.

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## ABSTRACT

AN INQUIRY INTO THE SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS AFFECTING THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN NORTHERN NIGERIA. (A CASE STUDY OF NORTHERN NIGERIAN WOMEN IN MONTREAL).

Oluyemisi Badejo

This is an exploratory study designed to identify the various socio-cultural factors that determine the educational outlook for women in northern Nigeria. The study is basically retrospective in the sense that our primary questionnaire, administered on northern Nigerians living in Montreal, focuses on the socio-cultural history of the respondents. However, it is also comparative because there is a polarization of the female and male sexes in our analysis.

The sample for the primary questionnaire consists of eighteen northern Nigerian married couples living in Montreal at the time of the research. The principal research instrument used in the study was an in-depth interview schedule. However, this was supplemented by a secondary questionnaire administered on two hundred high school students in Zaria, Nigeria, and also, some case studies of particular respondents.

This study exposes the different educational outlooks for both men and women in northern Nigeria and notes the peripheral role of the latter in education. It blames the socio-cultural climate of the region, especially the socialization process and religion, for being a 'stumbling block' to the educational progress of women.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION.

#### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Education is considered one of the most important influences in moving individuals in developing countries from traditionalism toward modernity. In fact, western developed and industrialised nations have often emphasized and encouraged education. It is seen as a means by which technology could be improved as well as an important instrument for improving social, economic and political structures of a society. Inkles (1969) argues that "the amount of formal schooling a man has had emerges as the single most powerful variable in determining his modernity". Thus, the level and extent of men's and women's education in any society, to a great extent, determines their country's economy. Furthermore, with the United Nations' 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights' a large crusade against illiteracy was launched worldwide, and in most countries women were guaranteed equal access to education under the law.

In spite of this awareness, African women are still given little or no education at all. Legally, they are entitled to equal educational opportunities, but in practice, this has not been so. They continue to occupy

an inferior position on the hierachical ladder in most occupations. While illiteracy affects both men and women in Nigeria, it is especially prevalent among women.

Women are made to believe that they are the subordinate sex whose major responsibility is only to take care of the house. Cultural attitudes in the society induced parents, wherever resources or facilities were limited, to accord preference to their sons who it was assumed, would later have the responsibility of supporting their families.

Inhibitions and conflicts were created in women themselves as they were often torn between the choice of continuing their education on the one hand, and getting married on the other. They were rarely assisted in combining the two. The necessity for young girls to assist their mothers around the house or on the farm in the rearing of younger brothers and sisters resulted in a high drop-out rate among girls especially at the secondary level (International Women's Conference, 1975 - Report).

Because of the role accorded women in the society, they are considered relatively less able than men to take advantage of opportunities for total involvement in the social or economic development of the society. The Nigerian society as a whole, has paid much more attention to the education of men than women, to the extent that one begins

to wonder whether the world was made only for men to enjoy.

Research findings have indicated that in modern industrialised society, the chances of attaining high occupational position is quite minimal without the required education (Coleman, 1966; Dreeben, 1968). Yet the school which is a major instrument for this, reinforces and perpetuates the inequality between male and female in the society (Persell, 1977).

In fact, Stoll (1974) points out that the school in the United States today guides the sexes along different lines in preparation for their different roles in the society. Girls for instance, are often tracked by the curriculum designs into one set of occupation, mainly the humanities, which is regarded as 'feminine'. On the other hand, because boys are regarded as independent, aggressive, rational and authoritative, they are guided to opt for the sciences, which are said to be 'masculine'. 'The books used in schools also display persons of each gender behaving in gender-specific ways as well' (Stoll, 1974).

Anyone who refuses to go along with the stereotyped prescribed role is regarded as a 'deviant' and has to be punished. Those who go along with the prescribed role are rewarded.

As a result of these findings, one could question the role modernization has played in the lives of human beings. What impact has it made on the outlook of women worldwide, particularly that of African women, who are still relegated to the background ?

Being a Nigerian woman, I am particularly concerned with the impact western education and civilization have had on Nigerian women, particularly those from northern Nigeria.

The purpose of this exploratory research therefore, is to explore various reasons why, inspite of modernization and the equality of educational opportunity, the education of women in northern Nigeria is still lagging behind. To gain insight into the factors responsible for this, we will examine the socialization process.

One of the main questions this study asks and tries to provide an answer for is how the society as a whole influences the lives of its members. This, we hope, would lead us to understand why women's education still lags behind in northern Nigeria.

# STATED GOALS FOR EDUCATION OF WOMEN

Discrimination against women in education received increasing public attention in the 1960s, and extensive research was undertaken to document the alleged bias against women in education. In 1960, in compliance with the United Nations Organization's Universal Declaration of Human Rights, UNESCO made an analysis of the goals for the education of women. This analysis listed the following as reasons why women should not be denied equal access to education:

1. "Considering that discrimination against women is incompatible with human dignity and with the welfare of the family and of society, prevents their participation, on equal terms with men, in the political, social, economic and cultural life of their countries and is an obstacle to the full development of the potentialities of women in the service of their countries and of humanity;
2. Bearing in mind the great contribution made by women to social, economic and cultural life;
3. Convinced that the full and complete development of a country, the welfare of the world and the cause of peace require the maximum participation of men and women in all fields;
4. Considering that it is necessary to ensure the universal recognition in law and in fact of the

principle of equality of men and women" (A compilation of International Instruments, New York, 1978);

.... women should therefore have equal access to education as men.

In addition, women are to have the same choice of curricula, the same examination, the same teaching staff and equipment of the same quality. Suggestions were also made that more co-educational institutions be established in all countries.

There is a great need to break away from ancient stereotypes and consequently motivate women to learn. Rihani from Lebanon, in 1975, at the Workshop on Women in Mexico City underlined the importance of affecting patterns of behavior very early in the life of children. "The selection and use of toys and example provided by parents in the performance of non-traditional roles in the home were identified as important tools for changing sex-role stereotyping" (Tinker, 1975).

In our present research, we shall see how effective these goals are by comparing the result of our exploratory study with the goals.

#### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The research literature on socio-cultural factors

inhibiting women's access to education is limited. Most studies thus far, have focused on issues of unequal access resulting from differences in socio-economic status and race. The research of Coleman and associates (1969), dealt minimally with cultural factors. Only few studies thus far, have considered early socialisation as a major factor hindering equal access of women to education.

In 1975, American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the United Nations Institutes for Training and Research (UNITR) and the Mexican National Council of Science and Technology (MNCST) jointly sponsored a seminar on 'Women and Development'. The main objective of the seminar was to show how and why development programs have often failed to reach women, and to emphasize the waste of human potential that has resulted from ignoring and denying women access to equal educational opportunity.

Brief case studies and background papers were presented and discussed at the seminar. The papers were said to be useful in identifying some new approaches to the formulation of development programs that would help women acquire or maintain an equal place with men in their societies.



The interest in women's educational progress, although continuing, was not at all at the forefront of the research in social science prior to the 1970s. 1975 was declared as the International Women's Year, and a decade (1975-85) has since been set aside for focusing on the rapid development of women.

The World Conference of International Women's Year held in Mexico City in 1975, demonstrated the determination of the nations of the world to advance the position of women, eliminate discrimination against them, strengthen their position, and ensure their equal rights with men within the family and society, as well as in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres. 'The representatives were unanimous in their hope that the conference would lead to better understanding and solidarity among nations, provide impetus to the advancement of women in society and devise methods and strategies that would enable women to have the same opportunities as men, to be actively incorporated into the development process, and to participate in all the tasks which the attainment of world peace entailed' (Report of World Conference on International Women's Year, New York, 1975).

Furthermore, representatives believed that genuine equality for women was an integral part of the struggle for people, for national liberation, for economic and

social emancipation. Discrimination on the grounds of sex was said to infringe upon basic human rights. They however, pointed out that profound change in the status of women would not be possible unless traditions and attitudes that discriminate against them were overcome.

The conference touched on major aspects of human life where women are denied equal rights. Such areas include the law, both in its administration and execution, employment, family, education and the development process.

At the moment, however, our major concern is to give a summary of its concern on women's education. All other aspects will be discussed briefly in the second half of this chapter (since they are factors hindering the progress of women), under the socialisation process.

The conference mentioned categorically that even though in many parts of the world women are guaranteed equal access to education under the law, in practice, they are seriously disadvantaged. Traditional and cultural attitudes worldwide were blamed for hindering women's progress. It therefore, called for the eradication of this type of obstacle.

The conference aimed at the following objectives:

1. To promote international recognition of women's need to have equal education;

2. To ensure that women are given equal opportunities in all spheres of life;
3. To make aware the importance of women;
4. To emphasize that education reinforces the personal and vocational development of the individual;
5. To emphasize that discrimination against women hampers the full utilization of their vast potentialities in the service of the society and is incompatible with human dignity and the principles of respect for human rights.

Nigeria was one of the countries that participated in the conference\*.

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\* Other countries present: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Holysee, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Isreal, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica,

Social scientists have emphasized the fact that even in developed nations, women's education and development still lag behind. Often, they point to the fact that women are discriminated against (Astin et al., 1976).

Henry's (1973) study on 'A Forgotten Resource In Development - Women', gave a comprehensive survey of women's workload and cultural roles in relation to their educational, professional, political opportunities and their legal situations, pointing out that of one-third of the world population that is illiterate, 43% are women, and only 28% are men. The study shows that even where women do receive some primary school training, their situation is not necessarily improved because of the lack of follow-up formal and non-formal education. That even within the

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Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malasia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Monaco, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Republic of South Vietnam, Rumania, Rwanda, San Marino, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Switzerland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, and Zambia.

United Nations, which had recently taken a leading position in the struggle against discrimination, the percentage of women in the higher professional ranks is very low because of their low academic attainment.

Giele and Smock's (1972) study on women and development in Japan, Bangladesh, Egypt, Ghana, Mexico, Poland, France, and the United States provides cultural and historical background information on the current situation of women in these countries. The study dealt particularly with women in education, religion, arts, economics, media, politics and law. Based on the empirical data of countries under study, Giele and Smock also provide theoretical model for evaluating the status of women and came to the conclusion that the family is the key structural variable influencing the female's attainment.

Astin et al. (1976) under the auspices of the National Centre for Education in the United States, undertook a study to identify the kinds and extent of sex discrimination in the access to secondary education. The study examined the participation of women in educational activities and institutional practices that may be discriminatory, individual behavior that may limit women's options and specific aspects of the educational experience that contribute to women's progress. Their sample comprises secondary school boys and girls. The study concludes that

not only does the society discriminate against women in education, but that the achievement motivation, self-concept and personality of women are so low that their educational achievement is often adversely affected.

Studies have also been conducted on the education and position of women in Nigeria. One of the most recent studies on the education of women in Nigeria is in the form of a Ph.D thesis by Erma Muckenhirn (1966). The study was based on interviews, statistical data and opinion survey of secondary school boys and girls and their teachers in Western Nigeria. It shows clearly that even in Western Nigeria which is said to be predominantly urbanized, the percentage of girls in secondary school is much lower than that of boys (see Table 1 below).

Table 1

SECONDARY GRAMMAR SCHOOL ENROLLMENT - 1953 - 1963\*

YEAR	GROUP	ENROLLMENT	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL	ANNUAL PERCENTAGE INCREASE
1953	BOYS	6,533	89.2	-
	GIRLS	792	10.8	-

\*Muckenhirn, 1966, p. 56.

Table 1 (cont'd)

	TOTAL	7,325	100.0	-
1954	BOYS	8,108	87.6	24.1
	GIRLS	1,151	12.4	45.3
	TOTAL	9,259	100.0	26.4
1955	BOYS	9,459	86.5	16.7
	GIRLS	1,476	13.5	28.2
	TOTAL	10,935	100.0	18.1
1956	BOYS	10,758	85.2	13.7
	GIRLS	1,863	14.8	26.2
	TOTAL	12,621	100.0	15.4
1957	BOYS	13,698	84.5	27.3
	GIRLS	2,510	15.5	34.7
	TOTAL	16,208	100.0	28.4
1958	BOYS	15,889	84.4	15.9
	GIRLS	2,877	15.3	14.6
	TOTAL	18,754	100.0	15.7
1959	BOYS	18,889	84.4	19.0
	GIRLS	3,485	15.6	21.1
	TOTAL	22,374	100.0	19.3
1960	BOYS	21,500	83.5	13.8
	GIRLS	4,255	16.5	22.1
	TOTAL	25,755	100.0	15.1

Table 1 (cont'd)

YEAR	GROUP	ENROLLMENT	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL	ANNUAL PERCENTAGE INCREASE
1961	BOYS	24,050	82.1	11.9
	GIRLS	5,251	17.9	23.4
	TOTAL	29,301	100.0	13.8
1962	BOYS	27,047	80.7	12.5
	GIRLS	6,481	19.3	23.4
	TOTAL	33,528	100.0	14.4
1963	BOYS	30,254	78.5	11.9
	GIRLS	8,280	21.5	27.8
	TOTAL	38,534	100.0	14.9

The table shows clearly that the number of girls in secondary school is far below that of boys; though the populations of both sexes are rising in schools. The study then concludes that the stereotyped ideas about women go a long way to explain their low response to education.

Remy's (1975) Zaria case study shows how capitalist development has reinforced structural and functional sexist inequalities in Northern Nigeria: 'As male status rises, women are increasingly subjected to the traditional moslem seclusion' (Remy, 1975). The seclusion, she argues, causes economic and social isolation, and has kept



women away from schools. Religion reinforces and perpetuates structural inequalities. School curricula, course offering in technical schools and hiring practices had failed in all aspects to give women enough encouragement.

Although particular attention is given to literature dealing with education of women generally, it is our belief that we should first of all understand the relationship between early socialization and life outcome.

#### SEX ROLE SOCIALIZATION

##### THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS.

Most social scientists have come to the conclusion that there is a correlation between socialization and life outcome. In order to fully understand how this correlation occurs, it is important that we explain some of the findings of those social scientists, particularly on how socio-cultural orientations are acquired in general.

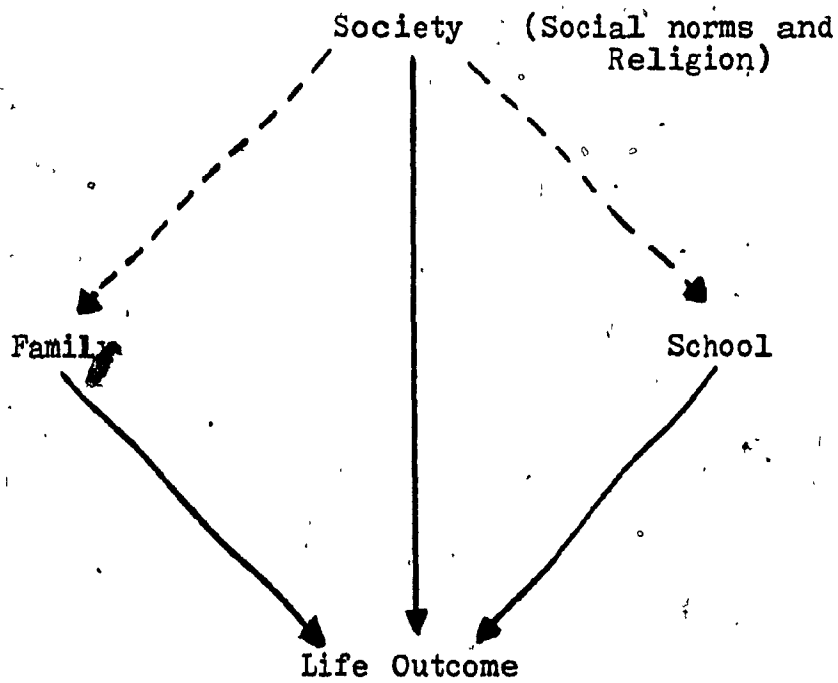
Cultures are patterns of behavior, thoughts and feelings that are acquired or influenced through learning and are characteristics of groups of people rather than of individuals (Marvin Harris, 1971, p. 136). The way by

which this is achieved is termed the socialization process. Socialization therefore, may be defined as the process of leading the individual, particularly the child, to understand the customs, standards, traditions and cultures of the group of which he is a member, and within which he should participate positively (see Figure 1). The young is being socialized into the society by inculcating in him the behavioral attitudes and sex norms that are appropriate for each sex. There are rewards and punishments for those who obey and disobey respectively, and because a child who disobeys is regarded as deviant, children quickly internalize these norms. Hyman (1959), Fredrick Elkin (1960), Ernest Hilgard (1960), and Froman (1961), all emphasize the three major approaches for the study of socialization - learning, personality and role. We shall therefore, discuss, briefly, these three approaches and their effects on sex-role.

#### LEARNING

Education is synonymous with socialization. Therefore, educational attainment and consequently, life outcome are said to be acquired through learning (Dreeben, 1968). In this respect, two major concepts often referred to are: 'imitation' and 'identification'. Thus, the importance

FIGURE 1 : SOCIALIZATION AS IT AFFECTS HUMAN BEINGS.



Direct causal link →

Indirect causal link →

of 'significant others' is apparent. Significant others define the world for the child and serve as models for his attitudes and behavior (Elkin, 1960, p. 26).

Researchers who explore the socialization process through the concept of imitation argue that right from the early stages of life, the child learns the importance of following the footsteps of adults around him. This is mainly achieved by bestowing rewards and inflicting punishment, depending on the child's behavior. The school plays an important role in the concept of imitation, since most people children like to imitate and identify with are met not only in the family, but in the school as well (Levy, 1975, and Wilson, 1966).

Dreeben and Parsons have noted that the school is considered the most important agent of socialization. It represents a developmental process taking place outside the family, in which large masses of people acquire certain psychological capacities that enable them to participate in major institutional areas of society. This is not to say however, that other agents such as the family, church, peer group and the mass media are not important.

Social scientists who explore the socialization process by identification argue that a child identifies with a person whom he or she considers to be of great importance. The child therefore, tries to be like this

person, and gradually internalizes and imitates behavioral attitudes of the person. As noted by Miller and Dollard (1941), and by Brim (1966), the primary models for identification are often found in the family. Researchers have sought to explain educational motivation and attainment of children and youth by reference to the achievement motivation of parents. We should note however, that socialization is an on-going process. There are always new developments and relationships that must be learned.

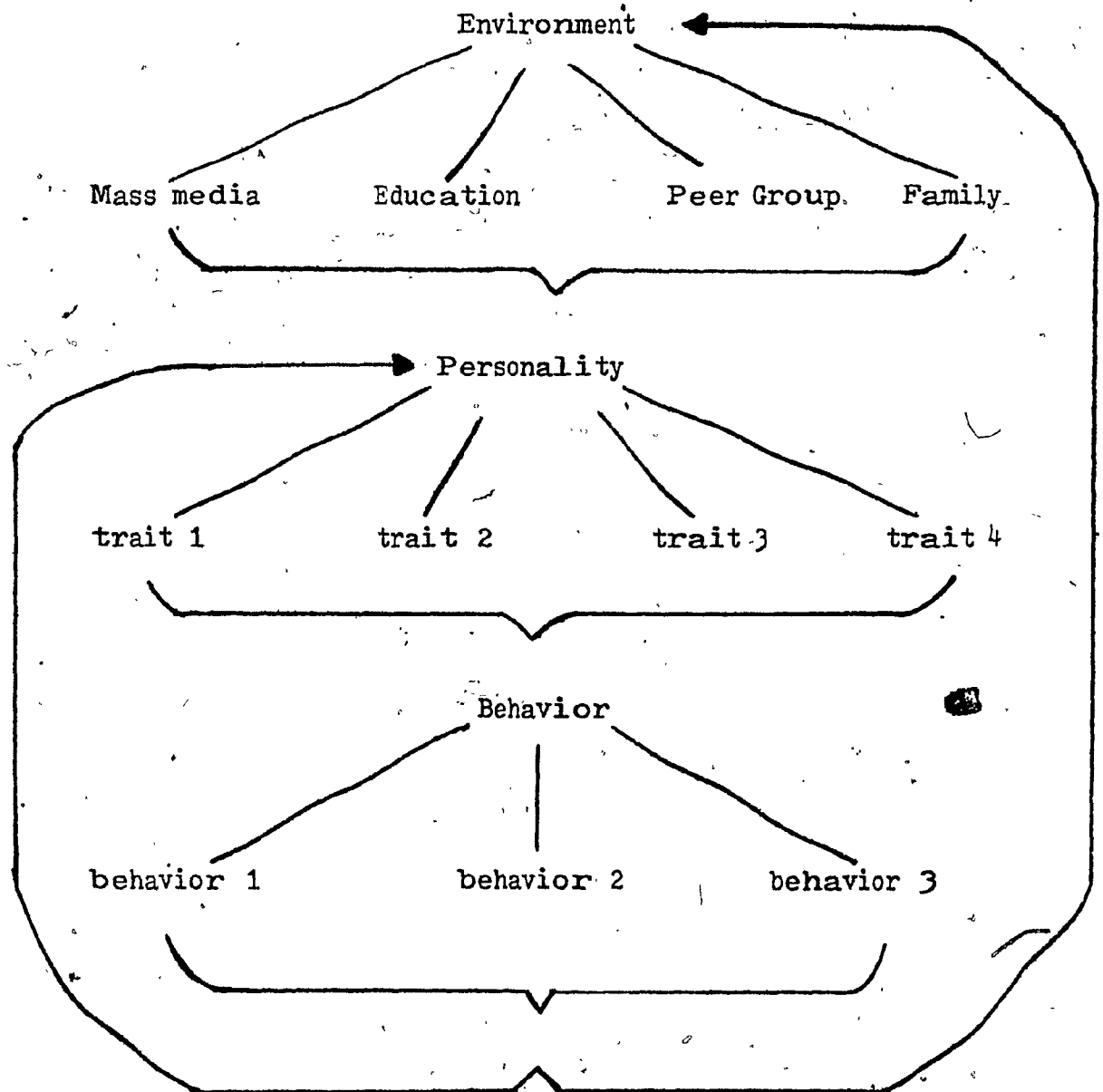
#### PERSONALITY

Social scientists differ in their opinions as to whether or not personality disposition should be included in the socialization research. While Katz and Benjamin (1960) and Browning and Jacob (1964) argue that the relationship between personality disposition and socialization is very weak, Lewis Froman's (1961) research argues strongly for its inclusion because of its relation to the environment (mass media, education, peer groups and family) and behavior. The concept of personality provides leverage whereby we are able to 'explain' the effect of certain environmental configurations upon behavior in a manner which, essentially, gives us a great deal more control (in a predictive and exploratory sense) over rather complex environmental forces (Froman, 1961,

p. 349; see Figure II). However, this is not to rule out the possibility that isolated 'bits' of behaviors may be learned which in a sense, bypass personality considerations in terms of integration into the context of relatively enduring traits.

