

**HARMFUL SOCIO-CULTURAL PRACTICES AFFECTING
THE GIRL-CHILD AMONG THE KAMBARI OF
NIGER STATE, NIGERIA**

BY

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Certification

I certify that this study was carried out under my supervision by Diamond Preye Ogidi for the award of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (Demography and Population Studies) in the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the Kambari Girl-Child whose future could be enhanced by all relevant stakeholders: researchers, government, the third sector as well as her parents who are her first mentors.

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ABSTRACT

Socio-cultural practices which have severe consequences on the overall well-being of the girl-child have drawn attention worldwide. Despite extensive empirical evidence, there is a dearth of studies in Nigeria on the situation of the girl-child among the Kambari of Niger State. This study, therefore, examined the harmful socio-cultural practices affecting the Kambari girl-child.

Max Weber's social action, patriarchy, and sex role theories provided the theoretical framework. A triangulation approach was adopted in data collection. A household survey was conducted among 1598 respondents. Each was a pair of adult males (385) and their sons (385) as well as adult females (414) and their daughters (414). A four-stage sampling technique was used to select respondents from 63 Enumeration Areas in the six Kambari-dominated Local Government Areas (LGAs) of Niger State: Agwara, Borgu, Magama, Mariga, Mashegu and Rijau LGAs. Two sets of structured questionnaires were used to collect information on socio-demographic characteristics, cultural construction of girlhood, familial roles and household practices from adults, boy and girl-children. Fifteen Focus Group Discussions on gender socialisation, gender relations, household practices, and socio-cultural factors were conducted with male and female adults, boy and girl-children in the LGAs. Fourteen In-depth Interviews were conducted with religious clerics, traditional rulers, male and female community leaders. Twelve case studies of girl-children were also conducted. Quantitative data were analysed using descriptive statistics and logistic regression at $p \leq 0.05$. The qualitative data were content analysed.

Adult respondents' age was 40.3 ± 10.0 years, 98.1% were married, and 81.7% were farmers. The mean age for girl-children was 13 years. Most of the respondents were rural dwellers (82.0%). Most of the respondents (97.1%) opined that the status of the girl-child was very low relative to the boy-child. About 99% affirmed that girl-children were disadvantaged with regard to opportunities and privileges. The girl-child faced household discriminatory practices in domestic work assignment (79.0%), education (78.4%) and restrictive food taboos (32.2%). Traditional leaders and *significant others* approved such practices. About 67% of girl-children perceived these practices as acceptable to the Kambari. Adult respondents' gender (Odds Ratio (OR):5.426), education (OR: 4.156), religious affiliation (OR: 3.888), place of residence (OR: 1.723), ideational variables such as pattern of decision-making (OR: 5.707), childhood experiences (OR: 4.396), non-valuation of women's role in decision-making (OR: 1.535), and conception of gender roles (OR: 1.317) were significant predictors of the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices against the girl-child. Conception of gender roles, gender socialisations, son preferences, cultural construction of girlhood, and valuation of the girl-child, decision-making, gender stereotyping engender discriminatory practices against girl-children. Child betrothal, early marriage, burden of domestic work, child labour, preference for boy-education disempowered girls, while food taboos deprived them of nutritional well-being and good quality of life.

These harmful socio-cultural practices which tend to be discriminatory in nature against the girl-child were deeply rooted in Kambari tradition and have persisted. Serious attention should be given to community mobilisation and sensitisation to address harmful socio-cultural practices which tend to disempower the girl-child among the Kambari.

Keywords: Girl-child, Gender roles, Harmful socio-cultural practices, Patriarchy, Kambari culture

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Background of the Study

The plight of the girl-child has gained the attention of the global community since the 1990s. She has claimed a place of prominence on the human development agenda as a result of her social conditions and well-being. The plight of the girl-child remained invisible for quite a long time in most developing countries. It was the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995 that identified the girl-child as the 12th critical area of concern. A more recent report on the appraisal of the Beijing Platform for Action, BPFA 15⁺ (1995-2009) on Africa noted that despite significant progress on integrating the Rights of the Child into domestic law through legislative and constitutional reforms in most African countries harmful socio-cultural practices and , discriminatory practices in particular still persisted against the girl-child (UN, 1996; UN, 1997; Ogidi, 1997; Aderinto, 1999; UNECA, 2010; FEMNET, 2010). It has been quite disheartening that 17 years after the plight of the girl-child was identified as a critical area of concern at an International arena she is still confronted with problems and challenges which have not been adequately addressed by most countries.

Diverse forms of harmful socio-cultural practices have been extensively documented in Asia relative to other parts of the world, particularly in Africa and the Middle-East (Punalekar, 1995; Kurz and Johnson -Welch, 1997; Lundberg, 2005; Kishore, 2005; Thind, Mahal and Seema, 2008; Das Gupta *et al.*, 2009; Sekher and Hatti, 2010).Scholars have extensively focussed on discriminatory practices against the girl-child,which is, seen as the worst form of harmful socio-cultural practices that have persisted over time against the girl-child. It has been established that the strong preference for the boy-child, which is manifested in household allocation of resources and medical care, adversely affect the nutrition, morbidity, mortality and educational aspiration of the girl-child (Attané and Guilmoto, 2007; Shuzhuo *et al.*, 2007; Plan, 2007; Asfaw, Klasen and Lamanna, 2007; Guilmoto and Attané, 2007; Chitrakar, 2009).

Most importantly, quite a number of studies suggest that discriminatory practices still persist against the girl-child as a result of deep-rooted socio-cultural beliefs, social norms, values and practices (Jutting and Morrison, 2005a; 2005b; Lundberg, 2005; Sultana, 2010; UNECA, 2010; FEMNET, 2010).This underscores the need to explore the

context that engenders deep-rooted harmful socio-cultural practices with specific focus on discriminatory practices against the girl-child. Moreover, due to variations in culture, the socio-cultural practices and contexts under which these practices persist vary from region to region.

It is against this backdrop, that the current study examines harmful socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child among the Kambari of Niger State, Nigeria. The girl-child is known by various names among the major language clusters of the Kambari. Among the **Tsishingini** (sometimes called **Ashingini**) found around Salka area, she is called ‘usheli’. On the other hand, for the **Tsikimba** (also known as **Akimba**), the Kambari sub-group found in Auna-Wara area, the girl-child is called “makere”, also, among the **Cishingini**, that is, the Kambari from Agwara, the girl-child is also known as “makere”. Furthermore, among the **Tsigadi** (also called **Agadi**), the Kambari from Ibeto area and also among the **Avadi**, the girl-child is called “usheli” (Stark, 2000; Stark, 2000). There is a consensus among the language clusters that the girl-child irrespective of her name is a female child.

1.2 Statement of Problem

There is a growing awareness and global concern that harmful socio-cultural practices act as the root causes for discrimination and even violence against the girl-child (Ras-Work, 2006; UNECA, 2010; FEMNET, 2010). Some of these practices include son preference, early and forced marriages, child betrothal, child labour, female genital mutilation, circumcision, child sexual abuse, honor killing and discriminatory practices (Ras-Work, 2006; UNICEF, 2014). Series of groundbreaking legal frameworks at the international, regional and national levels have encouraged governments to eliminate these practices. These include the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), the Beijing Platform of Action (BPFA), the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC), the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights (ACHPR) and Nigerian Child’s Right Act (CRA) among others have introduced gender quality and prohibition of harmful socio-cultural practices as critical parts of the development agenda at various levels of governance. Thus, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGS) and the Post 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) cannot be realized without addressing the harmful socio-cultural practices that militates against the

empowerment of the girl-child who is seen as tomorrow's woman (UNICEF, 1989; 2014; UNHCR, 1997; ECA, 2001).

Furthermore, the global, regional and national concern to focus on the peculiar conditions of the girl-child has become more pressing than ever before because of widespread poverty, changes in the social fabric and relationships in the family, social conflicts which have direct impact on the girl-child. In addition, governments, development partners have become increasingly aware that the status of women cannot experience rapid transformation if the inequalities, discrimination, marginalization and these practices the girl-child is subjected to are not addressed (ECA, 2001; UNECA, 2010; FEMNET, 2010). Besides, the focus on the harmfulness of these socio-cultural practices was on the basis of the denial of the human rights of the girl-child to gender equality, active participation in national development and the negative consequences of harmful socio-cultural practices on her overall well-being. These harmful socio-cultural practices are referred to in the UNCRC (Article 24(3)), CEDAW (Articles 2,5 and African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (Article 16). The African Union theme for 2013 which was "Eliminating harmful social and cultural practices affecting children: our collective responsibility" underscores the significance of this study (UNECA, 2010, UNICEF, 2014).

This study is significant for Nigeria's national development in view of the fact it seeks to highlight deep-rooted harmful socio-cultural practices that are inimical to the health and well-being of the girl-child. Also, addressing these harmful practices is the gateway to removing all barriers that impede on the empowerment of the girl-child that would ensure her active participation and contribution to national development. It has been established that the girl-child from birth and at all stages in her life is placed at a disadvantage by harmful socio-cultural practices that affect her economic, social, health, cultural and emotional status. In fact, at the fifth African Regional Conference on Women held in Dakar as far back as 1999 believed that special attention should be given to the girl-child "to enable her to grow-up while benefiting from health, self-confidence and education necessary for her to occupy with dignity and on an equal footing with men, the place which is hers in society" (ECA, 2001:1).

This study focused on harmful socio-cultural practices affecting the Kambari girl child by examining discriminatory practices against the girl-child, its nature and the socio-cultural practices that tend to engender these practices among the Kambari society.

Arguably, the negative outcomes of discriminatory practices have remained invisible because most often, the tendency has been to subsume the girl-child under the category of “women”. Thus, the invisibility of the girl-child is often the result of an overstatement on and the homogenising of “woman” as a category (Punelakar, 1995; Reddy, 2009). Currently, the girl-child has been a focus of anthropological and sociological inquiry. There has been a growing scholarship on the girl-child in Asia and as such, many rather view the problems confronting girl-child more as an Asian rather than an African phenomenon (Janseen 2006; Koohi-Kamali, 2008). In Africa, and Nigeria in particular, there has been paucity of literature especially on discriminatory practices. Also, there are relatively few studies on socio-cultural practices that engender discriminatory practices against the girl-child in Nigeria. Additionally, how girlhood is socially constructed in diverse cultural contexts has significant impact on the valuation of the status of the girl child and the roles assigned to her at the household level vis-à-vis the boy-child. A dearth of research also exists in this regard; and this study fills the existing gap by exploring the socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child among the Kambari of Niger State, Nigeria (Aina and Abdullahi, 1995; Moselestane, Mitchell, Smith and Chisholom, 2008).

Furthermore, gender marginalization has now become an accepted theoretical concern in the social sciences. More recently, gender has become one of the most important determinants of household differentials in welfare. Consequently, there has been a new focus on household members as separate individuals in view of the fact that different members face different opportunities and constraints depending on their status. Interestingly, such a focus would provide insights on high risk groups among members of the household (Basu, 1989; Punalekar, 1995). Hence, there has been an increasing recognition that boys and girls are treated differently throughout their lives, and most often gender differences have been associated with cultural perceptions of appropriate male and female responsibilities (UNICEF, 1991; 1993; Plan, 2007).

Likewise, Anyanwu (1995) asserted that the patterns of parental care accorded children are largely influenced by socio-cultural practices and the attitude of the society. Based on

the foregoing, studies have confirmed that the girl-child is more vulnerable and more likely to face discriminatory practices in education, domestic work assignment, food allocation and in health related issues (Aderinto, 1999; Rufai and Ogidi, 2006; Plan, 2007). These practices affect the well-being of the girl-child and limit the capacities and empowerment of the girl-child. As a result of this Dube, (1988) cited in Sharma (1995) suggested that an in-depth study of the following processes: family structure, composition of family unit, configuration of role relationships, allocation of family resources are significant in explaining gender differences. In addition, gender-based and age division of work and the conception of future adult roles of males and females could also provide useful insights for gender differences which are culturally produced.

A number of studies (Das Gupta, 1987; Cowan 1990; Adige, 1991; Devendra, 1995; Borooah, 2004; Kishore, 2005; Pande and Malhotra, 2006; Li *et al.*, 2007; Arokiasamy, 2007; Shuzhuo *et al.*, 2007; Sekher and Hatti, 2007) indicated that there are complexities of types and levels of situation confronting the girl-child. Hence, it has been observed that an entire investigation of the social fabric of any given community is significant in order to ascertain the material and non-material tendencies constituting the present profile of the girl-child (Punalekar, 1995). This necessitates a broad understanding of the social, cultural and economic processes governing the profile of the girl-child. Based on the foregoing, Kapur (1995:15) suggests that dealing with the problems confronting the girl-child would require “a multipronged, multidisciplinary, multiphase, multi-dimensional and holistic approach”. The present study keys into these observations given the dearth of empirical evidence on the girl-child situation in Nigeria and very limited studies which provide socio-cultural insights on practices affecting the girl-child.

Hence, this study adopted a holistic approach in order to explore the harmful socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child among the Kambari of Niger State in North-Central Nigeria. Firstly, the socio-cultural practices refer to the complex whole of institutional, religious, economic, ideational and social factors that influence discriminatory practices against the girl-child. Secondly, harmful socio-cultural practices refers to norms, values and practices imbedded in the culture that are regarded as having adverse effect on all spheres of life of the girl-child that limit her full potentials for development and active participation in family, community and national life. Indeed, it is a holistic way of focusing on a multi-causal investigation of behaviour of parents at the household level and the significant others towards the girl-child in a cultural-specific

context, with specific reference to the cultural norms, values and practices of the Kambari.

1.3 Research Questions

The following research questions were raised in order to provide a sense of direction to the study:

1. What is the cultural construction of girlhood among the Kambari?
2. What are the harmful socio-cultural practices that engender discriminatory behaviour pattern towards the girl-child?
3. What is the nature of discriminatory practices that affects the well-being of the girl-child among the Kambari?
4. What are the attitude of significant others towards discriminatory practices?
5. What are the perception of the girl-child herself towards discriminatory practices?
6. What are the combined effects of individual and ideational factors on the unlikelihood to exhibit discriminatory practices towards the girl-child?

1.4 Aims and Objectives

The overall objective of the study is to ascertain the harmful socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child among the Kambari of Niger State, Nigeria. However, the specific objectives were to:

1. Describe the cultural construction of girlhood among the Kambari;
2. Examine the harmful socio-cultural practices that engender discriminatory practices against the girl-child ;
3. Investigate the nature of discriminatory practices among the Kambari;
4. Highlight the attitude of the significant others towards discriminatory practices;
5. Explore the perception of the girl-child towards discriminatory practices;
6. Determine the combined effects of individual and ideational factors on the likelihood of exhibiting or not exhibiting discriminatory practices towards the girl-child.

1.5 Significance of the Study

According to John (1995), the Convention on the Rights of the Child has brought to the fore the concerns of children in the development agenda of most nations. Despite this renewed interest and commitment to address the welfare of children irrespective of their gender, discriminatory practices still persists against the girl-child. Also, 17 years after

the girl-child was identified as the 12th critical area of concern in the Beijing Platform of Action (BPFA) discriminatory practices have been associated with deep-rooted socio-cultural practices (UN, 1997; UNCEA, 2010; FEMNET, 2010; FRN, 2010). Consequently, exploring the harmful socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child provides insights on why discrimination still persists against the girl-child with a view to addressing the challenges that confront her.

In addition, the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in 1994 in Cairo led to a paradigm shift in thinking on particularly how population and development issues should be approached. It advocated the need to explore the broader social and cultural contexts on issues in order to have a broadened perspective and also bring to fore the rationale for individual behaviour as socially constructed (Pradhan, 2001). Investigating the harmful socio-cultural practices associated with discriminatory practices would lead to evolving strategies that would change attitudes and practices towards her well-being, which in the long run would ensure that parity is achieved with the boy-child in every sphere of life.

It is becoming obvious that, Nigeria cannot achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), particularly with specific reference to Goal 2 which involves achieving universal primary education and ensuring gender parity in primary education by 2015. Related to this, Goal 3 is associated with promoting gender equality and empowering women. It is important to note that today's girl-child is tomorrow's woman. According to recent MDG report on Nigeria, gender gaps still persist in enrolment and completion rates at the primary and secondary school levels. In addition, at the tertiary level, the enrolments of boys are higher than that of girls (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2010). Furthermore, Nigeria ranks 118 of 134 countries in the Gender Equality Index (GEI) and girls in the North have the worst human development outcomes. Only 4 percent of girls in the North complete secondary school (British Council, 2012). Studies (Ogidi 1997; Aderinto, 1999; Rufai and Ogidi, 2006) have shown that the girl-child still faces discrimination with regard to access to education. Parents would prefer to educate boys rather than girls. Thus, there is the need to examine the socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child to ensure that Nigeria achieves gender parity in the near future.

Furthermore, the focus on the girl-child is a more recent development in sociological and demographic studies, particularly in Africa. She had remained invisible in most

sociological studies. Often, her concerns have been subsumed either on the sub-group of children or women in empirical databases, and as such have limited usefulness in providing useful comprehensive data on the girl-child. This study attempts to bridge a major lacuna in demographic studies on discriminatory practices against the girl-child in Africa and Nigeria in particular (Punalekar, 1995; Janseen, 2006; Reddy, 2009). Also, apart from early ethnographic studies on them (Meek, 1931; Temple, 1965), the Kambari, despite their unique culture, is among the ethnic groups in Nigeria on which extensive research work has not been conducted. Therefore, this study is of sociological significance in view of the fact that it provides new insights on their cultural practices and the impact of social change, on some aspects of their way of life.

In addition, a more nuanced understanding of these practices has been provided by investigating girl-children with regard to their perceptions and their attitudes which previous studies had rendered voiceless by their non-inclusion (James and Prout, 1997; Reddy, 2009). The inclusion of boy-children and adult men in the study population provides insights on how they can actively participate in breaking down socio-cultural barriers that tended to engender discriminatory practices against the girl-child. Furthermore, the methodological approach of pairing a boy-child to his father and a girl-child to her mother provided insights on the dynamics of change, as well as an opportunity for inter-generational comparisons of their attitudes towards discriminatory practices.

Finally, real development in any nation must be initiated with the improvement of the social conditions of the girl-child. Kapur (1995) posited that what has not been adequately realised is that woman's development acts and interacts with the development of the girl-child. Since today's woman and tomorrow's mother is yesterday's girl-child, the overall development of the girl-child would greatly impact upon her status and that of tomorrow's woman and mother. Similarly, the lack of empowerment of the girl-child due to the constraints of discriminatory practices would negatively impact on her future aspirations, reproductive and fertility outcomes, which in turn, would affect her overall development and that of her community as well. The study has provided insights on how to correct gender discrimination in the mother-child life-cycle, beginning with the girl-child.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The research focused on the harmful socio-cultural practices that engender discriminatory practices with specific reference to the study population and the geographical area of study. Also, in order to provide further understanding of discriminatory practices against the girl-child, the study explored the cultural construction of girlhood and how the valuation of her roles is related to her ascribed low status.

By design, the study comprises pairs of fathers/boy children and mothers/girl-children from varied language-dialects, ages, religious affiliations, educational backgrounds and occupations for the social survey with the view to establishing the effects of socio-demographic characteristics of individual actors on the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices against the girl-child. The spatial scope of the study was limited to the Kambari located in Niger State which is situated in North-Central Nigeria.

1.7 Definition of Concepts

The following concepts have been defined within the context of the study.

1.7.1 The Girl-Child

Simply stated, she is seen both as a female and a child. Generally, the “girl” is seen as a self-explanatory component; however the “child” component has variations and delimitations under international, regional and national laws. With regard to international law, the concept of the “girl-child” comes under Article I of the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child, where a “child” is defined as “a child means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier” (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2003). At the regional level, the 1990 African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child under Article 2, sets a rather higher standard than the United Nations Child Convention by not allowing exceptions; rather “a child means every human being below the age of 18 years” (Centre for Human Rights and UPEACE, 2005). Furthermore, at the national level, the Child Rights Acts of 2003, in Article 21 stated that “a child is a person under the age of 18 years” (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2003).

1.7.2 Household

The household is made up of individuals who share a kin relationship with each other (Evans, 1991). According to Bolt and Bird (2003:10) the United Nations supports a more pragmatic definition which says “a household as a group of people who live and eat together”. On the other hand, Bolt and Bird (2003:10) defines it also as where members share a common source of major income and they sleep under the same roof or the same compound. Many decisions that affect the well-being of various individuals, the girl-child inclusive are made within the household.

1.7.3 Discriminatory Practices

It refers to the denial of equity to the girl-child in the distribution of resources, assignment of domestic work, access to education and family allocation of food at the household levels vis-a-vis the boy-child. Data were collected on these aspects of the girl-child's life among the Kambari.

1.7.4 Socio-Cultural Practices

Interrogating the socio-cultural practices associated with a particular issue or phenomenon refers to seeking for answers in the prevailing social, cultural, religious values and belief systems that formed the basis of the socially sanctioned realities of the girl-child and the boy-child or men and women in different communities. It refers to the man-made factors which are acquired as members of a given society which usually affects the perception, awareness, motivation, attitude and behaviour of a people (Isiugo-Abanihe, 1994). Thus, the socio-cultural practices refers to the complex whole of old-aged norms and customs, religious beliefs, taboos, values, and other social factors that influence household discriminatory practices among the Kambari that made individuals behave in a set of ways towards the girl-child.

1.7.5 Harmful Socio-Cultural Practices

Harmful socio-cultural practices refers to those practices that have adverse negative effects on the overall well-being of the girl-child such as early or forced marriages, child-betrothal, dowry related crimes, female genital mutilation, son preference, discriminatory practices, food taboos, honour killing, selective abortion among others (Ras-Work, 2006; Grabman and Eckman, 2015).

1.7.6 Cultural Construction of Girlhood

Generally, the cultural construction of gender in any particular community or society involved definitions of what it meant to be masculine or feminine, and these definitions vary across cultures (Brettell and Sargent, 1997). Consequently, the cultural construction of girlhood relates to “what it meant to be a girl” It is an attempt to answer the most vital question “What does it mean to be a girl?” It is the social and cultural creation of the social structure of a community on what it means to be a girl-child. Understanding the construction of the gender identity of the girl-child is at three major dimensions: her role, valuation of her position vis-a-vis the boy-child and the expected behavioural traits expected of a girl-child.

1.7.7 The Status of the Girl-Child

It is the positioning of the girl-child in the social-order of the community. The status of the girl-child is usually lower than that of a boy-child in most cultures. The girl-child is seen as assuming the role of a “woman”, “wife” and “mother” later in life which is usually subordinate to that of the boy-child, who would later assume the role of a “man”, “husband” and more importantly the “head of a household”.

1.7.8 Gender Hierarchy

It is the relative status, power and privilege accorded to the male and female gender within the society. It is socially and culturally determined. Men and boys usually occupied a relatively higher position than women and girls in most patriarchal societies. Gender hierarchies are manifested in family relations, household allocation of resources, customs and traditions, the power to make decisions at the household, community and societal levels (Reeves and Badon, 2000). Furthermore, gender hierarchy is also apparent in the relative opportunities available to women and girls in respect to education, health and nutrition among others. Gender hierarchies are usually supported by gender ideologies, socio-cultural beliefs and practices of each respective society or community.

1.7.9 Household Power Dynamics

It refers to the differential access to power and control of resources at the household level. Within the household of most patriarchal society, men and boys as heads and potential heads of households are the major decision makers and have control over family resources. The sphere of influence for women and girls is usually confined to

domestic affairs. Other critical issues that affect the well-being of the household are usually taken by the head of the household. Consequently, household power dynamics influences the allocation of resources and opportunities to various members of the household at each given period.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter reviewed related literature by examining the historical background of action against the plight of the girl-child, the cultural construction of girlhood and socio-cultural practices associated with discrimination against the girl-child. It also highlighted the contributions, gaps, weaknesses and methodological issues identified in the studies reviewed. In addition, this chapter considered the theoretical and conceptual framework and also the hypotheses of the study.