Basically, there are two main traditions in the study of personality in relation to society. As stated by Brim (1966), the first tradition is interested in how individuals adjust to society and how inspite of the influence of society upon them, they manage to be creative and gradually transform the social order in which they have been born. The second tradition is primarily interested in how society socializes the individual. Our study of socialization in the literature reviewed here, as well as the study proposed, falls into this second tradition. The study is mainly concerned with how man changes the natural man, and not how man changes his society. We shall therefore, focus on understanding the societal social structure, role prescription, acquisition of sex habits, beliefs, attitudes and motives which enable women to perform satisfactorily the role expected of them in the nigerian society, thereby militating against their education.

FIGURE II : PRESUMED RELATIONSHIPS AMONG ENVIRONMENT,  
PERSONALITY AND BEHAVIOR.\*



\* (Froman, 1961, p. 345).

## ROLE

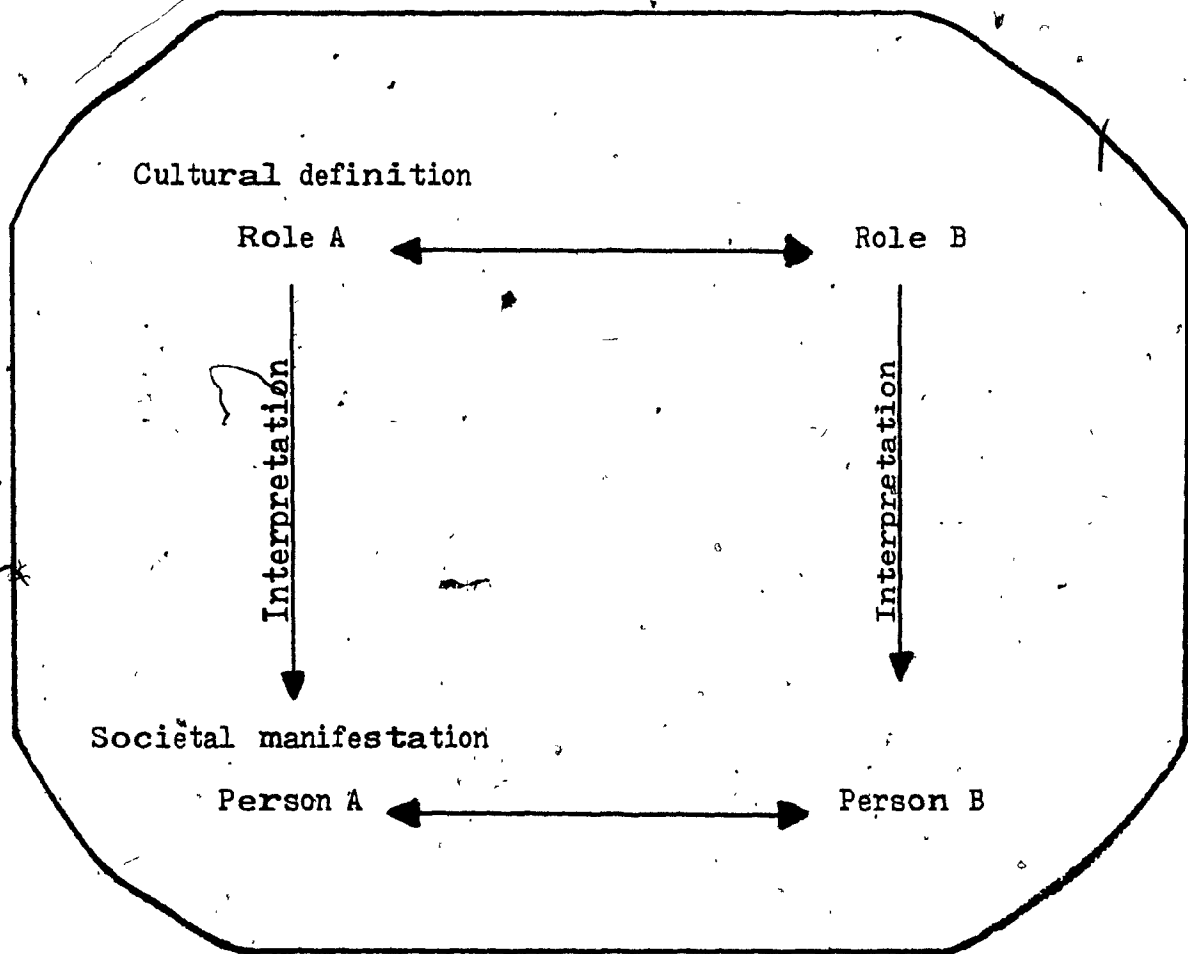
Most theorists have simply defined role either as a bridge between individual and society, or as linkage between culture and society (see Figure III). In each society, there exist clusters of interpersonal expectations, rights and responsibilities. Each of these comprises a role. Right from childhood, men are socialized to participate in the various institutions of the society. Since roles are defined as expectations of behavior, they are in a sense, ideal conceptions of what should be done by certain people in particular situations. Roles are reciprocal and therefore, in actual performance, there exists social interaction.

Research findings (Coleman, 1966; Anderson, 1974; Astin et al., 1976; Baudon, 1973) have indicated that in modern industrialized society, children are socialized to fill unequal sex roles. Anderson explains:

General sexual inequality is deeply ingrained in the child socialization and sex-role learning process. Males are rewarded for rationality, responsibility, initiative aggression and physical prowess, and females for emotion deference, dependability, reserve and delicacy. Later, the young male and female identify and



FIGURE III : ROLES AS LINKAGE BETWEEN CULTURE AND SOCIETY.



Anderson, 1971, p. 44.

model their behavior after that of their adult counterparts. (Anderson, 1974, p. 312).

The regularity of sex-role learning tends to give the impression that differences between male and female roles have an innate or biological origin. But this assumption has been proved wrong (Urdu, 1966; Mills, 1963).

For decades, the traditional work on child development, combined with the Freudian concepts and theories on personality and the thought of cultural relativity enhanced by the cross-cultural perspectives of anthropologists never focused on role-learning and social interaction. The studies rather concentrated on adults' adaptation to society's demands for changes in his social behavior as he moved from one position to the next. It was not until 1966 that Brim and Wheeler revived the idea of role-learning approach in analysing the process of socialization. Their research also included socialization after childhood. The amount of socialization an individual receives in childhood cannot be fully adequate as preparation for the tasks demanded of him or her in later years. However, childhood socialization serves as a foundation for later years. More-demanding role-

learning attitudes and skills (acquired early in childhood, that is), are made use of later in life.

Brim, in his essay, 'Socialization After Childhood', analyses the changes in the contents of socialization after childhood. He first deals with changes from concern with values and motives towards concerns with overt behavior. This is necessary because early life socialization emphasizes the control of primary drives, while socialization of later stages deals primarily with overt behavior in the role and makes little attempt to influence motivation of a fundamental kind. Second, he lays emphasis on the synthesis of old material. That is, the material acquired in adult socialization is not so much new material, but a development of the old. Third, is the transition of idealism to realism. Fourth, is the concern with teaching the individual to mediate between conflicting demands. As one moves through the life cycle, one is forced to develop methods of selecting among conflicting role prescriptions. The fifth characteristic of change in socialization is an increase of specificity in role prescription. The final one is the addition of other components, such as "I-Them" relationship to "I-Me" component of personality (Brim, 1966, p. 24-33).

## EDUCATION, BIOLOGY AND SEX-TYPING OF ROLES.

The differences in the structure and physiology of man and woman have led some theorists into believing that sex-linked roles and statuses are primarily biological, rather than cultural phenomena. The higher level of testosterone in men is also said to account for their general aggressiveness, and their 'natural' dominance over women; and because of the female ability to bear children and nurse them, they have been categorized as the ones who should stay at home and take care of the entire household. In other words, women have become the subordinate sex. This argument has often been met with various criticisms. While investigating whether behavioral patterns are inborn, Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) concluded that while some sex differences may be taken as established facts, others are sheer myths and still others require evidence before a verdict could actually be reached. According to Maccoby and Jacklin:

In the category of established fact are sex differences in verbal, visual-spatial and mathematical abilities and aggression. Boys and girls tend to be roughly equal in these traits until early adolescence. At that point, girls begin to surpass boys in verbal

and visual-spatial abilities , and boys in mathematical abilities. As early as age 2, boys tend to be more aggressive than girls, a difference that holds cross-culturally.

(Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974, p. 82).

Enough evidence has shown that the two sexes show a remarkable degree of similarity in the basic intellectual as well as in the process of perception, learning and memory in early infancy. It is the school system that reinforces and perpetuates the inequalities between the sexes by tracking them to different courses that are labelled 'feminine' and 'masculine'. By so doing, the school in modern world stabilizes the society (Dreeben, 1968; Harris, 1977).

Modern anthropologists have concluded that there is nothing purely 'natural' about human behavior; that all socio-cultural practices represent the selective result of interaction between culture and nature. Researchers believe that men are neither born with the innate tendency to be aggressive nor that to be dominant over women. On the other hand, women are neither born with the innate tendency to care for infants nor to be submissive to men. It is the society, with its powerful constraints that imposes these roles on them through the

socialization process.

#### AGENCIES OF SOCIALIZATION.

Cross-culturally, the sex of the child determines his or her pattern of socialization. As a result of their different socialization histories, the sexes come to differ in the meaning and value that stimuli have for them, and therefore, in their subsequent preferences and choices (Mishel, 1970, p. 59). These experiences and perceptions promoted especially by the family also manifest themselves in different kinds of achievement for the two sexes; different levels of self-esteem, different motives and different attitudes.

The school taking over from the family reinforces and continues the sex-role socialization, thereby, promoting the existing ideology in the society.

Gordon Chamberlin's article on 'Phenomenological Methodology and Understanding Education' elaborates on how the school and its members act as socializing agents. Each society embodies a legacy of pattern for what children should learn and how they should learn, as well as how they should be helped in that learning. He divides the socializing pattern of the society into five parts

and shows clearly how this structure operates in the school. He refers to the first part as 'sponsor', that is, someone who is held responsible for providing educational activities; the second identifies the fact that these activities always involve consciously selected pattern, which he calls 'procedure'. Third, someone is responsible for conducting these activities. Chamberlin refers to this role as 'operative'. Fourth, those to be helped in learning are 'learners'. And finally, there is always a constituency concerned with the outcome of educational activities, that is, the 'constituents'.

In formal schooling, this five-part structure becomes more elaborate and explicit:

Boards of education sponsor and specify procedures; administrators and teachers are employed to carry out planned activities in standardized ways; learners are required by law to attend these activities. In short, the schools have become symbols with meanings basic to a nation's self-image. (Chamberlin, p. 123).

Part of the planned activities is tracking the children to different courses, depending on their sexes. Male children are trained to be achievement-oriented, while the female are trained to serve an affilial position (Anderson,

1974). On the whole, the content of education expresses certain basic elements in the culture.

#### RELIGION AND SEX-ROLE AS CULTURE.

A number of studies have explored the possibility that religious beliefs and rituals may have greatly contributed to differential sex-roles (Obilade, 1977). Both Christian and Moslem religions differentiate in doctrines regarding women, as compared to men. While the Christian doctrine does not put too many constraints on women, the Islamic religion does. However, both religions believe that women are the subordinate sex, who therefore, should always be obedient to the male, who are the dominant sex.

Culturally, the institution of purdah, symbolized by the Veil, alienates Moslem women, especially in rural areas, from the public eye and reduces them to complete subordination and dependency. As a result, Islamic men cross-culturally, always fight ferociously against all attempts to liberate their women or even improve their lot (Rohlich, p. 5). The inferior position of Moslem women is shown early from childhood. When a male child is born, the call for prayer is given to welcome him, whereas, nothing of that sort happens when a female child



is born. In addition, the Moslem culture idolizes women who have made immense sacrifices for their husbands. Religious culture and tradition combined therefore, could be seen as a contributory factor to the inequalities between male and female in the society.

#### EDUCATION AND ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION IN WOMEN.

Achievement motivation is the extent to which one is concerned with attaining excellence. McClelland and associates in 1953, concluded that achievement motivation is a relatively stable personality disposition, learned in early childhood to strive for success in any situation where standards of excellence are applicable, and to feel proud of success and ashamed of failure. They perceive the motive to achieve as generalizing across area of achievement. According to this theory, the motive remains latent until it is aroused by situational cues. It becomes activated when a person believes that the consequences of his or her actions will lead to either a favorable or an unfavorable evaluation in terms of standards of excellence. Once aroused, the motive to achieve will result in achievement-oriented activity, only if it is greater than the tendency to avoid failure.

Crandall (1964) proposed another model of achievement motivation according to which there are three determinants of motivation in a given situation: (1) expectancy of success; (2) attainment value (the value attached to particular types of achievement); (3) standard of performance. Whichever way one looks at it, level and direction of achievement motivation in women appear to be affected by sex-role definition, low self-concept, orientations and expectations. Women may be motivated to achieve only in areas that they and others consider appropriate to their female sex-role definitions, rather than in appropriate masculine domains. Several other studies, such as Broverman et al. (1970), and Golberg (1978), have all demonstrated that feminine traits and products are given lower valuation than masculine traits and products. As a result of these sex-role stereotypes, one would expect women to have low or negative views of themselves.

Writers, such as Scholaserg and Godman (1972), have found that even at the kindergarten, children could identify traditionally male and female occupations. Moreover, the occupations these children identify themselves with fall within the stereotypes. Thus, at different stages of socialization, the differences in male and

female sexes are often emphasized. This accounts for different treatment and outcome.

At this stage, it should be emphasized that this is an exploratory study which sets out to find out the socio-cultural factors affecting the education of girls in northern Nigeria.

Our review of literature does not pretend to give a comprehensive picture of the available research on factors that militate against women in education. It is rather, a random selection of studies trying to cover the conceptual and methodological development in recent years in areas of women's education. Much of the literature reviewed for this study was published during the last two decades.

The attempt made so far in our literature review has been to generate an hypothesis to answer the following question: does the socialization process still account for the low response of women to education and their perception of their role in society? We shall later compare the results of our findings to the hypothesis already generated.

## CHAPTER 2

### RESEARCH PROCEDURES.

#### INTRODUCTION

As we explained earlier in Chapter 1, the main aim of our research is to explore the various socio-cultural factors that affect the education of women in northern Nigeria. At this point, it should be noted that this research project is a case study of northern Nigerian women in Montreal. It will be observed that the spouses of these female respondents were also interviewed. This is to enable us to know the attitudes of men towards women in general. To this end, our procedural approach will involve:

- the formulation of a research design;
- demographic characteristics of our sample;
- research instruments; and
- the interview.

#### RESEARCH DESIGN

The methodology of our research is basically retrospective in the sense that our primary questionnaire (see

the section, 'research instruments'), probes the early socialization process of our respondents who are now adult. However, it also deals with the present life-experience of the respondents. For example, there are certain questions that are hypothetical, but which give an insight into the respondent's general concept of women and education. Furthermore, a secondary questionnaire designed for two hundred high school girls (in northern Nigeria) registered for the 1978/79 session serves as a useful tool for the assessment of women education in northern Nigeria.

The primary questionnaire is made up of 145 items which cover a wide variety of topics. Our sample is carefully selected to include only those Nigerians who are from the northern parts of the country. The sample selection minimizes the interference of external variables - for instance, a northern Nigerian brought up in the south would have a radically different educational history than one 'born and bred' in the north. Therefore, the criteria for the composition of our sample are as follows:

1. An individual must be married;
2. The spouse must be in Montreal; and
3. Early childhood must have been spent in northern Nigeria.

Furthermore, our respondents are male and female in order to have a sex-based comparison and expose differential sex-role socialization, if any. Therefore, two broad groups emerge: the first, eighteen women, and the second, eighteen men.

The secondary questionnaire was designed to enable us to gain access to the opinions of those who are undergoing the experience of being within the educational system. Our findings are in turn, comparable to the retrospective study of the primary questionnaire. It should be noted that since the author of this thesis could not be physically present in Nigeria during the research, the secondary questionnaire was administered by a competent relative of hers, who himself completed his Master of Arts (Educational Administration) at McGill University before returning to Nigeria. The completed copies of the secondary questionnaire were subsequently forwarded to the researcher here in Montreal where the results were analyzed. However, it is necessary to devote a large part of this chapter to our primary questionnaire because it is the focal point of our research.

#### The Primary Questionnaire:

In this section, we will discuss the formulation of our questionnaire, the selection of our sample, and the

polarization of the two working groups (female and male).

Formulation of the Primary Questionnaire:

Since our research is an exploratory study of women vis-à-vis education, we have taken great pains to include questions which will help to reveal factors militating against the education of women in our questionnaire. As we pointed out in Chapter 1, modern society recognizes the importance of education for personal and societal improvements. Nonetheless, the education of women still seems to lag behind. We seek to probe this fact by asking different types of questions. For example, some of our questions are simply informative: 'What is your age ? Sex ? Religion ?' or 'Where did you spend your childhood ?' etc. Others involve a choice between two or more answers: 'Did you attend a sexually mixed or segregated elementary school ?' Still, others are the 'Yes-No' type of questions, and the majority of others are the open-ended type of questions, some of which are hypothetical. The last category is particularly suited to an in-depth interview because it gives the respondent the liberty to make personal comments which may provide other leads in the probe.

However, there are some of the questions that are restricted to a particular sex. For example, 'How many more wives do you intend to marry ?'. At first we tried

to get the women to answer this question hypothetically as if they were men. But we soon realized that this approach would lead to unnecessary complications and so, we discarded the idea.

#### THE SAMPLE

Since our research did not have any financial support, it had to be conducted at minimum expense. Therefore, we decided to focus on the northern Nigerians studying at higher educational institutions in Montreal. And since most of our sample had been in Montreal for only a few years at most, we can argue that their experiences back in Nigeria were still quite fresh in their memories at the time of the interview. This was a major assumption in the selection of our sample. Furthermore, this fact provides the opportunity to test the arguments of those social scientists mentioned in our literature review who suggest that early socialization greatly affects one's outlook in life. The list of all Nigerians enrolled in higher educational institutions in Montreal was obtained from the President of the Nigerian Students' Association in Montreal. About one hundred and eighty names were



supplied by the Association. Out of this number, we started eliminating those who were not from northern Nigeria. Then, we were left with fifty names, out of which we eliminated those who were single and those who were not accompanied by their spouses. So, we were left with a quite homogeneous group of people, who incidentally, all lived in and around the 'student ghetto' near McGill University during the time of our research.

We decided to limit our sample to eighteen married couples so as to have an equal representation of both sexes. Moreover, the family is recognized as a reflection of the society at large. It is therefore, logical to expect that whatever operates within the family circle would give an insight into what goes on in the society. Therefore, the response generated from the two key members of the family unit should be quite representative of the society. Furthermore, our sample is limited to those who spent their early childhood in northern Nigeria so as to be able to explore aspects of their early socialization and educational history that could be responsible for the disparity between the education of men and women. In other words, we end up with a polarization of two working groups: male and female.

Demographic characteristics of our sample:

The First Group (Female): This group is made up of eighteen women - half of our sample. Most of them are between the ages of fifteen and twenty years, and have been married for one to five years (see Table 2.1).

They come from different geographical locations in northern Nigeria. There are twelve from the 'Far North' and six from the 'Near North'. Their religious affiliations follow closely this geographical distribution (see Table 2.2) - a total of thirteen Moslems and only five Christians.

In considering the sociological background of our first group of respondents, we note that majority of them are from rural, as opposed to urban areas. This means that their families are mainly middle-class. In most cases, the father could be literate (usually at elementary school level), whereas the mother is usually illiterate (see Table 2.3). Furthermore, the majority of their fathers are blue-collar workers, whereas the mothers are full-time housewives, or at best, small-scale traders.

The educational records, preoccupations and aspirations of this first group of respondents are outlined in Table 2.4. It is pertinent to note that a large majority

**TABLE 2.1:** Frequency Distributions of Selected Social Characteristics of Female Respondents.

Social Variables	Categories	Number	Total
Present Age	15-20 years	12	18
	21-25	6	
	26-30	0	
Age at marriage	10-14 years	1	18
	15-20	16	
	21-25	1	
Type of family	Polygamous	5	18
	Monogamous	13	
Type of parent's family	Polygamous	18	18
	Monogamous	0	

**TABLE 2.2: Geographical and Religious Distributions of Female Respondents.**

Variable	Category	Sub-category	Number	Total
Origin	Near North	Benue	2	18
		Kwara	2	
		Plateau	2	
	Far North	Bauchi	1	
		Borno	2	
		Gongola	3	
		Kaduna	2	
		Kano	2	
		Niger	2	
		Sokoto	0	
Religion	Christianity		5	18
	Islam		13	
	Non-conformism		0	

**TABLE 2.3:** Frequency Distributions of Social and Educational Characteristics of Female Respondent's Family.

Variable	Category	Number	Total
Family setting	Urban	7	18
	Semi-urban	1	
	Rural	10	
Father's educational history	Elementary	11	13
	Secondary	2	
	University	0	
Mother's educational history	Elementary	3	3
	Secondary	0	
	University	0	
Type of parent's family	Lower Class	1	18
	Lower-middle Class	10	
	Middle Class	7	
	Upper-middle Class	0	

**TABLE 2.4:** Frequency Distributions of Educational Preoccupations and Aspirations of Female Respondents.

Variable	Category	Number	Total
Educational level in Nigeria	Elementary	1	18
	Secondary	16	
	Teacher-training	1	
	University	0	
	Diploma	0	
Present educational preoccupation	Attending school	3	17
	Not attending school	14	
Educational aspiration	Willing to prolong stay in Montreal to attend school	0	18
	Unwilling to prolong stay in Montreal to attend school	18	

of them claimed to have had high school education. Although we did not enquire about how many have actually completed high school (to avoid embarrassment), it is safe to speculate that a sizable number of them either dropped out of school or did not successfully complete high school - the educational figures showing enrollment decline with class and sex of primary school children in Kaduna State from 1973-1980 (see Appendix III) suggest this. Furthermore, most of this group of respondents are full-time housewives here in Montreal. This excludes them from school, and apart from the three who are already in school, all of them have no future educational plans. And even those who are in school do not plan to undertake more advanced studies.