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1.1 Historical Background of Action against the Plight of the Girl-Child

Generally, the plight of the girl-child gained currency in the 1980s when the United Nations Children Fund, (UNICEF) first adopted the phrase “the girl-child” (Jiwani and Berman, 2002). At the level of the United Nations, a number of seminal meetings such as the World Summit for Children, held in New York in 1990; the World Conference on Human Rights also held in Vienna in 1993; the International Conference on Population and Development, held in Cairo 1994; World Summit for Social Development held in Copenhagen, 1995; and the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in 1995 in Beijing, identified the girl-child as a “gendered concern”. This culminated in the proclamation of 1990 as “The Year of the Girl Child”, and the 1990s as “The Decade of the Girl-Child” (UNICEF, 1993; UN, 1996; Jiwani and Berman, 2002).

Empirical studies on discriminatory practices against the girl-child have been extensively documented in Asia, particularly in South and East Asia. However, studies in other regions of the world, especially Africa, the Middle-East among others have been fledging at best. Interestingly, it was the seminal work of Amartya Sen, an economist, on “More than 100 Million Women Are Missing” published in the *New York Times Review of Books* in 1990 that brought to limelight the masculinization of sex ratios in Asia which has been attributed to discriminatory practices towards the girl-child. Attané and Guilamoto (2007) posited that only a few demographers and feminist scholars took interest in the ongoing magnitude of female deficit in Asia in the 1990s and the consequent masculinization of sex ratios in Asia. In fact, currently, there has been an upsurge of empirical studies on different aspects of these practices in South and East Asia in particular.

2.1.2 Legal Frameworks on Harmful Socio-Cultural Practices Affecting the Girl-Child

There are series of ground breaking legal frameworks at the international, regional and national levels that have been instituted to combat harmful socio- cultural practices affecting the girl-child. These include the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (1948), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESR) (1966), Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (1979). Others are the 1986 African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child, the 1993 UN Declaration on Elimination of Violence against Women, Agreements reached, that is the Action Plan of the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), the 1995 Beijing Platform of Action (BPFA) (Gender and Development Network (GADN) 2013; Plan, 2012). In more recent times, the UN General Assembly resolutions 2002 on traditional customary practices affecting women and girls and also 2012 on eliminating female genital mutilation /cutting. At the regional level, the 2005 Protocol to the Charter on Human and Peoples 'Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa also known as the Maputo Protocol called upon all states to eliminate traditional practices that are harmful to women and girls (GADN, 2013; Raffery, 2013; UNICEF, 2014).

In view of the particular relevance and significance the Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC), Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Platform of Action (BPFA) are worth being singled out. With specific reference to the CRC, its four cardinal principles: non-discrimination, best interests of the child, the right to life, survival, development, and the respect for the views of the child sets the frame for protecting the girl-child from all forms of harmful socio-cultural practices that are discriminatory in nature and are as well rooted in gender inequality. For instance, Article 24(3) stipulates that "States Parties shall take all effective and appropriate measures with a view to abolishing traditional practices prejudicial to the health of children"(UNICEF, 1989: 8). Similarly, CEDAW calls for an end to all forms of gender-based discrimination against women and girls inclusive. Its underlying philosophy is that discrimination against women and girls violates the principles of equality of rights and the respect for human dignity. Article 2 (f) calls upon State Parties "to take appropriate measures including legislation to modify, abolish

existing laws, regulations customs and practices that constitute discrimination against women” (OHCHR, 1997:2)

Consequently, all forms of harmful socio- cultural practices affecting the girl- child are rather seen as “gender based discrimination against girls which infringes on their rights for equality and active participation in family, community and national life. Thus, adequate strategies and programmes should be undertaken to mobilize all relevant stakeholders such as men, boys, religious and traditional leaders in addressing the myriad of harmful socio- cultural practices affecting the girl- child

2.1.3 Specific Harmful Socio-Cultural Practices Affecting the Girl-Child

Discriminatory practices which, is one of the worst form of harmful socio-cultural practices have attracted the attention of social scientists such as economist, sociologists among others. Empirical evidence suggests that these practices are associated with uneven distribution of household allocation of resources and opportunities. This raises important methodological issues; firstly, that the household is no longer being seen as a unitary homogenous unit in social science research. Secondly, gender is now seen as one of the critical determinants in the allocation of household resources and opportunities (Basu, 1989).

A number of earlier and recent studies in Asia (Sohini, 1995; Srivastava and Nayak, 1995; Sudha and Rajan, 1999; Pandey *et al.*, 2002; Das Gupta, 2002; Khanna *et al.*, 2003 Plan 2007; Sekher and Hatti, 2010) inferred that strong parental preference for boy-children were manifested in gender differentials in household allocation of resources and medical care. Also, this in turn resulted in gender differentials in child outcomes such as nutrition, morbidity, mortality and in some extreme cases female infanticide (Borooah, 2004; Li *et al.*, 2004; Das Gupta, 2006; Shuzhuo *et al.*, 2007; Sekher and Hatti, 2007; Schlosser and Hu, 2010; Sultana, 2010).

However, there are relatively few studies conducted in Africa and Nigeria in particular, on reasons associated with discriminatory practices against the girl-child (Anyanwu, 1995; Aina and Abdullahi, 1995; Ogidi, 1997; Cheo *et al.*, 1998; Aderinto, 1999; Yount, 1999). In North Africa, there are mixed empirical results on these practices with specific reference to earlier studies. In Egypt discriminatory practices on feeding and care against the girl-child is weak, however differentials existed in the treatment of sick boy-children

and girl-children. Also, empirical evidence indicates that educational expenditures favoured boy-children (El-Kholy, 1997; Choe *et al.*, 1998; Yount, 1999).

With respect to Nigeria, earlier studies (Orubuloye 1987; Isiugo-Abanihe, 1994; 1996) have established preference for sons with respect to fertility preferences of couples. However, Uyanga (1980) cited in Orubuloye (1987), in an earlier study of rural wives and their husbands, revealed that parents spend more on feeding and schooling for their boy-children relative to girls. More studies in the 1990s on the plight of the girl-child (Ogidi, 1997; Aderinto, 1999) suggest that girl-children face discriminatory practices in domestic work assignment, school aspirations, and food allocation. This necessitates the need to further explore specifically, the socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child in Nigeria due to the dearth of empirical studies.

2.1.3.1 Access to Medical Care

Empirical evidence from South and East Asia suggested that there are gender differentials in health-seeking behaviour of parents that tend to favour boy-children and disfavour the girl-child. Pandey *et al.*, (2002) employed a follow up observation study to examine gender differentials in seeking health-care and in home management of diarrhoea, acute respiration infections and fever among 530 children, that is, 263 boy-children and 267 girl-children aged less than five years in a rural community of West Bengal, India. Surveillance was carried out weekly from June 1998 to May 1999. Of the 790 episodes detected, 380 occurred among boy-children and 410 among girl-children. Logistic regression results showed that boy-children are 4.8 (C 11.8 – 11.9) times more likely to be taken for early medical care and 2.6 (C 11.2-6.5) times more likely to be seen by qualified allopathic doctors compared to girl-children. Also, expenditure per treatment episode is higher for boy-children, and girl-children are less likely to get home fluids and Oral Rehydration Solutions (ORS) during diarrhoea.

In another study Asfaw, Klassen and Lamanna (2007) employed the 52nd Indian National Sample Survey (NSS) to explore gender disparities in children aged 1 day to nine years in getting medical attention before death in India. It is the first time detailed verbal autopsies of deceased persons, with a recall period of a year before the survey was employed. The study employed place of death as an important indicator of parental decision making concerning their health-seeking behaviour with respect to their children.

A total of 71,284 rural and 49,658 urban households were surveyed employing a two-stage stratified sampling procedure. A multi nominal logic model was used to examine the determinants of dying at different places such as home, during transport, in government hospitals, in private hospitals and other places. Three places of death as an outcome variable were created; death at home was the reference category and death in hospital and during transport as the base. Variables included in the model are sex and age of the deceased; others are eight household variables sex, age, age square, educational level of household head, number of live female sibling younger than 15 years, income, location and the social status of the household. In addition, other dummy variables were included in the regression to take account of unobserved district level factors that might affect the place of death of children. The result of the coefficients for age and sex of the household head are not statistically significant at ten percent level. Although, it took the expected negative sign confirming that children in older and female headed households are less likely to die in hospital or during transport than children in young and male headed households.

In contrast, income has the expected positive sign and is statistically significant in explaining the place of death. Although, earlier studies (Kurz and Johnson-Welch, 1997; Khanna *et al.*, 2003) found that neither increasing household income nor poverty were sufficient in explaining or reducing gender discrimination in India. In addition to earlier results, location and education level of the head of household were statistically significant in explaining the place of death of children. Children in Urban areas were more likely to die in a hospital or during transport than at home.

Also, children with educated household heads (primary and above) are 1.63 and 0.01 percent more likely to die in a hospital and during transport respectively than those with less than primary school household head when controlled for other variables. Interestingly, gender was statistically significant in all cases and it took the expected positive sign in the case of dying at home and negative sign in the case of dying in hospital and during transport. The coefficients revealed that girl-children are 1.8 percent more likely to die at home than boy-children. This revealed that girl-children are less likely to get medical attention immediately before their death than boy-children. Also, young girl-children and girl children with female siblings are less likely to get medical attention before death than boy-children. This further provided insight on the level of

household gender discrimination in the health care decision of households. Significantly, this is demonstrated by findings of previous studies (Gangadharan and Maitra, 2000; Pandey *et al.*, 2002).

With regard to Nigeria, there is dearth of literature on such practices. An earlier study of two ethnic groups in Nigeria showed weak results and found no evidence of any gender discrimination against the girl-child on health care utilization. Rather, the study revealed that the majority of the female respondents consider it unfair to discriminate against the girl-child on health care utilization (Ogidi, 1997). Arguably, the context under which parents discriminate against the girl-child in Nigeria does not exist with regard to health-care utilization; this would, however, require further investigation.

2.1.3.2 Access to Educational Opportunities

Globally, a total of 61 million primary school-age children are out of school in 2010, and Sub-Saharan Africa accounted for 31 million of all out-of-school children worldwide (UNICEF and UNESCO, 2012). The out-of-school figure increased from 20 million in 2008 to 31 million in 2010. Also, 55% of the out-of-school children in Sub-Saharan Africa would never attend school. Girl-children accounted for more than half of primary age children that are out of school, and Nigeria alone had 10.5 million out-of-school children in 2010 (UNESCO, 2012).

Nigeria's Education Demographic Health Survey indicated that male children are more likely to be literate than female children aged 5- 16 years (48 percent versus 45 percent). The South-West have the highest rate of literacy (71 and 73 percent respectively). On the other hand the North-East have the lowest rate of male and female children's literacy rate at 15 percent and 13 percent respectively. With regard to the North-Central, male and female children have 37 percent and 33 percent literacy level respectively. Similarly, the Gross Attendance Ratio (GAR) for primary pupils aged 6-11 years is higher in the southern geo-political zones than in the northern zones (National Population Commission and RT1, 2011). Also, only 4 percent of girls complete secondary school in Northern Nigeria (British Council, 2012).

One of the disturbing trends in a number of developing countries is that girl-children have worse educational outcomes than boy-children. A broad range of explanations have

been identified on why girl-children's participation outcomes were poor, some of which are: socio-cultural, socio-economic, school-based and institutional factors (Rufai and Ogidi, 2006; Plan; 2007; Zimmermann, 2011, Chitrakar, 2009). Furthermore, some of the identified reasons for not investing in girl's education are: being a girl, large family size, siblings to care for, burden of domestic work, peak of agricultural cycle, early marriage and poverty among others (Plan, 2007; Zimmermann, 2011).

Also, results from a World Values Survey found that almost two-thirds of male respondents indicated that university education for boy-children should be prioritized over that of girl-children. Similar opinion was also made by one-third or more of the male respondents in Iran, Uganda and Mexico and by 1 in 10 men in the United States (Plan, 2007).

2.1.3.3 Domestic Work Burden

Girl-children in many countries commence domestic chores at a very tender age; most boy-children are exempted from taking part in most of the household chores because such are seen as girls' work. A significant proportion of the household chores are usually quite demanding such as fetching firewood or water, pounding various varieties of grains, sweeping and cleaning surroundings, care of younger siblings and running other various errands. Most times girls spend longer hours doing various household chores, sometimes alone or with their mothers (Ogidi, 1997; Aderinto, 1999; Plan, 2007).

Globally, gender disaggregated data on children's time use is still in a fledging state. However, fragmented evidence indicate relative time poverty for girls. Worldwide, 10 percent of girls aged 5-14 years perform household chores for 28 hours a week or more, this approximately doubles the estimated number of hours boys undertake for domestic work (ILO, 2009). Studies in Uganda indicate that girls work 21.6 hours per week compared with 18.8 hours per week for boys. Also, a cross-country study of Kenya and South Africa showed that girls spend more time on household chores work compared with boys. This represents a greater opportunity costs to households if girls engage in non-domestic work activities (Ritchie *et al.*, 2004). Currently, there is growing evidence which indicate that housework is mostly pursued by girls (ECLAC, 2007).

In South Asia, women and girls spend about three to five hours more than men in a week on activities such as fetching firewood and carrying water and between twenty-three hours in a week or more on house work (Plan, 2007). Likewise, another study of countries such as Kenya, South Africa, Pakistan and India found that girl-children spent more time than boy-children on non-economic work and these differences became quite enormous among girl-children who are not enrolled in school. (Ritchie, Lloyd and Grant, 2004; Plan 2007). Unfortunately, domestic work on the part of women and girl-children are not often counted as “work” in labour force studies. Also, the heavy domestic burden of girl-children resulted in absenteeism from school, lateness to school and also poor academic performance (Plan, 2007).

2.1.3.4 Household Food Allocation

This is another critical area that the girl-child faces discrimination at the household level. It has been established that the quantity of food given to boy-children was usually bigger than those given to women and girl-children. In some societies, men and boy-children were usually served their meals first and whatever was left was for the women and girl-children, usually such practices were associated with certain traditions, beliefs and practices (Uyanga, 1980; Ogidi, 1997). In addition, Thind, Mahal and Seema (2008), in a study of 3600 rural girl-children drawn from seventy-two villages representing the three cultural zones of Punjab in India, conducted on household food distribution had some interesting findings. The sample was selected using multi-stage random sampling method from thirty-six blocks. Qualitative methods such as interview schedule and participant observation were employed in generating data for the study. The results of the study indicated that boy-children received more enriching foods and usually ate first with the adult male. Reasons associated with such practices were that parents perceived that boy-children were more productive than girl-children and would require more energy to do all sorts of physical work in comparison to girl-children.

2.1.4 Cultural Construction of Girlhood

Cultural factors which are reflected in the patterns of behaviour, beliefs preferences, customs and traditions account for gender-based differences within a given society (Aina and Abdullahi, 1995). Additionally, studies (Payne 2004; Dummer 2006) have shown that girlhood is socially and culturally created within any given society. Dummer (2006) employed qualitative methods by using FGDs and interviews to examine the

conceptualization of girlhood, myths of femininity in girlhood and the factors that shaped girls' understanding of girlhood and their own identities. A total of 59 girl-children aged 9-12 years old from two intermediate schools in a Texas college town formed part of the study. A total of 18 FGDs was conducted.

On the conceptualization of girlhood, the study found that physical and psychological characteristics were significant in defining girlhood. Dummer (2006) noted the following descriptions: "girls had long hair" "girls wore makeup and dresses", "girls liked pink", "girls start wearing a bra" and "girls can have babies". Other psychological characteristics specific to girlhood were: "desire to have fun", "the ability to feel a variety of emotions", "perceiving the emotions of others", and a "sense of maturity".

Indeed, their conceptualisation of girlhood conformed to the notions about femininity. Dummer (2006) noted that the girls in the study were relying on stereotypical mythic femininity of the "female" as "caring", "nurturers" and "sexual objects" to inform their perception of girlhood. Also, the study found that the girls' perceptions of girlhood were influenced by their families, media, social groups (peer and friends). More importantly, Dummer (2006:164) noted that: "the girls are who they were because of the messages they received about girlhood from their families, friends, peers, and the media they consume". Their conception of girlhood conformed to the western notions of femininity. However, one of the major limitations of the study was that, it lacked socio-economic diversity, the sample were mainly drawn from European-American middle class families. In contrast, Payne (2004) interrogated street girls' life in Accra, Ghana by adopting qualitative ethnographic approach among which were FGDs, key informants, participant observation and Participatory Action Research (PAR) to collect data from a sample of nine teenage girls aged 17-19 years. In addition, interviews were conducted with 6 individuals working with NGOs involved with street children in Ghana. Although the study focused on their lives in the street and coping strategies, it provided insights on how girlhood was conceptualized among street girls in Ghana. Payne (2004) observed that girls were socialized into specific roles as "wives" and "mothers" and great value was attached to learning "how to manage a household" and becoming "responsible woman capable of caring for a husband and children". Marriage was seen as an important phase every girl-child was expected to pass through".

Mitchell, Smith and Chisholm (2000) posited that there were limited studies on what constituted African masculinity or femininity. Moreover, there had been also dearth of scholarship on the relationship between cultural construction of girlhood and household discriminatory practices experienced by the girl child. This necessitated the need for the current study of the girl-child situation among the Kambari and how the cultural construction of girlhood engendered household discriminatory practices against the girl-child. In sum, the socio-cultural context of girl-children differed across various regions of the world. In Asia, particularly East and South Asia, the masculinisation of the sex ratios had been attributed to strict population policies, advancement in medical technology that aided the abortion of female foetuses (Das Gupta and Bhat, 1998; Ariokiasamy, 2007; Guilmoto and Attané, 2007; Agrawal and Unisa, 2007).

Also, due to strong preference, the girl-child faced severe discriminatory practices in health seeking behaviour, denial of the right to education and proper nutrition. The situation was further exacerbated by the following socio-cultural factors: the high-cost of dowry, inheritance laws, old age security and continuity of the family lineage as a result of the patriarchal nature of the society (Plan, 2007; Sultana, 2010; Barcellos *et al*, 2011). On the other hand, despite the dearth of literature on discriminatory practices in Africa, the socio-cultural practices under which it was perpetuated against the girl-child were likely to differ due to variations in customs, traditions, belief, practices and other related factors (Uwalaka, 1995; Aina and Abdullahi, 1995). In Nigeria, an earlier study of the Nupe and Gwari ethnic groups in North-Central Nigeria revealed that the girl-child was less likely to face discrimination in health-seeking behaviour patterns of parents towards their children (Ogidi, 1997).

2.1.5 Enabling Triggers of Harmful Socio-Cultural Practices Affecting Girl-Children

Despite international and national legal frameworks that sought to protect the girl-child in practice, cultural and social beliefs about gender and the value of the girl-child has been quite difficult to overcome (Plan, 2007; FMJ 2008; FEMNET, 2010). Also, cultural practices, traditions, customs and social norms were important in providing insight to the persistence of various forms of discriminatory practices against women and girls in developing countries. A recent report on the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA +15) for Africa noted that despite the fact that most African countries has ratified the Rights of

the Child (CRC) and integrated it into domestic laws through legislative and constitutional reforms, religious and cultural practices which perpetuated gender discrimination against the girl-child still persisted (Jutting and Morrison, 2005a; 2005b; UNECA, 2010).

Asia was seen as one of the most populous regions of the world with at least five most populous nations namely: China, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Bangladesh (Population Reference Bureau, 2011). It was a region where the masculinisation of sex ratios at birth had persisted over time with specific reference to China and India. A number of studies had attributed this demographic trend which disfavoured the girl-child to household discriminatory practices (Kishor, 1993; Ghosh, 1995; Heyer, 1996; Kurz and Johnson-Welch, 1997; Attané and Guilmoto, 2007; Shuzhuo *et al.*, 2007; Plan, 2007; Das Gupta *et al.*, 2009; Barcellos *et al.*, 2011). Studies had identified a plethora of socio-cultural practices associated with discriminatory practices against the girl-child in Asia. Studies in Nigeria were yet to undertake this important exploration.

2.1.5.1 Son Preference

Pande and Malhotra (2006) employed data from India's National Family Health Survey (NFHS-1) and examined the underlying determinants of son preference as an ideology and its implication for living girl-children. The key questions raised by the study were: what does a culture of son preference mean for the health and care of girl-children? How strong was the ideology of son preference in India? And what factors exacerbated or diminished its strengths. The study found that with regard to household discriminatory practices and the likelihood of a parent discriminating against a girl-child depended on the sex of her older siblings. Parents who already had sons were more likely to nurture a girl-child. On the other hand, girls with two or more older sisters were the most vulnerable. These categories of girl-children had the highest likelihood of being stunted and much less likely to be fully immunised. In addition, son preference was strong but not universal, 54.1% of women wanted equal number of boys and girls as against 46% who stated they wanted more boys than girls. Interestingly, 87.2% of the women said they wanted at least one daughter. The study found that woman's education and media exposure were the most significant factors that diminished the strength for son preference. Also, Kishore (2005) posited that factors that underlie son preference were predominantly socio-cultural; noting that India was a patrilineal and patriarchal society

whereby sons were important for continuity of family lineage, economic support for parents in old age and performance of religious rites.

Earlier and recent studies (Orubuloye 1987; Caldwell *et al.*, 1992; Isiugo- Abanihe, 1994a, 1994b; Makinwa-Adebusoye, 2001; Ushie *et al.*, 2013) indicated that son-preference was very strong and pervasive in Africa and Nigeria in particular. Nnadi (2013) posited that the MTN telecommunication provider advert “Mama Na Boy” was an apt illustration of the mindset of Nigerians on son preference. Although the advert was withdrawn as a result of protests from gender sensitive NGOs. Son preference which had been one of the major determinants of high fertility in Nigeria was attributed to economic, socio-cultural beliefs and practices (Edewor 2001; Isiugo-Abanihe, 2003; Wusu and Isiugo-Abanihe, 2006; Isiugo-Abanihe and Nwokocha, 2008). These are old-age security, inheritance, continuity of family name, readily available farm labour. Consequently, boy-children are most valued than girl-children. This has been aptly described in a survey of 3000 Nigerian couples by Isiugo-Abanihe (1994a) cited in Milazzo (2012:6) as follows:

Childlessness is the most dreaded tragedy for a man or a woman to experience in Nigeria's patrilineal society (...). The majority of the respondents felt that a man without a son, will not be remembered in the family; his branch of the family will soon come to an end. For the same reason, a man who has only daughters may acquire a second wife to enhance the chance of having a son. Clearly, in such a patriarchal system the perpetuation of the family line is a strong motivation for children.

The pervasiveness of son-preference was an indication of a socio-cultural environment that could engender discriminatory practices against the girl-child in Nigeria. Where strong son preference persisted discrimination against the girl-child would be prevalent (Das Gupta, 2002). However, the nature of discriminatory practices and the practice that engendered it were more likely to be context specific due to the variation in cultural practices. Therefore, this study would fill the existing gap in providing an understanding of socio-cultural environment under which discriminatory practices against the girl-child prevailed.

2.1.5.2 The Dowry Burden

The dowry system in some parts of Asia had led to what Oldenburg (2012) refers to as the “commoditisation” of both women and girl-children. Also, the dowry system demeans the worth of women and girl-children as exemplified in the following ancient Hindu sayings. Hegde (1999:572) cited in Sev’er (2008) that “raising a daughter was like watering a neighbour’s plant” or “for fulfilment many sons, for sake of beauty one daughter” or a “son spells rewards, a daughter expense”. Ghansham (2002) opined that discriminatory practices were intrinsically linked to the dowry system. Dowry inflation was an issue of critical concern in India and also the broader region (Rao, 1993; Anderson, 2003; Lundberg, 2005; Arunachalam and Logan, 2008).

The girl-child was usually denied the right to education and health among others in view of the fact that investments on their education would not yield higher returns. Rather, parents would prefer to hold back economic resources to save as gifts to her future husband and his family. This resulted in the under-valuing of girl-children. Both men and women perpetuate discriminatory practices through sex selection related abortions, inadequate education, health and nutrition to limit the opportunities available to girl-child.

2.1.5.3 Family Support Network

In most patrilineal and patriarchal societies, the family support network was usually stronger for women who had sons. This also reduces the risk of a number of disadvantages they were likely to face. In contrast, the birth of a girl-child resulted in the lack of support during challenges from the family network. This explained the reason why women were caught up in under-valuing their girl-children, which tend to perpetuate discriminatory practices against the girl-child (Mallik, 2003).

Zimmermann (2012) employed the Indian National Family and Health Survey (NFHS) of 2005 to interrogate the non-monetary benefits when a woman had a son. The NFHS collected information on all members of the household with a more detailed survey administered to all women aged 15-49. The questionnaire for women elicited information on the complete birth history of a woman, decision-making powers and women’s position within the household. The birth of a son was more likely to increase acceptance of a woman by other household members and the larger society as well.

Zimmermann (2012) found that having a son rather than a daughter led to increased decision making power for women in the following areas: about 4 percent point's higher probability of having a say in one's own health care, and about 7 percent points higher probability of being involved in decisions concerning large purchases. In addition, the probability of having a say on decisions with respect to family visits increased by 4.6 percent if the child was a boy.

These accrued benefits were only limited on children aged 0-6 months and disappeared for older children. Also, the improvement in the woman's position never translated into more financial or individual independence. The study may not have fully captured the long-term positive effects that a woman may experience. Hence, more research was needed to further provide a better understanding of the issues raised in this study.

2.1.5.4 The Kinship System

It had been well documented in literature that the kinship system was closely linked to discriminatory practices against the girl-child. In India, there was a remarkable difference between the Northern and Southern regions as a result of the family and kinship system that each operated (Dyson and Moore, 1983; Sen and Sengupta, 1983; Das Gupta, 1998; Das Gupta *et al.*, 2002; Almond *et al.*, 2009). The masculinisation of the sex ratios was more severe in the Northern region than in the southern region of India as a result of strong son preference which was associated with the patrilineal kinship system coupled with the high cost of dowry. As a result of this, discriminatory practices were more severe in the Northern than in the Southern Region of India. In addition, in patrilocal societies, a woman left her parents' household when she got married, and would be joined to the household of her husband's parents. Consequently, her potential contribution was limited. The girl-child's usefulness to her natal family was usually before marriage. This further explained why parents limited their investments on the girl-child and rather invested more on the boy-child. (Das Gupta *et al.*, 2003; Nilsson, 2004; Lundberg, 2005; Plan, 2007; Plan, 2008; Zimmermann, 2012).

2.1.5.5 Inheritance Laws and Rights

Inheritance laws and rights were directly associated with the kinship patterns within a given society. In most patrilineal societies, the rule of inheritance was through the male line, women and girls have no rights to inheritance. This accounted for the pervasiveness

of son preference and the need to have a male heir for continuity of the family lineage and the transfer of land, political offices among others (Sultana, 2010). The boy-child, as a prospective head of the family, had more privileges and rights relative to the girl-child. Parents would prefer to use more of their resources to further enhance the status of the boy-child who was usually seen as the representative of the family in the wider community. Therefore, he was more likely to receive more education and attention from the parents than the girl-child. In Asia and Africa most societies operate patrilineal kinship systems, and this accounted for son preference and the likelihood of denying the girl-child of certain opportunities such as the right to good education, which should be seen as the gateway to an enhanced status that could empower her for life.

2.1.5.6 Religious Beliefs and Practices

In some societies, religious beliefs and practices engender discriminatory practices against the girl-child. Additionally, misconceptions of religious injunctions particularly in African communities had been associated with the poor educational outcomes of the girl-children (Indabawa, 1998; Rufai and Ogidi, 2006). In Asia, with specific reference to India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, sons performed significant ritual rites during the death of a parent. Also, there were other religious rites that could not be performed by women or girls. Consequently, strong son preference perpetuated discriminatory practices against the girl-child (Nilsson, 2004; Kishore, 2005; Sultana, 2010; Zimmermann, 2011). In addition, religious rites and rituals in Africa were usually done by men and the male-children of the family with few exceptions due to the patriarchal nature of most communities. There was the need therefore, to interrogate how religious beliefs and practices engendered discriminatory practices against the girl-child.

2.1.6 The Role of Social Change in Combating Harmful Socio-Cultural Practices

Overtime societies experience social change in their behavior pattern, cultural norms, values and practices. However, their receptivity to change depends on a number of factors such as their level of exposure to other social groups, influence of the mass media, adaptation of new religious beliefs, and western education. Other factors are the intervention of government, adoption of new technologies among others (Kottak, 2004; Schaefer, 2008; Ferraro, 2008). Most social groups have specific traditional socio-cultural values, norms and practices that could be regarded as harmful. Some of these harmful socio-cultural practices that have been identified among diverse groups across

the world as discriminatory in nature and mostly affects girl- children with respect to access to education, domestic work burden, enforcement of restrictive food taboos, intra-family food distribution and sometimes even access to medical care (Sohini,1995 ; Sudha and Rajan, 1999; Plan, 2007; Sekhar and Hatti,2010). Other harmful social-cultural practices are female genital mutilation/cutting, early and forced marriage, child labour, sex- selective abortions, son preference, negative gender stereotypes, physical violence and sexual abuse among others (Ras-Work, 2006; Plan 2007; 2014).

It is evident that challenging old aged traditions values, norms and practices have been very daunting. This explains why these deep-rooted harmful socio-cultural practices have persisted over the years especially those affecting the girl-child (Ras-work, 2006; UNECA2010; FEMNET, 2010). Notwithstanding, best practices exist with respect to addressing harmful socio- cultural practices affecting the girl-child. According UNHCR (1997) cited in Plan (2012:26) identified the following effective social strategies:

- Action-oriented activities subsequent to awareness-building through education and information focusing on the negative consequences of harmful practices;
- Emphasis on health and consequences rather than only on legal or human rights;
- Focus on educating target populations such as religious leaders, traditional leaders such as chiefs, tribal elders and political leaders, traditional birth attendants, other health workers, men, women, children themselves on the negative consequences of harmful practices;
- The promotion and provision of technical support and the mobilization of resources for national and local groups that will initiate community-based activities aimed at eliminating harmful practices.

Besides, although these changes are gradual, wherever adequate mapping of the socio-cultural contexts and identification of key stakeholders are taken into consideration, such programmes experience breakthrough. Furthermore, educating and empowering the girl-child is the key to eradicating harmful socio-cultural practices that infringes on her rights and limits her capacity of development.

2.2 Theoretical Framework and Conceptual Model

The theoretical framework and the conceptual model offered insights on the mechanism and context underlying the perpetuation of harmful socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child at the household level. With regard to the theoretical framework, Weber's social action theory, sex-role theory and the feminist theory on patriarchy were employed to provide a nuanced understanding of the harmful socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child.

2.2.1 Social Action Theory

Weber's social action theory posits that individuals attach subjective meanings to their actions and social actions which were intentional behaviour of actors involving motives and feelings (Swingewood, 1991; Ritzer, 1996). An action was regarded as social insofar as its subjective meaning took account of the behaviour of others, whereby the acting individual saturate the social context with meanings. In addition, social action or human behaviour displayed certain "relations and regularities" which could only be understood when juxtaposed with the cultural significance attached to them by the acting individual (Swingewood, 1991). Ritzer and Goodman (2003:152) noted that one of Weber's most critical methodological concepts was "verstehen"; it implied that a sociologist should attempt an interpretative understanding of any given social action in order to tease out the casual explanation with regard to its cause and effects. Furthermore, social scientists in their effort to seek for plausible explanations should take into account the actors' emotions, thoughts, beliefs and attitudes.

Weber distinguished four types of social action as a heuristic device. However in reality; there were the manifestations of various combinations of the elements of all types of social action within a given social context. These were instrumentally rational action, that is, Zweckrational; value rational action which were Wertrational; effectual and traditional actions (Swingewood, 1991; Ritzer and Goodman, 2003). Further clarifications indicated that instrumentally rational action, or "means-ends rationality", referred to an action whereby the goal and means were rationally chosen. In contrast, traditional action was guided by custom and habits, while effectual action was determined by the emotional effects on the actor. Finally, value rational was an action that was oriented to a conscious belief in the value either for its own sake or for aesthetic, religious or ethical purposes (Ritzer, 1993; Ritzer and Goodman, 2003).

Drawing insights from the foregoing analysis, the following plausible explanations could be adduced on the socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child:

- Firstly, individual actors at the household or community level attach subjective meanings and feelings toward their children and the girl-child in particular with respect to discriminatory practices.
- Secondly, the social actions of actors towards the girl-child were intentional behaviour of the actors, which involved a process of rationalization and valuation of her gender as a girl that consequently, resulted to discriminatory practices against her.
- Thirdly, discriminatory practices was a social action which occurred at the household level through established relationships of mother/girl-child, father/girl-child and boy-child/girl-child actors on a regular basis with respect to the allocation of resources, responsibilities, privileges and opportunities based on some underlying practices, principles and context.
- Fourthly, these actions occurred within a given social context due to the cultural significance attached to the actions of the actors. Furthermore, this underscored the need for an “interpretative understanding” of the actions of the actors in order to arrive at a causal explanation of discriminatory practices.
- Fifthly, such causal explanations must explore the given socio-cultural environment by taking into account the actors’ beliefs, attitudes, thoughts, perceptions and emotions.

However, Weber’s social action theory may not have fully explained the mechanisms that perpetuated and sustained discriminatory practices against the girl-child. The feminist theory on patriarchy filled the gap and limitations in this regard.

2.2.2 Feminist Theory on Patriarchy

Patriarchy within feminist scholarship, with specific reference to theory and practice, had been examined differently from the liberal to socialist feminism (Ritzer and Goodman, 2003; Payne, 2005; Randall, 2010; Chenoy, 2010). Etymologically, the word patriarchy was derived from two Greek words- pater (father) and arche (rule) which literally meant “the rule of the father” or “patriarch” (Hartmann, 1980; Coetzee, 2001; Kameri-Mbote, 2005). In contemporary times in feminist scholarship it had been used to analyse the principles underlying women’s domination and by extension the girl-child. It referred to

the totality of structures of domination and exploitation that affected women's position and by extension, the girl-child's position in society. Also, it represented the institutionalisation of men's power over women in both the public and domestic spheres; household, polity, economy and heterosexual relations (Walby, 1990; Coetzee, 2001; Giddens *et al.*, 2005; Ray, 2011).

At the household level, it was a system of hierarchical and unequal power relations whereby the father, as the head of the family controlled, all the economic resources, took all the major decisions of the family and thereby maintained an ongoing control over all members of the family and those related to it (Alcoff, 1990; Ray, 2011). These hierarchical and unequal power relations were legitimised through ideologies, social practices and other institutions such as religion, kinship and family system, media, law and even the state. Also, at the household level, family patriarchal values as well as masculinity and femininity character stereotypes were reinforced through the process of gender socialisation (Alcoff, 1990; Coetzee, 2001; Ray, 2011).

A body of literature on the various strands of feminist theory on patriarchy explained women's oppression domination and discrimination in terms of its causes consequences and prescriptions for addressing it. According to the liberal feminist, female subordination was rooted on a set of customary and legal constraints whereas the Marxist feminist linked it with the introduction of private property thereby creating a class society. On the other hand, the radical feminist insisted that patriarchy was a system that oppressed women since it was characterised by paternal dominance, hierarchy competition and power. Also, from the perspective of the psychoanalytic feminist, the root of women's oppression was embedded deep in her psyche, due to the internalization of asymmetrical power structures through the process of gender socialization (Ritzer and Goodman, 2003; Payne, 2005; Randall, 2010; Cheney, 2010).

Mc Fadden (1994) cited in Kameri-Mbote (2005:20) noted that:

Patriarchy is the framework within which gendered relations of power are played out and has assumed a dominant role and relationship vis-à-vis other forms of social organisation to the extent where matrilineal forms of social processes survive, it is the patriarchal power relations which underpin and strongly influence the

manner in which men and women live together in such societies.

Patriarchy was the root cause of discriminatory practices against the girl-child. At the household level, unequal power relations placed women and girl-children at a disadvantaged position. The father had power and control over all the resources and took most decisions for the family. As a result of the dominant role of the father, there was the under-valuing of the position of women and girl-children. Consequently, a process of subjugation of girl-children and the privileging of men and boy-children as heads of the household was often the case in most families and communities that were patriarchal in nature.

In addition, the unequal power relations were reinforced by other institutions such as religious beliefs and practices, marriage and kinship system, media, norms and values. Also, each member of the household internalised patriarchal values through gender socialization which legitimized the superiority of men and boy-children. The privileging of men and boy-children was also responsible for household discriminatory practices against the girl-child in access to education, assignment of domestic chores and in the allocation of food at the household level. Also, it accorded men and boy-child a higher status through their involvement with responsibilities associated with the public domain. On the other hand, women and girl-children were accorded lower and inferior status with responsibilities restricted to the domestic domain. The ascribed status of each member of the household was seen as a practice or tradition that had been passed down from one generation to another. Therefore, it was an acceptable norm that men should exercise authority and women and girl-children should occupy subservient positions (Cain and Nahar, 1979; Brettell and Sargent, 1997; Cain, 1998).

2.2.3 Sex Role Theory

Sex role theory posited that individuals occupied different sets of roles which were socially determined. There were marked differences by gender; men, women, girls and boys were ascribed different roles (Bradley and Moore, 1996; Ember, 1996; Schaefer, 2008). Also the individual's actions, behaviour, dispositions and desires were usually determined by the set of roles occupied by each actor. Men and women were "systematically funnelled into social positions that attracted greater amounts of value

(tangible and intangible) to men than women” (Scanzoni and Szinovacz, 1984:16). This layering effect invariably implied that women and girl-children inclusive occupy subordinate positions.

The basic assumptions of the theory are as follows:

1. Society assigned different roles to men and women,
2. Roles were socially determined
3. Roles were occupied by individuals who were called actors.
4. A set of roles had acceptable expectations, behaviours and attitudes which were internalized during socialization.
5. The differing roles occupied by individual actors were presumed to create gender stereotypes, on femininity and masculinity which accounted for differences in behaviour.
6. Individual actors carried out their specific roles guided by the prevailing social norms and values.
7. The set of roles had ascribed social status, whereby women’s role were linked to the “domestic domain” and occupy a lower status and men who occupied roles associated the “public sphere” occupied higher status.
8. Society ensured conformity to role performance through a set of rewards and punishments.

Society ascribed roles and defined associated depositions, behaviour patterns for each individual actor which the individual internalizes during socialization. Parents, depending on their gender, acquired the character of femininity or masculinity either as a mother or wife or as a man, father or husband. Parents ensured that the girl-child internalized the ideal notion of femininity; learning to be submissive, caring and acquiring skills associated to her future role as a wife and mother. As a result of the strict division of labour, the girl-child was limited to roles that were limited to domestic domain. Whereas, the boy-child internalized the character associated with masculinity and learned how to be aggressive and domineering in his disposition. Society expected conformity from each individual actor; hence parents enforced strict division of labour by gender at the household level. In most traditional societies, it was unheard of for boy-children to be assigned “women’s work”.

Also, each role had ascribed statuses and responsibilities, men, and boy-children by extension were mainly in the public domain and this included representing the family in

the community, exercising authority and control over members of the household, providing for and protecting the family. Based on the gender hierarchy men and boy-children were ascribed higher status. On the other hand, the role of women and girl-children which included caring for household members, cooking and carrying out other domestic chores was assigned lower status.

2.2.4 Synthesis of the Theoretical Framework

A triangulation of Weber's social action theory, the feminist theory on patriarchy and the sex role theory provided a comprehensive framework that highlighted the links between the variables being investigated. The social action theory of Weber was employed to describe the motives of individual actor towards the girl-child. It noted that discriminatory practices towards the girl-child were engendered by motives that were situated within a given socio-cultural milieu and individual actors attach cultural significance to their actions towards the girl-child. Also, it noted that discriminatory practices were an intentional action of individual actors at the household level which involved rationalization of the value of the girl-child vis-à-vis the boy-child. On the other hand, the feminist theory on patriarchy sought for casual explanation on the perpetuation of discriminatory practices against the girl-child. Traditionally, the Kambari society was seen as patriarchal, their kinship system was largely based on patrilineal descent. The kinship system was the foundation of a pervasive patriarchal ideology that led to the rationalization of differential access of men and boy-children; women and girl-children to the material and symbolic resources of the society. Women and girl-children were seen as outsiders in view of the fact that once they got married, their contributions would rather benefit their husband's household than their natal family. This explained why parents would prefer to educate a boy-child than a girl-child. More so, for the purpose of continuity of the family lineage in particular parents ascribed more opportunities to boy-children than girl-children. In addition, the patriarchal nature of the society resulted in the privileging of the boy-child and the subjugation, devaluation of the role and the status of the girl-child. The girl-child faced discriminatory practices because she was a girl and the gender hierarchy in most patriarchal societies accorded her a lower status. Furthermore, the norms, values belief and practices reinforced discriminatory practices against the girl-child.

Finally, the sex-role theory added another dimension to the analysis of discriminatory practices. It opined that roles and social status were socially determined and each individual acquired the character of either femininity or masculinity through gender socialization. Parents enforced conformity to the strict division of labour by gender whereby women and the girl-child were restricted to the domestic domain and men and boy-children to the public domain. Therefore, the attitude and actions of individual actors towards the girl-child was based on societal conception of masculinity and femininity.

Also, gender stereotypes were also associated with discriminatory practices. It was often assumed that boy children were more intelligent than girl-children. Therefore, on the basis of that and the future role they were expected to assume, parents preferred to educate boy-children than the girl-child. In addition, it has been assumed that boy-children were more productive than girl-children since they work more on the farm, their quantity of food was likely to be bigger than the one given to the girl-child.

In sum, these theories had provided insights on the socio-cultural environment engendered discriminatory practices against the girl-child. Discriminatory practices occurred within a given socio-cultural context and this necessitated the interrogation of the socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child among the Kambari of Niger State, Nigeria.

2.2.5 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework clearly demonstrated the relationships between the socio-cultural variables and discriminatory practices, and the integration of Weber's social action theory, the feminist theory on patriarchy and the sex role theory as shown in Fig 2.1. The conceptual framework was very important in operationalizing the problem, and in understanding the casual relationships, which existed either directly or indirectly between the dependent variables and the independent variable in this study. The absence of a comprehensive analytical framework may distort the factors associated with the socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child.

The conceptual framework indicated that the relationships between the theories, independent and dependent variables are multi-dimensional. At the level of the theories,

relationships exist between the theories that sought to explain the context under which harmful socio-cultural practices negatively impact on the girl-child. An individual's action is shaped by his personal characteristics (education, place of residence, gender and religious affiliation), which in turn, determines whether the norms, values and beliefs would negatively or is unlikely to influence his actions towards the girl-child. Furthermore, the vicious cycle of negative girl-child outcomes is likely to be perpetuated by an individual actor depending on his or her personal characteristics. Consequently, it is the interplay between the independent and dependent variables that engender harmful socio-cultural practices that negatively impact on the empowerment of the girl child.

The conceptual framework indicated that discriminatory practices as the dependent variable were influenced by the independent variables which were largely embedded in the socio-cultural way of life of the respective actors. Discriminatory practices occurred within a given socio-cultural context. Patriarchy defined the culture in general and more in particular the socialization pattern, cultural construction of girlhood, belief and practices, attitude of significant others, kinship system and the gender hierarchy. These structural variables constituted the societal foundation of model and significantly influenced the socio-cultural environment which engendered discriminatory practices. Also at the household level, patriarchy had an influencing effect on the nature of intra-household power dynamics, in terms of the pattern of decision-making, resources control and the valuation of women's role in decision making within the household, which on the whole determined the allotment of household resources and work assignment to the girl-child.

In addition, individual actor's education, gender, place of residence, religious affiliation and socio-economic status could determine the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory behaviour towards the girl-child. Finally, discriminatory practices had far-reaching implications on the status and the position she was accorded vis-à-vis the boy-child, her worth as a girl, or the value attached to her role and the privileges she is given or denied.

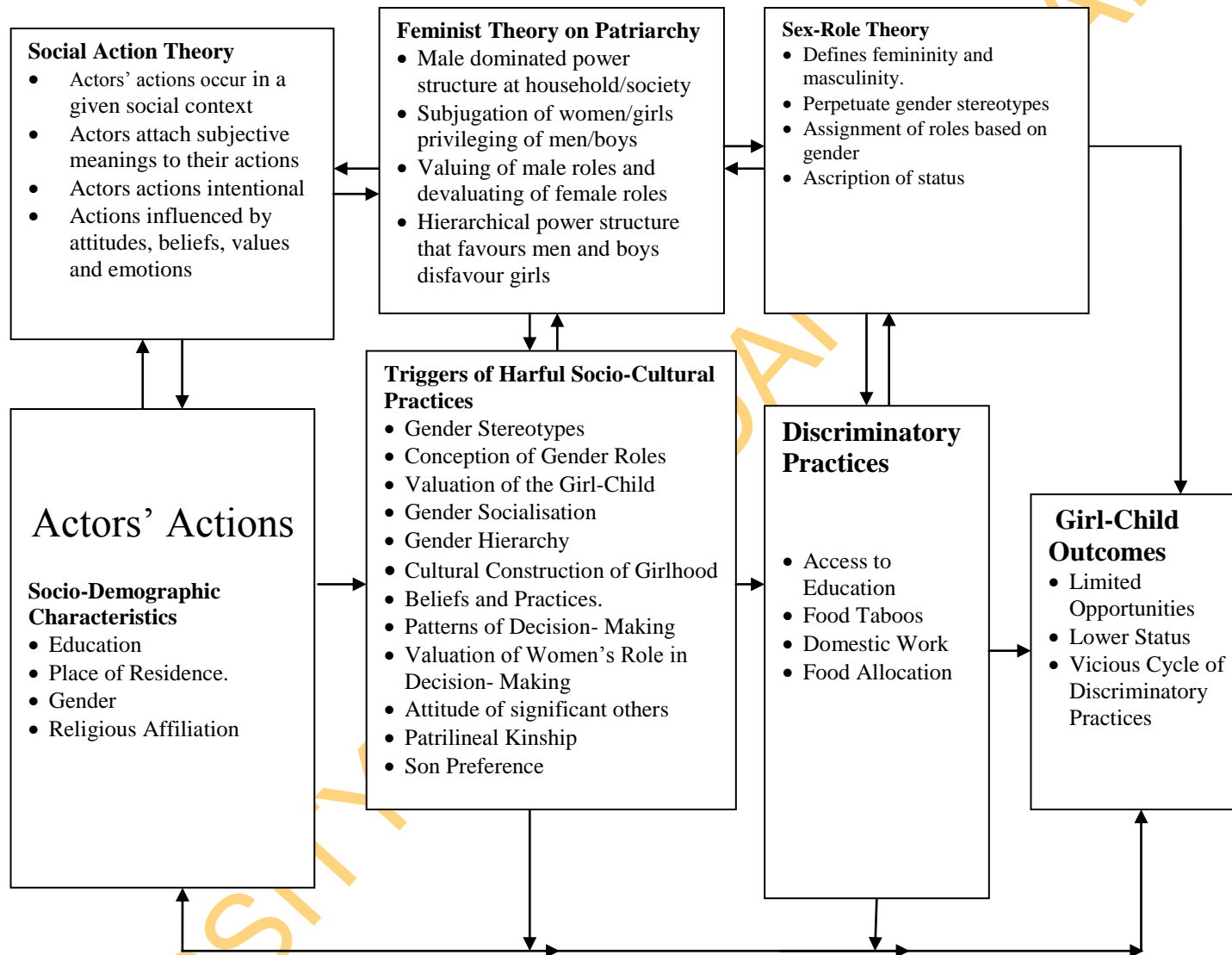


Figure2.1: Conceptual Framework of Harmful Socio-Cultural Practices Affecting the Girl-Child

2.2.6 Study Hypotheses

Hypotheses were formulated to guide the study and they are closely linked to the objectives of the study. Hypothesis one is closely linked to study objectives two and six. Also, hypothesis two is closely linked to objective one and two, while hypothesis three, four and five are closely associated with study objective two.

Hypothesis One

H₁: There is an association between the incidence of discriminatory practice towards the girl-child and the parent's gender, level of education, socio-economic status, and place of residence, religious affiliation and socio-economic status.

H₀: There is no association between the incidence of discriminatory practice towards the girl-child and the parent's gender, level of education, socio-economic status and place of residence, religious affiliation and socio-economic status.

Hypothesis Two

H₁: There is an association between rigid conception of gender roles by parents and the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices towards the girl-child.

H₀: There is no association between rigid conception of gender roles by parent and the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices towards the girl-child

Hypothesis Three

H₁: There is an association between parent's childhood experiences of discrimination and the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices towards the girl-child

H₀: There is no association between parent's childhood experiences of discrimination and the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices against the girl-child

Hypothesis Four

H₁: There is an association between the pattern of decision making by parents and the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices towards the girl-child.