The Second Group (Male): Like our first group, this group is made up of eighteen individuals - the second half of our sample. But this time, they are men, not women. Since these are the husbands of the women who make up the first group, the members of the second group are older than their counterparts (a cultural phenomenon). Most of the members of this second group are between the ages of twenty-five and thirty years (see Table 2.5).

**TABLE 2.5:** Frequency Distributions of Selected Social Characteristics of Male Respondents.

Social Variables	Categories	Number	Total
Present Age	15-20 years	0	18
	21-25	1	
	26-30	12	
	30 <sup>+</sup>	5	
Age at marriage	10-14 years	0	18
	15-20	0	
	21 <sup>+</sup>	18	
Type of family	Polygamous	5	18
	Mongamous	13	
Type of parent's family	Polygamous	14	16
	Monogamous	2	



To be precise, at the time of the interview, only one was still below twenty-five, twelve were between twenty-six and thirty years, and five were above thirty. However, the revelation of their ages (both female and male respondents) confirmed what researchers such as Remy (1975) and Muckenhirn (1966) said about women being lured into early marriage in Nigeria, particularly in the north.

Since inter-regional marriages are scarce, the members of the second group come from places whose geographical locations have similar patterns to those of their wives. Of the eighteen men, there are twelve from the Far North and six from the Near North. Their religious affiliations are closely linked to this geographical distribution too (see Table 2.6).

The sociological background of our second group of respondents reveals that majority of them are from rural, as opposed to urban areas. This means that their families, like those of the first group, are mainly middle class. In this case too, the father could have some level of literacy (usually elementary), whereas the mother is almost invariably illiterate (see Table 2.7). This gives an edge to the fathers on the labour-market, where majority of them are blue-collar workers. Our

**TABLE 2.6:** Geographical and Religious Distributions of Male Respondents.

Variable	Category	Sub-category	Number	Total
Origin	Near North	Benue	2	18
		Kwara	2	
		Plateau	2	
	Far North	Bauchi	2	
		Borno	1	
		Gongola	3	
		Kaduna	3	
		Kano	1	
		Niger	2	
		Sokoto	0	
Religion	Christianity		4	18
	Islam		13	
	Non-conformism		1	

**TABLE 2.7: Frequency Distributions of Social and Educational Characteristics of Male Respondent's Family.**

Variable	Category	Number	Total
Family setting	Urban	8	18
	Semi-urban	1	
	Rural	9	
Father's educational history	Elementary	10	18
	Secondary	0	
	University	0	
Mother's educational history	Elementary	3	4
	Secondary	0	
	University	1	
Type of parent's family	Lower Class	5	18
	Lower-middle Class	6	
	Middle Class	6	
	Upper-middle Class	1	

respondents' mothers are mainly full-time housewives.

The educational records, preoccupations and aspirations of our second group of respondents are set out in Table 2.8. When compared to the first group, this second group has a more impressive outlook. The minimum level of education they had before coming to Canada was high school. But there are two of them who had gone as far as the Bachelor's degree in Nigeria. In contrast to the first group, all the members of this second group are in one educational programme or the other here in Montreal. In fact, it is their pre-occupation with their studies that brought them here. Most of them aspire to undertake more advanced degrees if given the chance.

An interesting characteristic of our sample has to do with age at the time of marriage; types of family unit and religion. Sixteen out of the eighteen female respondents got married between the ages of fifteen and twenty. In fact, one got married at fourteen. This is in sharp contrast to our male respondents: all of whom were married when they were well above twenty-one.

The majority of our respondents are from polygamous families. Fourteen of our male respondents are from polygamous families, while all our female respondents are from polygamous homes. This explains a lot about the

**TABLE 2.8:** Frequency Distributions of Educational Preoccupations and Aspirations of Male Respondents.

Variable	Category	Number	Total
Educational level in Nigeria	Elementary	7	18
	Secondary	3	
	Teacher-training	5	
	University	2	
	Diploma	1	
Present educational preoccupation	Attending school	18	18
	Not attending school	0	
Educational aspiration	Willing to prolong stay in Montreal to attend school	18	18
	Unwilling to prolong stay in Montreal to attend school	0	

type of family units that obtain in northern Nigeria.

All but eight of our thirty-six respondents are Moslems. This is however, not surprising, since northern Nigerians are predominantly Moslems, while the southerners are predominantly Christians. In fact, the Jihad (Holy War) of Othman dan Fodio started from the north. His aim was to carve out an Islamic Empire of Nigeria. He however, met with opposition as he moved southwards with his religious war.

Another interesting aspect of our sample is that out of the eighteen female respondents, only three are presently attending an educational institution; the others, as we have said earlier on, are full-time housewives. However, one who did not specify her present educational pre-occupation, has not decided whether or not she would go to school in Canada.

#### RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

The major device used in connection with our questionnaire was an in-depth interview schedule. This method is particularly useful in the study of process (Blatt and Garfunkel, 1973) and feelings, attitudes and values (Hyman,

1954).

Our primary questionnaire (see Appendix I), is divided into the following parts:

- i Respondent's background information;
- ii Schooling and educational history;
- iii Occupational history;
- iv Socio-cultural pattern before coming to Canada;
- v Formal organization participation;
- vi General views on women
  - occupation
  - independence (authoritarian personality)
  - child education (stereotyping of girls -  
Levy, 1974)
  - female inferiority (family traditionalism -  
Levinson and Huffman, 1955)
  - Women's Liberation Movement.

For confidential reasons, each questionnaire was pre-numbered. For example, 1A (for female) or 1B (for male). Nowhere in the questionnaire was there provision for the name of the respondents.

Secondary sources, such as government documents and publications related to the school system and the education

of women in general were also consulted to provide background information for the study. Besides, we did a computer search to gather relevant materials on women's education.

### THE INTERVIEWS

The interviews began early in September and were completed by the end of November, 1980. It was quite hectic going from one apartment to the other. Besides, it was the beginning of a new session and the students were busy getting acquainted with their courses.

The interviews were pre-arranged and usually took place in the respondent's home. On many occasions, the respondent's spouse was absent. This permitted us to interview the couple separately. Even when both husband and wife were present, we still insisted on interviewing them separately. The main purpose of this approach was to ensure the sincerity of the respondent's response. The presence of a third party may hinder this openness of mind. For example, a husband who is already thinking of the possibility of marrying a second wife may not want to admit it in the presence of his present wife.



However, we ensured that the wives were interviewed before their husbands so as not to create any suspicion, since the researcher is also a woman.

The average interview was as conversational as possible. The respondents were free to pass other comments, before and after their response to all questions. Usually, an interview lasted ninety minutes. This means that when both husband and wife were interviewed on the same day, we needed about three hours to conduct both interviews. We usually had a break in-between the interviews. Sometimes, we had lunch or dinner together on such occasions, depending on the time of the interview and our familiarity with the respondents. It should be pointed out however, that the first interviews lasted much longer than average. But as the interviewer got more and more acquainted with the questions, subsequent interviews ran much faster. On the average, two interviews were completed per day.

The purpose of the research was briefly stated before the questionnaire items were gone through. The researcher assured the respondent of the confidentiality of all the information that would be given during the course of the interview. Sometimes, it was necessary to give a respondent

the question to read personally when there was a sign of difficulty in comprehension. Otherwise, the interviewer usually read the question out aloud as clearly as possible. In some cases, the respondents asked for a clarification before responding.

All the thirty-six respondents in our sample were very cooperative. Most of them expressed the desire to see the finished product of our research. We therefore, have no reason to doubt the authenticity of the findings outlined in Chapter 4, which are based on these interviews.

Since all our respondents lived virtually in the same area, we had no problem whatsoever in completing the interviews in time.

As soon as we completed the interviews, we coded each of the questions on coding sheets and started making cards to analyze the various responses of our respondents.

5

## CHAPTER 3

### BACKGROUND INFORMATION

#### NIGERIA : GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY.

The mid-twentieth century marked the breakdown of the ties with colonialism and the emergence of new nation-states, particularly in the third-world. The cause for the emergence of the new nations could be traced back to the rising demands of the people to have a say in the decisions that affect their lives. More so, the 1948 Declaration of Human Rights made the people aware that men are born equal and therefore, should be free - this is quite evident in the case of Zimbabwe's persistent struggle and its recent achievement of majority rule. The same is true of Nigeria.

Nigeria is situated at the extreme inner corner of the Gulf of Guinea in West Africa. It lies between latitudes 40 N. and 14 N., covering "an area of 373,000 square miles, extending from the Gulf of Guinea in the South, to the Sahara desert in the North, and bounded on the West and North by Dahomey (People's Republic of Benin) and Niger, territories of French West Africa, on the East, by Lake Chad and the Cameroons, under United Kingdom Trusteeship" (Perkins, 1960; Coleman, 1971). It is more

than four times the size of Ghana and about four times the size of the United Kingdom. With a population of about eighty million, the Federal Republic of Nigeria is the most densely populated country in black Africa.

Nigeria came into being as a single political unit on January 1st, 1944, when the two protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria were amalgamated under the governorship of Sir Fredrick Lugard. The amalgamation led to the organization of the country into two major provinces: the Northern and Southern provinces. However, the Southern province was in 1939, divided into the Eastern and Western provinces (Burns, 1969).

The year 1960 marked the end of British colonial rule in Nigeria, a rule which had lasted for more than half a century. Nigeria became independent as a federation, consisting of three regions, namely, the Northern, Eastern and Western Regions, with Lagos as the Federal Capital. It should however, be recalled that these regions were synonymous with the areas formerly known as the Northern, Eastern and Western provinces. It was not until October 1st, 1963 that the country became a Republic. It has since been a member of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations.

Prior to the Nigerian independence, the British government had tried to create a sense of unity among Nigerians without success. It therefore, became a major task of Nigerian leaders after independence to create a popular sense of nationalism. But loyalty to ethnic states has always taken precedence over Nigerian patriotism (West African Review, March, 1948). Nigerians see themselves more often as southerners, northerners and easterners, rather than being an entity. As Awolowo (a political activist of Western Nigeria), pointed out in 1947, "Nigeria is not a nation, it is a mere geographical expression. The word 'Nigerian' is merely a distinctive appellation to distinguish those who live within the boundaries of Nigeria from those who do not' (West Africa Review, 1947). All efforts to create a sense of nationalism amongst the people have failed up to date.

#### THE PEOPLES OF NIGERIA

The structure of the state itself recognizes that the peoples of Nigeria would only feel secure if they were ruled by those who belong to their ethnic group. The peoples of Nigeria belong to three major ethnic groups: Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa. The Yorubas occupy the south-

western part of Nigeria. With an area of 45,403 square miles, they are about one-fifth of the entire population.

Hausa is the linguistic name used to designate the people who live in the northern part of Nigeria. They are mainly found in the huge area between  $10\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  and  $13\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  N. and  $40^{\circ}$  to  $10^{\circ}$  E. and in the south of the Niger Republic. The area essentially consists of the basin of the Sokoto river and its tributaries to the west and of the Great Plateau to the east (Hill, 1972). Apart from the Hausas, other small linguistic groups such as the Fulani, Kanuri, Tiv and Nupe do exist in the northern parts of Nigeria.

Much of the literature on the Hausas of Nigeria have always dealt with history, politics, administration and economic affairs of the people. Oftentimes, no mention is made of the factors militating against women's education. It is this absolute neglect of the socio-cultural factors affecting the education of women over the centuries that will be the focal point of our discussion in this study.

For centuries, Northern Nigeria had had well-organized states (Emirates). Each state was centered upon a capital town (Birni), which was usually walled and governed by the Chief (Emir). In fact, Perham (1960) noted that there

was nowhere in sub-saharan Africa to compare with

the political and cultural sophistication of the ancient Hausa states with their walled red cities, crowded mosques, literate mullahs, large markets, numerous crafts in leather, far-ranging traders and skilled production of a wide variety of crops, served by cattle, camels, horses and donkeys and by slaves whom early travellers to Kano reckoned as half the population. Not only the ruling class, but the more prosperous of the Hausa had some of the luxury leisure coupled with a standard of living rare in tropical Africa.

(Perham, 1960, p. 33-34).

Although over the years, methods of government have changed in Nigeria, the walled cities are still a feature of the North and the Emirs are the Heads of the Native Authorities within their emirates.

Majority of Nigerians live in rural villages in which the compound - an enclosure containing the houses of a man, his wives and in some cases, the houses of his brothers - is a unit of settlement. Less than ten percent of the population lives in urban centres. Most of the towns are concentrated in the south and are densely populated.

Adding to the population of the urban centres are non-

Nigerians whose numbers have grown rapidly over the years. The groups of expatriates include Europeans, Indians, Ghanaians, Americans, Chinese, Pakistanis, Lebanese, Syrians, Dahomeans, Germans, Italians, Sierra Leonians and a host of others (Daily Times of Nigeria, March 19, 1962).

The foreigners play an integral part in the operation and development of the Nigerian society. They are able to move freely like citizens without any harassment by the police. It is not unusual to find the Lebanese dominating the economic sector of an urban centre in the Nigerian society. Most of them have become importers of textile goods. A host of others are found in government departments. The Nigerian Railway Corporation for instance, is managed by the Indians. Some expatriates have even become naturalized and a host of others have had traditional chieftaincy titles conferred on them. This in part, explains the friendliness and open-handedness with which Nigerians accept peoples of other nations.

#### LANGUAGES

Linguistically, the Nigerian society is heterogeneous.



There are over four hundred indigenous languages. Though English is spoken and understood by only about twenty percent of the population, it has become the language of government, administration, commerce, industry and education. Many Nigerian educationists have often objected to a foreign language being the language of their government. Thus, for instance, Babs Fafunwa (a professor of education in Nigeria), started experimenting with a group of primary school children, using Yoruba rather than English, as the medium of instruction (Fafunwa, 1976). But perhaps, one should not blame Nigerian educational planners for still hanging to English, years after independence from the British, because it is difficult to decide the best replacement for English that would not lead to animosity from one linguistic group or the other. Any language chosen as the language of government would definitely encounter problems, especially those of acceptance.

Thus, their contact with the British has left a particularly profound impact on the mentality of the Nigerian populace. This is evidenced by their educational system which is still fashioned after the British model.

## SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Social scientists have often pointed to the fact that there is a correlation between social class background, behavioral pattern and achievement in life. For instance, Coleman (1966) and Boudon (1973) have argued that social class differences are responsible for unequal performance of children in schools. They argue that children from the upper class, to a great extent, do better than children from lower class families.

The Nigerian society can be divided into upper, middle and lower classes on the basis of income and to some extent, education. Businessmen and professionals can safely be called the upper class. The middle class would be white-collar workers and civil servants, especially those in the administrative sector. The lower class consists of all those unemployed as well as the semi-skilled workers.

There is no rigid law concerning the family structure in Nigeria. It all depends on the type of marriage contracted. Marriages contracted in the Law Courts follow the British pattern of monogamous life-style, even though there are lots of extra-marital relations as well

as a great deal of separation and divorce. On the other hand, there are religious marriages too. Moslems could marry as many as four wives and divorce them at will. Besides, there are also traditionalists or atheists who could marry as many wives as they like. As recently as 1979, a popular Nigerian musician - Fela Anikulapo-Kuti - married twenty-seven wives under the Native Law and Customs all in a day : Social status in Nigeria is highly dependent on family-size. A woman who has many children is considered valuable. Women even urge their husbands to marry more wives so as to improve their own status and because they view the 'extended' family system as a form of social security. As a matter of fact, Nigerian men see polygamy as a show of affluence (Obilade, 1977).

Authority within the nuclear family still rests with the male, who is considered to be the head of the household. Traditionally, the opinions of women and children were neither solicited nor tolerated. Women's sole responsibility was to take care of their husbands, children and the entire household. Nowadays, one often hears Nigerian men say 'a woman's place is in the kitchen and women should therefore, not compete with men in any aspect

of human endeavour'. Women's unequal status is perpetuated by the educational system which discriminates heavily against women, particularly girls in the North. Very few girls in the Moslem North receive any formal education, and when they do, it is very limited. In the whole country, only a third of all primary and secondary school students are female (Mickelwait et al., 1976). When women do marry in the society, they forfeit the right to own property; as such, wealth and inheritance are usually retained in the family and managed by men. Greater attention is placed on the education of male children because of the desire for prestige. Parents believe that any honour bestowed on their sons would reflect on their family, whereas the girls by marriage, relinquish the family-name. As a result, it is their husbands' families that would have the honour (Jibowu, 1969). While writing on 'Women in the Society', a free-lance writer was quoted to have said that 'Women in Nigeria can never operate on the same level with men. When 1975 was named International Women's Year, Nigerian women started clamouring for equality of opportunity with men. After 1975, they all packed their bags and baggages and went back to the kitchen, where they belong, never to be heard from again' (Daily Times, July

16, 1979). It should however, be noted that increased exposure to Western customs and culture has helped, to some extent, in defining social roles, such as the child-rearing practices among the elites, though majority of Nigerians still believe that women are second-class citizens and therefore, treat them accordingly.

### THE ECONOMY

Africans generally believe that the major reason behind the colonizing efforts of the Europeans was to extract and export the raw materials available in Africa for their own use. It was at the Age of Industrial Revolution when there was struggle for economic power in Europe. Jalle, in his book, The Pillage of the Third World (1966), gives statistical data to support this view. Nigeria falls within the category of African countries rich in raw materials and mineral resources the Europeans needed.

Just as the post-Second World War era had opened up new political horizons to Nigerians, it also provided an impetus for economic and social development. Majority of Nigerians were farmers producing and exporting palm-oil

and a host of other agricultural products. Coupled with this, industrial centres were created in urban areas: Lagos, Ikeja, Ibadan, Kano, Kaduna, Aba and Port Harcourt.

With the discovery of oil in the mid-1960s and its massive production after the civil war that ravaged the country between 1967 and 1971, there was an economic boom which led to a great increase in employment opportunities. More and more people started leaving the farms for the cities. As a result, farming was neglected and the nation's economy became dependent almost entirely on oil. So far, Nigeria has become the second largest supplier of oil to the United States.

Other industries in Nigeria include coal and tin mining, cement works, plywood, cotton ginneries in the North and other secondary industries. The government derives its revenue from exporting agricultural products as well as oil, import duties and a host of other tariffs imposed on business organizations.

The new level of economic activity is reflected in the expansion of educational facilities in Nigeria. Thus, it is rather essential for the government to develop these facilities since the nature of education and the educational system have come to be recognized as critical to

the development of the economy. Scholarships are awarded to thousands of students each year to complete their studies and prepare them for the labor force.

### RELIGION

All over the world, religion is seen as inescapable, it permeates human life and activity. The human race, either black or white, has gone through one form of religious development or another, depending on the intellectual growth, cultural development and spiritual education of the people.

Nigeria is a nation of religious tolerance. As a result, there are various religious organizations. But there are three major ones: Christianity, Islam and Traditionalism.

It was the Portuguese that first introduced Christianity into Nigeria in the Fifteenth Century. Their activities were at first, limited to the coastal areas of the south. Later efforts to penetrate the North with Christian activities was without great success, mainly because of the Islamic religion which was already widespread in the area.

Thus, the Southerners are predominantly Christians. But the majority of them are only Christians by name and not by practice. Nevertheless, they like to be associated with one church or the other as this often helps to boost their ego in social circles, - to be identified with a famous church is prestigious. There are many Christian denominations in Nigeria. But the most popular ones are: Roman Catholic, Methodist, Baptist, Aladura, Anglican, Jehovah's Witnesses and the United Presbyterian.

A great number of the Yorubas are Baptists. The Baptist Church is popular for its character-training and most parents often make sure that their children attend Baptist Sunday School sessions and the regular Baptist schools.

The Roman Catholic Church attracts a large number of people too, particularly the Igbos. Among them, Roman Catholic concepts form the basis of family life, setting moral tones for its members.

Aside from Christianity, Islam is another major religion which found its way into Nigeria in the early Fourteenth Century. Today, more than a third of the entire population is Moslem. Islam is the major religion of the Hausas of northern Nigeria. For a long time, it has served as a unifying force among them. Islam was brought

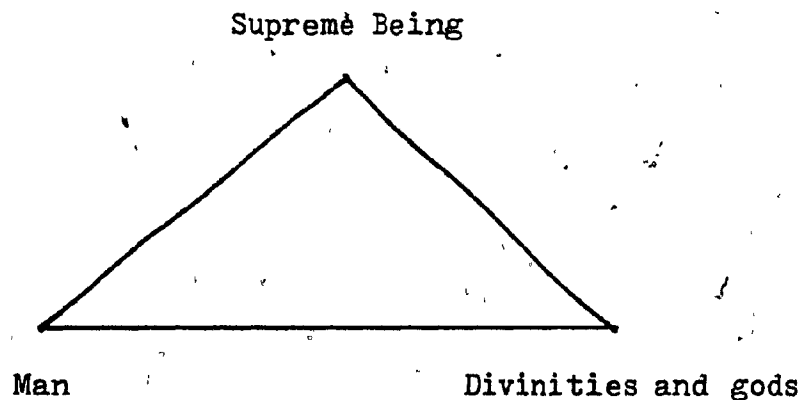


to Hausaland by traders and scholars (Fafunwa, 1976). Today, Islamic principles and laws are firmly rooted in the northern States. Different centres have been established throughout the country to teach people the tenets of Islam right from youth. The Moslem Hausa follow rigidly the Islamic principle which states that "the best man among you is one who learns the Koran by heart" (Doi, 1970).