H₀: There is no association between the pattern of decision making by parents and the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices towards the girl-child.

Hypothesis Five

- H₁: There is an association between participation of women in decision-making and the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices towards the girl-child.
- H₀: There is no association between participation of women in decision-making and the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices towards the girl-child.

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CHAPTER THREE

ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE KAMBARI

This chapter highlighted the ethnography of the Kambari in order to place the study in a proper context. It examined the location, lineages, language, the traditional economy of the Kambari among others.

3.1 Location

The Kambari are found in Niger state, Nigeria. According to ethnographic data, the Kambari are found particularly in the former Kontagora, Sokoto and Nassarawa Provinces. These areas are found in present-day Kwara, Niger and the extreme Southern parts of Sokoto, Kebbi and Borno States. In Niger State, which is the focal area of the study, they are found in six local government areas namely: Agwara, Borgu, Magama, Rijau, Mariga, and Meshegu (Temple, 1965; Otite, 1990; Ragada, 1992).

3.2 Origin

There have been speculations that the Kambari migrated from the regions of the Middle East during the Islamic conquest of North Africa. This has been a common speculation about the origin of some Nigerian tribes such as the Yoruba (Udo, 2004). Etymologically, the Kambari are among the indigenous groups of Nigeria. Temple (1965) asserts that they came from the highlands between south of Zaria and the North of Niger Province.

3.3 Lineages

The lineages of the Kambari are further made up of different ancestral clans owing to the lineage groups which are as follows: Aganke, Agbara, Alyari, Aza'akusan, Ashipkari, Ngaski, Alinguci, Abuze, Aza'amadanga, Nkete'in, Ntspa, Nts'le, Nwoyo, Aza'akakulu, Aza'akawana, Nsanguya, Aza'ayuma, Agara-inwa, Ogonto, Okolo, Abawu, Akinki, Aza'arago, Nkyeku, Nyanyan, Nfongi, Aza'ametikpem and Aza'nkporu among others (Yohanna and Zamiyoku, 2001).

3.4 Language

The Kambari language belongs to the Benue-Congo sub-group, and they have had close cultural affinity with the Dakkarkari, Dukawa and Kamuku (Meek, 1931; Middleton, 1997). Crozier (1984) classified the Kambari into different language cluster groups

namely: Auna-Wara known as “Tsikimba” (Akimba), Agwara Kambari language cluster known as “Cishingini”, Salka Kambari language cluster “Tsishingini” (Ashingini), Rijau Kambari language cluster also known as “Tsigadi” (Agadi) and Ibeto Kambari language cluster known as “Tshivadi” (Avadi). Others identify the “Asawuni” located around Nasko Area, the “Aposhi” Agwara area and the Makatenge are found around Mashegu area. There is a sense of ethnic unity among the different language clusters which are linguistically related; although the Kambari of one speech form never understands the other. (Stark, 2000; Stark, 2000).

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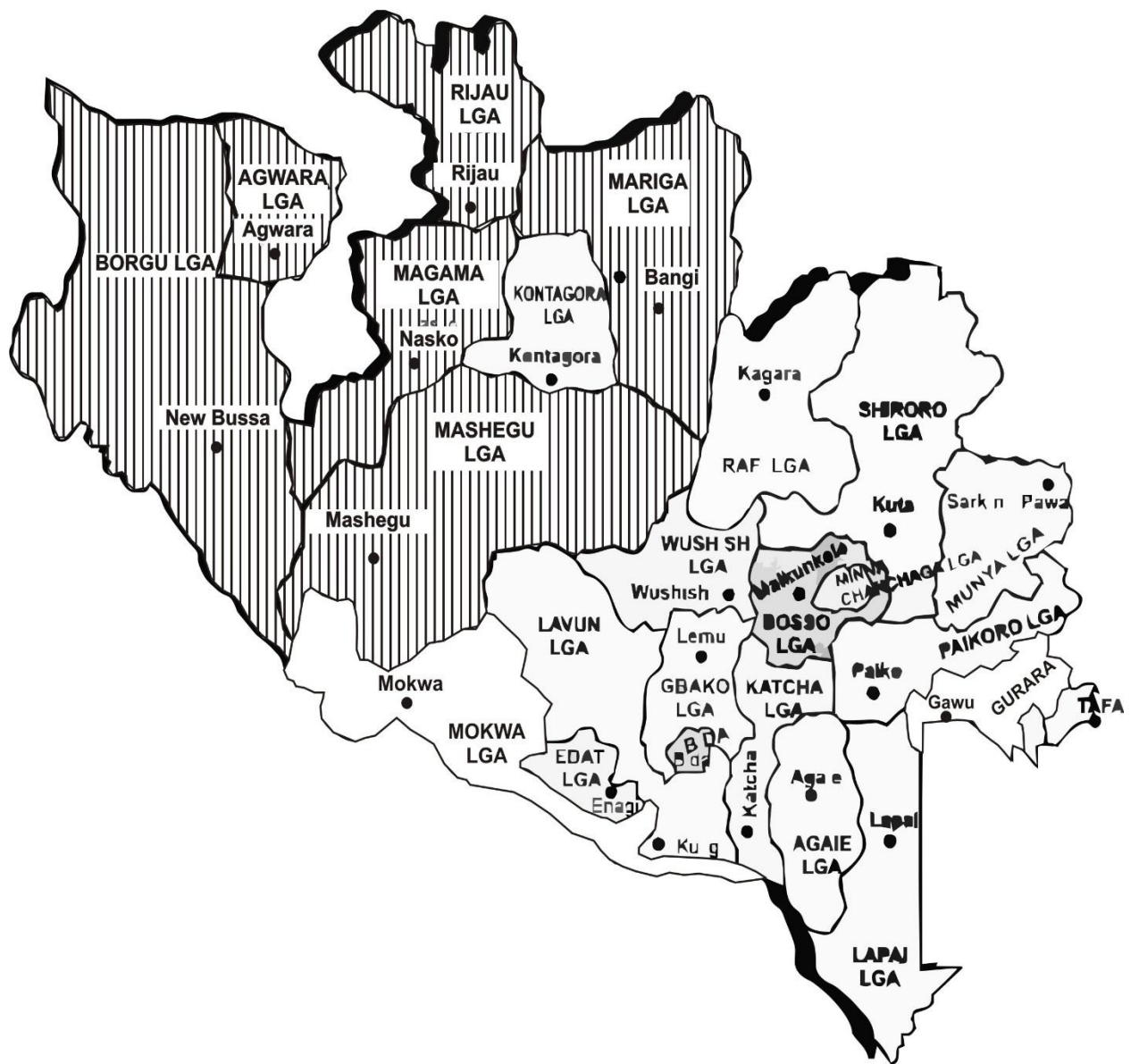


FIG. 3.1: MAP OF NIGER STATE SHOWING SELECTED LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS FOR THE STUDY

3.5 Traditional Economy

Farming has been the main stay of the economy of the Kambari. They practice shifting cultivation, and this explains their pattern of settlement which can be described as dispersed (See Plate 1). The most predominant occupation of the Kambari male is farming, a Kambari man that cannot farm is considered a “lazy man who wants an easy life”. Thus, at age 4, the Kambari boy-child follows the father to the farm with a small hole that he can handle and he is given a portion to work on. However, because of his tender age, by noon he is allowed to go back home, while others continue the work on the farm till the sun sets. The main food crops grown are millet and guinea-corn, while rice, beans and groundnut are grown as cash crops. In recent times, women are also getting actively involved in farming mainly producing groundnuts, bambara nuts apart from petty-trading.

The Kambari practice ‘communal farming’ known as “gaya” in Hausa and also called “gulmo” among the Kambari. It usually involves every grown male and young boy as from age 10 who would be invited to work on a farm in the same village or the neighbouring villages. It is a very important activity and an integral part of the cultural practices of the Kambari. During, “gulmo” the women and young girl-children are involved in cooking food such as “tuwo”, (pounded millet/guinea corn), locally brewed beer (“burukutu”). The owner of the farmland also provides a goat and a dog to be slaughtered for those involved in “gulmo”. Some parts of the food are taken to the farm while they are still working.

However, when the sun sets, they return to the house of the owner of the farm where they are seated according to their age-groups and are properly entertained with varieties of foods and the locally brewed beer. Apart from farming, men also engage in fishing, hunting, rearing of cattle, goats and sheep and blacksmithing as well. Within the traditional economic setting of the Kambari, boy and girl-children are also involved in different types of occupations that relates to their gender and future roles as heads of household wives and mothers. The boy-child engages predominantly in farming, cattle herding hunting, blacksmithing, and brick-layers. Traditionally, these are male-dominated occupations. On the other hand, girl-children like their mothers mostly get involved in trading, hawking, farming; production of shea-butter oil and selling of the popularly locally brewed beer known as “burukutu”.



Plate 1: Settlement Pattern

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3.6 Political Structure

The Kambari has a political structure similar to those of the Hausa-Fulani and are believed to have been a powerful tribe until 1840 A.D. (Temple, 1965). Series of inter-tribal wars with Hausa City States such as Yauri, Gwandu, Kontagora as well as the Jihad orchestrated by Umaru Nagamaste, the son of Sultan Atiku, the third Sultan of Sokoto, a grandson of Sheikh Othman Dan Fodio had grave consequences on the Kambari's strong political structure (Temple, 1965). The Kambari has no central leader, but rather they operate the "Village Head" system (Mathew, 2008). The head of each household usually represents his family at the village level when critical issues are to be addressed. At another level are the ward-heads known as "mai-anguwa"; who are appointed by the village head who in-turn, is appointed by the District Head. On the other hand, the District Head is appointed by the Local Government Chairman. At the district and village levels they have other office holders such as the "Waziri", "Magaji", "Sarikin Hausawa" among others. There are women actors in the political structure of the Kambari known as the "Magajiya" and the "Muskomi" whose assistance are required during organised communal labour and projects where food and drinks are needed for the men at work (Ragada, 1992).

3.7 Religion

Traditionally, the Kambari worshipped the "maigiro", a god who played significant judicial, political and social roles in their social world. Only men and boys as from the age of puberty are initiated into the "maigiro cult" and swear to an "oath of secrecy" which is seen as one of the major qualities of "manhood". It is an exclusive male affair. The Kambari have a very strong belief in the Supreme Being, who is known as "kashzlya" and is seen as the author of the universe. He is worshipped through deities. The Kambari have a strong belief in "cause and effect" of every phenomenon in life. They also have a strong belief in ancestral spirits who play a very significant role in their lives, and they are usually remembered through a special ceremony known as "kpaalu kaakpissa", (Yohanna and Zamiyoku, 2001). However, with the advent of Christianity and Islam, there are professing Christians and Moslems among the Kambari. Adherents of traditional religion are also found among them.

3.8 Rule of Descent and Rights to Inheritance

The Kambari are strongly patrilineal by descent, and the homestead is patriarchal; a son succeeds the father as the head of the family. Inheritance is through the male line. A son could inherit the homestead, land, farmlands, crops as well as political office. Indeed, this is the most common form of descent system among most societies particularly among African societies (Kottak, 2004; Ferraro, 2008). Sometimes, a female could inherit money from any of the parents. Most times a female was at the mercy of her brothers, who determined what she could be given at the death of a father or mother. This underscored the value ascribed to “sons” among the Kambari, he is known as the “magajin gida” or “mai-rikon gida” (meaning head of the household or custodian of the household).

3.9 Marriage and Residence

Among the Kambari, marriage is for the most part patrilocal. This means that at marriage, the girl leaves her natal family and takes up residence in the agnatic group of her husband. Thus, the child-bearing rights as well as the sexual rights are vested in the agnatic group of the husband through the payment of bride wealth and rendering of agricultural service (gulmo) to the girl’s family until she is mature for marriage. Bridal services are an integral part of the marriage pattern among the Kambari. On the other hand, the bride wealth is seen as a “customary gift” which could take various forms given by the family of the groom to the bride’s family (Kottak, 2004). Ferraro (2008) posits that a number of societies provide bridal services either before or after the marriage in the form of labour to the bride’s family. This is a very strong cultural practice among the Kambari and the bridal service is rendered before the marriage ceremony proper for a period of years until the girl-child is mature for marriage. The common form of marriage among the Kambari is “child betrothal” and this is arranged during infancy by their parents. It is called “kame” among the Kambari. It is a common practice particularly among the traditionalists, the Aposhi who are considered the “Aboriginal Kambari” because of their strict adherence to the customs and norms of their society. It was a common form of marriage among all the language clusters in the past.

Child betrothal marriage is initiated by the parents of the boy-child at a very tender age ranging from during pregnancy, after the birth of a girl-child or when a girl-child is about 5 years old. In some communities immediately the birth of a girl-child is known, families interested in having her betrothed to their son will quickly visit the house and fetch water to fill the water pots of the woman who had just given birth early in the morning. In some cases particularly among the Kambari in Agwara, the mother of the boy-child drops a coin or a token amount of money to indicate their interest. After some few days the mother of the boy-child goes to visit the family of the girl-child, which further indicates their desire and interest to establish a betrothal arrangement for their son.

However, seven days after due consultation with family members and elders, the father of the girl-child decides on which of the family to give his daughter's hand in marriage to and others are counselled to be patient for God to provide suitable wives for their sons. Once, the parent of the girl-child has consented, the family of the boy-child is expected to bring "kayan-riko" which literally means items for the upbringing of the girl-child. The items are half bag of guinea-corn, one pot of locally brewed beer and a token amount of money. Every year, a pot of locally brewed beer, brooms, mats and bags of guinea-corn are taken to the family of the girl-child. In some communities, it is one pot of locally brewed beer and a hen while among others particularly among the Aposhi it is three pots of locally brewed beer on a yearly basis until she gets matured for marriage. The father of the girl-child receives as gifts, a pot of locally brewed beer and a hen while the mother of the girl-child is given half bag of guinea-corn during the first year.

During the second year, the father of the boy-child organizes communal farming which is part of the bridal services "gulmo". It usually involves between 15-20 people comprising of relations and friends who converge from different communities at the father-in-law's farm. In the past, the number of people participating could be up to a hundred. The period of the "gulmo" ranges from 15-20 years until the girl-child is fully mature for marriage. "Gulmo" among the Avadi starts when the girl-child is 6 years old. On such occasions, the father of the boy-child provides a pot of locally brewed beer and cooked groundnuts. "Gulmo" is usually done twice in a year.

Once the girl is matured for marriage, the father of the boy-child sends a representative to the family of the girl-child that they are ready to receive the bride. However, parental consent on the matter by the family of the girl-child could range between three months to two years. In some cases, the Maigirot cult priest has to be consulted by the father of the girl-child and once consent is granted the marriage ceremony will be conducted. The parents of the boy-child are expected to go along with a number of items which usually vary depending on the language- dialect group. These may include items such as ten pots of locally brewed beer, one ram, one hen and a dog each, if the family is a royalty. Others who are not from a ruling family are expected to bring items such as a goat, one hen and a dog as well. While among some language-dialect groups, they are expected to go along with three pots of locally brewed beer, a bag of roasted groundnuts which would serve as kolanuts for distribution and two thousand naira only (N2, 000.00). This is a common practice among the Aposhi in Agwara Local Government Area. The family of the boy-child takes care of the marriage festivities. The parents of the girl-child provides kitchen utensils and also some food items such as a basket of fish, meat, guinea-corn, palm oil that she is expected to give out some to the relations of her husband's family. Her new home is fully decorated with her kitchen utensils, food items and good mats. After a month in the husband's house she returns to the house of her father and spends about four weeks with them before she finally settles down with her husband.

Another form of marriage is "wife-stealing". Once a female and a male admire each another; the man may abduct the woman or girl irrespective of the fact that she is already betrothed. Once, that is established, he is expected to pay the former husband or the "husband to be" the bride wealth and the equivalent in monetary terms of all the agricultural services rendered to his in-law. Wife stealing is a demonstration of "manliness" and a man who could not achieve such feat is ridiculed among his peers. Indeed, some are alleged to use love potion to achieve such feat. Currently, this practice is fading away gradually with the advent of Christianity and Islam. However, while on the field, cases of wife stealing were witnessed in different research locations.

3.10 Market Days

Market days play a central role in the social and economic life among the Kambari. The market days are usually either after every 4th or 5th day. Apart from buying and selling of goods, it is an avenue for social interaction among young men and women (See Plate 2). It is a period meant for flirting, as well as opportunity for ‘wife-stealing’. The markets are usually divided into various sections for the sales of various food items, farming implements and other goods. Usually the outskirts of the markets are the places allocated for the sale of locally brewed beer “burukutu”. It is usually a melting point for the old and young from various neighbouring villages and hamlets. Trade by batter is a common practice in such drinking parlours. Prospective customers could exchange measures of guinea-corn, millet, corn and rice for some cups of the locally brewed beer “burukutu”.

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Plate 2: Market Scene

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3.11 Mode of Transportation

The Kambari are found in Niger North Senatorial Zone, a geo-political zone of the Niger State that has not witnessed much development; particularly, the area where the Kambari predominate, are the least developed. There is a network of few major roads and many feeder roads connecting various villages and settlements. The common means of transportation include camels and donkeys, particularly on market days in order to transport goods to markets and from the farms to households (See Plate 3). Also, another popularised means of transportation in this area is “the Okada”, also known as “achaba” among the Hausa and the Kambari.

Furthermore, due to nature of the roads, open Nissan Patrol Vans of different categories and lorries are important means of transportation from one community to another. In addition, in riverine areas the locally powered boats move people and goods from one location to another (See Plate 3). The State-owned ferry operates at the river-bank that separates Yauwri in Kebbi State and Agwara in Niger State.



Plate 3: Means of Transportation (Camel)



Plate 4: Means of Transportation (Boat)

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3.12 Mode of Dressing and Adornment

The Kambari female, either married or unmarried, traditionally covers only the lower part of the body, using a loin cloth, locally woven or Nigerian print tied around the waist and down slightly above the knees. Usually the upper parts of the body, including the breasts, usually remain uncovered. Currently, some put on brassieres to cover their breasts while others put on “T” shirts, an indication that some of them have embraced social change with respect to their mode of dressing (See Plate 5 and 6).

Traditionally, large wooden ear rings and beads are worn on the ears, neck and the waist, the one worn on the waist is called “Jigida” which are still worn by many today. Body marks are significant aspects of the adornment of the Kambari, particularly for women and girl-children. The ears and the lower lips are pierced by placing a stone on hot fire, and then the numb part is pressed on the hot stone and placed continuously on the desired part of the ears or the lower lips. The principle is that once those parts of the body become hot, the blood vessels cannot flow, at this juncture a needle with thread is pierced at the desired points and the thread is used to tie it. Every two days they move the thread a little to ensure it does not stick permanently in order for the wound to heal. They apply the heat from the stone on the pierced part continuously. Furthermore, in order to enlarge the pierced ear or the lower lips a clean short stick is used until they got bigger after which some leave the short wooden stick or place a white rubber as adornment. The nostril is also pierced and a long object is passed through it. This is a common practise among the Aposhi and the Awunchi. Also, girls have body tattoos on their faces, stomach, both hands. The body tattoos are done artistically and it takes between 2-3 years, with the stomach at age 6, and then followed by the hands after one year interval each when she is seen as almost due for marriage.

Some have observed that this form of dressing and adornment is primitive as a result of the fact that half of the entire body is left bare with no form of clothing. One of the major reasons is to present her to suitors that she has reached the marriage age and is now a fully matured girl.



Plate 5a: Mode of Dressing

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Plate 5b: Mode of Dressing

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3.13 Educational Facilities and Enrolment Rates

3.13.1 Educational Facilities

Educational institutions exist in the six Local Government Areas. These include public and privately run pre- primary, primary junior and senior secondary schools. However, there are very few privately run schools where the Kambari predominates. A significant player in the provision of educational facilities is the Faith- Based Organizations (FBOs). The Catholic Non-Government Organization known as Justice and Peace Commission for Development and Peace (JC DP) runs dry season schools for adults, boy and girl-children. The dry season schools are similar to literacy classes. They are known as dry season schools because the Kambari are predominantly farmers and are readily available during the dry season period when they have fully harvested their farm produce. Also, the United Missionary Christian Association (UMCA) under its Kambari Language Project known as “KLP” have been involved the development of Hausa - English dictionaries for the major language dialects. In addition, they also run literacy classes for various sub-groups in the communities.

3.13.2 Enrollment Rates in Study Area

Furthermore, these Local Governments Areas are among the educational disadvantaged zone in Niger state. The enrolment by gender and Local Government Areas revealed that girl-children are disadvantaged as compared to boy- children in all the various levels of schooling.

3.13.2.1 Distribution of Number of Public and Private Pre-Primary Schools and Enrollment by Gender and Local Government Area.

Table 3.1 presents the distribution of number of public and private pre-primary schools and enrollment by gender and Local Government Areas. As regards the number of public pre-primary schools, Borgu Local Government Area has the highest number of public pre-primary schools as compared to other Local Government Areas. On the other hand, Magama Local Government Area has the highest number of private pre- primary schools when compared to other Local Government Areas among the study area. In addition, the percent of girls enrollment in public pre-primary schools ranges from 34.3 percent to 45.9 percent. Mariga Local Government Areas has the least percent of girls enrollment in public pre-primary schools as compared to other Local Government Areas (34.3%). Also, the overall percent of girls enrolment for both public and private pre-primary

schools indicates a similar trend, Mariga Local Government Area has the least with 34.7 (Niger State, 2013).

Table 3.1 Distribution of Number of Public and Private Pre-Primary Schools and Erolment by Gender and Local Government Areas

LGAs	Public				Private				Total	
	No of Schools	Pupils	Girls	% Girls	No of Students	Pupils	Girls	% Girls	Pupils	% Girls
Agwara	17	1,230	526	42.8	0	0	0	-	975	42.8
Borgu	71	4,848	2,208	45.5	9	1147	538	46.9	5,995	45.7
Magama	33	1,931	886	45.9	19	1759	846	48.1	3,108	47.1
Mariga	37	2,054	705	34.3	1	32	19	59.4	2,086	34.7
Mashegu	26	800	324	40.5	0	0	0	-	683	40.6
Rijau	34	2,081	928	44.6	17	1048	447	42.7	2,645	43.8

Source: Niger State 2013 Annual School Census Report

3.13.2.2 Distribution of Total Public and Private Primary School Enrolment in Gender and Local Government Areas

Table 3.2 presents the distribution of total public and private primary school enrolment by gender and Local Government Areas. Mariga and Mashegu Local Government Areas have the least percent (32.0%) of total girls enrollement in public and private primary school enrollment in the six local Local Government Areas selected for the study (Niger State, 2013).

Table 3.2 Distribution of Total Public and Private Primary School Enrolment by Gender and Local Government Areas

LGAs	Total		
	Pupils	Girls	% Girls
Agwara	17,496	6,807	39.0
Borgu	21,515	9,689	45.0
Magama	25,276	9,040	36.0
Mariga	25,744	8,366	32.0
Mashegu	31,467	9,989	32.0
Rijau	29,984	11,739	39.0

Source: Niger State 2013 Annual School Report

3.13.2 Distribution of Public and Private Junior Secondary School Enrolment by Gender and Local Government Areas

Table 3.3 presents the distribution of public and private junior secondary school enrolment by gender and Local Government Areas. Table 3.3 revealed that Mariga and Mashegu Local Government Areas have least total percent of girls enrolment of 19.8 percent and 20.6 percent in public and private junior secondary schools. This trend is consistent with the enrolment rates for public and private primary schools in table 3.2 (Niger State, 2013).

Table 3.3. Distribution of Public and Private Junior Secondary School Enrolment by Gender and Local Government Areas

LGAs	Total		
	Pupils	Girls	% Girls
Agwara	1,157	429	37.1
Borgu	5,844	2,317	39.6
Magama	6,764	2,287	33.8
Mariga	2,775	535	19.8
Mashegu	6,504	1,342	20.6
Rijau	4,634	1,953	42.1

Source: Niger State 2013 Annual School Report

3.14 Health-Care Facilities and Utilization

There are different categories of health facilities located in each of the selected Local Government Area. The State and Local Governments have made provision for Primary Health Care Center (PHCC), Maternal and Child Health Centers (MCH), Basic Health Centre (BHC), Health Centres (HC), Hospital (Hosp) and Rural Hospital (RH). In addition, there are also Clinic and Maternity Clinic (CMC). In addition, there are also health-care facilities that are privately owned or established by Faith – Based Organizations (FBOs).