Although millions of Moslem youngsters do not hold rigidly to their religion nowadays, there are still traces of Islamic codes of conduct in their daily life. The Moslems of Nigeria aspire to perform the holy pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in their lifetime. This is quite evident, considering the large number of Nigerians who go on pilgrimage each year.

As Kayode (1976) has noted, all Nigerians are traditionalists, whether or not they proclaim themselves to be Christians or Moslems. Each of them does attend traditional festivals and services. They consider Christianity and Islam as foreign religions with foreign Gods. In fact, they often argue that neither Christianity nor Islam could prevent them from the traditions of their fore-fathers. They believe in a supreme Being whom they

worship through divinities and gods. According to an indigenous belief of Nigerians, the divinities populate the spiritual world and emanate from the Supreme Being. They are believed to be functionaries in the theocratic government of the universe. The Nigerian form of worship may be represented by a triangle:



Nigerians do not consider themselves as idol-worshippers as the Christian or Moslem religion would refer to them. Thus, we can safely say, the majority of Nigerians are dual-believers.

#### THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN NIGERIA.

A part of the heritage of colonial administration is the Western system of education which permeates the Nigerian

educational system. In spite of outcries from educated Nigerians that emphasis should shift from the practice of rejecting african customs and traditions to that of adapting them to the educational system, no conscious effort has so far been made to make school curriculum relevant to indigenous culture. Intentions stated on paper are never carried through.

The content of school curriculum in Nigeria still reflects that set up by the British. For instance, in 1963, some English educators prepared a guide for primary school inspectors, specifying that history-teaching should be Nigeria-centred, but this was not put to effect. Rather, the course of study indicates a general attempt to move from the culturally 'known' to the 'unknown'. At first, it was English history that was taught, later it was the British Empire history. At the secondary school level, there is still no subject like 'Nigerian history', though there is now 'West African History' which is optional. Even today, emphasis is laid on Western history at the university level. Majority of the books used in both primary and secondary schools were written by Western authors. This is of particular importance in literature, civics, geography and history - the subjects most likely to shape the political needs

of Nigeria.

Although the history of Western education in Nigeria can be traced back to the early Sixteenth Century, during the missionary activities, a great number of Nigerians is still illiterate. School attendance is made compulsory between the ages of 6 and 12 (Fafunwa, 1976). But then, some parents still prevent their children from going to school without being prosecuted. Today, primary education remains free and compulsory, following the Universal Primary Education scheme launched in 1976.

Both primary and secondary schools are established in various parts of the country. Students are often encouraged to attend the schools that are nearest to their homes.

The development of secondary education in Nigeria was the work of the missionaries. Mission schools were established by the Methodists, Baptists, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Anglicans, Seventh-day Adventists and others. These schools provided education for children from kindergarten up to the secondary school level. Although there were also government-established schools, most parents preferred to send their children to the mission-schools because these were synonymous with character-training. The Nigerian government took-over

the responsibilities for all schools from the missionaries late in the 1970s - this is seen as part of their propaganda to Nigerianize the educational system.

Aside from missionary schools, there also exists the private school system which has often been noted for its exclusivity: it is mainly the privileged class (the rich), who could afford to pay its exorbitant fees. As Nduka (1976) has observed, it is the Nigerian elites and the wealthier sector of the society that send their children to private schools, inspite of their agitation for equal educational opportunities for all. He describes them in greater detail:

From being advocates of the provision of equal educational opportunities for all children and of using education as a means of ensuring equal opportunities for rising along the socio-economic ladder; they are now the advocates of a class-biased education system. The elites and the wealthier section of the society now send their children to expensive and private nursery and primary schools to ensure that they get a better start. The vast majority of parents can only afford to send their children to State free primary schools, most of which are of poor quality, and will remain so as long as few of the

elites send their children there.

(Nduka, O.: 'Colonial Education and Nigerian Society' (1976, p. 105).

With the creation of nineteen states in Nigeria in 1976, ten more universities have been established. There are still agitations for more to be set up.

Government and to a limited extent, private scholarships are always available for higher studies, particularly in Britain and Nigeria. It is remarkable to note that it is only recently that degrees awarded in the United States and Canada have started to be recognized. This is due to the former attachment to the colonial master, Britain.

In spite of the fact that Western education is widespread in Nigeria today, people's attitudes towards it differ from region to region. The Moslem Hausa for instance, considered it as a social nuisance which would upset their morals. They saw the missionaries and their Western education as agents of evil forces, challenging the Islamic faith. This was why up till the mid-twentieth Century, expansion of western education was limited to the southern provinces. The Moslem North still sees Western education as a means of corrupting their girls

(Danbata, 1977). Even today, most schools in the North are segregated . It is only recently (between 1978 and 1980 September), that thirty-eight co-educational secondary schools and fourteen co-educational teacher-training colleges have been established.

Another major reason why Moslems of the North dislike Western education is their feeling towards Christianity. Western education is seen as a means of christianizing their children. Though this condition has improved drastically over the years, with the establishment of government schools which are not based on any religion, and the encouragement from the government, most parents still prefer to send their children to the Koranic schools. Thousands of these schools are available across the country. They are located either in mosques or private houses. There, children are taught verses of the Koran. Today, departments of Islamic studies are available in most of the Nigerian universities and it has also become part of the subjects studied in secondary schools, particularly in the North.

## WOMEN AND EDUCATION

Throughout the developing countries, women have suffered several disadvantages in the field of education. In Nigeria, particularly in the Moslem North, the penetration of Western education has hardly changed the traditional role accorded women. This is illustrated by the great discrepancies between male and female illiteracy levels and the high female drop-out rate from school (see Appendix III). Women are frequently excluded, not only from basic education, but also from vocational training. This, to a great extent, limits their effective participation and involvement in the decision-making processes on an equal footing with men. Even in southern Nigeria, where the educational opportunities of women are equal to those of men, women are still so socially conditioned that they do not often anticipate a life-long career in the labor force.

Although the Women's Liberation Movement has been effective in some areas, it has not substantially changed people's feelings about women education. In short, one could say that the educational aspirations and attainments of women are greatly influenced by the society in which they live.



## CHAPTER 4

### FINDINGS

The major findings of our research are presented in this chapter. As explained in Chapter 2, this is an exploratory study to examine the socio-cultural factors affecting the education of women in northern Nigeria.

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part is a discussion of the response to the questionnaire in Appendix I. The second part is a selection of case studies, based on some of the respondents to the questionnaire. And the third part is an analysis of a separate questionnaire (see Appendix II), designed for girls in selected high schools in northern Nigeria.

#### PART ONE

##### FINDINGS OF THE PRIMARY QUESTIONNAIRE.

As far as the first part of this chapter is concerned, our final sample consists of thirty-six male and female northern Nigerians resident in Montreal at the time this study was undertaken. Our findings fall into six categories: Background information; Schooling and educational history; Occupational history; Socio-cultural pattern; Formal organization participation; and General views on women.

These categories are subsequently divided into sub-groups which help to identify the major factors responsible for the difference in the educational outlook for girls (as compared to boys), in northern Nigeria.

#### RESPONDENTS' BACKGROUND INFORMATION

We shall discuss the following topics under this title:

- i Origin
- ii Biological differences
- iii Family composition
- iv Religious affiliation
- v Early childhood socialization
- vi Summary
- vii Conclusion

1. Origin: All our respondents were carefully selected to include only Nigerians from the northern parts of the country. Usually, inter-regional marriages are rare. This fact helps to preserve the homogeneity of our sample.

Nigeria is made up of nineteen states. Of these, nine fall within the geographical locations south of the Rivers Niger and Benue which divide the country latitudinally into two unequal halves. These 'southern' States

are Anambra, Bendel, Cross River, Imo, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Oyo and Rivers.

On the other hand, the 'northern' States are made up of Bauchi, Benue, Borno, Gongola, Kaduna, Kano, Kwara, Niger, Plateau and Sokoto.

Except for Sokoto, all the northern States are represented in our sample (see Table 4.1). Gongola has the greatest number of respondents (6). Usually, a husband and wife are from the same state of origin, but inter-state marriages are not uncommon. This may be due to the fact that political boundaries do not necessarily coincide with ethnic boundaries. For example, Respondent 6A is a Kanuri woman from Kano State, married to a Kanuri man from Bauchi State.

However, it is possible to sub-divide the northern States into two groups - the Far North and the Near North. The Far North consists of the following States: Bauchi, Borno, Gongola, Kaduna, Kano, Niger and Sokoto. It is believed that since these areas of Nigeria were the last to come in contact with Western civilization and culture, their conservatism with regard to the status of women would be at a higher degree than the other parts of the country (Jibowu, 1968). The Near North, on the

TABLE 4.1: Respondents' States of origin.

State	Female Rs	Male Rs	Total
Anambra	0	0	0
Bauchi	1	2	3
Bendel	0	0	0
Benue	2	2	4
Borno	2	1	3
Cross River	0	0	0
Gongola	3	3	6
Imo	0	0	0
Kaduna	2	3	5
Kano	2	1	3
Kwara	2	2	4
Lagos	0	0	0
Niger	2	2	4
Plateau	2	2	4
Ogun	0	0	0
Ondo	0	0	0
Oyo	0	0	0
Rivers	0	0	0
Sokoto	0	0	0

other hand, includes the following States: Benue, Kwara and Plateau. These are the more educationally advanced northern States.

In analyzing our findings, we will therefore, bear this Far/Near dichotomy in mind, with a view to discovering to what extent a girl's origin hinders her chances of getting a good educational opportunity.

ii Biological Differences:

Our respondents are made up of eighteen Nigerian married couples. This means that for a man who has more than one wife, it is the wife who is here in Montreal who responded to the questionnaire.

Of the eighteen women respondents, twelve are between fifteen and twenty years of age, the remaining six are between twenty-one and twenty-five years of age. As for the men, only one is between twenty-one and twenty-five years of age. Twelve are twenty-six to thirty and the remaining five are over thirty years of age.

For our analytical purposes, we subdivide the women into two groups: those who are twenty years and below; and those who are twenty-one years and above. As for the men, the first group consists of those who are thirty

years and below and the second group, those who are over thirty years of age.

It is pertinent to note that the men are older than their wives. In fact, the youngest man falls into the same age-group (21 to 25) with the oldest women (see Table 4.2). Whereas most of the men are between twenty-six and thirty years of age, a large majority of the women are between fifteen and twenty years of age.

### iii Family Composition:

The respondents are either a part of a monogamous or polygamous family set-up. Since Nigeria is a patriarchal society, we asked the men for the type of family set-up they would like to have. At present, thirteen of our male respondents are monogamous, whilst five are polygamous. Three of the polygamous husbands have their second wives here, whilst the two others are here with their first wives (see Table 4.3)..

Some of those who are monogamous at present look forward to being polygamous in the future. When asked if they intend to marry more wives (Question 100), five said 'Yes', six said 'No' and three were still undecided.

One respondent in particular wants to marry three more

TABLE 4.2: Respondents' age-groups.

Age-group	Female Rs	Male Rs	Total
15 - 20 years	12	0	12
21 - 25 years	6	1	7
26 - 30 years	0	12	12
Over 30 years	0	5	5

TABLE 4.3: Position of the wife accompanying husband  
in Montreal.

Position of Wife	Male Respondents	
	Count	Percentage
First Wife	15	83.3
Second Wife	3	16.7
Third Wife	0	0



wives, four would like to marry two more, whilst two of the men would like to have only one wife more. When asked why they chose to have more wives, majority of the men gave religion and cultural pattern as their reasons. They argued that Moslems are entitled to marry four wives, and besides, Nigerian men are polygamous by nature. To them, it is better to have many wives (at most, four), than to have one wife at home and many concubines outside.

As regards children, nine families have one or more children here in Canada. Their reasons for keeping the children here vary considerably. Three of the women said that their children were here so that the entire family can be together; four gave the fact that their children were born here as the main reason, whilst one said her child was too young to leave behind in Nigeria, and another said it was her husband's decision.

The men had three basic reasons for keeping their children here. Four of them said they wanted the family to be together; three said the children were born here and two could not leave their children behind in Nigeria because they were too young (see Table 4.4).

As for those whose children are still in Nigeria, only a family intends to send for their child. All the

TABLE 4.4: Reasons for keeping children in Canada.

Reasons	Female Rs	Male Rs	Total
Stay together	3	4	7
Born here	4	3	7
Too young to leave behind,	1	2	3
Spouse's 'decision	1	0	1

other eight families do not intend to bring their children to Montreal. When asked the reason for their decision, three women pointed out the financial difficulties involved, four men gave the same excuse, whilst five of the women and the other four men did not specify any reason.

iv Religious Affiliation:

Five of our female respondents declared themselves as Christians. The remaining thirteen proclaimed themselves as Moslems. As for the men, four said they were Christians, thirteen identified themselves with the Moslem faith, whilst one saw himself as a non-conformist, although he comes from a Christian family.

In short, there are two basic religions professed by our respondents: Christianity and Islam (see Table 4.5).

vi Early Childhood Socialization:

Our respondents were asked to indicate their places of birth, that is, whether they were born in a town, a semi-urban setting or a village. Seven of the women said they were born in a town, one identified her place of birth as a semi-urban setting and ten others claimed

TABLE 4.5: Religious affiliations

Religion	Female Rs	Male Rs	Total
Christianity	5	4	9
Islam	13	13	26
Non-conformism	0	1	1

they were born in a village. Figures for the men vary only slightly from those for women: eight of them said they were born in a town; one was born in a semi-urban setting and nine were born in a village.

When asked how long they lived in their places of birth, the women showed a little more prolonged residence at home. For instance, seventeen of them said they spent eleven years or more in their places of birth; the remaining one spent between six and ten years there. The picture changes a little in the case of men. There were two men who claimed to have spent only five years or less in their places of birth. However, the remaining sixteen spent eleven years or more where they were born.

The discrepancy between the figures for women and men in this case may be attributed to the fact that where secondary schools are not locally available, parents are less willing to send girls beyond the elementary school. This is mainly because most secondary schools are 'boarding institutions' (see Table 4.6), and sending one's child there means a prolonged absence from home.

However, as the children get older, there is the tendency for them to move to urban areas. The men move there to establish their own families, whereas the women

**TABLE 4.6:** Number of 'Boarding' Institutions Compared to 'Day' Schools\*.

Name of State	Total Number of schools	Boarding	Day
Bauchi	10	10	0
Benue	74	73	1
Borno	17	17	0
Gongola	23	23	0
Kano	29	25	4
Kwara	83	69	14
Niger	6	6	0
Plateau	46	38	8
Sokoto	38	38	0

\*Figures supplied by the Kaduna State Ministry of Education.

go there to live with relatives until they eventually get married. It is unusual for a girl to live on her own. On the basis of this, we asked our respondents to indicate where they were living before coming to Montreal. Sixteen of the women lived in an urban area, whilst one each lived in a village and semi-urban area. As for the men, fourteen lived in an urban area, one lived in a village and three lived in a semi-urban area.

There is no uniformity between where the men and women lived before coming to Canada because most of the men came here before their wives. Usually, the wives lived with relations while waiting to join their husbands here. As seen in the response to Question 53, one of the women lived with her sister or brother; three lived with uncles; five lived with their spouses' parents; four lived with their spouses' relatives and the other five lived within extended families. As for the men, nine had their own families, only one lived with his father, another one lived with his uncle, six lived within extended families and the remaining one lived alone with his wife.

We sought the environmental factors which may have affected the early childhood and socialization process of

the respondents. In response to the question as to what their houses looked like, seven of the women said they were the traditional thatched-roof type; another seven said their houses were within a commune, that is, a collection of the traditional type of houses with a main one inhabited by the eldest member of the commune; the remaining four lived in their family-houses, headed by the oldest member of the family. Majority of the men - eleven, to be precise - lived in traditional houses, four lived in communes and three lived in family-houses.

As for the kind of people that lived around the respondents during their childhood, eight of the women said they were surrounded by people as within a 'standard system', where age determines the social hierarchy; another eight said all the people were a part of their families and two claimed they were co-villagers; while six said they were surrounded by their families alone.

However, it should be noted that the majority of our respondents come from polygamous, as opposed to monogamous families. In fact, all the women come from polygamous homes; fourteen of the men come from polygamous families; whereas two come from monogamous homes. The other two did not specify the type of families they come from.



We shall consider in greater detail, the evolution of the family environment under the schooling and educational history of our respondents. But suffice it to say that the vast majority of their parents have families that are still intact: twelve for women, fourteen for men; whereas two of the women have parents who are separated, only one man falls into this category; a woman has parents who are divorced; three each of the women and men have at at least, one dead parent.

vi Summary:

This part of our findings has been designed to expose those aspects of the respondents' background that may play a role in determining their attitudes to the education of women. For instance, from the facts and figures presented above, a Moslem male respondent from the Far North who grew up in a traditional rural environment, can be expected to have a less favorable reaction to the education of women, whereas his christian counterpart from the Near North with an urban background should be more willing to accept it. We shall therefore, bear this point in mind as we consider the other categories of our findings.

vii Conclusion:

From the background information we have about our respondents, all the thirty-six of them (eighteen men and their wives), have strong cultural roots in northern Nigeria. They were all born in the northern parts of the country and they spent most of their childhood years there. They therefore, identify themselves with the area, its people and socio-cultural organization. This means that we can rely very well on our sample as an adequate source on which our research can be based. They enjoyed close family associations and learned early in life, to participate in communal-life. Although none of them comes from an overly rich family, they all seem to have come from averagely well-to-do families (by Nigerian standards).

SCHOOLING AND EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

Our second category of findings traces the schooling and educational history of the respondents. We subdivide the findings into the following groups:

- i Elementary education
- ii Secondary education
- iii Educational attainment

- iv Educational competence
- v Retrospective reaction to secondary (high) school
- vi Educational aspirations
- vii Summary
- viii Conclusion.

i Elementary Education:

When asked where they attended elementary school, eight of the women said it was in an urban area, nine said it was in a village and only one claimed she attended elementary school in a semi-urban area. Figures for the men show that eight of them attended elementary school in an urban setting, six in the village and four undertook their elementary education in a semi-urban area.

Some of the respondents went to sexually segregated schools, whereas others attended mixed elementary institutions. Fifteen of the women were in mixed elementary schools, as opposed to two who were in sexually segregated schools. As for the men, all but one of them were in mixed schools, that is, seventeen in mixed schools and one in sexually segregated school.

We also wanted to know how much influence women have in the running of school affairs. We therefore, asked whether the teachers in their elementary schools were

predominantly male or female. All their responses show a male predominance: sixteen of the women said their teachers were predominantly male, whilst only two said theirs were predominantly female. Seventeen of the men indicated that their elementary school teachers were predominantly male, while only one said the numbers of male and female teachers in his elementary school were about the same.

The above figures emphasize the fact that women have less of a place in the running of the schools. For instance, the ratio of their participation is compared to that of men on Table 4.7.

ii Secondary Education:

Majority of our respondents attended high school in urban areas, mainly because these schools are available only in such areas. So, even those who attended local elementary schools in rural areas, had to leave home to attend high schools in the cities. In fact, fifteen of the women went to high school in urban areas, while two did so in semi-urban areas.

When asked if their high schools were sexually segregated or mixed, out of the seventeen women that responded, seven said they were mixed, the remaining ten

TABLE 4.7: Sexual Predominance Among Elementary School Teachers.

Sexual predominance of teachers	Female Rs		Male Rs	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Predominantly male	16	88.8	17	94.4
Predominantly female	2	11.1	0	0
Neither male nor female	0	0	1	5.6

said they were sexually segregated. Half of the men said their high schools were mixed, whilst the other half said they were segregated.

We also sought the predominance of male and female teachers in high school. Fourteen of the women said their teachers were predominantly male, whilst only three said they were predominantly female. The case of our male respondents is striking: seventeen of them said their high school teachers were predominantly male, only one said his teachers were predominantly female. Therefore, we found that, for our sample, there were more female teachers in high schools than in the elementary schools (Compare Table 4.8 to Table 4.7). However, one should not be misled into thinking that women opt for high school teaching or that most of them have special skills because, as Alan Peshkin (1963) points out, most of the teachers in Northern Nigeria are expatriates. In fact, he states that eighty-five percent of the teachers in craft, Commercial, technical, secondary and teacher-training institutions are non-Nigerians. Most of these teachers are Indians, Pakistanis, Lebanese and British.

TABLE 4.8: Ratio of female/male dominance of high school teaching

Type of dominance	Female Rs		Male Rs		Total
	No.	o/o	No.	o/o	
Male	14	77.8	17	94.4	31
Female	3	16.7	1	5.6	4
	17	94.4	18	100	35

iii Educational Attainment Before Coming to Canada:

In response to Question 21, only one of our female respondents said her level of education was elementary before she left Nigeria; sixteen said they had secondary education; and one said she was in a teacher-training institute. Figures for the educational levels of our male respondents vary much more considerably. Seven said they had secondary education, three were in colleges, five in teacher-training institutes, two had university education and one had a post-secondary diploma. Although an impressive eighty-eight percent of the women said they had secondary education before leaving Nigeria, the number of those that actually completed the course is quite questionable. It is possible that most of them dropped out of school after two or three years in order to get married. Unfortunately, our questionnaire does not provide us with this information. But the fact that the majority of the women have no post-secondary educational pursuits seems to confirm our postulation.

iv Educational Competence:

Our respondents were asked to indicate what subjects they liked best in high school to determine their competence.



Two of the women said they liked Fine-Arts best, six favored the Humanities and nine were for the Applied Sciences. The men liked three categories of subjects: two were for the Humanities; ten for the Sciences; and six for the Applied Sciences.