3.14.1 Ownership of Health Care Facilities by Type and Local Government Area

Table 3.4 presents the distribution of ownership of health-care facilities by type and Local Government Area. Table 3.4 indicates that the Local Government were the major player in the provision of modern health-care facilities for the people in the study area and federal government presence is only limited to Borgu Local Government Area. Mashegu has the highest number of health-care facilities with a total of 73 and Agwara the least, with a total of 21 health-care facilities as at 2010.

Table 3.4 Distribution of Ownership of Health - Care Facilities by Type and Local Government Areas

LGAs	Ownership					Total
	Federal Govt	State Govt	LGA	Faith	Private	
Agwara	-	-	17	1	3	21
Borgu	4	1	48	1	7	61
Magama	-	1	54	-	7	62
Mariga	-	1	52	-	7	60
Mashegu	-	-	49	1	23	73
Rijau	-	1	53	-	3	57

Source: Niger State Bureau of Statistics, 2011

3.14.2 Health-Care Utilization

In most Nigerian communities, the pathway to health care utilization is predominantly two, that is, modern and traditional. Traditionally, herbal medicine and the traditional healer play a very significant role in determining the causation and healing processes of illnesses and diseases in various communities among the Kambari. Despite social change and the introduction of modern medicine and western styled health-care facilities, people still patronize them depending on the nature of the illness, the individuals, religious affiliation and possibly educational background. Preferably, among the Kambari cases of mental illness, epilepsy, and continuous death of children in the family were usually referred to the traditional healer who is known as “*za yindi*” which literally means herbalist or “*za yo opocino*” which means one who heals among the Ashingini language dialect of the Kambari.

Within the household setting when a family member is sick, the head of the family determines the appropriate health-care system of use, which is, either the traditional healer to employ modern health-care system. Therefore, as a result of the patriarchal nature of the Kambari Society, women refer cases of illnesses in the family to their husbands who eventually take the final decision on the matter.

3.15 Pattern of Household Decision-Making

Men as husbands and relations play vital roles in decision-making among the Kambari. Men take important decisions about health seeking behavior of the family, sending children to school, children’s involvement learning a trade or going to leave with

relations, enforcement of traditions, giving consenting when the daughter is mature for marriage among others.

Women usually take decisions on matters concerning domestic affairs and usually the husband must be consulted before a final decision is taken. However, where women own poultry, farm produce, she takes decision on such matters. She can decide on when to sell either a hen, duck among others. In most cases, when there is other a cost implication on any issue, the men usually make the final decision. Traditionally, men are seen as the heads of households in patriarchal societies. Also, a women's decision making within the household depends on her age, rank among co-wives and household status.

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CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the research methodology adopted in the course of this study. This includes the research design and methodology, study area, study population, sample size, methods of data collection and analytical techniques.

4.1 Research Design

Isiugo-Abanihe (2002) posited that descriptive studies were specifically designed to depict precisely the attributes of a particular situation, community or group. As was the case with this study, the multi-methodological descriptive approach was adopted to explore the socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child among the Kambari. The study included both quantitative and qualitative research designs in order to fulfil the objectives of the study. The quantitative method involved survey research while the qualitative methods included Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), In-Depth Interviews (IDIs) and case studies. Walker (1985), cited in Ary, Jacobs and Razavieh (2002:23), had noted that “certain questions could not be answered by quantitative methods, while others could be answered by qualitative ones”. This fact led to the employment of a multi-methodological approach with respect to this study. Also, Hammersley (1996) noted that researches combined the two approaches mostly in three ways. Firstly, was to use one to verify the findings of the other research technique. Secondly, was to employ one as the groundwork for the other, and thirdly, it was usually employed each in a complementary fashion, to explore different aspects of the same research questions.

With regard to this study the last two reasons were applicable. The FGDs provided the groundwork and preliminary framework in the development of the structured questionnaires that were used for the research. This was quite significant in view of the dearth of similar studies particularly among the Kambari on the focus of the study. Furthermore, exploring the socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child required an in-depth understanding that qualitative methods offered.

In addition, Ary, Jacobs and Razavieh (2002) posited that currently there had been a trend towards rapprochement, whereby the same study employed both approaches in data collection based on the nature of the study. Consequently, the methodological debate that one approach was better than the other did not arise; rather the driving force or

motivation to adopt an approach depends on the nature of the research problem being investigated. In this case, the study of the socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child required an in-depth description and understanding as well as the extent of the practice and societal generalisation about it.

4.2 Study Area and Population

4.2.1 Study Area

The study was conducted among the Kambari of Niger State. As at 1961, the land area known as Niger State had a population of 1,194,508. Approximately thirty years later, that is, as at 1991, the population stood at 2,421,581. The 2006 population figure was 3,905,249, comprising 2,032,725 males and 1,917,524 females, with a proportional share of 51.5% for males and 48.8% for females respectively. The state population stood at an annual rate of 3.4% (Niger State, 2008; National Population Commission, 2006). Niger State is located at North-Central geo-political zone of Nigeria. The State shares borders with Zamfara State (North), Kebbi (North-West), Republic of Benin (West), Kogi (South), Kwara (South-West), Kaduna (North-West) and Federal Capital Territory, FCT (South-East). The State is administratively divided into 25 Local Government Areas (LGAs); the State has the following ethnic groups, Nupe, Hausa, Gbagyi, Kadara, Koro, Bassa, Pangu, Fulani, Dukawa, Dakkarkari, Kakanda and Kambari among others. Other ethnic groups such as the Igbo, Yoruba, Ijaw, Igala and numerous other smaller ethnic groups are also found in the state (Niger State, 2008).

4.2.2 Study Population

This study adopted a unique methodological approach in the selection of the study population. The sample population comprised adult married women and men in their reproductive years, that is, 15-49 years for women, and 20-65 years for men; also girl and boy-children between 10-17 years. The study population was a pair of adult women and the girl-children (daughters) of the specified age randomly selected from the household. Also adult men and their boy-children (sons) were randomly selected from a different household. The rationale for the adoption of the study population was to achieve a comparison among the sub-groups. Were their views, opinions and perceptions about the girl-child phenomenon likely to differ significantly from those of their fathers and mothers? It brought to fore the dynamism of change at the inter-generational level on household discriminatory practices as well as the socio-cultural practices that influenced

it. The inclusion of men and boy-children was quite significant due to their role in decision-making at the household and communal levels. In addition, exploring their views and perceptions, would make changes less threatening if their views were well articulated.

4.3 Sample Design

4.3.1 Sample Size

The sample size was statistically determined. Cochran's (1977) sample size formula was adopted to determine the sample size of the social survey as indicated below:

$$\text{Thus: } n = \frac{Z^2 P(1-P)}{d^2}$$

Where:

- n = the sample size
- Z = Z statistics for level of confidence
- p = expected proportion or prevalence
- d = precision

$$n = \frac{(1.96)^2 (0.05)(1 - 0.05)}{(0.05)^2} = 385$$

$$n = 385$$

The study adopted 385 as the sample size for the pair of father/sons each and since the focus of the study was on the girl-child an additional 7.5% was added to derived sample size of 414.

$$\text{Thus: } 385 \times \frac{7.5}{100} = 29$$

Where the pair of mother/daughter

$$385 + 29 = 414$$

Thus, the pair of mother/daughter sample size was 414 each due to the unique methodology adopted in the selection of the sample population. The sample sizes for each of the Local Government Areas were based on the size of the total population of each. Therefore, a total of 1,598 respondents were interviewed in the course of the study for the household survey. See Table 4.1

Table 4.1: Proportional Distribution of Sample Size by Sub Groups and Selected Local Government Areas.

Local Govt Areas	Sample Size by Sub-Groups					
	Adult Male	Boy-Child	Adult Female	Girl-Child	Total	%
Agwara	23	23	25	25	96	6
Borgu	66	66	70	70	272	17
Magama	69	69	75	75	288	18
Mariga	77	77	83	83	320	20
Mashegu	81	81	87	87	360	21
Rijau	69	69	74	74	286	18
	385	385	414	414	1598	100

The qualitative methods comprised of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), In Depth Interviews (IDIs) and case studies. Fifteen FGDs were conducted among adult men and women as well as among boy and girl-children. The size of each FGD was between 10 to 12 participants, with the exception of the FGDs for older women which had 8 participants in each group. Consequently, a total of 164 participants were involved in 15 FGDs. The in-depth interviews were conducted among 14 participants comprising influential men and women, traditional rulers, religious leaders and government officials. Finally, case studies involving 12 girl-children were conducted.

4.3.2 Sampling Technique

A multi-stage sampling technique was adopted for the study. Majumdar (1991:67) asserted that in multi-stage sampling, “there is a hierarchy of different types of units, each first stage until being divided or potentially divisible into second units, etc”. Babbie (2005) posited that multi-stage sampling involved two basic steps, which were listing and sampling. It involved listing of primary sampling units and the sampling of units or elements from the secondary sampling units.

Firstly, the Local Government Areas were purposively sampled in view of the fact that the focus of the study was on the Kambari who are dominant in 6 of out the 25 LGAs of the Niger State. Among the six LGAs, the Kambari predominate in Agwara, Magama, Rijau, Borgu Mariga and Mashegu Local Government Areas. Secondly, 26 political wards out of a total of 63 listed wards, in the selected six Local Government Areas were purposively selected because these were the wards where the Kambari predominate. Thirdly, a complete list of the enumeration areas (EAs) demarcated for the 2006 Census

by the National Population Commission was obtained. There were a total of 7,160 EAs out of which 63 EAs were randomly selected using simple random technique and this represented 1.0 percent of the total EAs of the selected LGAs for the study. Fourthly, 63 EAs were further sub-divided into clusters ranging from an average of 2 to 7 clusters. Consequently, a total of 799 Households (HHs) were randomly selected from the six selected LGAs. A sampling frame was created for the randomly selected research locations. Furthermore, as indicated in Table 4.2 the distribution of the sample size for each of the local government areas were proportionally allocated based on the population size of each Local Government Area.

Table 4.2: Population Size, Number of Listed and Selected Wards, Enumeration Areas, Clusters, Households and Total Sample Size of Selected Local Government Areas.

Local Govt Areas	Total Population Size	Male Population	Female Population	Listed Wards	Selected Wards	No of EAs	No of Selected EAs	No of Clusters	No of Selected HHs	Total Sample Size LGAs
Agwara	57,413	29,437	27,976	10	3	564	3	2	48	96
Borgu	171,965	88,353	83,612	10	4	1,386	10	5	136	272
Magama	181,653	92,691	88,962	11	5	860	13	7	144	288
Mariga	199,430	101,801	97,620	11	5	1,353	12	6	160	320
Mashegu	215,022	109,530	105,492	10	5	1,601	13	7	168	336
Rijau	176,053	90,214	85,839	11	4	1,396	12	6	143	286
	1,001,536	512,035	489,501	63	26	7,160	63	33	799	1,598

Source: National Population Commission, 2006 .

With regard to the selection of households, a systematic sampling technique was used in the selection of households. With the aid of the enumeration areas, a sampling frame was created for the randomly selected thirty-three (33) research locations in the six LGAs where the Kambari predominated. In the selection of households, every second household was chosen after the random selection of the first household. For adult males and females, the household schedule provided for the listing of all members of the household as well as their eligibility. An eligible respondent was randomly selected among adults who had either boy- or girl-children between 10-17 years, using a selection grid provided for each of the questionnaire. As regards eligible boy-and girl-children, the eligible children were listed on the questionnaire and respondents were randomly selected with the aid of a selection grid provided for in the questionnaire. A return visit

was made where the eligible respondent was not available at the period when the interview was conducted with the adult female or male.

4.4 Methods of Data Collection

The study adopted the triangulation approach in research design and data collection techniques. Firstly, the adoption of a structured questionnaire was to provide a platform that would measure incidences of the variables under investigation. The Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), in-depth interview (IDIs) and case studies was an attempt to explore the socio-cultural milieus that engender household discriminatory practices against the girl-child which indeed was the central focus of the study. Exploring the socio-cultural milieu that engendered household discriminatory practices required the adoption of such methods in order to provide in-depth understanding of the socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child among the Kambari.

Fraenkel and Wallen (2003) opined that the adoption of the triangulation approach in data collection usually enhanced validity of the instruments used, quality of the data collected as well as the accuracy of the researcher's interpretations. Babbie (2007) further corroborated this view and also posited that it was a valuable research strategy bearing in mind that each method had its peculiar strengths and weaknesses.

4.4.1 Social Survey

In view of the target population adopted for this study, two questionnaires were designed for adult men and women as well as girl-and boy-children. The questionnaire for the adult men and women collected information on socio-demographic characteristics, reproductive and fertility outcomes, nature of household discriminatory practices. It also elicited information on their attitude and those of significant-others to household discriminatory practices, their involvement in traditional practices as child betrothal, restrictive food taboos and beautification marks. The questionnaire also elicited information on familial roles, valuation of the girl-child, conception of cultural construction of girlhood as well as their perception of household discriminatory practices. The questionnaire comprised of structured questions with pre-coded responses as well as few open-ended questions (Appendix 1).

On the other hand, the questionnaire for the girl-and boy-children elicited information on their background as well as their experiences on assignment of familial roles, the

household discriminatory practices as regards schooling, family food distribution pattern, and assignment of domestic work. It also further elicited information on the attitude of significant others to household practices and perception of the girl-child on household discriminatory practices (See Appendix 2). In some cases the interviews were conducted in Hausa or Kambari. Most Kambari were multilingual with varying skills in Hausa, English and other languages which was dependent primarily on their age group and educational attainment. Hausa was a language used for wider communication in most communities.

4.4.2 Focus Group Discussion (FGDs)

Isiugo-Abanihe and Obono (2002) asserted that the use of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) had become popular among Nigerian Social Scientists. It was particularly, useful in providing insights on the “range of opinions and ideas within a community in terms of beliefs, experiences, attitudes, practices, conceptions and misconceptions” (Isiugo-Abanihe and Obono, 2002:75). FGDs were conducted among 8-12 participants in each group among adult men, women, in and out-of-school boy-and girl-children in 6 urban and rural locations. The locations were Salka (urban), Bunsuru (rural), Aza’voku (rural), Balagu (rural), Mara’astu (rural) and Papirin Gajera in Agwara and Magama Local Government Area. A total of 15 FGDs were conducted based on the following criteria; age, educational attainment and place of residence (Table 4.3). In each sub-group, that is, adult men and adult women as well as girl and boy-child, 5 FGDs were conducted each. The FGD guides (see Appendix 3-Adult & Appendix 4-Girl/Boy-child) focused on beliefs, attitudes, common practices related to child-care practices, gender relations and roles, discriminating practices, socio-cultural practices associated with household discriminatory practices, cultural construction of girlhood and patterns of socialisation. The FGDs were conducted prior to the survey and played a significant role in providing the preliminary information that informed the construction of the questionnaires for the social survey.

Table 4. 3: Distribution of FGD Participants by Sub-Groups, Age, Education, Place of Residence, and Research Locations

Sub-Groups	Age	Education	Place of Residence	Location	LGA	Total No of Participants	No of FGDs per Sub-Group	FGD No
Girl-Child	10-17years	In-School	Urban	Salka	Magama	12		1
		Out-of- School	Rural	Balagu	Magama	12		2
Boy-Child	10-17years	Out-of- School	Rural	Bunsuru	Agwara	12		3
		In-School	Urban	Salka	Magama	12	5	4
Adult Married Men	20-44years	Out-of- School	Rural	Bunsuru	Agwara	11		5
		Educated Younger Men	Urban	Salka	Magama	10		6
	20-44years	Illiterate Younger Men	Rural	Bunsuru	Agwara	11		
		Educated Older Men	Urban	Salka	Magama	10	5	7
	45 +years	Illiterate Older Men	Rural	Balagu	Magama	10		8
	45 +years	Illiterate Younger Men	Rural	Azavoku	Agwara	12		9
Adult Married Women	15-44years	Educated Younger Women	Urban	Salka	Magama	12		10
		Illiterate Younger Women	Rural	Mara'astu	Magama	12	5	11
Adult Married Women	20-44years	Illiterate Younger Women	Rural	Papirin	Agwara	12		12
		Educated Older Women	Urban	Gajere				
	45 +years	Illiterate Older Women	Rural	Salka	Magama	08		14
				Papirin	Agwara	08		15
					Total	164	15	

4.4.3 In-Depth Interviews (IDIs)

Fourteen In-depth Interviews (IDIs) were conducted as a part of the study, involving the following sub-groups: traditional rulers and title holders (4), religious leaders (3), male (4) and (3) women community leaders. The in-depth interview respondents were purposively selected based on language dialect groupings, ranking of the traditional leaders as well as religious affiliation. On the other hand, the women were selected on the basis of their influential role in the community, educational background and age

(See Table 4.4).

The in-depth interviews focused on the harmful socio-cultural practices associated with discriminatory practices, the traditional practises (child betrothal, restrictive food taboos and bodily beautification marks) and on the girl-child vis-à-vis the boy-child. Furthermore, the IDIs explored inter-generational dialogue and how to promote gender equality. The in-depth interviews attempted to relate the past with the future in order to capture the dynamism of the society with respect to discriminatory practices.

The In-Depth Interviews (IDIs), as a qualitative instrument of data collection, was significant in many regards. Firstly, the participants in the IDIs were custodians of the culture of the people with in-depth knowledge on the beliefs, values, norms, and traditional practices that engendered discriminatory practices. Interaction with this category of participants provided valuable information that could not be generated in a

focus group discussion setting or survey. Secondly, they were able to ascertain changes occurring in the society over time on the issues and variables under investigation. Thirdly, as vehicle of change agents within the society and having in-depth knowledge of the people they were in a better placed position to highlight efforts being made to address the problems confronting the girl-child and what kind of strategies could be more effective and practicable in ensuring inter-generational dialogue and gender parity. Finally, it also provided opportunity to probe further to clarify issues raised by the participants in the course of interacting with them (See Appendix 5).

Table 4.4: Demographics of IDI Participants

S/No	LGA	Location	Category	Gender	Education	Age	Religious Affiliation
1	Magama	Salka	Traditional Ruler	Male	Educated	55years	Muslim
2	Borgu	Bakon Mission	Traditional Ruler	Male	Illiterate	60years	Muslim
3	Rijau	Genu	Traditional Ruler	Male	Illiterate	57years	Muslim
4	Agwara	Agwara	Local Government Official	Male	Educated	45years	Christian
5	Agwara	Agwara	Community Influential	Male	Educated	56years	Christian
6	Magama	Wando	Community Influential	Male	Educated	63years	Christian
7	Rijau	Mandibu	Community Influential	Female	Illiterate	54years	Traditional Religion
8	Magama	Wando	Community Influential	Female	Educated	50years	Christian
9	Magama	Salka	Community Influential	Female	Educated	46years	Muslim
10	Borgu	Bakon Mission	Religious Cleric	Male	Illiterate	57years	Christian
11	Borgu	Utula	Religious Cleric	Male	Illiterate	60years	Traditional Religion
12	Magama	Auna	Religious Cleric	Male	Illiterate	56years	Muslim
13.	Magama	Auna	Traditional Ruler	Male	Educated	55years	Muslim
14.	Borgu	Bakon Mission	Community Youth Leader	Male	Educated	35years	Muslim

4.4.4 Case Studies

Rubin and Babbie (2001:390) noted that “case study is an idiographic examination of a single individual, family, group, organisation, community, or society”. The case studies conducted in this study were a configuration of series of events or actions of the actors in order to present different profiles of girl-children and how socio-practices affected them. The particularity of each case study had to be located within a specific context (Ellen, 1984). The case-studies were of significant value because they provided the opportunity to highlight unique experiences of the girl-child from varied religions, family

backgrounds, language dialects, age-groups and birth-order. Furthermore, the details and particularity of each account provided more in-depth understanding of discriminatory practices against the girl-child among the Kambari. In addition, due to the descriptive nature of the presentation of the case studies, it offered an “apt illustration” of her gender roles, attitude to discriminatory practices and other related traditional practices. Case study guides were developed which facilitated the collection of data (See appendix 6).

During the course of the survey a total of 20 case studies were identified after interaction with the female interviewers in the five Local Government Areas based on their unique peculiarities or challenges confronting them. Some of the challenges confronting the girl-children identified for the case studies were unintended pregnancy, failed betrothal arrangement, drop-out cases from school due to various reasons. Others were restricted from eating certain kinds of meat and fish in their respective household. Some were never sent to school for diverse reasons. In addition, on a positive note some in- school girl- children were selected because of their academic performance and future ambition. A total of 12 case studies were randomly selected for the purpose of this study (See Table 4. 5). The female interviewers were given specific guidelines in determining who were to be selected. These included drop-outs and never attended school cases, cases of failed child betrothal arrangement and the practice of restrictive taboos in their respective households. Parents as well as the girl-child’s comments in the course of the interview served as a cue to probe further and interrogate such cases. A detailed account of each study was undertaken by interviewing the girl-child and her parents or guardians. Both in-school and out- of-school girl-children in urban and rural areas were interviewed. Adopting this approach encapsulated the significant feature of the socio-cultural environment that surrounded the girl-child.

Table4. 5: Demographics of Girl –Children involved in the Case Study

Case Study No	LGA	Location	Schooling Status	Age	Birth Order	Language Dialect	Religious Affiliation
1	Agwara	Gallah	In-School	11years	4 th	Ashingini	Christian
2	Agwara	Gallah	Out-of-School	11years	1 st	Aposhi	Muslim
3	Agwara	Gallah	Out-of--School	15years	5 th	Ashingini	Muslim
4	Agwara	Gallah	In-School	10years	5 th	Ashingini	Muslim
5	Rijau	Genu	Out-of--School	11years	5 th	Ashingini	Muslim
6	Borgu	Bakon Mission	Out-of-School	17years	2 nd	Aposhi	Christian
7	Mariga	Dusten Magaji	Out-of-School	11years	5 th	Avadi	Muslim
8	Magama	Salka	In-School	15years	2 nd	Ashingini	Christian
9	Rijau	Warari	Out-of-School Out-of-School	17years	1 st	Akimba	Muslim
10	Magama	Salka	In-School	15years	6 th	Akimba	Christian
11	Mariga	Bariki	Out-of-School	10years	3 rd	Aposhi	Traditionalist
12	Mariga	Kabogo	Out-of-School	15years	3 rd	Aposhi	Traditionalist

4.5 Validity and Reliability of the Study Instruments

There are two criteria for measuring the quality of the instrument used in quantitative studies, these are mainly validity and reliability (Ary, Jacobs and Razavieh, 2002; Babbie, 2005). Validity is a “term used in describing a measure that accurately reflects the concept it is intended to measure” (Babbie, 2007: 146). Also, it has been conceptualised as “the appropriateness, meaningfulness and usefulness of the influences made by a researcher” (Fraenkel and Wallen, 2003). On the other hand, reliability refers to “the quality of measurement method that suggested that the same data would have been collected each time in repeated observations” (Babbie, 2007:143). Similarly, it refers to “the consistency of scores or answers from one administration of an instrument to another and from one set of items to another” (Fraenkel and Wallen, 2003: 119).

4.5.1 Validity and Reliability of Quantitative Instruments

Two structured questionnaires with few open-ended questions were designed for married adult men and women and for boy and girl-children. The validity of the questionnaires was assessed on the basis of content-related evidence of validity. The key issues of content validity were: How appropriate was the content and format of the instruments? How comprehensive, does it logically get at the intended variables or how adequate does the sample of items or questions represent the content to be assessed? Was the format appropriate? (Fraenkel and Wallen, 2003).

The following concerns were taken into consideration in constructing the instruments. Firstly, each of the questionnaires was detailed with relevant sample items on each of the variables to be investigated. Secondly, there were adequate sample items on each of the variables under investigations: sex preference, discriminatory practices, cultural construction of boyhood and girlhood, familial role, household power dynamics traditional practices and the status of the girl-child. Thirdly, each of the sample items listed represented the content to be assessed for each of the variables to be investigated. A number of measures were adopted in order to ensure the reliability of the study instruments. Firstly, the interviewers were properly trained in a 2-day workshop before undertaking the fieldwork. Secondly, the questionnaires were pre-tested in order to ensure constituency of responses to items on the questionnaires. Thirdly, key concepts and variables were clearly defined and translated into the Kambari language dialect in order to ensure uniformity in the way and manner interviewers asked the respondents questions. Fourthly, questionnaires guides were developed for each of the key study instruments such that the interviewers had a clear understanding of each question. Fifthly, questionnaires were edited while on the field to ensure that ambiguous cases were ratified through revisits. Sixthly, apart from the interviewers, there were supervisors who closely monitored the interviewers.