It should be noted that whereas the female respondents were equally divided between Arts and Science subjects, the ratio becomes two to sixteen in the case of our male respondents (see Table 4.9).

However, it is Applied Science (Domestic Science, Cookery and Arts and Crafts) which appealed most to our female respondents. In fact, when asked to indicate what subjects they liked least in high school, fifteen of the women mentioned the Sciences, whilst only one said Fine-Arts. The case of the men is more complicated. Although many of them liked Applied Sciences (especially, vocational education), five liked Pure Sciences least. However, a total of thirteen of them liked Fine-Arts and the Humanities least.

We asked the respondents to give a rating of their educational capacity when they were in high school. Fifteen of the women rated themselves as average. Two of the women claimed to have been in the upper twenty-five

TABLE 4.9: Favorite subjects at high school.

Subjects	Female Rs	Male Rs	Total
Fine-Arts	2	0	2
Humanities	6	2	8
Sciences	0	10	10
Applied Sciences	9	6	15
Business	0	0	0

percent of the class. Only two of the men saw themselves as of average capability in high school. Twelve of them said they were in the upper twenty-five percent of the class, whilst four said they belonged to the upper ten percent of the class.

v Retrospective Reaction to High School:

We inquired about the retrospective reaction of our respondents to their high school teachers. Most of the women still maintained their 'middle of the road' position - fifteen of them said they got along averagely well with their teachers, the remaining three claimed to have got along with their teachers only a part of the time. Thirteen of the men said they got along averagely well with their high school teachers; four said they got along very well and one said he did not get along at all with his high school teachers.

As to the relationship with other kids, only two of the women said they got along averagely with them, whereas sixteen responded that they got along very well with the other kids. The response of the men to the same question shows that one did not get along at all with the other kids; and another got along with them only a

part of the time. Six others got along averagely with their schoolmates and ten others got along very well with the other pupils.

When asked about their general feeling towards high school, only two women said they liked it a lot; the remaining fifteen only, said they 'liked it a fair amount'. The men, on the other hand, manifested three different types of attitudes: nine of them said they liked high school a lot; eight said they liked it a fair amount and one said he did not care much for it (see Table 4.10).

We were interested in knowing specific things that our respondents liked about high school. Six of the women cited the curriculum as the major thing they liked about high school, five made reference to extra-curricular activities, another five pointed the curriculum and teachers as their objects of love, and one stuck specifically to 'teachers'. As for the male respondents, fifty percent saw the curriculum as the major item they loved in high school, 22.2 percent chose extra-curricular activities; one picked curriculum and discipline; three said they loved the curriculum and teachers and the other one liked the independence he enjoyed there.

The major item that our respondents hated about high

TABLE 4.10: Levels of attachment to high school.

Attachment	Female	Male	Total
Liked it a lot	2	9	11
Liked it a fair amount	15	8	23
Did not care much for it	0	1	1

school was discipline (see Table 4.11). In fact, twelve of the women picked discipline as the object of their hate. Two women said they hated the course-load most, one hated the teachers and two did not like the course-load and discipline combined. Majority of our male respondents (fourteen), did not like the discipline that obtains in high school; one hated the teachers; two disliked the course-load and discipline and the remaining one said he hated the discrimination he encountered in high school.

There is a general feeling among our respondents that students were geared towards particular subjects in high school according to their sexes. Fifteen of the women testified to this allegation, whilst only two denied it. Twelve of the men agreed that the allegation was true, although five found it unacceptable (see Table 4.12).

#### vi Educational Aspirations:

In order to determine the educational aspirations of the respondents, we asked if they were presently in educational institutions in Montreal. Only three of the women replied in the affirmative, whereas fourteen of them replied negatively. In contrast, all the men but one said they were in school. The only exception had just

TABLE 4.11: Degrees of hate for selected aspects of high school.

Aspect	Female Rs	Male Rs	Total
Course-load	2	0	2
Discipline	12	14	26
Teachers	1	1	2
Impersonality	0	0	0
Course-load and discipline	2	2	4
Discrimination	0	1	1

TABLE 4.12: High school course-orientation based on sex.

Course-orientation	Female Rs	Male Rs	Total
Sex-based	15	12	27
Non-sex-based	2	5	7
	17	17	34



completed his studies. The three women in school are enrolled at different institutions - one at Concordia (Sir George Williams Campus), one at LaSalle College and the third at a professional evening school. As for the men, thirteen are at McGill University, four at Concordia University (Loyola Campus) and one at the Sir George Williams Campus of the Concordia University.

Of those who are presently in school, one woman said she liked Computer Science best, whilst another chose Commerce as her best subject. The men vary considerably as to the subjects they like best: three chose the Social Sciences; two chose the Humanities; six chose the Sciences, five were for Education and two for Commerce.

As for the subjects they like least here, the women could not say; four of the men picked Social Sciences; two chose Humanities; five pointed to Computer Science and seven were undecided. Generally then, there is no great amount of discontent with their present studies. This argument is strengthened by the response to item 35 of the Questionnaire (see Table 4.13). One woman likes her going to the university here 'a fair amount'; another does not care much about it. As for our male respondents, fifty percent of them like it a lot; eight like it 'a fair

TABLE 4.13: Attitudes to Canadian universities.

Attitude	Female Rs	Male Rs	Total
Favorable	0	9	9
Moderate	1	8	9
Negative	1	1	2
	2	18	20

amount' and only one does not care much for it.

When asked what they like best about schooling in Canada, they all seem to like independence and curriculum. However, impersonality is identified as the most despised aspect of school-life here: one of the women and nine of the men confirmed this fact. Discrimination is cited by another woman and five men; whereas course-load is liked least by two men; teachers by one man and teachers and impersonality by another man (see Table 4.14).

We asked about the educational planning process of our respondents. This was to find out to what extent they were independent in their planning. In response to the question "Do the wishes and desires of anyone else play an important part in your planning?", all the women answered in the affirmative; thirteen of the men answered 'Yes', whilst the remaining five said 'No'. Furthermore, all the women identified their husbands as the person whose decision plays an important part in their planning. The men's planning, on the other hand, is influenced by various people. Only one man claimed that his planning was influenced by his wife, two others mentioned their uncles, four referred to relatives, one cited elders and another one mentioned his mother. Three men admitted their

TABLE 4.14: Negative attitudes to selected aspects of  
of Canadian university education.

Aspect	Female Rs	Male Rs	Total
Course-load	0	2	2
Teachers	0	1	1
Impersonality	1	9	10
Course-load and discipline	0	0	0
Teachers and impersonality	0	1	1
Discrimination	1	5	6

fathers' influence, whilst the remaining one said his friends influenced his planning the most.

vii Summary:

The schooling and educational history of our respondents shows how they have been integrated into the educational system. At the elementary school level, sexual segregation does not seem apparent, although when one looks at the male dominance of the teaching role, one wonders if the pupils would not already start associating masculinity with school. Surprisingly though, in the southern parts of Nigeria, one finds that the majority of teachers, particularly at the elementary school level, are female.

At the high school level, sexual segregation becomes much more apparent. Although the male/female ratio of teachers (in the case of our respondents), which was sixteen to one at the elementary school level now becomes eight to one, the number of those who attended sexually segregated schools increases from 16.6 percent to 55.6 percent (see Table 4.15).

It is this sexual segregation that permits the school authorities to orient pupils towards particular subjects. Hence, most of our female respondents claimed to have liked

TABLE 4.15: Frequency of sexually-segregated as opposed to non-segregated schools.

Type of school	Female Rs		Male Rs	
	No.	o/o	No.	o/o
Segregated elementary school	3	16.6	1	5.6
Non-segregated elementary school	15	83.3	17	94.4
Segregated high school	10	55.6	9	50
Non-segregated high school	7	38.9	9	30

Humanities and Applied Science (Domestic Science, Needlework, etc.), best in high school, whereas the boys favored the Sciences and Applied Science (especially, vocational education).

In other words, the women were being systematically prepared for 'indoor' life, whereas their male counterparts were being groomed for the 'outdoors'. This, in turn, affected the women's self-perception. Majority of them rated themselves as average students in high school, who got along averagely well with the teachers and the other kids. The men, on the other hand, could afford to be independent and even defiant in high school.

On the whole, the men have greater aspirations than the women. In fact, the majority of our female respondents are in Montreal simply because their husbands have come to study here (see Table 4.16). It is therefore, not surprising that almost all of them have no present educational pursuits. As for the men, it can safely be assumed that the society encourages them to have access to the educational system for as long as they wish (see Table 4.17).

#### viii Conclusion:

The educational patterns for men and women show different orientations. Although both groups start off

TABLE 4.16: Respondents' reasons for coming to Canada.

Reasons	Female Rs		Male Rs	
	No.	o/o	No.	o/o
Join spouse	18	100	0	0
Further studies	0	0	18	100



**TABLE 4.17: Source of influence on personal decisions.**

Source of influence	Female Rs		Male Rs	
	No.	o/o	No.	o/o
Husband	18	100	0	0
Friends	0	0	6	33.3
Sister	0	0	1	5.6
Relations	0	0	4	22.7
Uncle	0	0	0	0
Teacher	0	0	1	5.6
Father	0	0	1	5.6
Work-place	0	0	1	5.6

on more or less the same footing, men soon outpace women, leaving them behind, because of the societal set-up and encouragements. In due course, women fall out of the 'educational race'.

### OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY

Our third group of findings concerns the occupational history of our respondents. We shall deal with the following topics:

- i Job-situation before coming to Canada
- ii Type of job
- iii Period of employment
- iv Types of colleagues
- v Job supervision
- vi Summary
- vii Conclusion

#### i Job-situation Before Coming to Canada:

Eleven of the women had some form of employment before coming to Canada, the remaining seven were unemployed. The response of all the men show that they were all employed one way or the other before coming to Canada.

#### ii Types of Job:

When asked what type of job it was that they were

engaged in, nine of the women said they were in the teaching profession, another said it was clerical work and the remaining one was in trade. As for the men, thirteen were in teaching, two were in medicine, one was in the civil service and the other two were in the clerical field.

iii Period of Employment:

Most of the women worked for one to two years before coming to Canada - ten fall within this group; only one woman worked for three to five years. The men worked for various lengths of time, ranging from less than a year to over five years. Two of them said they worked for less than a year, ten were employed for one to two years, five worked for three to five years and the remaining one worked for over five years.

iv Type of Colleagues:

In response to the question whether the majority of their colleagues at work were male or female, eleven of the female respondents said they were male, only one said they were female. All the eighteen male respondents said their colleagues were mainly male (see Table 4.18).

TABLE 4.18: Occupational colleagues.

Types of colleagues	Female Rs		Male Rs		Total
	No.	o/o	No.	o/o	
Mostly male	11	61.1	18	100	29
Mostly female	1	5.6	0	0	1

v Job Supervision:

The male dominance of the work-place is exemplified in our respondents' reply to the question: "What is the sex of your immediate supervisor?". Only one woman said her immediate supervisor was female, whereas nine others said they had male supervisors. As for the men, all the eighteen of them had male supervisors (Table 4.19).

vi Summary:

We realize that a sizable proportion of our female respondents were unemployed before they left Nigeria. The men, on the other hand, were all fully employed. Furthermore, the work-environment was more favorable to the men - the majority of the supervisors were male.

vii Conclusion:

There is a great disparity in the male and female roles at the work-place. Just as at school, the female seem to have no place there. Anyway, being ill-prepared for work (they are geared to domestic training at school), women readily accept to stay at home. Finally, irrespective of the job-type, the male dominance is always evident at the work-place.

TABLE 4.19: Job supervision and sexuality.

Sex of supervisor	Female Rs		Male Rs		Total
	No.	o/o	No.	o/o	
Male	9	50	18	100	27
Female	1	5.6	0	0	1

## SOCIO-CULTURAL PATTERN BEFORE COMING TO CANADA

The socio-cultural set-up to which our respondents belonged before coming to Canada plays a significant role in determining the status of women within the society at large, particularly with reference to education. We propose the following sub-categories:

- i Socio-economic status
- ii Type of family unit
- iii Situation of parents
- iv Relationship of parents
- v Parents' educational level
- vi Parents' occupation
- vii Family organization
- viii Family bond
- ix Family educational level
- x Summary
- xi Conclusion

### i Socio-economic Status:

We asked our respondents to indicate what socio-economic groups they thought their families belonged to. only one of the women mentioned 'lower class', whilst the remaining seventeen said they belonged to middle class families. However, ten of them identified themselves specifically with the lower-middle class, while the remaining seven picked the middle-middle class. As for

the men, five claimed to belong to lower class families, whereas thirteen of them said they came from the middle class. However, the figure for the middle class can be further broken down into: six lower-middle class, six middle-middle class and one upper-middle class. Table 4.20 gives the figures for the lower class as opposed to the middle class.

ii Type of Family Unit:

We asked our respondents to specify within what family unit they were living before coming to Canada. Most of the women lived with their spouses' relations before coming to Canada. [ As we mentioned earlier (see section on 'Early childhood socialization'), the women usually had to wait for some time before joining their husbands here ]. Nine women stayed with their spouses' parents or relatives. Five others lived within an extended family; three stayed with uncles, whilst one spent some time with her sister or brother. Our male respondents, on the other hand, claimed to have lived independently of their parents. Only one said he lived with his father, another one lived with his uncle, six were within extended families, while the remaining ten had families of their own (see Table 4.21).



TABLE 4.20: Respondents' social stratification.

Type of family *	Female Rs		Male Rs		Total
	No.	o/o	No.	o/o	
Lower class	1	5.6	5	27.8	6
Lower-middle class	10	55.6	6	33.3	16
Middle-middle class	7	38.9	6	33.3	13
Upper-middle class	0	0	1	5.6	1

TABLE 4.21, Types of family unit.

Co-inhabitant	Female Rs		Male Rs	
	No.	o/o	No.	o/o
Parents	0	0	1	5.6
Father	0	0	1	5.6
Mother	0	0	0	0
Sister / Brother	1	5.6	0	0
Family	0	0	9	50
Uncle	3	16.7	1	5.6
Aunt	0	0	0	0
Spouse's parents	5	27.8	0	0
Spouse's relatives	4	22.2	0	0
Extended family	5	27.8	6	33.3
Wife	0	0	1	5.6

iii Situation of Parents:

When asked whether both of their parents were alive, fifteen of the women said 'Yes', two had lost their fathers, whilst one's mother was dead. Fourteen of the men had both parents alive, two had only their mothers alive, whilst one had his father alone and another had both parents deceased.

We went further to trace the history of the present situation of their parents in order to determine at what stage of our respondents' development any great changes may have occurred. All the eighteen women had both parents when they were in the elementary school. However, three had only one parent by the time they got to high school (see Table 4.22). As for the men, only one had one parent deceased in elementary school, whereas the figure climbs to four in high school (see Table 4.23).

iv Relationship of Parents:

We wanted to find out how many of our respondents' parents enjoyed a good family relationship. Twelve of the women said their parents were 'still together', two said they were separated, one said her parents were divorced, and the other three claimed that at least one of their parents was dead. Figures for the men show that

TABLE 4.22: Parental life-span.

Life-span	Female Rs		Male Rs	
	No.	o/o	No.	o/o
Both parents alive	15	83,3	14	77.8
Mother only alive	2	11.1	2	11.1
Father only alive	1	5.6	1	5.6
Both deceased	0	0	1	5.6

**TABLE 4.23:** Evolutionary pattern of parental life-span.

Stage of development	State of both parents	Female Rs		Male Rs		Total
		No.	o/o	No.	o/o	
Elementary school	Alive	18	100	17	94.4	35
	Dead	0	0	1	5.6	1
High school	Alive	14	77.8	14	77.8	28
	Dead	3	16.7	4	22.2	7

fourteen had parents who were still together, one had separated parents, whilst the remaining three had lost at least one parent through death.

As we mentioned earlier, our respondents come from both polygamous and monogamous families. As the figures on Table 4.24 show, most of them come from polygamous homes. Figures for the polygamous families are further broken down into three groups: families with two wives, families with three, and families with four or more wives. The first group forms a majority: eleven of the women come from families that fall into this group. Three others come from families with three wives and four come from families with four or more wives. As for the men, three come from families with two wives, five come from families with three wives and seven come from families with four or more wives.

v Parents' Educational Level:

When asked if their fathers were literate, fourteen of the women replied in the affirmative, only four answered in the negative. Nine of the men said their fathers were literate, eight said they were not, and one did not answer specifically (see Table 4.25).

TABLE 4.24: Monogamy-polygamy dichotomy.

Type of parents' family	Female Rs		Male Rs		Total
	No.	o/o	No.	o/o	
Monogamous	0	0	3	16.6	3 •
Polygamous	18	100	15	83.3	33

TABLE 4.25: Frequency of parental literacy: fathers.

Level	Female Rs		Male Rs		Total
	No.	o/o	No.	o/o	
High	14	77.8	9	50	23
Low	4	22.2	8	44.8	12

However, their level of literacy is minimal - eleven of the women said their fathers had only elementary education, whilst two said their fathers went through high school. As for the men, all the ten that responded said their fathers had elementary education.

The literacy rate of our respondents' mothers is far below that of the fathers. In fact, only two of the women said their mothers were literate, three of the men gave the same reply, whereas sixteen of the women and fifteen of the men said their mothers were illiterate (see Table 4.26)

vi Parents' Occupation:

All our respondents indicated that their fathers were engaged in some form of employment. Eight of the women said their fathers worked in the field of farming, three said theirs were in teaching, five said their fathers were in the civil service, and two mentioned other jobs. As for the men, seven said their fathers were in the area of farming, three gave teaching as their fathers' job, one mentioned the civil service, while the seven others did not specify their fathers' jobs. In other words, farming proved to be the most popular job among our respondents' fathers (see Table 4.27).



TABLE 4.26: Frequency of parental literacy: mothers.

Level	Female Rs		Male Rs		Total
	No.	o/o	No.	o/o	
High	2	11.1	3	16.7	5
Low	16	88.8	15	83.3	31

TABLE 4.27: Parental occupational preference: fathers.

Type of job	Female Rs		Male Rs		Total
	No.	o/o	No.	o/o	
Farming	8	44.4	7	38.9	15
Teaching	3	16.7	3	16.7	6
Public office	5	27.8	1	5.6	6
Other	2	11.1	7	38.9	9

The picture changes drastically in the case of our respondents' mothers. Fifty percent each of the men and women said their mothers were full-time housewives, seven of each group said their mothers were in 'petty trade' (small-scale business), and one said hers was in business, whilst another mentioned farming (see Table 4.28).

vii Family Organization: The decision-making process within each family was assessed by asking our respondents who they thought made all the decisions when they were living with their parents. All the eighteen women said all decisions were made by their fathers, thirteen of the men too, cited their fathers as the sole decision-makers, whilst the remaining five men said all family-decisions were jointly made by their fathers and mothers. It is interesting to note that no respondent identified his or her mother as the only family-decision-maker.

It is in response to the question: "As far as you know, does your father have a greater influence on your mother than she has on him?", that the authoritative position of the father within the family becomes all the more apparent. All our thirty-six respondents answered in the

TABLE 4.28: Parental occupational preference: mothers.

Type of job	Female Rs		Male Rs		Total
	No.	o/o	No.	o/o	
Farming	1	5.6	1	5.6	2
Teaching	0	0	0	0	0
Business	1	5.6	1	5.6	2
Public office	0	0	0	0	0
Petty trade	7	38.9	7	38.9	14
Housewife	9	50	9	50	18

affirmative. Furthermore, all those who knew which of their parents apologized to the other, said it was their mothers who apologized to their fathers when there was a misunderstanding. Sixteen of our female respondents and fourteen of the male respondents said it was their mothers who apologized to their fathers. This goes a long way to show the subordinate position of women in the society.

Asked how they accepted discipline in childhood, both groups of respondents reacted differently. Five of the women said they felt uneasy to complain if a decision that they did not agree with were made about them, whereas thirteen felt they would better not complain; four were uneasy to complain; whilst seven said they would better not complain.

Whereas only a female respondent felt complaining about an unfavorable decision would help a lot, five of the men gave the same answer. Four women felt complaining would only help a little, whereas thirteen felt it would not help at all. As for the men, three said it would help a lot, whilst ten said it would not help at all. Table 4.29 shows that children are generally well-disciplined in the Nigerian society, although the male

TABLE 4.29: Perception of contesting unfavorable decision  
in childhood.

Assessment	Female Rs		Male Rs		Total
	No.	o/o	No.	o/o	
It helps a lot	1	5.6	5	27.8	6
It helps a little	4	22.2	3	16.7	7
It does not help	13	72.2	10	55.6	23

respondents felt generally freer during childhood.

All our respondents identified their fathers as representing authority. All the thirty-six of them said it was their fathers they got afraid of most.

As to the type of restrictions imposed on them during their childhood, fourteen of the women said their parents had a lot of say about the friends and places they visited. The remaining four said their parents had an average say on the matter. As for the men, fourteen said their parents had a lot of say in connection with the friends and places they visited; one said he was left to decide for himself, whereas three said their parents had an average say on the matter. As Table 4.30 shows, many of them approve of their parents' meddling in their affairs.

#### viii Family Bond:

We asked our respondents whom they were closer to, their fathers or mothers? Sixteen of the women said they were closer to their mothers, only two said they were closer to their fathers than their mothers. Ten men as opposed to seven said they were closer to their fathers.

The mother-child relationship which exists here is very typical of all Nigerian homes where the father is polygamous. The tendency is for the children to trust their mothers and be closer to them than to anyone else.

**TABLE 4.30:** Approval of parental involvement in the affairs of their children.

Assessment	Female Rs		Male Rs		Total
	No.	o/o	No.	o/o	
Too much involvement	2	11.1	2	11.1	4
Too little involvement	1	5.6	2	11.1	3
Adequate involvement	15	83.3	14	77.8	29

ix Family Educational Level:

Item 81 of the Questionnaire in Appendix I shows that three of our female respondents have a brother older than them; one has three older brothers; four have four older brothers; and two have six older brothers. As Table 4.31 shows, two of our female respondents have one younger brother each; three of them have two younger brothers; another three have four younger brothers and yet another three have four younger brothers and two have five younger brothers.

When we combine both figures for brothers older and younger than our female respondents, we realize that thirty-six of the seventy-three brothers have attended high school. Furthermore, only twenty of them have attended university. (see Table 4.32). (B)

The figures for our female respondents' sisters are less impressive than those for their brothers. Table 4.33 shows that five of our female respondents have one older sister each; four have two each; three have four each and one has six older sisters. That is, there is a total of thirty-seven older sisters for our female respondents. Table 4.34 shows that our female respondents also have younger sisters, distributed as follows: three have one each; four have two each; another three have four each



TABLE 4.31: Number of respondents' younger brothers.

Number	Female Rs		Male Rs	
	Count	o/o	Count	o/o
1	2	11.1	2	11.1
2	3	16.7	3	16.7
3	3	16.7	2	11.1
4	3	16.7	3	16.7
5	2	11.1	2	11.1
6	0		0	
7	0		3	16.7

**TABLE 4.32:** Educational attainment of female respondents' brothers.

No. of brothers older and younger than Rs.	No. in high school	No. in university
73	36	23

**TABLE 4.33:** Distribution of female respondents' older sisters.

No. of older sisters	No. of female Rs	Total
1	5	5
2	4	8
3	2	6
4	3	12
7	1	7
		38

TABLE 4.34: Distribution of female respondents' younger sisters.

No. of younger sisters	No. of female Rs.	Total
1	3	3
2	4	8
3	3	9
4	3	12
7	1	7
		39

and one has seven. This gives a total of thirty-nine younger sisters. Added to the figure for older sisters, our female respondents have a total of seventy-seven sisters. Of this number, only twenty-seven have attended high school. The number dwindles to just two when we consider those of them who have been to the university. (see Table 4.35).

We now turn to the educational history of our male respondents' brothers and sisters. As indicated on Table 4.36, the male respondents to our questionnaire have brothers distributed as follows: one of them has an older brother; three have two each; another three have three each and four have four older brothers each.

As for younger brothers, two of our male respondents have one each; three have two each; two have three each; three have four each; two have five each and three have seven each.

Table 4.37 shows that our respondents have a total of eighty-nine brothers. Of this number, fifty-three have attended high school and twenty-five have been to the university.

Five of our male respondents said they had an older sister each; three said they had two each; one had three; two had four each and another two had five each. This

TABLE 4.35: Educational attainment of female respondents' sisters.

No.of sisters older and younger than R.	No. in high school	No. in university
77	27	2

TABLE 4.36: Distribution of male respondents' older brothers.

No. of older brothers	No. of male Rs	Total
1	1	1
2	3	6
3	3	9
4	4	16
		32

TABLE 4.37: Educational attainment of male respondents' brothers.

No. of older brothers	No. of younger brothers	Total	No. in high school	No. in university
32	57	89	53	25

gives a total of thirty-two older sisters.

As for younger sisters, our male respondents were divided in their response as follows: two had one each; three had two each; another three had three each; and yet another three had four each; two had six each; and one had five; another one had seven; again, another one had eight and the last one had nine younger sisters. This brings the total to seventy. Added to the figure for older sisters, our male respondents have a total of one hundred and two sisters. Of this number, only thirty-three have attended high school, while two have been in the university (see Table 4.38).

x Summary:

Most of our respondents came from families of average socio-economic status. The father, as the head of the family, is the final arbiter of justice and the 'bread-winner'. The mother, usually one of several wives, takes care of domestic chores and remains totally submissive to her husband. This explains a great deal why the education of girls still lags behind. Like their fathers, the male children are highly favored and are more educated than their female counterparts. Just like their mothers, the

TABLE 4.38: Educational attainment of male respondents' sisters.

No. of older sisters	No. of younger sisters	Total	No. in high school	No. in university
32	70	102	33	2



children, particularly the female ones, are made to recognize the supreme authority of their fathers within the household. This fear of the father is partly responsible for the children being more emotionally attached to their mothers.

xi Conclusion:

The socio-cultural pattern of northern Nigeria relegates women to secondclass citizenship, while their male counterparts enjoy all the privileges of being a part of the favored class. This results in different educational outlooks for both groups.

FORMAL ORGANIZATION PARTICIPATION.

There are three subdivisions in this category:

- i Club membership;
- ii Active participation in organizational activities;
- iii Political orientation.
- iv Summary.
- v Conclusion.

i Club Membership:

Most of our respondents claimed to have been members of a club or association, especially during their high school days. In fact, all the male respondents answered in the affirmative to the question: 'While in Nigeria, were you a member of any club, association, etc.?', Fifteen of the female respondents gave the same reply, while three of them said 'No' to the question.

All the female respondents who belonged to at least a club in Nigeria (a total of fifteen), said it was a social/disciplinary one - the type most common in high school. Twelve of the men claimed their clubs and associations were of the social/disciplinary type too. However, six of the male respondents said theirs were the social/political type. This shows that some of the men actually joined associations or clubs even after leaving school - political associations are not allowed in high school.

We asked those who said they were never members of clubs or associations why they were never a part of such organizations. Two of the three women involved said they were 'just not interested', and the remaining one said she was not allowed to participate in such activities.

ii Active Participation in Organizational Activities:

It is the response to item 92 of the questionnaire (see Appendix I) that reveals the level of participation of our respondents in formal organization. All the eighteen women said they had not joined any association in Montreal; only two of the male respondents gave the same response, whereas the remaining sixteen acknowledged the fact that they belonged to at least an association in Montreal. The sharp contrast between the response of the men on the one hand and the women on the other, is all the more striking if one takes into consideration that every Nigerian in Montreal is automatically a member of the local branch of the Nigerian Students' Association. The figures on Table 4.39 show that the women do not consider themselves as part of even the Nigerian-government-sponsored association. In other words, the passivity of women in formal organizations is brought to the open.

iii Political Orientation:

When asked what political organizations our respondents favored, only one of the female was 'liberal', while the remaining seventeen favored the conservative party in

**TABLE 4.39: Membership of the Association of Nigerian students.**

Declared Status	Female Rs.		Male Rs.	
	No.	o/o	No.	o/o
Member	0		16	88.8
Non-member	18	100	2	11.1

Nigeria. As for the men, four were in favor of the communist/socialist party; three were for the liberal party and the remaining eleven were for the conservative party. In other words, our respondents, especially the women, are for the status quo.

Despite the fact that our respondents recognize that to favor the conservative party is to accept male dominance, all of them that fall into this group said they shared their party's view on the role of women (see item 97 of the questionnaire in Appendix I).

In order to determine how actively involved our respondents were in political parties, we asked them where they paid more attention to current affairs, Nigeria or Canada ? Only one female respondent and four male claimed they were more interested in current affairs while in Nigeria. But a solid majority made up of seventeen women and fourteen men said they paid attention to current affairs more in Canada. As Table 4.40 shows, a comparison of both groups gives a ratio of one to six.

Television is the medium through which sixteen of our female respondents get their information; the remaining two get theirs through radio, newspaper and television combined. As for the men, two of them are mostly informed through the

TABLE 4.40: Awareness of current affairs.

Country	Female Rs		Male Rs		Total	Ratio
	No.	o/o	No.	o/o		
Nigeria	1	5.6	4	22.2	5	1
Canada	17	94.4	14	77.8	31	6

radio, one through newspapers; three through television; and the remaining twelve through the three media combined.

v Summary:

There is a sharp divergence between the participation of our female respondents in formal organizations and that of their male counterparts. The male show a pattern of active participation in organizational activities, whereas the women are only passive. As for political orientation, the women are much more conservative than men. Moreover, the women more readily chose television as their favorite medium of information, whereas, the majority of the men combined radio, newspaper and television as their media of information.

vi Conclusion:

As in the previous four categories of findings, the 'formal organization participation' category shows women as a disadvantaged group of the society. Unfortunately, the women themselves do not contest their position - for example, most of them do not strive to participate actively in formal organizations and they have a conservative political orientation. In fact, it is only of recent that

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women's voices have started to be heard in political affairs, and even then, the majority of the population does not go along with them. Women still accept the traditional political setting in the society.

#### GENERAL VIEWS ON WOMEN

The sixth category of findings contains the opinions of our respondents on questions that touch on the status as well as the role of women in society. We shall consider the following topics:

- i Occupation;
- ii Independence
- iii Child Education;
- iv Female Inferiority;
- v Women's Liberation Movement;
- vi Self-appraisal of Personal Views on Women.
- vii Summary.
- viii Conclusion.

##### i Occupation

We asked each of the men to indicate the type of occupation he thought was best for his wife. Teaching and business came out on top - both of them were picked by seven respondents each; "house-wife" was next with



three adherents and one would like his wife to be a medical doctor. It is pertinent to note that none of them wanted his wife to be a secretary or an engineer (see Table 4.41).

We also wanted to know the amount of occupational freedom our female respondents were willing to give their wives. In response to the question whether they would allow their wives to travel out of town on official duty, seven replied in the affirmative, whilst eleven said they would not.

Figures for those who said they would show that three of them would allow their wives to travel out on official duty for only a week, whilst the remaining four were willing to let them go for over two weeks.

As for our male respondents who said they would not allow their wives to travel out on official duty, nine of them attributed their decision to the fact that such a travel would prevent a wife from having enough time for family responsibilities; the other two insinuated that such a travel could encourage infidelity.

A slight majority of our male respondents would not even allow their wives to work overtime - ten of them said they would not, while eight said they would.

TABLE 4.41: Male respondents' preferred careers for their spouses.

Type of job	Male Respondents	
	No.	o/o
Housewife	3	16.7
Teaching	7	38.9
Medicine	1	5.6
Business	7	38.9

Of the ten male respondents that said they would not allow their wives to work overtime, even if their work demanded it, six gave the same reason that family responsibilities would suffer if their wives stayed out too long on the job; one specified that his wife had to come back in time from work to take care of the children, and three others said working overtime could encourage infidelity.

We investigated the incidence of sex discrimination at work: 'should women compete with men in highly competitive jobs like medicine, engineering and law?' It was mainly the women themselves who gave a negative response to this question: all the women but one said "No". As for the male respondents, seven thought women could compete with men, even if the job is highly competitive; the remaining eleven said women should be kept out of stiff competition.

Asked to give a reason for their response to the above question (Item 117 of the questionnaire), fourteen of the women and eight of the men said men were more suited to highly competitive jobs than women; three each of the men and women claimed that men were superior and one woman and seven men gave other unspecified reasons.

Nonetheless, a large majority of our respondents said men and women should be paid the same salary for the same type of job; all the women were in favor of this practice; fifteen of the men were also of this opinion, whilst only three men said men and women should not get the same salary for doing the same type of work. But, as shown on Table 4.42, our respondents are quite liberal-minded in this case; ten each of the men and women wanted the salary to be based on the type of work done and not on the sex of the worker; eight of the women and five of the men stressed equality and fairness as the basis of their response. But, one man claimed that men were more responsible and therefore, should be paid higher than women for doing the same type of job; two others saw women as the weaker sex who should therefore, not be on the same footing with their male counterparts.

ii Independence:

We tried to find out the degree of independence that each of our respondents had with regard to his or her spouse. First, financially, a majority of them want independence. In fact, sixteen of the female respondents and fourteen of the male said they preferred to have a separate savings account from their spouses'. The two

TABLE 4.42: Salary and sexuality.

Opinion	Female Rs.		Male Rs.	
	No.	o/o	No.	o/o
Same work, same pay	10	55.6	10	55.6
Men are more responsible	0		1	5.6
Equality	8	44.4	5	27.8
Women are weaker sex	0		2	11.1

other women and four other men said they would each like to have a 'joint account' with their spouses (see Table 4.43).

Each of our respondents gave the following reasons for their choice of preference in this regard: (those who chose individual account): 'best for peace within the family' (one female respondent); 'in order to avoid trouble in the household' (seven female and two male respondents); 'to avoid jealousy' (four female); 'separate individuals, therefore, different responsibilities' (two female and eight male respondents); 'spouse would spend money on other women (one female respondent); 'gives room for freedom' (one female and four male respondents).

As for the respondents who preferred a joint account, two female respondents said it would enable them and their spouses to 'supplement each other'; two of the male respondents gave the same reason as the women, whilst the other two said a joint savings account leads to a better understanding between a married couple.

However, apart from financial independence, there is the question of social independence too. We asked our respondents whether they could live in Montreal alone without their spouses. All the women said they could not,

TABLE 4.43: Preferred form of savings account.

Type of account	Female Rs.		Male Rs		Total
	No.	% o/o	No.	% o/o	
INDIVIDUAL	16	88.8	14	77.8	30
JOINT	2	11.1	4	22.2	6

whereas, eight of the men said they could, whilst a very slight majority of ten men said they could not (see item 112 of the questionnaire in Appendix I).

This question of social independence is all the more clarified in the response to the question: 'Assuming your spouse were to return to Nigeria in a few months, and you had just been given an admission to a university in Montreal, what would you do ?' All our female respondents except one, said they would rather go back to Nigeria with their spouses than stay behind to go to school here. Whereas all the men, except two, said they would rather stay behind to study than go back to Nigeria with their spouses and miss the opportunity of attending university here.

### iii Child Education:

The question of preferential education based on the sex of children was tackled by a part of our questionnaire. Item 114 of it asks: 'If you had a son and a daughter, could only send one of them beyond the secondary school level, which one of them would you send ?' (This question assumes that all other qualities, such as age, intelligence, etc. are equal in both children).



All our female respondents chose to send the boy rather than the girl. As for the male respondents, sixteen chose to send the boy, while only two preferred to send the girl (see Table 4.44).

We increased the number of children involved to see if our respondents would substantially change their preferred child for higher education. However, fourteen of our female respondents still maintained that they would send only boys to school if they had to choose between two sons and two daughters; the remaining four female respondents said they would send a son and a daughter if they found themselves in that situation. As for the male respondents, twelve of them would send their sons, whereas, six of them were more liberal - they would choose a son and a daughter and keep the other son and daughter out of school, if they could afford to have only two of their four children in school.

We asked our respondents for an explanation for their choice of response. Of the fourteen female respondents who would rather send their two sons to school, twelve said it was because 'boys make family-name famous'; the other two said it was because the 'girls drop the family name on getting married'. The other four female respondents

TABLE 4.44: Preferential treatment of offspring based on sex.

Preferred sex for educa- tional opportunity	Female Rs.		Male Rs.		Total
	No.	o/o	No.	o/o	
Male	18	100	16	88.8	34
Female	0		2	11.1	2

(who chose a son and a daughter), gave other reasons, such as equality and fairness between the two sexes.

Our male respondents are divided in their reasons as follows: ten (of those that chose two sons) said boys made family-names famous, one said girls dropped the family-name, whilst the other seven gave other reasons.

iv Female Inferiority:

To help us determine whether our respondents perceived femininity as inferiority, we asked for their preference between a male and a female child. All the thirty-six respondents preferred to have male children.

We then asked them for the level of education they thought a girl should have. Fourteen of the women wanted high school education for girls; three said a bachelor's degree was the ideal level of education for girls. As for the men, seven of them were for high school diploma for girls; ten were for the bachelor's, while five favored graduate studies for girls.

When asked if the women should have higher education than their husbands, all our female respondents gave a negative reply. Six of the men saw nothing wrong with the idea, whilst twelve men would not wish a woman to have

higher education than her husband. The major reason advanced for the rejection of a higher educated wife is that her husband would loose her respect, although six women and four men said girls do not need too much education.

This apparent domestication of women is contested in our respondents' answers to item 129 of the questionnaire (see Appendix I): 'Do you strongly feel a woman's place is in the kitchen?'. Only four women and five men answered in the affirmative, whereas, fourteen women and thirteen men did not agree that a woman's place was in the kitchen.

But the seeming inferiority of women resurfaces in response to the question as to who should make major decisions in a family. All the women, except one, accorded the privilege to the husband; eleven of the men too, believed the husband should always make major decisions within a family. Only one woman and seven men said both husband and wife should make the major decisions.

However, all our thirty-six respondents agreed that the cultural role of women restricts them to the home, just as religion puts them in secondary role in society, for example, through the choice of ministers and religious leaders who are usually male (questions 139-140).

v Women's Liberation Movement:

The Women's Liberation Movement highly idolized in North America was flatly rejected by all our female respondents. They were joined by twelve of our male respondents who also rejected the ideals of the Women's Liberation Movement. The six other men were in favor of the movement.

Our female respondents were opposed to the movement for various reasons: four of them said it ruined family relationships; six said it was foreign ideology; two complained that it disrupted the social structure; two were put off by the movement's militancy and the remaining four said it was unrealistic.

As for our male respondents, four thought the Women's Liberation Movement ruined family relationships; one said it was foreign to Nigeria; three claimed it was unprogressive because it disrupted social structure; another three said the movement was too militant. However, four of our male respondents appreciated the doctrine of equality of the sexes which the movement preaches. The remaining man advocated a moderate version of the movement.

None of our respondents believed that the status of women had changed a great deal in Nigeria. Only seven of

the women believed that the status of women had changed marginally, while eleven believed it had not changed at all. As for the men, eleven think there had only been a slight change in the status of women in Nigeria, while the seven others said there had been no change at all.

vi Self-appraisal of Personal Views on Women:

We asked our respondents to indicate the percentage of people in their age-group in Nigeria whom they thought would share their views on women. Eleven of our female respondents said seventy-five percent of their counterparts in Nigeria shared their views; one associated herself with less than twenty-five percent of her counterparts, while the six other women thought fifty percent of their colleagues would be on their side. As for the men, the majority (eleven), said only about fifty percent of their colleagues in Nigeria would share their views on women; five said more than seventy-five percent were of their opinion, whereas two men believed less than twenty-five percent of their counterparts would share their views.

As the response to item 134 of the questionnaire further shows, (see Table 4.45), whilst most of the women did not expect to notice any change between their opinions

TABLE 4.45: Evolution of the perception of women.

Type	Female Rs.		Male Rs.		Total
	No.	o/o	No.	o/o	
Significant	2	11.1	10	55.6	12
Non-significant	16	88.8	8	44.4	24

and those of their friends when they returned to Nigeria, most of the men did, in fact, recognize that their present opinions would be different from those of their friends in Nigeria. The precise figures are as follows: sixteen of the women and eight of the men hoped to notice no difference, whilst two of the women and ten of the men said there would be a definite difference.

vii Summary:

From their personal views on women, each of our respondents presented his or her perception of women in society. Generally, the men are so possessive that they limit their wives as to the particular professions they want them to be in. Furthermore, a working wife has to place her domestic responsibilities ahead of her career. Although most of the women claimed they liked financial independence from their husbands, in reality this was not what obtained within the family. In fact, the women were so attached to their husbands that none of them could think of remaining in Montreal alone.

This inferior image of women permeates various aspects of social life. For instance, everyone wants a male child; higher education is reserved for men and women are given



only a minimal role in society.

viii Conclusion:

Generally, our female respondents are more conservative than the male. The former accept and perform the secondary role which society has reserved for them, whereas the men have been more open to liberal North American ideas on the status of women. Nonetheless, both groups seem to be well aware of the fact that the status of women in Nigeria is far different from that of North America.

PART TWO

CASE STORIES.

In this part of our findings, we present two case stories for different reasons. The first one is on one of our female respondents who typifies the traditional wife. The second case story is based on one of our male respondents who has been overly influenced by his North American experience. Both respondents were very cooperative with us in compiling the studies. They offered us long hours of conversations which we present in a

condensed form here.

Case Story 1 - Bintu:

Bintu is an eighteen-year-old Kanuri woman who has been living in Montreal for three years with her husband. She is one of the respondents to our questionnaire. We would like to go over some aspects of her life which corroborate the findings of our research.

Bintu comes from Molai, a village south of Maiduguri, the Capital of Borno State of Nigeria. She was the third girl and the seventh child born into the family. Unlike the birth of a male child, her arrival in the family was marked by a quiet ceremony. She spent most of her first days in the world in her mother's hut, attended to by her grandmother. The latter had identified Bintu at first sight as her own deceased mother who had come back into the family through reincarnation. In fact, she dared not call the newborn any other name than 'mama' - the native doctor's words had come to pass: 'If it's a girl, she will look like your mother, if it's a boy, he will be the 'carbon-copy' of his father'. Amina, Bintu's grandmother, was prepared to welcome either, but for safety reasons, she had performed all the necessary rites (as prescribed by the

native doctor), to appease the gods and ensure no complications arose during and after the birth of the baby.

On the middle-far-side of Bintu's mother's mud-bed, adjacent to the wall, lay a stack of shredded clothes which would henceforth, be the infant's blanket and comforter. Actually, the clothes used to belong to her father, Mallam Mohammed who, in accordance with tradition, had surrendered some of his clothes (large traditional gowns) for the nursery of his baby. In one corner of the room lay three stones which formed a tripod over the fire, that would burn twenty-four hours a day. The fire served two main purposes: to keep the room temperature warm, especially at night and to boil water.

Being the latest addition to the family, Bintu would share the room with her mother for the next two years, whilst the other children would sleep on large mats on the little corridor that links Malama Aisa's (Bintu's mother's) hut with the others in the commune. Each of Mohammed's four wives had her own hut, parallel to the others. As for Malam Mohammed's, it is set apart, in front of the others. In fact, anybody coming into the commune had to go in through his living-room, where he usually entertained visitors. Only relations and intimate visitors were allowed

to go beyond this point. Almost all male visitors were restricted permanently to Malam Mohammed's living-room.

As the months went by, Bintu soon graduated from the room to the corridor where she began learning her role. The girls slept closest to the entrance to their mother's room which had only a mat that served as the door. The boys, being farther away, could whisper to one another long after bedtime. Even during daytime, girls were restricted in the types of activities they could participate in. Whilst the boys were running and jumping around and away from home, the girls were supposed to do less-strenuous activities. They either assisted in the cooking or played games involving the clapping of hands, for example.