4.5.2 Validity and Reliability of Qualitative Data

As regards the qualitative data collected, there was structural collaboration that supported the interpretation of data running through the Focus Group Discussion (FGDs), In-depth Interview (IDIs) and Case Studies (CSs). The responses of respondents were similar on issues raised during the course of the study. These were issues raised on sex preference, cultural construction of girlhood, assignment of familial role, discriminatory practices, traditional practices and the status of the girl-child vis-à-vis the boy-child. Secondly, there was consensus between qualitative and quantitative data on the key issues raised in this study.

4.6 Administration of Data Collection Instruments and Organisation of Field Work

The administration of data collected was critical to the quality of data collected. The following procedures were adopted.

4.6.1 Procurement of Enumeration Areas

The National Population Commission (NPC) was approached for the Enumeration Area (EAs) of the selected Local Government Areas where the Kambari predominated which were mainly rural, with the exception of Salka and Agwara. Consequently, out of thirty-three research locations only two, Salka and Agwara qualified to be categorized as urban centres. A total of 63 Enumerated Areas (EAs) were employed in the selection of the research locations. Furthermore, for each of the research location a sampling frame was developed for the selection of households.

4.6.2 Recruitment of Field Workers

Prior to the commencement of the fieldwork, one Research Assistant, two supervisors and eight interviewers comprising males and females were recruited. The minimum educational attainment among the interviewers was the Nigeria Certificate of Education (NCE). They were also fluent in Hausa and the Kambari language-dialects. Also in each of the research location at least two or three guides were employed to follow each research team so that the local residents could feel comfortable to interact with the teams.

4.6.3 Training of Fieldworkers

A 3-day training programme was organised for fieldworkers. The training programme covered the following issues: The ABC of social science research, sampling techniques for selection of respondents, handling difficult situations and tips for conducting interviews. Furthermore, the training programme also considered issues relating to the data collection work plan. The training employed interactive methodology such as discussions, role plays and exercises and it greatly enhanced the skills of the fieldworkers in administering the questionnaires.

4.6.4 Data Collection Schedule

The data collection for the FGDs was for duration of two weeks in the selected locations in Agwara and Magama LGAs which was the first phase of the data collection schedule. On the other hand, the household survey, In-depth Interviews and Case studies were spread over the selected research locations for duration of six weeks.

4.7 Data Management and Analytical Techniques

The study adopted series of procedures in managing the data collected during the fieldwork and post-fieldwork period for both the qualitative and quantitative data.

4.7.1 Qualitative Data

The FGDs and the IDIs were recorded on cassettes and later transcribed. Guided by the research questions, hypotheses, key issues and concepts raised in the study, the transcribed data were coded into various categories and themes with value labels. Drawing insight from Bogdan and Biklen (2002) cited in Ary, Jacobs & Razavieh (2002) on how to organise qualitative data, the following codes were adopted: context codes (household discriminatory practices, socio-cultural practices), definition of the situation codes (socio-cultural practices, status of the girl-child) perspectives held by participants (cultural construction of girlhood, household discriminatory practices, socio-cultural practices etc). Other codes were participants' ways of thinking about certain categories of people (the girl-child, the boy-child,) process codes (bodily beautification marks, child betrothal) events and activity codes such as (familial roles of the boy and the girl-child, betrothal and farming services).

Furthermore, patterns and explanations were drawn through constant comparative methods, concept mapping of the transcribed data (Babbie, 2007). In addition, with regard to the case studies, the cross-case oriented analysis was adopted to tease out patterns and causal factors associated with household discriminatory practices as presented in the idiographic explanations of each of the case studies (Babbie, 2005).

4.7.2 Quantitative Data

The structured quantitative questionnaires for both adults and the girl/boy-child were pre-coded with a few opened-ended questions. During the fieldwork the questionnaires were edited immediately they were submitted to the supervisors. In addition, codes were developed for open-ended questionnaires at the end of the fieldwork. Also, the codes for each of the responses were entered in the space provided for it in each of the questionnaires. Thus, a code book was developed for each of the questionnaires and value labels for each of the variables. Data entry was carried out using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences for Windows (SPSS) version 17.0 (SPSS, 2008). In

order to enhance the quality of the data, data cleaning was done in order to eliminate inappropriate codes by cross-checking each of the categories entered for both questionnaires. Three levels of analysis were conducted in the course of this study. Firstly, was the univariate analysis which provided descriptive data on personal characteristics, fertility, and reproductive preferences, assignment of familial roles, household practices, attitude to discriminatory practices, others were cultural construction of girlhood and boyhood, perception of girl and boy-children on discriminatory practices and the status of the girl-child. Secondly, bivariate analysis were undertaken in order to determine the effects of explanatory variables that sought to explain discriminatory practices. Thirdly, multivariate analysis using logistic regression identified the predictive factors that engendered discriminatory behaviour towards the girl-child.

Finally, analyses were undertaken separately for adult males, females and also for girl/boy children. This was quite significant in view of the fact that they were paired, that is, adult female/girl-child and adult male/boy-child. A comparison of their views provided insight on the dynamism of the society with respect to the subject matter.

4.7.3 Bivariate Data Analysis

The bivariate analysis employed chi-square tests in an attempt to explore the association between the study variables. Cross-tabulation of data adopted Pearson chi-square; values were obtained to determine the relationship between variables. A total of three cross – tabulations were presented in the course of this study.

4.7.4 Multivariate Data Analysis

The study adopted the binomial logistic regression analysis for the following reasons. Firstly the survey data of this study was moderately large enough to generate reliable results. Secondly, the outcome measure was a dichotomous variable which was one of the underlying assumptions for employing binomial logistic regression. Thirdly, the logistic regression models were able to determine the effect(s) of the explanatory variables on the outcome variable.

The models developed explored the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices by adult respondents and also boy and girl-children. It further explored approval of

discriminatory practices by boy and girl-children in their future households. Logistic regression models were used to know the exact effect(s) of the independent variables on the dependent variable(s). Based on the logistic models probability indices, it was possible to predict the likelihood effect of exhibiting discriminatory attitude towards the girl-child and also the predictors that determined her exposure to discrimination. A total of 15 models had been generated from the dependent variable(s) under-study. In each model, one of the categories listed under the variable heading was a reference category against which all other values were compared by default values; the reference categories were assigned a regression estimate of 1.00. Regression estimates greater 1.00 indicated that the odd for the “outcome variable” for the category in question were greater than for the reference category. Conversely, regression estimates of less than 1.00 indicated that odds for the outcome variable for the category in question are less than that for the reference category.

The dependent variable, EDB, was Exhibiting Discriminatory Behaviour(EDB) on girl – child, which measured discriminatory behaviour was treated as categorical variables, taking the value of 1 if exposed and 0 if not . The logistic regression gave each regressor a value b, which measured the regressor’s independent contribution to the dependent variable (EDB). Another dependent variable was Approval of Discriminatory Practice (ADP), which was treated as categorical variables, also taking the value of 1 if approved and 0 if not. Lastly, another dependent variable was Children Discriminatory Behaviour (CDB), which measured the likelihood of children discriminatory behaviour in the near future, it was also treated as categorical variable, taking the value of 1 if would discriminate and 0 if not.

The logistic regression can be expressed as the log of the odds or logit model: (Peng, Lee and Ingersoll, 2002:50)

$$\text{Logit}(\gamma) = \ln \log \left(\frac{\pi}{1-\pi} \right) = \alpha + \beta_1 x_1 + \beta_2 x_2 + \dots + \beta_k x_k$$

Therefore,

$$\pi = \text{Probability}(\gamma) = \text{outcome of interest} \quad x_1 = x_1, \quad x_2 = x_2$$

$$\frac{e^{\alpha + \beta_1 x_1 + \beta_2 x_2}}{1 + e^{\alpha + \beta_1 x_1 + \beta_2 x_2}}$$

Where π was the probability of the outcome of interest or the probability of an “event” occurring α was the γ interest.

β_s Were regression coefficients estimated from the data.

x_s Were a set of predictors (independent variables) and e is the base of the natural logarithm = 2.71828

In logistic regression, the parameters of the model, that is, α and β_s , were estimated using the maximum likelihood (ML) method, that is the coefficients that made the observed results most “likely” were selected (Peng, Lee and Ingersoll, 2002). The study reported four tests to determine the fitness of each model, namely: Likelihood ratio test, Wald test, Hosmer and Lemeshow Goodness-of-fit test and the correctly classified table.

1. Likelihood Ratio Test

It was also called the log-likelihood test, which was based on $-2LL$ (deviance). It was a measure of how well the estimated model fitted the likelihood. It tested the null hypothesis that all population logistics coefficients except the constant were zero. The model chi-square measured the improvement in fit that the explanatory variable made compared to the null model. A good model was one that resulted in a high likelihood of the observed results, which by interpretation would result to a small number for $-2LL$ (Peng, Lee and Ingersoll, 2002).

2. Wald’s Test

The Wald test was commonly used to test the significance of individual logistic regression coefficients for each independent variable, that is, to test the null hypothesis in the logistic regression that a particular logit (effect) coefficient was zero. The Wald test was the squared ratio of the unstandardized logistic coefficient to its standard error. (Peng, Lee, and Ingersoll, 2002; Nwokocha, 2004)

3. Hosmer-Lemeshow Goodness-of-Fit-Test

It was the recommended test for the overall fit of a binary regression model, that is, whether the predicted probabilities for a covariate match the observed probabilities. A large P-value indicated a good match, likewise a small P-value indicated a poor match. If the H-1 goodness –of-fit test statistics was greater than 05, which was the case for well-fitting models, the null hypothesis was not rejected that there was no difference between

observed and model-predicted values. The interpretation was that the model estimates fit the data at an acceptable level (Peng, Lee and Ingersoll, 2002; Nwokocha, 2004).

4. Classification Table

It was a 2 x 2 table which tallied correct and incorrect estimates for the full model with the independents as well as the constant. It indicated how many of the observations had been predicted correctly the higher the overall percentage of correct predictions, the better the model (Peng, Lee and Ingersoll, 2002; Nwokocha, 2004).

4.7.5 Transformation of Variables.

A critical area that has suffered neglect in methodological publications in social survey research was the issue of data management and its preparation. This is particularly significant for further research and replication by researchers (Gayle and Lambert, 2009). The quality of any statistical analysis or modelling procedure adopted for any study depended firstly on the quality of the data to be analysed or modelled. Secondly, the extent to which the procedure was consistent with underlying substantive research questions (Rowe, 2006).

In order to avoid problems associated with composite variables, such as the possibility of an indicator contributing more to the measurement of the composite than others, the development of a composite variable on discriminatory behaviour was avoided (Rowe, 2006; Babbie, 2007). Rather each discriminatory practice had to be considered individually in view of the fact that opinions on each were likely to vary. Therefore, it was important to capture the proper feeling and ideas about each of them. In testing of the hypotheses, discriminatory practice in educational opportunities towards the girl-child was employed due to the importance in determining the life chances and status of the girl-child.

However, with respect to the independent variables, more specifically the ideational variables were transformed to be able to develop the model that is being presented in the study. Firstly, on the conception of gender roles, was a predictor in the model. Relevant research question in the survey instrument (Q 407) item 2 which stated that “A boy should share in the domestic work at home” was employed. The item had a dichotomous response “yes”=1 and “No=2”. A ‘a yes’ responses was transformed to “rigid

conception” and recoded 1, while the “no” response was transformed to “liberal conception” and recorded 0.

Secondly, on childhood experiences, which was another predictor and appropriate research question employed from the survey instrument (Q601) item 1 was on domestic work assignment which stated “girls were assigned most of the domestic work” .A “yes” response was transformed to “negative” and recoded 1. On the other hand, a “no” response was transformed to “positive” and recoded 0.

Thirdly, the ideational variable on pattern of decision-making did not require any form of transformation likewise the coding which was retained in the model for the purpose of testing the hypothesis. In addition, another research question on the survey item (Q 803) was employed to determine the pattern of decision making. It stated “Do you think non-participation by women in decision-making is likely to affect the girl-child negatively? A “yes” response indicated “non participation of women” which was coded 1 and the “no” response was coded 0, which was the reference category.

4.7.6 Model Specifications

The following equations were estimated and employed in the regression models to predict the likelihood of exhibiting household discriminatory practices as well as the likelihood of approval of household discriminatory practices by a set of explanatory variables as follows:

$$EDP = \beta_0 + \beta_1 GEN + \beta_2 LIS + \beta_3 RLR + \beta_4 TMU + \beta_5 REL + \beta_6 DCU \dots\dots\dots (1)$$

$$EIDP = \beta_0 + \beta_1 CGR + \beta_2 CHE + \beta_3 PDM + \beta_4 VWP \dots\dots\dots (2)$$

$$FDP = \beta_0 + \beta_1 RLR + \beta_2 SCS + \beta_3 REL \dots\dots\dots (3)$$

$$ADP = \beta_0 + \beta_1 GEN + \beta_2 RLR + \beta_3 LIS + \beta_4 REL \dots\dots\dots (4)$$

$$ADP = \beta_0 + \beta_1 GEN + \beta_2 RLR + \beta_3 SCS + \beta_4 REL \dots\dots\dots (5)$$

$$CDB = \beta_0 + \beta_1 RLR + \beta_2 SCS + \beta_3 REL \dots\dots\dots (6)$$

Equation 1

The basic assumption underlying the specification of the logit regression is that the probability of exhibiting household discriminatory behaviour (EDB) by adults depends on a set of explanatory variables.

Where

EDP= Exhibiting Discriminatory Practice (dependent variable)

GEN= Gender of Respondent

LIS= Literacy Status

RLR= Residential Location of Respondent

TMU= Type of Marital Union

REL= Religious Affiliation

OCU= Occupation of Respondent

β_0 = Intercept/constant

β_1 to β_6 = Regression coefficients that show the impact of the explanatory variables on the dependent

Equation 2:

The basic assumption underlying the specification of logit regression is that the probability of exhibiting household discriminatory behavior towards the girl-child depends on a set of ideational explanatory variables held/practiced by adult respondents, where:

EDP= Exhibiting Household Discriminatory Practice (dependent variable)

CGR= Conception of Gender Roles

CHE= Childhood Experiences of Adult

PDM = Pattern of Decision Making

VWP = Valuation of Women's Participation in Decision Making

β_0 = Intercept/constant

β_1 to β_4 = Regression coefficients that show the impact of the explanatory variables on the dependent variable.

Equation 3:

The basic assumption underlying the logit regression is that the probability of Facing Household Discriminatory Practice (FDP) by the girl-child depends on a set of explanatory variables.

Where

FDP =Facing Discriminatory Practice (dependent variable)

RLR= Residential Location of Respondent

SCS= Schooling Status of Respondent

REL= Religious Affiliation

β_0 = Intercept/constant

β_1 to β_3 = Regression coefficients that show the impact of the explanatory variables on the dependent.

Equation 4

The basic assumption of the logit regression is that the probability of approval of household discriminatory practice (ADP) by adults depends on a set of explanatory variables.

Where

ADP= Approval of Discriminatory Practice (dependent variable)

GEN= Gender of Respondent

RLR= Residential Location of Respondent

LIS= Literacy Status

REL= Religious Affiliation

β_0 = Intercept/constant

β_1 to β_3 = Regression coefficients that show the impact of the explanatory variables on the dependent variable

With regards to this equation three models were developed in order to achieve comparisons between firstly combined adult respondents and combined children respondents. Secondly, between fathers (adult male) and sons (boy-child) and thirdly between mothers (adult female) and daughters (girl-child).

Equation 5

The basic assumption of the logit regression is that the probability of approval of discriminatory practices by children depends on a set of explanatory variables.

Where

ADP= Approval of Discriminatory Practice (dependent variable)

GEN= Gender of Respondent

RLR= Residential Location of Respondent

SCS= Schooling Status of Respondent

REL= Religious Affiliation

β_0 = Intercept/constant

β_1 to β_3 = Regression coefficients that show the impact of the explanatory variables on the dependent variable.

Equation 6

The basic assumption of the logit regression is that the probability of children exhibiting discriminatory behaviour in the future depends on a set of explanatory variables.

Where

CDB= Children Discriminatory Behaviour (dependent variable)

RLR= Residential Location of Respondent

SCS= Schooling Status of Respondent

REL= Religious Affiliation

β_0 = Intercept/constant

β_1 to β_3 = Regression coefficients that show the impact of the explanatory variables on the dependent variable.

4.7.7 Testing of Hypotheses

Hypotheses were drawn in order to provide further insights into the phenomenon under investigation. A total of five (5) hypotheses were tested employing logistic regression coefficients. Also, in order to arrive at far-reaching conclusions on each of the hypotheses, this study employed the following statistical tests: Likelihood ratio (LR) test, Wald test and Hosmer and Lemeshow (H-L) test of goodness of fit and the classification table.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

Social Science has sets of principles and standards that usually guide the conduct of research in each discipline. Despite the fact that there is no consensus on the number of issues critical in determining the ethical validity of any research, some commonalities however exist. These include the following: informed consent process, voluntary participation, and respect for research participants, risk-benefit ratio, socio-cultural value and contributions to science (Rubin and Babie, 2005; Obono *et al.*, 2006; Adejumo, 2008). Likewise, the British Sociological Association (BSA) and the American Sociological Association (ASA) reiterated the need for professional integrity and competence, privacy and confidentiality, respect for the rights, dignity and diversity of research participants (BSA, 2002; ASA, 2008).

4.8.1 Informed Consent Process of the Study

An institutional letter of consent was obtained from the Ministry of Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs, Niger State. Also each of the six Local Government Council Chairmen, the district heads, village and wards heads were notified of the nature and purpose of the study. In addition, local guides were provided by the respective district, village and ward heads which facilitated data collection.

4.8.2 Voluntary Participation of Research Participants

Adequate information on the purpose, benefits and the process of selection of respondents, for the study were provided to the study population. The research assistants took time to explain fully all about the research to boy and girl-children in order to ascertain their participation in the study. As regards both the quantitative and qualitative studies, respondents participated voluntarily; none were compelled to participate in the study.

4.8.3 Respect for the Rights, Dignity and Diversity of Research Participants.

The study had respect for the diversity of the research participants. Male research assistants interviewed adult male and boy-children, whereas the female research assistants interviewed and interacted with the adult females and girl-children. Also, the research teams avoided intrusion of third parties. Finally, the identity of the research participants who took part in the study were not exposed in whatsoever manner during the course of this study.

4.8.4 Non-Maleficance of Research Participants

The study did not in any way expose any of the research participants to undue harm. Also, the study did not take undue advantage of the girl and boy-children who participated in the study. In addition adult women who were involved in the study participated with the fore knowledge and consent of their spouses.

4.9 Problems Encountered

In the course of the study, some problems were encountered. A major problem encountered was inaccessible roads, which necessitated the use of alternative transportation means such as “Okada” (motorcycles) or open air Nissan Patrol Vans to get to the research locations. Sometimes, in most of the predominantly rural areas, the settlements were dispersed, and each of the team had to trek long distances before getting household units. Besides, the cost of transportation was relatively high due to the terrain

and lack of good access roads. In addition, there were few cases of difficulty of understanding the questions due to variation in the language-dialect groups. This problem was addressed by using the Hausa language which was also a medium of communication among the Kambari. Also, there were few cases whereby some of the respondents were suspicious of the intentions of the interviewers. The local guides' provided by the traditional rulers and Local Government officials assisted immensely in building the necessary confidence required for the research teams to engage the respondents.

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CHAPTER FIVE

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents data generated during the fieldwork with the view of determining the socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child. A combination of tabular and graphic format was employed in presenting the data generated from the study. The analysis centred on frequency distribution, descriptive statistics, cross-tabulations and multivariate analysis using binary logistic regression in testing the hypotheses of the study. Also, where appropriate the qualitative and quantitative results were presented and discussed together.

5.1 Respondents' Background Characteristics

5.1.1 Background Characteristics of Respondents

Table 5.1 presents respondents' characteristics by gender, language-dialect, religious affiliation and residence. The gender grouping of the respondents indicate that adult males and their boy-children represent 24.0 percent each, respectively, while adult females and their girl-children represent 26.0 percent of the total sample. By design, the data comprised pairs of fathers/boy-children and mothers/girl-children, hence the equality of the pairs of data. The sample indicated that the four major language dialect groups from which respondents were drawn are: Ashingini (49.9%) Avadi (17.3%), Aposhi (11.3%) and Agadi (10.8%). About 46 percent of the respondents were Muslims; while 30.6 percent were Protestant Christians and 16.9 percent practised traditional religion and only 5.5 percent were Roman Catholics. As regards the residence of the respondents, 8 out of every 10 were rural dwellers, while nearly 2 out of every 10 respondents were urban dwellers.

Table 5.1 Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Gender, Language-Dialect, Religious Affiliation and Residence

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Boy</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Girl</i>	<i>All Respondents</i>
Gender Sub-group	24.0 (385)	24.0 (385)	26.0 (414)	26.0 (414)	100.0 (1598)
<i>Language Dialect</i>					
Ashingini	52.5 (202)	55.1 (212)	46.9 (194)	45.9 (190)	49.9 (798)
Agadi	6.2 (24)	6.2 (24)	15.5 (64)	14.5 (60)	10.8 (172)
Avadi	17.1 (66)	16.1 (62)	18.8 (78)	17.1 (71)	17.3 (277)
Akimba	2.3 (9)	2.3 (9)	4.3 (18)	5.1 (21)	3.6 (57)
Asawuni	7.0 (27)	6.0 (23)	6.5 (27)	7.0 (29)	6.6 (106)
Aposhi	14.0 (54)	13.8 (53)	8.0 (33)	9.9 (41)	11.3 (181)
Others	0.8 (3)	0.5 (2)	–	0.5 (2)	0.4 (7)
Total	100.0 (385)	100.0 (385)	100.0 (414)	100.0 (414)	100.0 (1598)
<i>Religious Affiliation</i>					
Protestant	34.8 (134)	36.4 (140)	24.4 (101)	27.5 (114)	30.6 (489)
Catholic	1.0 (4)	3.1 (12)	10.1 (42)	7.2 (30)	5.5 (88)
Muslim	46.0 (177)	45.5 (175)	47.1 (195)	45.7 (189)	46.1 (736)
Traditional	15.8 (61)	14.5 (56)	17.9 (74)	19.1 (79)	16.9 (270)
No Religion	2.3 (9)	0.5 (2)	0.5 (2)	0.5 (2)	0.9 (15)
Total	100.0 (385)	100.0 (385)	100.0 (414)	100.0 (414)	100.0 (1598)
<i>Residence</i>					
Rural	81.0 (312)	81.0 (312)	82.9 (343)	82.9 (343)	82.0 (1310)
Urban	19.0 (73)	19.0 (73)	17.1 (71)	17.1 (71)	18.0 (288)
Total	100.0 (385)	100.0 (385)	100.0 (414)	100.0 (414)	100.0 (1598)

5.1.2 Specific Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Adult Respondents

Adult Respondents' Characteristics by Age and Occupation

Table 5.2 presents the percentage distribution of adults by age and occupation. Among the male population, the age groups 30-39, 40-49 and 50+ were the most prevalent with 37.1%, 28.3% and 31.2%, respectively. The majority of the women were in the 30-39 and 40-49 years age groups. The mean age of adult male was 43 years as against 38 years for adult women. The overall mean age of the adult respondents was 40.3 years. Table 4.2 also indicates an overwhelming majority of the respondents were farmers, 85.5 percent of the males and 78.3 percent of females in the overall sample. This implied that more than 8 out of 10 males and more than 7 out of every 10 females were farmers. This confirms the findings of other studies (Stark, 2000a; Stark, 2000b). However, more adult females were into trading than men (14.5% Vs 3.4%) whereas more males were civil servants relative to women (8.1% and 3.4%).

Table 5.2: Percentage Distribution of Adult Respondents by Age and Occupation.