Malam Mohammed sent all his school-age children to the 'western', as opposed to the Koranic school. His friends and relations in Molai and adjoining villages often criticized him. But it was beyond his power to reverse the situation. As a worker on the village-head's farm, Malam Mohammed was one of the first parents that the village-head could lay his hands on and force him to send his children to school whenever the enrollment in the primary school was insufficient. According to Bintu,

her father would have preferred to send some of his children to the koranic school.

Bintu remembers very well how much her mother complained bitterly about her going to the western 'decadent' school. Since the school did not operate according to Islamic principles, Malama Aisa believed her daughter would grow up to be godless and defiant. For example, related Bintu:

One day, my mother's childhood friend came to visit us. I think I was in primary class four (Grade 4 in Canada). My mother's friend brought along her five-year-old daughter in whom I developed a great interest. I told her of some of my experiences in school and we went as far as writing the alphabets and numerals in the sand on the corridor floor. My mother grew so mad at me that she, not only ordered me to go and fetch water from the stream, (which was quite some distance from our home), but took great pains to explain to her friend all the 'corrupt' practices of western education. "Our kids are no longer ours", she said. According to her, the school teacher had got so much into my brains that I could not think of anything else. "Instead of reciting verses from the Koran, all that the kids know is 'addition and subtraction'. What good will that do to them in al-Jannah (Paradise) ?... It's when I want

to send Bintu on an errand that she remembers her teacher told her to ask me how long it would take her to cook two eggs, if it takes two minutes to cook one. I don't know if they are supposed to be cooking eggs in school ...." My mother went further to point out the social disadvantages of my remaining in school: in the first place, I could not be married off at puberty (about twelve years of age) because I would still be in school; secondly, she did not know if the man to whom I had been bethrothed was not already showing signs of impatience, and in any case, she doubted if I could ever be a 'good' wife, because I had started to be too "inquisitive". According to her, if I had been a boy, it would have been a different matter altogether. Since a man is the head of the household, she envisaged I would have less problems in marriage because my actions would not have been subject to the approval of anyone. She therefore, admonished her friend not to put her daughter in the 'white man's school' (the western educational system)".

Even at school, Bintu was always reminded of her femininity. Although the school was mixed, only one of the seven teachers was female. She was in charge of Class One and hardly participated in the running of the school. Whereas some of her colleagues were in charge of administration of punishment, sports, general cleaning, etc., the female teacher was only expected to act as a mother, tell-

ing the kids stories and teaching them how to sing. Like her, the girls too, are set apart throughout their years in school. For instance, a row of desks was usually set aside for girls, whilst boys occupied all others. It was 'normal' for the girls' side of the classroom to be less noisy and of course, neater than all others at the end of the day. The girls fetched water and did all the cleaning before school opened each day. The boys, on the other hand, usually worked on the school-farm.

At the age of fourteen, Bintu was still in Class Seven. She knew she was over-ripe for marriage, and therefore, expected her future husband's family to come for her during the end-of-year vacation (that is, in December). But to her utmost surprise, she woke up to an atmosphere of celebration the day after school closed. She asked her mother why there were many people around, eating, drinking and singing. Aisa told her she (Bintu) was on the threshold of womanhood and that her future parents-in-law had come for her. After the marriage rites had been performed, she set out with them on the long walk to Maiduguri, where they had come from. On arrival there, she put up in a room which had been specially prepared for her. It was just after midnight that her

husband, whom she had never met, walked in. He has played a prominent role in her life since then.

One year after their marriage, her husband was awarded a scholarship to come and study in Canada. Neither of them had ever travelled out of Nigeria, but she knew it was her husband's responsibility to take care of her and she had no doubt he would. So, he came here a few months before her. He rented an apartment and bought all their basic needs. They have had a child since their arrival here. Although she admits that her experiences in North America have had some influence on her, Bintu is still very traditional in her thinking. Her life simply revolves around that of her husband. She hardly contests whatever he does.

It is therefore, not surprising that in response to our questionnaire, Bintu recognizes the supremacy of the male sex and would, in fact, want her male children to have university education, whereas she would not want her female children to go beyond secondary school. To her, educated women are always arrogant and do not have respect for tradition. Accordingly, her husband could marry two or more wives, depending on him. She readily accepts her cultural role of 'second-class citizen' within



the family unit. In short, her whole life has been geared towards this end.

Case Story 2 - Hamidou:

Unlike the majority of northern Nigerians, Hamidou comes from a Christian background. His father was one of the first to embrace the Christian faith in the city of Yola. Actually, Hamidou's grandfather was a staunch Moslem. Being a successful businessman, he travelled quite regularly to other major cities in northern Nigeria. It was during one of his trips to Kano that he first came in contact with European missionaries of the Sudan Interior Mission. When the mission wanted to expand its activities to Maiduguri, he was contacted and asked to supply cement for construction purposes. He gladly consented and made money out of the venture. However, communications between him and the mission did not stop at that. When the mission decided to run a school, Alhaji Seydou (Hamidou's grandfather), was one of the first parents whose cooperation was solicited. The mission finally succeeded in talking him into agreeing to send only one of his school-age sons to the mission school on an experimental basis. Alhaji

Seydou picked out Hamidou's father for this purpose - he was only seven at the time. Seydou's son turned out to be the best student in school. All his teachers from year to year wrote excellent reports about him. It was not surprising therefore, that at the end of his primary school education, he was recommended to the mission's headquarters in Jos to be trained as a teacher. After his training, he was back in Maiduguri, where he worked as an assistant primary school teacher. Within a year, he was promoted to the rank of school teacher and reassigned to another village.

Belo (Hamidou's father), was well-loved by the villagers. They nick-named him 'Mai makaranta' (the Lord of School) and treated him with great respect. In fact, it was in appreciation of his contribution to the progress of the village (for example, in the area of community health and sanitation), that Malam Sani (Hamidou's maternal grandfather), gave his daughter in marriage to Belo. Hamidou is the sixth child of the Belos - he has three older brothers and two older sisters. Although he has no younger brothers, he has two younger sisters.

One remarkable aspect of Belo's life is that he has always been 'a man of one wife', as stipulated by the Bible.

Furthermore, irrespective of his children's sex, he has given all of them the incentive to participate in the western educational system, as opposed to the Koranic one. The outcome is that all of his sons have attended high school. However, apart from Hamidou, none of them has attended university. Ironically, four of Belo's daughters have attended high school and two of them have even attended university.

Hamidou, like Belo, was an outstanding pupil in school. His elementary school was co-educational and the teachers were predominantly male (Belo later became the Headmaster). Like in all other schools, boys had duties which were generally different from those of the girls (for instance, while the boys worked on the school-farm, girls usually fetched drinking water from the village-well. Being one of the best students, Hamidou easily gained admission to the Government Secondary School, Yola (it is still the best high school in the Gongola State of Nigeria). He was even awarded a government scholarship to study there.

After completing the five-year course, he sat for and passed the West African School Certificate Examination. He also did outstandingly well in the Common Entrance Examination (higher school), which enabled him to gain admission to one of the federal government-owned higher

schools (that is, colleges), in Nigeria. He was admitted to his first choice: Federal Government College, Warri - again on his State government scholarship. There too, he maintained his good academic standing. It was Hamidou's second (that is, final) year that marked a turning-point in his life. His Chemistry teacher, a Canadian woman, took a keen interest in him and encouraged him to come to Canada for his university education.

She applied on his behalf for the necessary admission forms to Canadian universities and gave him a good recommendation for overseas scholarship by the then North-Eastern State (now split into Bauchi, Borno and Gongola States), Ministry of Education. Hamidou had no difficulty in securing both the admission and scholarship. He travelled out of Nigeria without telling any member of his family. It was not until he got to Canada that he wrote his father to let him know his whereabouts. His father was very furious about his travel, despite the fact that he does not normally object to his children pursuing university education. - he would have preferred him to study in Nigeria.

Hamidou chose to come to the University of Toronto because of its international reputation. He completed his Bachelor of Science degree in three years. However, he

still wanted to fulfill his childhood dream of becoming a medical doctor. He applied to McGill University Medical School, but was told he could only be admitted to the Department of Experimental Surgery. He was reluctant to take the offer, but he had no other choice. And in any case, there was the hope that he could change to medicine if there was a vacancy. He completed his Master of Science degree in Experimental Surgery and started a doctorate in the same field when he realized there was no place for him in medicine. He has since completed his doctorate and he is now a professor in Nigeria, although he has not totally abandoned his wish of becoming a medical doctor.

Hamidou's life is, no doubt, out of the ordinary in northern Nigeria. He grew up in an atmosphere that was favorable to the assimilation of Western ideals. It is, therefore, not surprising that most of his responses to various items of the primary questionnaire do not coincide with those of others. For example, he is the only one (out of all the thirty-six respondents), to identify himself neither as a Christian nor as a Moslem. He preferred to be seen as a Non-Conformist on the question of religion.

Unlike most parents in northern Nigeria, Hamidou's parents are educated. Even though his mother is a house-

wife, like most women, she had an elementary education and could therefore, assist her children with their homework, in case her husband was too busy. Even the family organization was favorable to Hamidou's progress. All important decisions were made both his father and mother together; Hamidou had a lot of say in the decision-making process about things that concerned him, even when he was still in high school; he felt free to complain if there was a decision he did not like; in short, he was quite independent.

Hamidou claims to be closer to his father than to his mother. According to him, this is mainly because his father encourages him a lot and respects his (Hamidou's) opinions. However, it is the wishes and desires of his sisters that play an important part in his planning. This is rather unusual, since Hamidou has two elder brothers. In other words, his cultural roots are rather weak. But this does not mean that Hamidou is totally cut off from the traditions of his people.

For instance, although he would not prevent his wife from travelling out on official duty if her work demanded it, he is still undecided as to the number of wives he would have -- it will certainly be more than one, he said.

Moreover, he is totally opposed to the Women's Liberation Movement. According to him, it has no place in the northern Nigerian context because both sexes already know their respective roles in society. 'And, in any case, women are not paid discriminatory salary' (he forgot that most of them are less qualified than men and therefore, can only occupy the same positions as less-than-average men !).

It is pertinent to note that Hamidou himself recognizes that less than twenty-five percent of people of his age-group in Nigeria would share his views on women. This is quite true because Hamidou seems to be suffering from an over-exposure to Western culture. Because of recent findings that daughters are more attached to their parents, especially later in life, (according to him), Hamidou would give preference to the education of his daughter over that of his son. This is quite questionable because Hamidou seems to be misrepresenting the facts. If he had said he would give both of them an equal treatment one would not have questioned his idea on the matter.

On the whole, Hamidou is the product of favorable socio-cultural factors which have enhanced his chances of progress within the Western educational system. It is

doubtful for a woman in Hamidou's shoes to have enjoyed all the privileges Hamidou had. For instance, a woman could not have travelled abroad without the family's knowledge - that is assuming she had the opportunity to go beyond the four walls of her State of origin. Nonetheless, Hamidou is not completely cut off from the cultural reality of northern Nigeria - for instance, he still went back there to get himself a wife :

### PART THREE

#### SECONDARY QUESTIONNAIRE

Apart from our primary questionnaire, the findings of which form the major part of this chapter, we designed a secondary questionnaire (see Appendix II) which we shall now analyse.

The secondary questionnaire is made up of eight items which reveal the basics of the educational structure in northern Nigeria. The purpose of this secondary questionnaire is to put the findings of our primary questionnaire to the test. It will be recalled that the latter was administered on northern Nigerians in Montreal, whilst



the former was answered by high school students in Nigeria.

The respondents to our secondary questionnaire were chosen from four different high schools in Zaria, Nigeria: Government Girls' Secondary School (56 students); Government Commercial College (44 students); Girls' Day Secondary School (50 students); and Women Training College (50 students). Table 4.46 gives a summary of the categories into which their responses fall.

It is pertinent to note that all the respondents to this questionnaire were female. This was deliberately done so that we could adequately probe the socio-cultural upbringing of the female in northern Nigeria.

Most of our respondents (142 out of 200) were between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, while the remaining fifty-eight were eighteen years of age and above. We chose sixteen as the minimum age because we were looking for subjects who were already at the advanced stages of the socio-cultural process and who therefore, could look back on what they have been through in the recent past, and at the same time reflect on their present condition, while looking ahead to what the future holds for them.

In order to have a global picture of all the students in the various classes, we picked a cross-section of the




TABLE 4.46: Findings of the secondary questionnaire.

Item	Category of response	No. of Rs.
Name of school	Government Girls' Secondary School, Zaria. Government Commercial College, Zaria. Girls' Day Secondary School, Zaria. Women Training College, Zaria.	56 44 50 50
Year in school	Fifth Year Fourth Third Second	35 51 61 53
Age	16 to 18 years Over 18 years	142 58
Religion	Christianity Islam	46 154
Father's level of education	Elementary High school. College University None	32 16 35 15 102
Mother's level of education	Elementary High school College None	25 3 16 156

TABLE 4.46 (cont'd).

Item	Category of response	No. of Rs.
Parents' annual income	Below 2,500 Naira	29
	2,500 - 5,000 Naira	87
	Above 5,000 Naira	84
Intention after high school	Further education	40
	Take up employment	37
	Learn a trade	2
	Marry	121

students in each school. On the whole, there were thirty-five students in the fifth year; fifty-one in the fourth; sixty-one in the third; and fifty-three in the second year. This cross-sectional view is also reflected in the religious affiliations of our respondents: forty-six are Christians, while a solid majority of one hundred and fifty-four are Moslems. This is truly representative of the northern Nigerian society.

When asked to indicate their fathers' levels of education, thirty-two of the respondents said their fathers had elementary education; sixteen identified high school as their fathers' level of education; thirty-five picked college education; while fifteen claimed their fathers had university education. But the vast majority said their fathers had no formal education at all.

The picture of their mothers' education is even worse: twenty-five respondents said their mothers had elementary education; three claimed their mothers had secondary education and sixteen said their mothers went to college; whereas, one hundred and fifty-six of them admitted that their mothers had no formal education at all.

When we check the family-income of each of our respondents, we realize that most of them are from averagely

well-to-do families, at least by Nigerian standards - only twenty-nine of them come from families whose earnings are below two thousand five hundred Naira a year (one Naira is equivalent to just over two Canadian dollars); eighty-seven are from families that earn between two thousand and five hundred Naira and five thousand Naira a year; and eighty-four belong to families whose income is above five thousand Naira. (The minimum wage is one thousand two hundred Naira a year).

Finally, we asked the girls to indicate their intentions on leaving high school. Only forty of them were looking forward to furthering their education; thirty-seven planned to take up some form of employment; two wanted to learn a trade; while one hundred and twenty-one of them were looking forward to getting married.

#### Conclusion:

The secondary questionnaire, though small in size (compared to the primary questionnaire), still buttresses the findings of its sister-questionnaire. It gives a representative picture of the northern Nigerian society and shows the gross disparity in the educational attainments of both the male and the female in that society.

Furthermore, the educational aspirations of the female is seen to be low. It should be noted that the financial standings of our respondents' families cannot be said to be responsible for the low response of women to education. In fact, the majority of them come from averagely well-to-do families. Therefore, the conservative 'tangential' role of women in education should be attributed to more fundamental aspects of the socio-cultural climate of northern Nigeria. In short, the secondary questionnaire shows that even in present-day northern Nigeria, no revolutionary change has taken place in the field of education, especially as far as women are concerned.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study has been to examine the various factors that militate against women's education in northern Nigeria. Our aim has been to focus on the importance of socio-cultural factors, in an attempt to arrive at valuable reasons why women's education still lags behind. As stated in Chapter 2, the respondents to our primary questionnaire were carefully chosen to include only people from northern Nigeria.

This study was based on the premise that the predominant view of our respondents would give an insight into what goes on in the larger society.

All over the world, the society and its agents reinforce the inequalities between the sexes. Anything termed 'feminine' is given less value than that termed 'masculine'. This indicates the subordinate role of women in the world. As stated in Chapter 1, under the law, women are given equal educational opportunity as men. But it appears that in modern society, the term 'equal opportunity' has lost its meaning. Looking at the treatment given to female and

male students in our present society, one realizes that more and more attention is focussed on the male children. As Anderson (1974) explains, although both sexes start on the same level in school, we soon find out that male children are trained to be achievement-oriented, while female children find themselves in streams within the school which prohibit them from gaining access to certain positions. That is, the female are trained to serve affilial positions.

The findings of this research support the views expressed by many social scientists' work reviewed in Chapter 1. For instance, we see that sex-role socialisation plays a key-role in the education of women. Some of our female respondents agreed that the type of society in which they grew up has completely affected their outlook in life. It is greatly responsible for their having negative views of themselves and viewing men as superior. Moreover, anyone that tries to break away from tradition is seen as deviant.

Theoretically, male and female children have an equal opportunity to excel in school. In fact, in northern Nigeria, education is made free at all levels. School uniforms, shoes, books and all other needs are provided



free for both sexes. In this regard, one would have thought the school atmosphere provided an impetus for women to be on equal footing with men. But then, the school system, in continuation of its past activities, encourages women to refrain from demonstrating intellectual competence, either in order not to be on the same level with men or simply to prevent arrogance, since it is generally believed that educated women are always arrogant. In other words, the school takes over the upbringing of the children from the family, but reinforces and continues the sex-role socialization already established, thereby promoting the existing ideology in the society. Besides, the majority of schools in northern Nigeria are not co-educational. It is this sexual segregation that makes it easier for school authorities to orient the pupils towards particular subjects. It is not surprising then that most of our female respondents claimed to have liked the Humanities best in high school. The perpetuation of traditional sex-roles is also encouraged by texts used in school:

The texts lack adequate models for female children. The awareness of sexist material is even more acute at the moment and little

is done to change it, even by those who agree that change should occur. Through the picture-books, girls are taught to have low aspirations because there are so few opportunities portrayed as available to them. The world of picture-books never tells little girls that as women, they might find fulfillment outside their home or through intellectual pursuits. Their future occupational world is presented as consisting primarily of glamour and service.

(Gersoni-Stavn, 1974).

One should however, not put all the blame on the school system. Religion too, has contributed a lot to the low response of women to education in northern Nigeria. Although both Christian and Islamic religions believe that women are the subordinate sex, the Christian doctrines do not put too many constraints on women as the Islamic religion does. Since most of our female respondents belong to the Islamic faith, they cannot be exempted from whatever constraints are put on Islamic women. As we stated earlier on in Chapter 3, a vast majority of northern Nigerians are Moslems and are guided by Islamic laws and principles. They believe firmly in the institution of the purdah and this reduces women to complete subordination

and dependency. As a result of their seclusion, most northern Nigerian women are excluded from direct contact with the outside world. This dependence of women on men is quite evident when we consider that most of our female respondents depend solely on their husbands. All of them in fact, said they cannot remain behind in Montreal for any educational pursuit, assuming their husbands were to return to Nigeria. They would rather drop out of school than leave their husbands (of course, they are all in Montreal because their husbands are here).

It is interesting to note that none of our thirteen female respondents who are Moslems are in seclusion. Nonetheless, eleven of them pointed out that their mothers are. As some of them come to realize the importance of formal schooling, the practice of complete seclusion is fading away. But women in purdah still have to use a veil when going out.

Although one of our male respondents argued strongly that it is culture and not the Moslem religion that has prevented women from being active in education, from our findings, we realize that both culture and religion work hand-in-hand. Religion is a reflection of the society.

Our findings seem to contradict the popular belief that

there is a correlation between the financial disposition of the family and the academic attainment of its children. Although not all our female respondents are from overly-rich families, majority of their parents could afford to see them through any level of education they desired. This is mainly because education, as we stated earlier on, is free at all levels in northern Nigeria. We observe that the major problem is not that of financial limitations, but that it is just not in their culture to have women on the same footing with men. In fact, out of the two hundred respondents to our secondary questionnaire, eighty-seven said their parents had an annual income of just below five thousand Naira; eighty-four of them estimated their parents' annual income to be between five thousand and ten thousand Naira. By Nigerian standards, anyone who earns about five thousand Naira can safely be regarded as a part of the middle-class. It is, therefore ironic that it is in the North, where education is free, that no importance is attached to Western education, because of the society's firm belief that this type of education, along with its culture, would corrupt female children.

Generally, our female respondents seem to be satisfied with their present position. In fact, one of them who

never went beyond the elementary level of education, categorically said that nothing in the world would make her happier than to see her husband marry three more wives : Of course, one could safely attribute her way of thinking to her background. The inferior position of women in our society is highly reflected in our respondents' response to question 124. "If you had a choice, would you prefer to have a male or a female child ?" All, but one, of our respondents answered that they would like a male child.

As for the Women's Liberation Movement, it has no place in the minds of northern Nigerian women. To them, it is just a foreign idea which can never find a place in the Nigerian society.

On the whole, the impression gained from this study is that, socialization and its agencies, starting from the family, religion, culture, educational institutions, communication media, and including the vested interests of policy-makers are highly responsible for the low response of women to education worldwide, particularly in the Third World. Traditional, cultural and religious ideas have proven to be a hinderance to change in the roles of women in both urban and rural areas. As Mojekwu (1975) has noted,

educational administrators' attitudes are among the major impediments to women's educational progress. She states that in the Moslem North, many girls keep their mouths shut in class. They do not ask the teachers any questions. Neither do the teachers ask them anything substantial. In fact, most village school-teachers keep the girls at the back of the class, away from the boys, in order not to incur the displeasure of their mothers.

Our findings, to a great extent, correlate those of the social scientists (Astin et al., 1976; Coleman, 1966; Dreeben, 1968), who argue that socialization has a major role to play on life outcome. We have explored all the aspects of socialization and found this to be true. Characteristics normally attributed to the male, such as aggression, dominance, ambition, authority are viewed negatively when applied to the female. Women are supposed to be compassionate and emotional. Both our female and male respondents suggest that it is these characteristics attributed to each sex that keep the world at peace. Each sex has come to accept its position in society.

This study is an exploratory one and the number of respondents is small. But it has given us a thorough relection of what obtains in the larger society. However,

we feel there are still lots of things that could be done to improve the educational attainment of women in northern Nigeria. To this end, we suggest that:

1. The government should provide social workers to organize such activities as reading-groups, information services and similar other projects to familiarize both men and women with the marginal position of women in the society, with the ultimate aim of helping them through proper education;
2. Education should be made compulsory for all children under school-age and parents who refuse their children this right should be promptly prosecuted;
3. Career guidance and information on job opportunities should be provided at the secondary school level to enlighten women on the great advantages education could give them;
4. Special national and regional mechanisms for initiating action and monitoring the progress made in improving the position of women in the society and their participation in national policy-formulation and decision-making should be made available;
5. Formal and non-formal educational programmes should be launched to make the general public

- parents, teachers and others - aware of the need to provide girls with solid education and adequate training for occupational life. The mass media could be a powerful instrument in achieving this;

6. Textbooks and other teaching materials should be re-evaluated to reflect the image of women in positive and participatory roles in society. Teachers should also ensure that their discriminatory attitudes against women are stopped.

It is our hope that future comparative research will be able to monitor the evolutionary trends in the northern Nigerian society, and be able to relate them to the education and general well-being of its women.



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## APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE : PRIMARY QUESTIONNAIRE.

OLUYEMISI BADEJO  
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION  
CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY,  
MONTREAL, P.Q.  
SEPTEMBER, 1980.

M.A. IN EDUCATIONAL STUDIES

TOPIC: AN INQUIRY INTO THE SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS  
AFFECTING THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN NORTHERN NIGERIA:  
A CASE STUDY OF NORTHERN NIGERIAN WOMEN IN MONTREAL.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

This interview schedule is prepared for my M.A. thesis in Educational Studies at Concordia University in Montreal. I am doing a study on the socio-cultural factors that affect women's education in northern Nigeria.

This is a confidential questionnaire. This means that your answers will not be seen by anyone else in this university or outside the university. Your answers will be used only for the purpose of the research which intends to improve women's educational pursuits.

I hope that you will find these questions interesting to answer and I thank you for your cooperation.

PART 1

BACKGROUND INFORMATION.

1. At what age did you get married ? Please, specify \_\_\_\_\_
2. Is your spouse here in Canada with you ?
  1. Yes
  2. No
3. Are your children here in Canada with you ?
  1. Yes
  2. No
4. If 'Yes', why did you bring them ? Please, state briefly \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
5. If 'No', do you intend to bring them soon ?
  1. Yes
  2. No
6. If 'No' (in 5), what is the reason of your not bringing your spouse or your children to Canada ?
  1. Financial problems
  2. Other, please, specify \_\_\_\_\_
7. What is your religion ?
  1. Christianity
  2. Islam
  3. Atheism
  4. Non-conformism
  5. Other, please, specify \_\_\_\_\_
8. What is your state of origin in Nigeria ?

1. Anambra	11. Kwara
2. Bauchi	12. Lagos
3. Bendel	13. Niger
4. Benue	14. Plateau
5. Borno	15. Ogun
6. Cross River	16. Ondo
7. Gongola	17. Oyo
8. Imo	18. Rivers
9. Kaduna	
10. Kano	



9. Where were you born ?
  1. Town
  2. Semi-urban
  3. Village
10. How long did you live there ?  
\_\_\_\_\_ years.
11. What was your house like ? Please, describe briefly:  
\_\_\_\_\_
12. What kind of people lived around there ? Please,  
describe briefly: \_\_\_\_\_
13. How old are you ?
  1. 15 - 20 years
  2. 21 - 25 years
  3. 26 - 30 years
  4. Over 30 years
14. Where were you living before coming to Canada ?
  1. Urban area
  2. Village
  3. Semi-urban

## PART II

### SCHOOLING AND EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

15. Where did you attend elementary school ?
  1. Urban
  2. Village
  3. Semi-urban
16. Was your elementary school a segregated or a mixed  
one ?
  1. Mixed
  2. Segregated

17. Were the teachers in your elementary school predominantly male or female ?
  1. Predominantly male
  2. Predominantly female
  3. About the same
18. Where did you attend high school (i.e. 'secondary') ?
  1. Urban area
  2. Semi urban
  3. Village
19. Was your high school a segregated or a mixed one ?
  1. Mixed
  2. Segregated
20. Were the teachers in your high school predominantly male or female ?
  1. Predominantly male
  2. Predominantly female
  3. About the same
21. What was your level of education before leaving Nigeria ?
  1. Elementary
  2. Secondary
  3. College (i.e. higher school)
  4. Teacher-training-institute
  5. University
22. What subjects did you like best in high school ?
  1. Fine Arts
  2. Humanities
  3. Sciences
  4. Applied Sciences
  5. Business
23. What field are you in now ? Field relating to:
  1. Fine Arts
  2. Humanities
  3. Sciences
  4. Applied Sciences
  5. Business
24. What subjects did you like least in high school ?
  1. Fine Arts

2. Humanities
3. Sciences
4. Applied Sciences
5. Business

25. How well did you get along with (a) other kids, and (b) teachers?

(a) Other kids :

1. Did not get along at all
2. Got along part of the time
3. About average
4. Got along very well

(b) Teachers :

1. Did not get along at all
2. Got along part of the time
3. About average
4. Got along very well

26. How did you compare with other pupils educationally?

1. Much lower than class average
2. In the lower 50% of the class
3. Average
4. In the upper 25% of the class
5. In the upper 10% of the class

27. In general, how have you felt about going to high school?

1. Liked it a lot
2. Liked it a fair amount
3. Did not care much for it

28. What is it that you liked about it? Please, specify reasons for liking high school :

1. Curriculum
2. Extra-curricular activities
3. Discipline
4. Answers 1 & 3 combined
5. Answers 1 & 7 combined
6. Answers 7 & 3 combined
7. Teachers
8. Independence

29. What is it that you did not like about high school?

Please, specify reasons :

1. Course-load
2. Discipline
3. Teachers
4. Impersonality
5. Answers 1 & 2 combined
6. Discrimination

30. Did teachers in your high school gear students towards particular subjects according to their sex ?
1. Yes
  2. No
- If 'Yes', which subjects did they gear female students towards ? \_\_\_\_\_ (Please, state).  
And which for boys ? \_\_\_\_\_
31. Are you presently attending an educational institution ?
1. Yes
  2. No
32. If 'Yes', at which institution are you enrolled ?
1. Concordia University (Loyola Campus)
  2. Concordia University (S.G.W. Campus)
  3. La Salle College
  4. McGill University
  5. Other, please, specify \_\_\_\_\_
33. Please, specify which subjects you like at the university:
1. Social Sciences
  2. Humanities
  3. Sciences
  4. Engineering
  5. Education
  6. Computer Science
  7. Commerce
  8. Don't know
34. What subjects have you liked least at the university ?
1. Social Sciences
  2. Humanities
  3. Sciences
  4. Engineering
  5. Education
  6. Computer Science
  7. Commerce
  8. Don't know

35. Generally, how do you feel about going to university here ?  
1. Like it a lot  
2. Like it a fair amount  
3. Don't care much
36. What is it that you like about it ? Please, specify:  
1. Extra-curricular activities  
2. Curriculum  
3. Discipline and teachers  
4. Independence
37. What is it that you do not like about it ?  
1. Course-load  
2. Discipline  
3. Teachers  
4. Impersonality  
5. Answers 1 & 2 combined  
6. Answers 3 & 4 combined  
7. Discrimination
38. Do the wishes and desires of anyone else play an important part in your planning ?  
1. Yes  
2. No
39. If 'Yes' to Question 38, whose ? \_\_\_\_\_ (specify)
40. Was there any break between your graduation from high school and your coming to Canada ?  
1. Yes  
2. No
41. If 'Yes', for how long ? \_\_\_\_\_ years
42. How long have you been in Canada ?  
\_\_\_\_\_ years and \_\_\_\_\_ months
43. How old were you when you first arrived ?  
Between \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ years
44. What were the circumstances of your decision ? i.e. why did you want to come to Canada ?  
\_\_\_\_\_

45. Who influenced your decision ?  
\_\_\_\_\_

46. Are you on scholarship ?

1. Yes
2. No

47. For what reasons did you choose to come abroad ?

- |  |        |       |
|--|--------|-------|
| 1. Seized opportunity of scholarship award | a. Yes | b. No |
| 2. Fed up with home culture                | a. Yes | b. No |
| 3. Parents' wish                           | a. Yes | b. No |
| 4. Decided on your own                     | a. Yes | b. No |
| 5. Other reasons                           | _____  |       |

### PART III

#### OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY

48. Did you have a job before coming to Canada ?

1. Yes
2. No

49. If 'Yes', what type of work was it ? And for how long did you work ?

Type \_\_\_\_\_ years

50. Were the majority of your colleagues male or female ?

1. Mostly male
2. Mostly female

51. What is the sex of your immediate supervisor ?

1. Male
2. Female

PART IV

NOW LET ME ASK YOU QUESTIONS RELATING TO YOUR FAMILY IN  
IN NIGERIA - SOCIALIZATION PATTERN BEFORE COMING TO CANADA.

52. What type of family are you from ?
1. Lower class
  2. Lower-middle class
  3. Middle class
  4. Upper-middle class
53. With whom were you living before coming to Canada ?
- |                       |                                  |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Parents            | 2. Father                        |
| 3. Mother             | 4. Sister                        |
| 5. Family             | 6. Uncle                         |
| 7. Aunt               | 7. Spouse's parents              |
| 9. Spouse's relatives | 10. Extended family<br>(commune) |
54. Are both of parents alive ?
1. Both living
  2. Mother only living
  3. Father only living
  4. Both deceased
55. Were both of your parents alive when you were in elementary school ?
1. Yes
  2. No
56. Were both of your parents alive when you were in high school ?
1. Yes
  2. No
57. Your parents are:
1. Still together
  2. Separated
  3. Divorced
  4. Dead
58. Does your father have more than one wife ?

1. Yes
2. No

59. If 'Yes', how many ? Please, specify \_\_\_\_\_

60. Is your father literate ?
1. Yes
  2. No

61. If 'Yes', what is his level of education ?
1. Elementary
  2. Secondary
  3. University

62. What sort of job does your father do ?
1. Farming
  2. Teaching
  3. Public office
  4. Other, (please, specify) \_\_\_\_\_

63. Is your mother literate ?
1. Yes
  2. No

64. If 'Yes', what is her level of education ?
1. Elementary
  2. Secondary
  3. University

65. What type of job does your mother do ?
1. Farming
  2. Teaching
  3. Business
  4. Public office
  5. Petty trade
  6. Housewife
  7. Other, (please, specify) \_\_\_\_\_

66. If you were living in Nigeria with both of your parents, here is a list of ways of making decisions, by and large. How were decisions made in your family ?
1. Father made all decisions
  2. Mother made all decisions
  3. Both father and mother made all decisions



67. As far as you know, does your father have a greater influence on your mother than she has on him ?  
1. Yes  
2. No
68. As far as you know, when there is a misunderstanding between your parents, inspite of who is at fault, who apologizes first to the other ?  
1. Mother to father  
2. Father to mother  
3. I don't know
69. While in high school, how much influence did you have in family-decisions affecting yourself ?  
1. Much influence  
2. Some influence  
3. None at all
70. If a decision were made that you did not agree with, did you feel free to complain ?  
1. Free to complain  
2. Uneasy to complain  
3. Better not complain
71. When you did complain, did it help ?  
1. A lot  
2. A little  
3. Not at all
72. How were decisions on the punishment of children for misbehavior made ?  
1. Made by father  
2. Made by mother  
3. Made by both
73. Which of your parents do you like better ?  
1. Mother  
2. Father  
3. Don't know
74. Give a reason for your answer to Question 73:
- 
75. Did your family have quite a lot of say about your friends and places you went ? Or were you left on

your own ?

1. A lot of say
2. Pretty left on own
3. About average

76. Did you feel they had too much say, too little say, or just about the right say ?

1. Too much
2. Too little
3. About right

77. While in Nigeria, did you ever fail a test or an examination ?

1. Yes
2. No

78. If your answer to Question 76 is 'Yes', what was your parents' reaction ?

1. Cold
2. Warm
3. Calm
4. Cool

79. Whom do you get afraid of most ?

1. Father
2. Mother
3. Other, (please, specify) \_\_\_\_\_

80. Whom are you closer to ?

1. Mother
2. Father

81. How many brothers and/or sisters are there in your family ?

_____	older brothers
_____	older sisters
_____	younger brothers
_____	younger sisters

82. How many brothers do you have who have attended high school ? Please, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

83. How many of your brothers have attended university ? Please, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

84. How many of your sisters have attended high school ?  
Please, specify: \_\_\_\_\_
85. How many of your sisters have attended university ?  
Please, specify: \_\_\_\_\_
86. When you have a serious personal problem, something which requires the help of someone else, whom do you usually talk it over with (in Nigeria) ?  
Please, specify: \_\_\_\_\_
87. What group of people in Nigeria would you say comes closest to having the same ideas as you have with regard to politics, economics, religion and national affairs ? Please, specify: \_\_\_\_\_
88. Compared to others in Nigeria, of your own age-group, would you say you: (please, choose the most appropriate answer)
1. depend on other people very little
  2. are independent
  3. depend very much on other people ?

#### PART V

#### FORMAL ORGANIZATION PARTICIPATION AND POLITICAL ORIENTATION

89. While in Nigeria, were you ever a member of any club or association ?
1. Yes
  2. No.
90. If 'Yes' in Question 89, is it a:
1. Social/Disciplinary
  2. Social/Political
  3. Both of the above
  4. None of the above

91. If 'No' in Question 89, why ? Please, give reason(s):  
\_\_\_\_\_
92. In Montreal, have you joined any association ?  
1. Yes  
2. No
93. Where did you pay attention to current affairs more ?  
1. Nigeria  
2. Canada
94. Through what medium do you get your information ?  
1. Radio  
2. Newspaper  
3. T.V.  
4. All of the above
95. What political organization do you favor ?  
1. Communist/Socialist  
2. Liberal  
3. Conservative
96. What is your party's view on the role of women ?  
1. Equal rights  
2. Male supremacy  
3. Equality, but male dominance
97. Do you share your party's view on the role of women ?  
1. Yes  
2. No

## PART VI

### GENERAL VIEWS ON WOMEN

(Questions 98 - 107 should be answered by male respondents only. Female respondents should move on to Question 108).

98. How many wives do you have ? Please, specify:  
\_\_\_\_\_

99. Which of them is here in Canada with you ? Please, specify: \_\_\_\_\_
100. If at present you have only one wife, do you intend to marry more ?  
1. Yes  
2. No
101. If 'Yes', how amny more do you intend to marry ? Please, specify: \_\_\_\_\_
102. Which of the following would you consider the best occupation for your wife ?  
1. Housewife  
2. Teaching  
3. Secretaryship  
4. Engineering  
5. Medicine  
6. Business  
7. Other (please, specify) \_\_\_\_\_
103. Would you allow your wife to travel out of town on official duty ?  
1. Yes  
2. No
104. If your answer to Question 103 is 'Yes', for how long can you allow her ? Please, specify: \_\_\_\_\_
105. If 'No', please, give reason(s) why :  
\_\_\_\_\_
106. Would you allow your wife to work overtime if her work demands it ?  
1. Yes  
2. No
107. If 'No', why ?  
\_\_\_\_\_
108. Would you allow your husband to have more wives ?  
1. Yes  
2. No

109. If 'Yes', how many more would you want him to have ?  
\_\_\_\_\_ (Please, specify).

110. Which savings account would you prefer ?

1. Individual account
2. Joint account with spouse

111. What is the reason for your choice of answer in Question 110 ?  
\_\_\_\_\_

112. Do you feel you could live here in Montreal alone, without your spouse ?

1. Yes
2. No

113. Assuming your spouse were to return to Nigeria in a few months and you had just been given admission to a university in Montreal, what would you do ?

1. Go back to Nigeria with spouse
2. Stay behind to finish studies

114. If you had a son and a daughter, and could send only one of them beyond the secondary school level, which of them would you send ?

1. Boy
2. Girl

115. If you had two sons and two daughters and could send only two of them beyond the secondary school level, who would you choose ?

1. The two boys
2. The two girls
3. One boy and one girl

116. What is the reason for your choice of answer to Question 115 ?

1. Boys make family-name famous
2. Girls drop family-name when they get married
3. Girls make family-name famous
4. Other (Please, specify) \_\_\_\_\_

117. Do you think women should compete with men in

highly competitive jobs, like Medicine, Engineering and Law ?

1. Yes
2. No

119. What is the reason for your answer to Question 117 ?

1. Men are superior
2. Women are superior
3. Women are more suited to positions of responsibility
4. Men are more suited to positions of responsibility
5. Other (Please, specify) \_\_\_\_\_

120. What is the reason for your response to Question 119 ? \_\_\_\_\_

121. What level of education do you think a girl should have ?

1. Elementary
2. Secondary
3. University degree (Bachelor's)
4. Graduate Studies (M.A./Ph.D)

122. Do you feel women should attain higher education than their husbands ?

1. Yes
2. No

123. What is the reason for your answer to Question 122 ?

1. Girls do not need too much education
2. Boys do not need too much education
3. Other (Please, specify) \_\_\_\_\_

124. If you had a choice, would you prefer to have a male or a female child ?

1. Male
2. Female

125. What level of education would you like your sons/grandsons to attain ?

1. Elementary
2. Secondary
3. University
4. Graduate Studies

126. What level of education would you like your

daughters/grand-daughters to attain ?

1. Elementary
2. Secondary
3. University
4. Graduate Studies

127. Do you think men are more useful than women ?

1. Yes
2. No

128. Whose major responsibility is it to take care of the home ?

1. Woman's
2. Man's
3. Other (Please, specify) \_\_\_\_\_

129. Do you strongly feel a woman's place is in the kitchen ?

1. Yes
2. No

130. Who do you think should always make major decisions in a family ?

1. Wife
2. Husband
3. Both husband and wife

131. Do you feel highly-educated women are always arrogant ?

1. Yes
2. No

132. What is the reason for your choice of answer to Question 131 ?

1. They always want to 'show off'
2. They know their rights and want them to be recognized
3. Other (Please, specify) \_\_\_\_\_

133. Are you planning to return to Nigeria ?

1. Yes
2. No

134. When you return there, do you expect to notice any differences between your opinions (about women) and those of your friends and relatives at home ?



1. Yes
  2. No
135. If you compare yourself to most people of your age-group in Nigeria, how many share your views about women ?
1. More than 75%
  2. Less than 25%
  3. About 50%
136. Do you feel the cultural role of women restricts them to the home ?
1. Yes
  2. No
137. Would you expect your sons/grandsons to have the same views as you have about women ?
1. Yes
  2. No
138. Would you expect your daughters/grand-daughters to have the same views as you have about women ?
1. Yes
  2. No
139. Does religion put women in secondary role in society ?
1. Yes
  2. No
140. If your answer to Question 139 is 'Yes', how ?
1. Choice of ministers
  2. Choice of leaders (e.g. committee, etc.)
  3. Other, (Please, specify) \_\_\_\_\_
141. To what extent has the status of women changed in Nigeria ?
1. Marginally changed
  2. A great extent
  3. None at all
142. Do you believe in the Women's Liberation Movement ?
1. Yes
  2. No
143. What is the reason for your choice of answer to

Question 142 ?

---

144. How can you link your thinking on women to the development of Nigeria ?
1. Given the chance, women can contribute a great deal
  2. Women can contribute only marginally
  3. Women cannot contribute at all
145. Briefly state your general views on the role of women in society:
- 
-

APPENDIX II  
SECONDARY QUESTIONNAIRE.

1. Name of your school: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Year in school:
  - a. First year
  - b. Second year
  - c. Third year
  - d. Fourth year
3. Age \_\_\_\_\_
4. Religion:
  - a. Christianity
  - b. Islam
  - c. Other
5. Your father's level of education:
  - a. Primary school level
  - b. Secondary school level
  - c. Above secondary school level
  - d. University education
  - e. None of the above

And your mother's level of education is:

  - a. Primary school level
  - b. Secondary school level
  - c. Above secondary school level
  - d. University education
  - e. None of the above
7. Both parents' annual income:
  - a. Below 2,500 Naira
  - b. 2,500 - 5,000 Naira
  - c. Above 5,000 Naira
8. What do you hope to do after the completion of your course in this school ?
  - a. Further your education
  - b. Take up employment
  - c. Learn a trade
  - d. Marry

APPENDIX III

PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN KADUNA STATE : ENROLLMENT  
FIGURES.

YEARS	CLASS 1		CLASS 2		CLASS 3		CLASS 4	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1973/74	24,776	13,403	18,704	10,203	19,203	9,661	18,283	8,478
1974/75	26,234	15,459	23,859	12,257	17,186	9,764	18,394	8,987
1975/76	32,636	19,185	27,260	15,963	26,214	14,386	18,861	10,096
1976/77	179,920	101,204	31,507	17,723	26,280	14,782	17,606	9,903
1977/78	121,988	68,248	160,432	82,589	37,151	22,117	30,113	17,634
TOTAL FOR YEARS	1	2	3	4				
1973/74	38,179	28,907	28,864	26,761				
1974/75	41,693	36,116	26,950	27,381				
1975/76	51,821	43,223	40,600	28,957				
1976/77	281,124	49,230	41,062	27,509				
1977/78	190,236	243,021	59,268	47,747				

YEARS	CLASS 5		CLASS 6		GRAND TOTAL CLASS 1 - 6		No. OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS
	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1973/74	13,795	6,021	10,868	4,536	105,629	52,302	157,931 650
1974/75	16,450	7,533	12,497	5,160	114,620	59,160	173,780 710
1975/76	19,138	8,948	17,907	7,608	142,016	76,186	218,202 831
1976/77	17,076	9,606	15,513	8,726	287,902	161,944	449,846 2,609
1977/78	27,664	14,521	20,305	10,329	397,653	215,433	613,091 2,828

TOTAL FOR YEARS 5 6

1973/74	19,816	15,404
1974/75	23,983	17,657
1975/76	28,086	25,515
1976/77	26,682	24,239
1977/78	42,185	30,634