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>All Respondents</i>
<i>Age</i>			
20	0.8 (3)		0.4 (3)
20-29	2.1 (8)	20.3 (84)	11.5 (92)
30-39	37.1 (143)	36.2 (150)	36.7 (293)
40-49	28.3 (111)	43.5 (180)	36.4 (291)
50 ⁺	31.2 (120)	-	15.0(120)
Total	100.0 (385)	100.0 (414)	100.0 (799)
Mean Age	42.7	37.9	40.3
Mode			40
Median			40
Std. Distribution	10.925	8.609	10
<i>Occupation</i>			
Farming	85.5 (329)	78.3 (324)	81.7 (653)
Trading	3.4 (13)	14.5 (60)	9.1 (73)
Civil Servant	8.1 (31)	3.4 (14)	3.6 (45)
Mechanic/Artisan	0.8 (3)	0.2 (1)	0.5 (4)
Others	2.3 (9)	3.6 (15)	3.0 (24)
Total	100.0 (385)	100.0 (414)	100.0 (799)

Educational Attainment of Adult Respondents and their Spouses

Table 5.3 presents the percentage distribution of adult respondents and their spouses by educational attainment. The respondents were asked whether they had “ever been to school?” In that vein, 20.5 percent of adult males against 5.8 percent of adult females had ever been to school. On the whole, only about 12.9 percent of respondents had ever been to school. The wide educational disparity between male and female Kambari is evident from this results. Furthermore, when asked if their spouse have ever been to school; only 9.6 percent of male respondents said their wives have ever been to school. On the other hand, 11.8 percent of the adult females responded in the affirmative. An overwhelming majority of both adult males and females have never attended any form of formal schooling which gave an indication of low literacy rate among the Kambari, more especially among females.

Respondents, who have ever attended any form of formal schooling, were further requested to state the highest level of schooling. Table 5.3 indicates that about 45.0 percent of adult males only attained adult literacy classes as against 25.0 percent of adult females. Also, 19.2 percent apiece of adult males attended primary and tertiary institution, respectively. In addition, 1 out of 10 adult males attended schools in session during dry season, which were mostly initiated by religious organizations like the Catholic Church. Such trainings thus provided opportunity for farmers to have some form of literacy. On the other hand, among the adult females who have attended any

form of formal schooling, about 33.3 percent attended tertiary institutions and 29.2 percent said their highest level of schooling was primary school. About one-third of the adult population predominantly attended literacy classes and had low enrolment rates particularly in primary and secondary levels. The Kambari prefer farming to schooling; as those who attend any form of formal schooling are labelled as being “lazy”.

Table 5.3 Percentage Distribution of Adult Respondents and their Spouses by their Educational Attainment

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>All Respondents</i>
<i>Ever Schooled</i>			
Yes	20.5 (79)	5.8 (24)	12.9 (103)
No	79.5 (306)	94.2 (390)	87.1 (696)
Total	100.0 (385)	100.0 (414)	100.0 (799)
<i>Spouse Ever Schooled?</i>			
Yes	9.6 (37)	11.8 (49)	10.8 (88)
No	90.4 (348)	88.2 (365)	89.2 (713)
Total	100.0 (385)	100.0 (414)	100.0 (799)
<i>Highest level of schooling attained</i>			
Adult Literacy	44.9 (35)	25.0 (6)	40.2 (41)
Primary	19.2 (15)	29.2 (7)	21.6 (22)
Secondary	15.4 (12)	12.5 (3)	14.7 (15)
Tertiary	19.2 (15)	33.3 (8)	22.5 (23)
Don't Know	1.3 (1)	-	1.0 (1)
Total	100.0 (78)	100.0 (24)	100.0 (102)

Distribution of Adult Respondent's by Household Characteristics

Table 5.4 presents the percentage distribution of adult respondents by household characteristics. Respondents were asked about the total number of persons in their household. The table indicates that 2.5 percent of the respondents reported a total of 3 persons in their household and 12.0 percent reported over 11 persons in their household, with mean household size of 7.5 persons. About 16.4 percent of adult males reported a total of 6 persons in their household as against 21.0 percent of adult female respondents. Also, 16.3 percent of adult males reported a total of 8 persons in their household as against 13.8 percent for adult females. When asked of the total number of sleeping rooms in their household, 45.8 percent of all respondents reported they had that less than 3 as compared to 7.0 percent who had 7 or more sleeping rooms. The overall mean number of

rooms is 3.5. More than half of the adult males (57.7%) reported less than 3 rooms as against 34.8 percent of adult females.

The respondents were also asked if their houses were connected to electricity to which about 39.5 percent of adult males responded “yes” as compared to 33.3 percent of adult females. That implied that one-third of adult females had electricity connected to their houses. It is a reflection of the paucity in the provision of infrastructural facilities that could have enhanced the standard of living of rural dwellers.

Table 5.4: Percentage Distribution of Adult Respondents by Some Selected Household Characteristics

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>All Respondents</i>
<i>No in Household</i>			
3	0.8 (3)	4.1 (17)	2.5 (20)
4	6.0 (23)	6.8 (28)	6.4 (51)
5	13.2 (51)	14.5 (60)	13.9 (111)
6	16.4 (63)	21.0 (87)	18.8 (150)
7	13.0 (50)	19.3 (80)	16.3 (130)
8	15.3 (59)	13.8 (57)	14.5 (116)
9	9.6 (37)	6.0 (25)	7.6 (62)
10	8.6 (33)	7.2 (30)	7.9 (63)
11 ⁺	17.1 (66)	7.2 (30)	12.0 (96)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0 (799)
Mean	8	7	7.6
<i>No of Sleeping rooms</i>			
3	57.7(222)	34.8(144)	45.8(366)
3-4	17.9 (69)	45.7(189)	32.3(258)
5-6	15.1 (58)	14.7 (61)	14.9(119)
7 ⁺	9.4 (36)	4.8 (20)	7.0 (56)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(799)
Mean	4.0	3.0	3.6
<i>Mean no of Persons per Room</i>			
			2.1
<i>House Connected to Electricity</i>			
Yes	39.5(152)	33.3(138)	36.3(290)
No	60.5(233)	66.7(276)	63.7(509)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(799)

Distribution of Adult Respondent’s by their Marital Status, Type of Marital Union and Age at First Marriage

Table 5.5 presents the percentage of distribution of adult respondents by their marital status, type of marital union and age of first marriage. The table indicates that an overwhelming majority of the respondents were married. Interestingly, 98.2 percent of adult males and also 98.1 percent of adult females, respectively, claimed they are married. It is an indication of marriage stability among the Kambari. Less than 1 percent claimed that they are either separated or divorced. Similarly, only a relatively small percentage of adult males and females were widowed.

More adult males were in monogamous unions compared to adult females (71.7 % Vs 66.7%). Although 46.1 percent of the total respondents were Muslims, not all of them had embraced polygamous unions. For instance, only 28.3 percent of adult men were in polygamous unions as compared to 33.3% of adult women. The table reveals that 80.5 percent of adult men had entered their first marriage at 19 years and over, whereas 54 percent of adult females married at 15-18 years, an indication of early marriage among females. In contrast to adult men, only 33.0 percent of women got married at 19 years and above. Less than 13.3 percent of adult women claimed earlier age at first marriage ranging from 10 to 14 years. The mean age at first marriage for adult men is 21 years as against 17 years for adult women. Despite the practice of child betrothal among the Kambari, marriage was fully contracted after the “bridal farming services” known as “*gulmo*” rendered by the family of the suitor for over a number of years until the girl-child is mature for marriage. “Gulmo” played an integral role in the economy of the predominantly farming Kambari communities. Apart from providing the needed farm labour, it is also an opportunity to cultivate more farmlands and generate more revenue for the family of the girl-child. Furthermore, it is also an avenue to consolidate relationships across families and communities.

Table 5.5. Percentage Distribution of Adult Respondents by their Marital Status, Type of Marital Union and Mean Age at First Marriage

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
<i>Marital Status</i>		
Married	98.2(378)	98.1(406)
Separated/Divorced	0.3 (1)	0.7 (3)
Widowed	1.6 (6)	1.2 (5)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(414)
<i>Type of Marital Union</i>		
Monogamous	71.7(276)	66.7(276)
Polygamous	28.3(109)	33.3(138)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(414)
<i>Age at first Marriage</i>		
10-14	1.0 (4)	13.3 (55)
15-18	18.4 (71)	53.9(223)
19 ⁺	80.5(310)	32.9(136)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(414)
Mean Age at first Marriage	21yrs	17yrs

5.1.3 Distribution of Adult Respondents by their Reproductive Outcomes

Table 5.6 presents the percentage distribution of adult respondents’ reproductive outcome. Respondents were asked if they “had ever given birth”. All male and female respondents responded that in the affirmative. The average mean number of children ever born by adult males was 7.0 children compared with 6.1 children for adult females.

Furthermore, the average number of dead children was 1.4 children for male and 1.2 children for female respondents, respectively. On the other hand, the average mean numbers of children living with adult male and female respondents were 5.3 and 4.5 children, respectively.

Table 5.6: Percentage Distribution of Adult Respondents' Reproductive Outcomes

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>All Respondents</i>
<i>Ever Given Birth</i>			
Yes	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0 (799)
No	-	-	-
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(799)
<i>Mean Number of Children Ever Born</i>	7.0	6.1	7.0
<i>Mean Number of Children Died</i>	1.4	1.0	1.2
<i>Mean Number of Children Living with Respondent</i>	5.3	4.5	5.0
<i>Intend to have more Children</i>			
Yes	50.4 (194)	41.8(173)	45.9(367)
No	49.6 (191)	58.2(241)	54.1(432)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(799)
<i>Desired Mean Number of Boys</i>	5.0(194)	3.0(173)	4.0(364)
<i>Desired Mean Number of Girls</i>	4.0(194)	3.0(173)	3.0(364)

Respondents were further asked “whether they intend to have more children?” About half of the adult males affirmed that they intend to have more children as compared to 41.8 percent of adult females. Surprisingly, more than half of the adult women nursed no intention of having more children. In addition, a higher proportion of men desired to have more children relative to women. This implies that there was a gender difference in the intended number of children desired by respondents. Men desired a mean of 5 more sons as compared to 3 sons by adult women. Also, men desired more girls than women. Men desired a mean number of 4 girls as compared to 3 more girls as desired by adult females. The desire by adult men to have more children and particularly boys is not far-fetched. Male children were regarded as “heads of the household” when they grow up. Also, a male child could provide the much needed farm labour in a typical farming community.

5.1.4 Specific Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Girl and Boy-Children

Girl and Boy Children by their Ranked Position in the Family and Age

Table 5.7 presents the percentage distribution of girl and boy children by their ranked position in the family or birth order and age. The respondents were asked “what is your ranked position in your family?” About 28 percent of girl-children were first-born in

their families as compared to over one-third of boy-children (36.6%). Generally, 31.8 percent of the respondents are first-born in their families. Also, 22.2 percent of girl-children were ranked 3rd in their families as compared with 19.0 percent of boy-children in families. The overall percentage distribution of girl and boy-children in the 3rd rank position is 20.7 percent. About 17.0 percent of boy-children were ranked 2nd, 5th and above, respectively. More girl-children were ranked 2nd, 5th and above relative to boy-children. This provides diverse insights on the profile of girl-children. It was been observed that the first-born girl-children were more likely to be over-burdened with domestic work.

Table 5.7 indicates that 22.9 percent of girl-children were aged 10 compared to 18.2 percent of boy-children. More boy-children (24.7%) were aged 17 as compared to girl-children in similar age group (17.4%). The mean age for girl-children was 13 years compared to 14 years for boy-children. The overall mean age was 13.5 years and the median age for all respondents was 13 years.

Table 5.7 Percentage Distribution of Girl and Boy Children by their Ranked Position in the Family and Age

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Girl-Children</i>	<i>Boy-Children</i>	<i>All Respondents</i>
<i>Rank of Child</i>			
1 st	27.3(113)	36.6(141)	31.8(254)
2 nd	18.4 (76)	16.6 (64)	17.5(140)
3 rd	22.2 (92)	19.0 (73)	20.7(165)
4 th	11.1 (46)	11.2 (43)	11.1 (89)
5 ⁺	20.0 (87)	16.6 (64)	18.9(151)
Total	100.0(414)	100.0(385)	100.0(799)
<i>Age</i>			
10	22.9 (95)	18.2 (70)	20.7(165)
11	10.6 (44)	11.2 (43)	10.9 (87)
12	17.6 (73)	10.4 (40)	14.1(113)
13	6.0 (25)	8.8 (34)	7.4 (59)
14	9.2 (38)	7.0 (27)	8.1 (65)
15	9.2 (38)	9.4 (36)	9.3 (74)
16	7.0 (29)	10.4 (40)	8.6 (69)
17	5.3 (22)	5.5 (21)	5.4 (43)
18	12.1 (50)	19.2 (74)	15.5 (124)
Total	100.0 (414)	100.0 (385)	100.0 (799)
<i>Mean Age</i>	13.0	14.0	13.5
<i>Mode</i>			10
<i>Median</i>			13

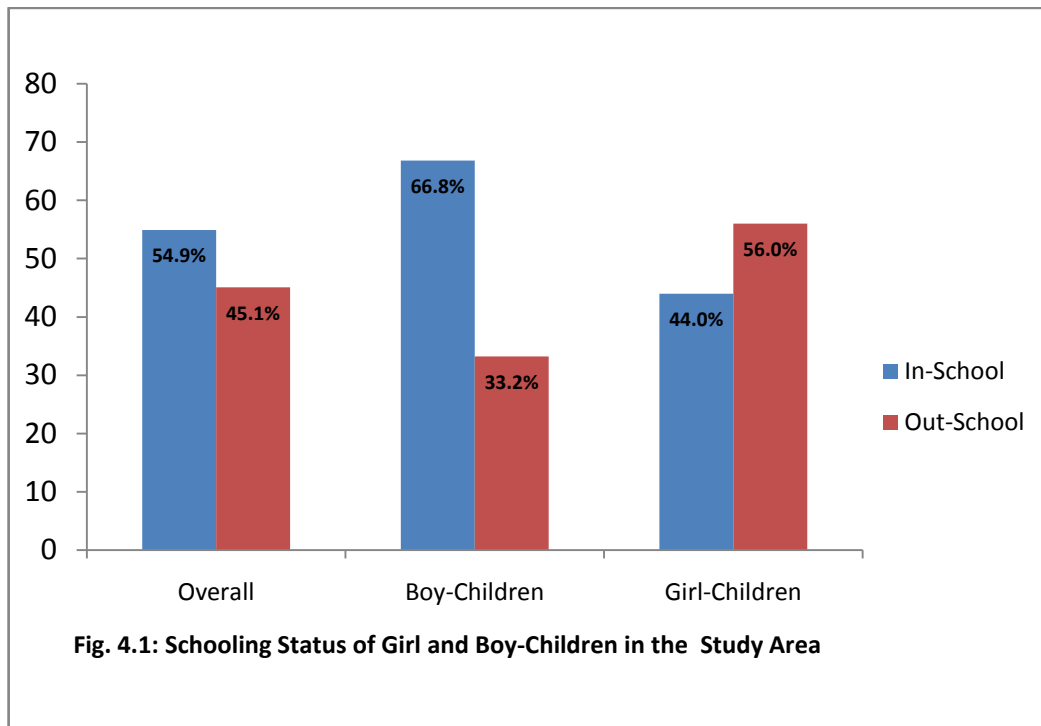
5.2 The Profile of the Kambari Girl-Child

This section employed both qualitative and quantitative data to present a profile of the Kambari girl-child.

5.2.1 Educational Outcomes of the Girl-Child and the Boy-Child

Fig 5.1 shows the percentage distribution of girl-children and boy-children by their educational background. The schooling status of respondents has indicated that more girl-children were out of school than boy-children. About 67 percent of boy-children were in school compared to only 44 percent of girl-children in school. This result reveals a preference to boys' education over girls, which has been established by other studies in North-Central Nigeria (Ogidi 1997; Rufai and Ogidi, 2006). Girls' participation in basic education in Nigeria, particularly for the Northern states is below the national average. The data for Niger State is 35.9 percent as compared to the national average of 43.9 percent in 2001. This is consistent with other findings, particularly for Northern States, which shows that girls are more likely than boys to drop-out of school or never have the opportunity to attend school (Indabawa 2004; 1999; Obanya, 2003; Rufai and Ogidi 2006). This signifies that girl-children face discriminatory practices with respect to access to education. Where parents had to make a choice on who should have access to education, boy-children are more favoured than girl-children.

The status of girl-children would continue to be low, unless the issue of unequal access to education is addressed. Access to education provides the window of opportunity for enhancing the status of girl-children. Education can empower economically and socially marginalized groups, of which the girl-children are the most predominant. Also, access to education would ensure their full participation in their respective communities and eventually safeguard them from discrimination and exploitative child labour.



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Distribution of Associated Reasons for not Attending or Dropping out of School

Table 5.8 presents percentage distribution of associated reasons provided by those who never attended or dropped out of school. The three main reasons mentioned by girl-children for dropping out of school are as follows: dislike schooling (28.0%); poor performance (16.0%); prefer farming (16.0%). On the other hand, the three main reasons mentioned by boy-children are in this order: prefer farming (50.0%), dislike schooling (40.0%), and financial burden (10.0%). As regards girl-children, the first critical reason for dropping out of school is that they “dislike schooling”. Similarly, boy-children gave that reason as the 2nd most critical reason. This further emphasized the need to encourage child-friendly schools such that the desire for schooling would be a thing of joy and should not be seen as a burden. There could be a number of reasons why children dislike schooling. These factors include the attitude of teachers, absenteeism by teachers, and unavailability of basic infrastructural facilities and lack of instructional materials, among others.

Preference for farming was the 2nd most critical reason mentioned by boy-children, and also the second reason for girl-children. This is not surprising because the Kambari are predominantly farmers. In the words of an elder who was interviewed at Utula, “A Kambari boy or man who cannot farm is seen as a lazy, useless and a worthless man who doesn’t deserve to have a wife because he cannot feed a family.” Other reasons for dropping out of school mentioned by girl-children include: pregnancy, domestic assistance and preparing for marriage. The three most significant reasons for not attending school among girl-children are: parents don’t have value for education (32.4%), preference for farming (25.5%) and no interest in schooling (21.1%). The most significant reasons for boy-children are preference for farming (69.6%) and parents don’t value education (14.4%). It is rather disheartening to note that in contemporary Nigeria, there are parents who do not value western education, and therefore, do not see the need to send their children to school. The future of girl-children, and even boy-children, would be jeopardized if parents have such negative mind-sets. Breaking the vicious cycle of poverty would be achieved if parents embrace education of their children as a means of advancement.

Table 5.8. Percentage Distribution of Girl-and Boy-Children who dropped out of School and Never Attended School by Associated Reasons

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Girl-Children</i>	<i>Boy-Children</i>	<i>All Respondents</i>
<i>Reasons for Dropping out of School</i>			
Dislike Schooling	28.0 (7)	40.0 (4)	31.4(11)
Poor Performance	16.0 (4)	-	11.4 (4)
Prefer-Farming	16.0 (4)	50.0 (5)	25.7 (9)
Got Pregnant	12.0 (3)	-	8.0 (3)
Rendering Domestic Assistance	12.0 (3)	-	8.6 (3)
Preparing for Marriage	8.0 (2)	-	5.7 (2)
Financial Burden	8.0 (2)	10.0 (1)	8.6 (3)
Total	100.0(25)	100.0(10)	100.0(35)
<i>Reasons Never Attend School</i>			
Financial Burden	9.8 (20)	5.6 (7)	8.2 (27)
Prefer Farming	25.5 (52)	69.6 (87)	42.2(139)
No interest in Schooling	21.1 (43)	5.6 (7)	15.2 (50)
Parents don't value Education	32.4 (66)	14.4 (18)	25.5 (84)
School Distant from Home	8.8 (18)	4.8 (6)	7.3 (24)
Others	2.5 (5)	-	1.5 (5)
Total	100.0(204)	100.0(125)	100.0(329)

The Case Studies further corroborated the findings of the household survey. Out of 12 Case Studies of girl-children undertaken, they were at various levels of schooling (Case Studies 1, 4 and 10). Also, four had dropped-out of school (Case Studies 2, 3, 8, 9,) and those who never went to school were (Case Studies 5, 6, 7, 11, and 12). The girl-children advanced different reasons as follows:

Burden of Domestic Work

“Hauwa”, case study 2 who has only just 2 more years to complete her primary education could not realize her personal ambition because of the burden of domestic work at home. Being a girl, the first daughter and the first child, her responsibilities with respect to assisting the mother on a daily basis with household chores made her to drop out of school despite the fact that she enrolled on her own. Corroborating these views, a younger adult male FGD participant from age group 20-44 years noted:

It is girls not boys that should assist their mothers during meals wash the plates, fetch water, firewood and any other work at home. It is unheard for boys to help out with domestic work. Boys are expected to follow their fathers to the farm (FGD 10/ Res 7/ Younger Rural Adult Male/Azavoku).

Similarly, a younger female FGD participant further confirmed earlier expressed views with respect to the burden of domestic work on first- born daughters in this manner:

Traditionally, a first-born daughter is like the “second mother” in the family. She is expected to be actively involved in every aspect of household chores. Mothers rely on them so much even when they are not around to take care of members of the household food, entertaining guests and caring for her younger ones in the family (FGD 13/Res 10/ Illiterate Younger Rural Woman/ Papirin-Gajere)

Case Study 2 – Hauwa: An Unrealized Personal Ambition

“Hauwa” who was 11 years, was an out-of-school girl-child. She was the first of 5 children in a family comprising 3 females and 2 males. She was the first daughter and first child of her parents. She belonged to the “Aposhi” dialect, one of the most conservative language dialect groups among the Kambari. Her parents were both farmers and Muslims by religious affiliation. She hailed from Gallah, a fairly big village with a primary school established by the Local Government Council. “Hauwa” had keen interest to acquire formal education; as she always admired other girls dressed in their uniforms going to school in her neighbourhood and desired to be like them. Eventually, on her own she enrolled in the primary school. Unfortunately, when she had just 2 more years to the completion of her primary education (Class IV), she narrated her experience with deep sadness in her own words, viz:

I dropped-out of school because of the burden of domestic work, farm work and petty-trading. More so, I am the first daughter and first child in the family. My father had interest in formal education but my mother disapproved of it. Eventually, I dropped out of school, with the consent of my father. I am now engaged in petty trading and farming. I am attending Koranic school but I would want to complete my primary education (Case Study2/Girl-Child/Gallah).

Her younger brother was enrolled into the primary school. As a male child, while the other brother had not yet reached the school age for enrolment. This is also indicative of preference for boy-child education among the Kambari. Rather, she was told to attend Koranic school but still expressed her desire to complete her primary education. She had been following the mother on market days to sell food items when she was just 4 years old. Usually, she spent an average of 6 hours daily on domestic chores. Despite the fact that her father gave tacit approval of her enrolment at the primary school, the burden of domestic chores and other familial roles she played as the eldest child and first daughter in the family contributed to her dropping out of school. Apart from being a drop-out, she was betrothed right from childhood and she disapproved of the practice. However, she was compelled to continue with the relationship. This represents a peculiar situation that girl-children face with specific reference to those residing in rural areas.

Poor Academic Performance

The burden of domestic work has also negative effects on academic performance of girls as is the case with Mairo aged 15 years. She dropped out of Class IV in the primary school. This implied that she never had enough time to study after school and she was more likely to be late to school most times. Poor academic performance is among one of the major contributing factors why girls drop-out of school. An educated community youth leader noted:

Girls in our community, who are given the rare opportunity of going to school, sometimes drop-out of school due to poor academic performance which could be attributed to late coming, burden of domestic work or continuous absence from school. Girls faced with such problems cannot do well in school (IDI, 14, 35 years/ Community Youth Leader/Bakon Mission)

Indeed, this is a major set-back for girls education, their future aspirations and ultimate empowerment. Mairo got frustrated and felt the best option was to drop- out of school and rather got involved in petty-trading which is familiar terrain for women and girls. A female community influential also noted:

Most girls who drop-out of school due to poor academic performance does not necessarily mean that they are not intelligent but rather it is due to the situation they find themselves. It is unheard for boys to be involved in domestic work (IDI 8, 50 years/ Female Community Influential/Wando)

This underscores the need to develop programmes that would ensure the retention of the girl child in schools and there is the need to lessen the burden of domestic work on girls by encouraging parents to also engage boy-children in domestic work..

Case Study 3 – Mairo: Frustrated out of School

“Mairo” aged 15 years belonged to a polygamous family. Her mother was the first wife of the father. Both parents were Muslims and belonged to the language dialect group known as “Cshingini” or “Ashingini”. The parents had no formal education. Her father engaged in farming while the mother was a petty-trader. Mairo was the fifth of 8 children of her mother, comprising 3 boys and 5 girls. She dropped out of Class IV in the primary school due to poor performance and took to petty-trading like the mother. Her parents encouraged her to continue but she refused and felt that petty-trading was the best option

for her. Coupled with that, on the average she usually spent 7 hours daily on domestic chores at home. She narrated as follows:

In our household, boys are not allowed to engage in any assignment that is meant for girls. My father has other wives. However, only girls are allowed to do most of the domestic work. It was not easy for me. I wasn't doing well in school and I also had household chores to be carried out even when it was not my mother's turn to cook for the household. I dropped out of school while in Class IV. I was not doing well in school. Some of the subjects are difficult to understand. (Case Study3 / Girl-Child / Gallah).

In Mairo's view, her perpetual poor performance in subjects such as Mathematics, Primary Science, and Quantitative Reasoning dampened her morale whenever she was handed her homework or report card by her class teacher. She said sometimes she used to cry and her parents would encourage her. Poor academic performance was one of the major reasons why girl children drop-out of school. In addition, she was betrothed from childhood and would likely get married to her betrothed partner. She disapproved of the practice noting that children should be allowed to make their choices of whom to get married to. This implies that she was being compelled to get married to her betrothed partner. If given the opportunity she would have made another choice. These challenges have negative impact on the empowerment of the girl-child, with regard to having a fulfilled life, breaking the cycle of poverty and her lower status.

The next case studies dropped out school or were never enrolled for entirely different reasons.

Unintended Teenage Pregnancy

One of the major fears of parents particularly in Northern Nigeria is unintended teenage pregnancy. This is in view of the fact that chastity is a virtue that must be protected until the girl-child is mature for marriage. Traditionally, among the Kambari a girl-child who is not chaste brings reproach and shame to her family after the marriage is consummated. Beatrice, Case Study 8 truncated her future aspirations and the hope of completing secondary education, a rare opportunity for a girl-child who is from one of the educationally disadvantaged zone in Niger State. She also dashed the hopes of her parents who felt it was worth it to send a girl-child to school. She became a reference point in the community particularly for parents who are not literate that girls should not be sent to school because of the fear of unintended pregnancy and the shame it brings. An FGD older adult female participant from a rural community known as Papirin-Gajere noted.

When a girl-child lost her chastity before marriage and gets pregnant, it brings shame to her entire family and the mother is seen as not been able to give her proper training. She cannot have a say among women in her community (FGD 15/ Res 3/ Older Illiterate Rural Woman/Papirin Garere)

A Local Government Official further commented on this disturbing trend of unintended teenage pregnancy in this manner:

We are concerned about girls who drop- out of school as a result of unintended teenage pregnancy. It is even difficult for us to convince parents particularly those who are not literate to send their daughters to school. It is a problem that we need to address in our communities (IDI 4, 45 years/Local Government Official/Agwara)

Case Study 8 – Beatrice: A Truncated Hopeful Future

“Beatrice” was 15 years old and the second child of a family of 5 children comprising 3 girls and 2 boys. She belonged to the “Cshingini” also known as the “Ashingini” language dialect group. The parents were Christians of the Protestant denomination .They were farmers. Her mother sold farm products such as bambara nuts, groundnuts and millet on market days. Beatrice was in Class II in Senior Secondary School (SSS) at Salka. She also had two sisters, aged 12 and 10 years, who were, in JSS 1 and Class V in the primary school, respectively. The first child in the family, a boy, was in SSS 3. The last son in their family was about 4 years old and therefore had not been enrolled in the primary school yet. She noted with regret:

I was in SS 2, when I had to drop out of school because I got pregnant when I was 14 years old. That was as a result of my first sexual experience with my boyfriend. I had a son and whenever he is old enough I would allow my mother take care of him, so that I can go back and complete secondary school (Case study 10 /Girl-Child /Salka).

Thus, her parents valued western education and had given each child, irrespective of his or her gender, an opportunity to be educated. The parents’ aspiration for all their children is that they acquire higher education in any field of their choice. Unfortunately, she dropped out of school while she was in SSS II because she got pregnant. At the time of the study, her son was 4 months old. She got pregnant by her boy-friend and had her first sexual experience when she was 14 years old. She was willing to go back and complete her schooling when the baby was old enough to be left with the grandmother.

Dislike for Schooling

Dislike for schooling has been attributed to reasons why girl-children drop-out of school. Some associated reasons could be difficult teachers, difficult subjects, long-distance from home among others (Rufai and Ogidi, 2006, Indabawa, 2004; Obanya 2004). With respect to Case Study 9, Halima disliked schooling because of the long distance she has to trek to in order to get to school. It was an ordeal for her in the morning while going to school and after closing from school. In fact, making her way home was not an easy journey for a 7 year old girl and she eventually dropped out of school while in Class II in the primary school. According to a traditional ruler, an IDI participant noted the following similar issue raised in Case Study 9 and the household survey:-

When schools are to be built by the Local Government we encourage them to built such schools closer to communities. Parents are usually concerned about the safety of their children and girls in particular. In some cases parents get discouraged when their daughters have to trek long distance to get school. They would be afraid to send them to school (IDI 1, 55 years/ Traditional Ruler/Salka).

Case Study 9 – Halima: I Dislike Schooling

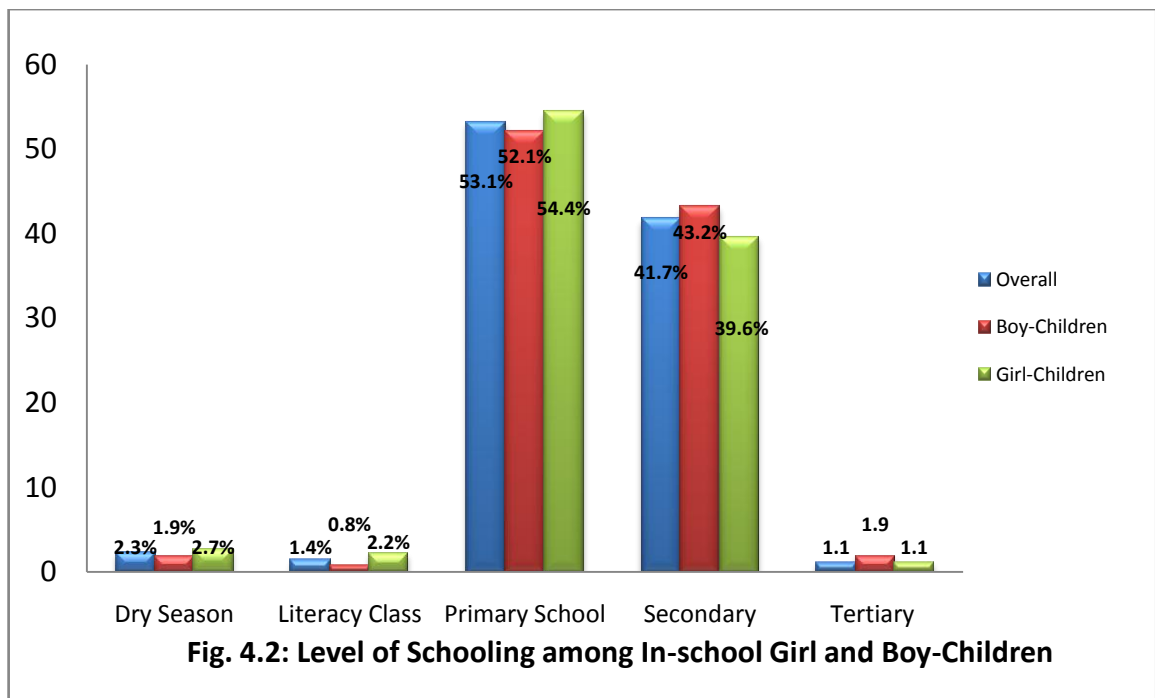
“Halima” was 7 years old and was the first child out of a family of 2. They were all girls in their household. She belonged to the “Akimba” dialect group of the Kambari. The parents were Muslims and farmers. She dropped out of school because, according to her, “I disliked schooling, so I dropped out when I was in Class II at the primary school”. Her dislike for schooling was associated with the long distance from her home to school and the attitude of some teachers who felt that girls could not perform as much as than boys. She further noted “I prefer hawking”. At least I would make some money to purchase items that are necessary when I eventually get married”. “Halima’s” mindset on the matter must have been shaped by her socio-cultural environment whereby girl-children save money from whatsoever items they hawk to buy basic things needed when they get married. She also usually hawked at least 4 times in a week which started when she was 7 years old. She usually spent roughly 2 hours each time she went to hawk her wares within the neighbourhood or market.

Level of Schooling among In-School Girl and Boy Children

Fig 5.2 shows the level of schooling among girl and boy-children. About 2.3 percent of girl and boy-children attended dry season schools which was organised by church

organisations such as the Justice and Peace Commission of the Catholic Church. More girl-children attended dry season schools than boy-children. However, there were more boy-children in primary, secondary and tertiary institutions than girl-children. This is consistent with other findings of the study.

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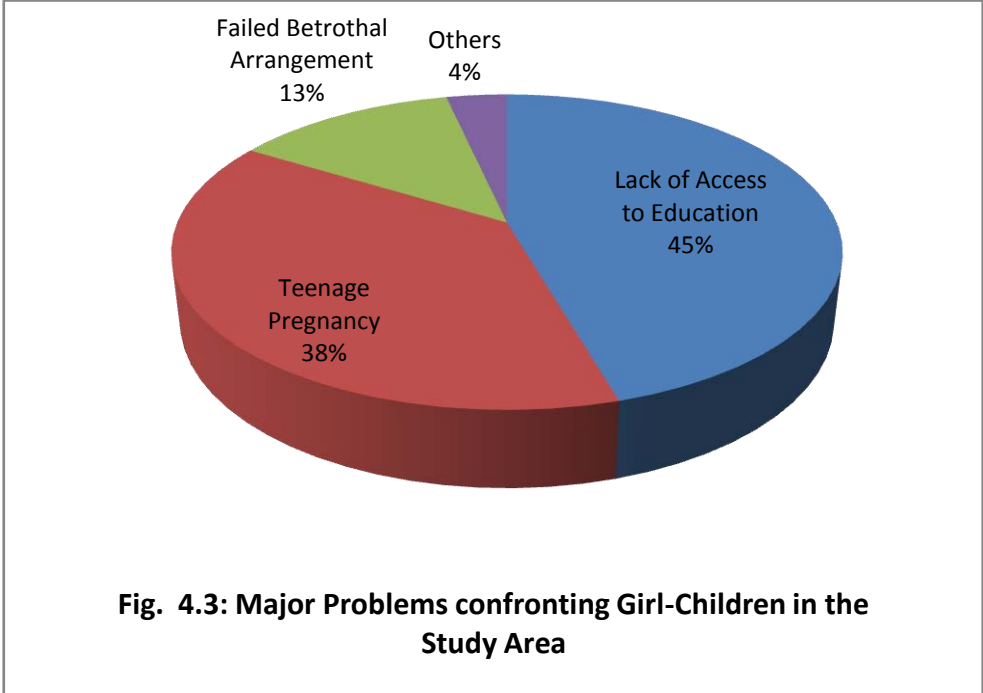


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5.2.2 Problems Confronting the Girl-Child

Fig 5.3 presents a pie chart for respondents' views of major problems confronting girl-children. Respondents identified the problems confronting girl-children in their respective communities in descending order as follows: lack of access to education (45.5%), teenage pregnancy (38.2%) and subjection to child betrothal/failed betrothal arrangement (12.8%).

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These problems negatively impacted on the well-being of girl-children and further exacerbate the girl-child phenomenon. The problems posed serious threats to the future aspirations of girl-children and are likely to create a repeated circle of discriminatory practices against the girl-child and would eventually further lower the status of the girl-child.

Regarding lack of access to education as one of the major problems confronting the girl-child, a participant of the in-depth interview noted:

Generally, the Kambari are located in zone C, which has been educationally disadvantaged. Girl-children are at the receiving end, and some parents outrightly deny their girls access to education for so many wrong reasons such as the need to help their mothers with housework, petty-trading, maturity for marriage and the need for labour in the farm. Others don't even have value for formal education, particularly when it is for girls. These are some of our challenges in the local government (IDI 4, 45 years /Local Government Official /Agwara).

Apart from teenage pregnancy and inaccessibility of education encountered by girl-children the other problem was child betrothal and failed betrothal / betrothal rejection by girl-children. Also, out of the 12 Case Studies of girl-children, 2 had such challenges.

Failed Betrothal Arrangement

Most communities among the Kambari has been faced with the problem failed betrothal arrangement by parents. This usually occur when the girl-child get older and eventually fall in love with another male. On sometimes fate and unforeseen circumstances could lead to failed betrothal arrangement as in the case of Grace, Case Study 6. A religious cleric, an IDI participant noted: The following on the matter:

We are not happy about the cases of failed betrothal arrangements in our communities. It creates conflict and enmity between families. Most times, it is the girl that rejects her betrothed partner because she has found another lover. It is the tradition of our fore fathers who in their wisdom practiced this form of marriage arrangement that the younger generation are rejecting because of their new found faith, education and their desire to have their way as regards the choice of their life partner (IDI 3, 57 years/Traditional Ruler/Genu)

On the other hand, in-school boy and girl- child expressed different opinions about the issue of child betrothal and failed betrothal arrangement. An in-school boy-child FGD participant noted:

I would prefer to marry the girl I love when I am ready to get married. As an educated person I would prefer to marry someone like me. Times are changing, parents should not be making such arrangements any longer for their children (FGD 4/Res5/In-school Boy-Child/ Salka).

Corroborating this view an in- school girl-child noted:

Marriage should be a personal choice. Child betrothal worked for our parents but nowadays a lot of girls are rejecting their betrothed partner because they would prefer to marry someone they love (FGD Res 2/In-School Girl-child/Salka)

Interestingly, a rural out-of –school boy-child expressed a differing opinion in this manner:

Child betrothal arrangement is a practice of our forefathers. As a farming community the yearly “gulmo” as part of the bridal services rendered over time is very important. Most girls in towns do not want to practice this form of marriage because their eyes are now open to the while man’s education and they are forsaking the traditions of their forefathers, that is why there are now cases of failed betrothal arrangement (FGD/ Res 6/ Out-of-School/Boy-Child/Bunsuru).

This demonstrates urban/rural difference with respect to the views of boy and girl-children on child betrothal and failed betrothal arrangement. In addition, in-school boy- and girl-children would prefer personal choice in marriage when compared to out-of-school boy-children. Notwithstanding, failed betrothal arrangement brings to fore the consequences of harmful socio-cultural practices affecting the Kambari girl-child. It limits her personal choice in marriage, future aspirations and her capacity for future development.

Case Study 6 – Grace: A Failed Betrothal Arrangement

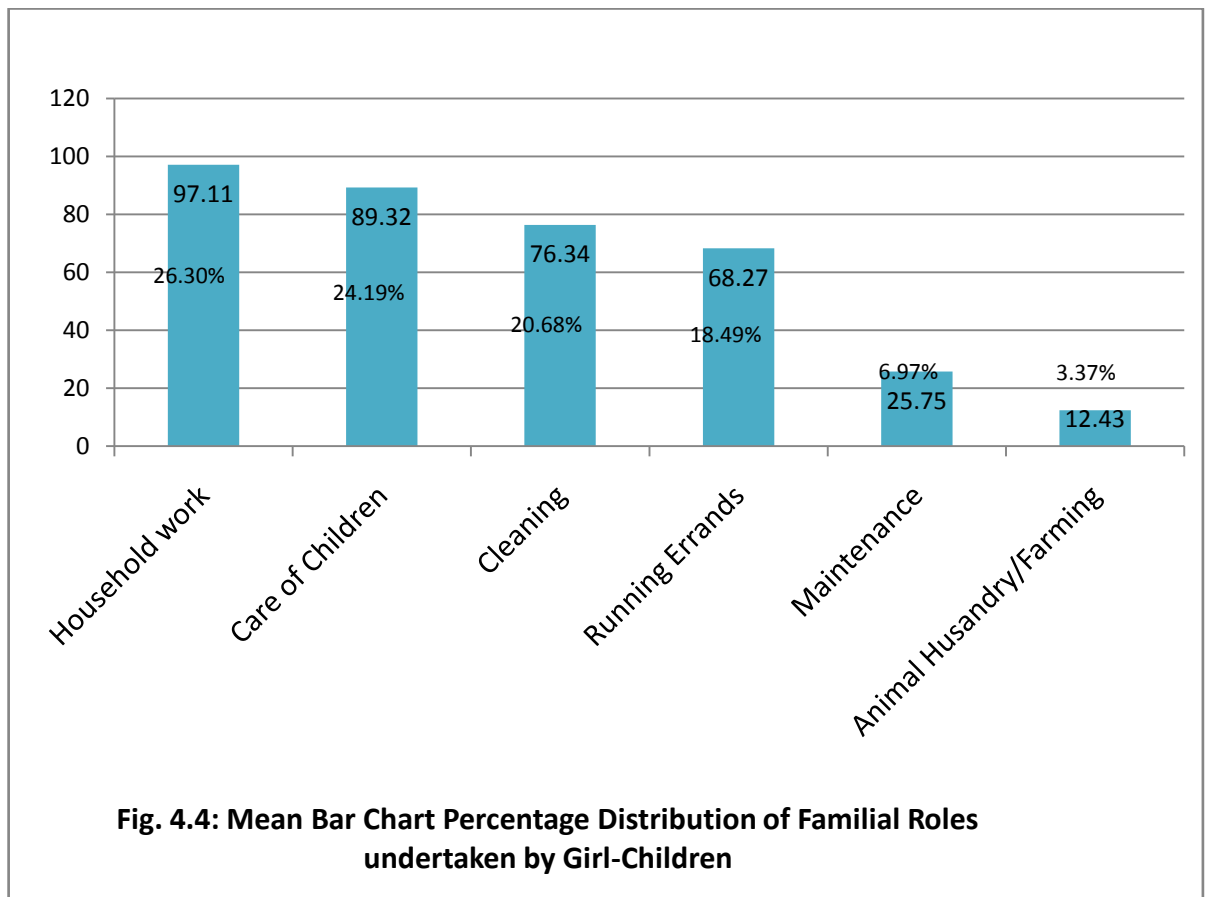
“Grace”, aged 17 years was the second child of 7 children comprising 5 boys and 2 females. Her parents were Christians of the protestant background. She belonged to the “Asawani” also known as “Aposhi” among the dialect group of the Kambari. She had

never attended any formal school. According to her, “my father never sent me to school”. Grace was betrothed during her early childhood, but her betrothed partner died at the age of 9 years. During the period of her betrothal to the late partner, his family engaged in the communal bridal farming service known as “gulmo” to her family only once. After his death, his family wanted her to be betrothed to the late partner’s younger brother whom she did not love. She said in her own words, “I have someone else I would want to marry and I love him, although he is from another dialect of the Kambari and a Christian as well” (Case Study/Girl-Child/Bakon Mission, 2008). Also, he was willing to pay back in monetary terms all that the deceased partner’s family had rendered in communal bridal farming services.

The deceased partner’s family were not happy about the situation because they would prefer her to be betrothed to the younger brother of the deceased, not wanting to start the process of looking for a bride for their surviving son. Therefore, they eventually reported the case to the police. Her father was arrested and they in turn reported the case to the “Justice Commission for Development and Peace” (JCDP) of the Catholic Church who intervened in the matter and was interested that the matter be resolved amicably. Grace noted that her own children in the nearest future would not be subjected to child betrothal. The younger generation had rejected the practice of child betrothal and would rather prefer choosing their partners without parental interference. Failed betrothal arrangements have been on the increase among the Kambari which was previously a taboo among the older generation. Furthermore, on other issues she noted, her boy-children would receive more education over girl-children because in her own words “they are potentially heads of households who have greater responsibilities”. Finally, she observed that her daughters would do most of the domestic work at home.

5.2.3 Familial Roles of the Girl-Child

Fig 5.4 presents a bar chart on the mean distributions of familial roles undertaken by girl-children among the Kambari. These include: household work (97.1%), care of children (89.3%), cleaning (76.3%), and running errands (68.2%) are well known familial roles that girl-children are involved in at the household level. Significantly, girl-children perform more roles than they are given credit for such as farming (12.4%).

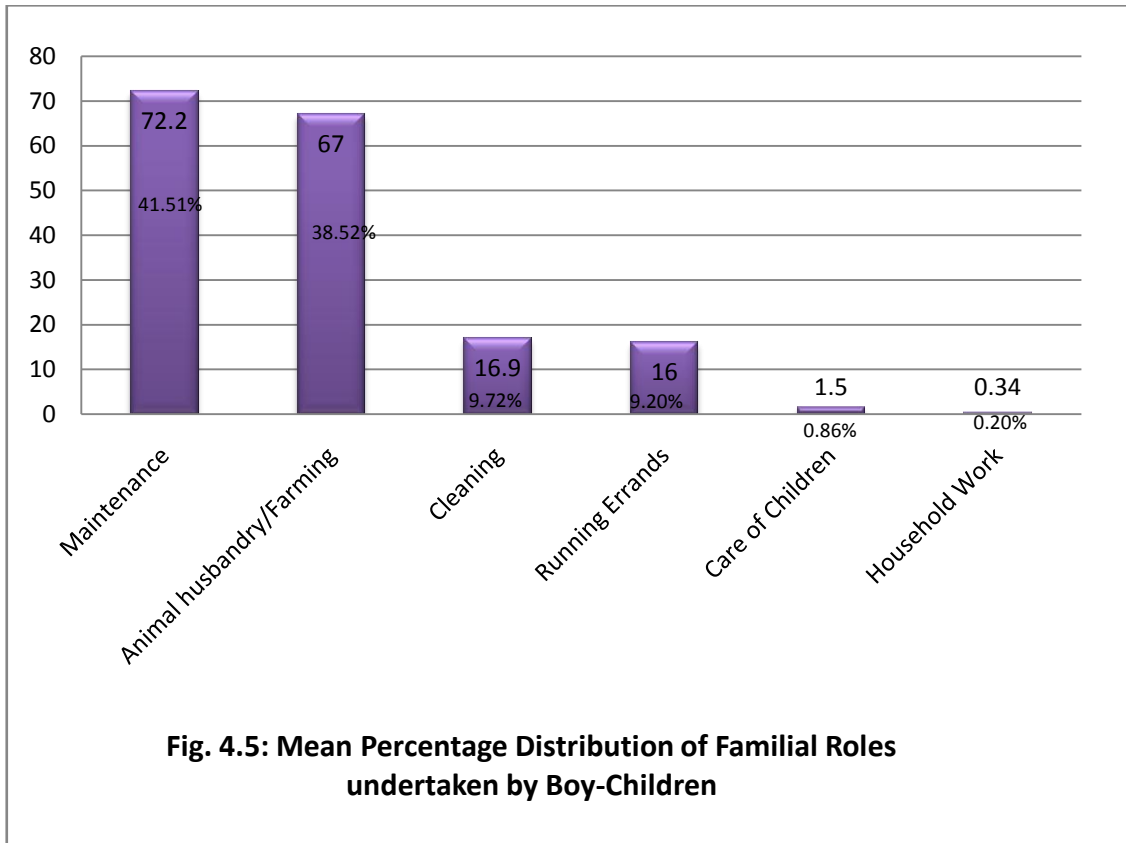


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5.2.4 Roles of the Boy-Child in the Family

Fig 5.5 presents a bar chart on the mean distributions of familial roles undertaken by boy-children among the Kambari. Housework (0.34%) and care for children (0.88%) are the least familial roles that the boy-children are involved in at the household level. These are usually seen as “girl’s work” or “women’s work”. Rather, boy-children are more involved in maintenance related activities such as mending walls, floors or thatching roofs and farming. The result shows a marked gender difference on the type of familial roles assigned to children at the household level, with the girl-child predominantly in the “domestic sphere” and boy-children in the “public sphere”.

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5.3 Cultural Construction of Girlhood

5.3.1 Definitive Features of Girlhood

The study explored the cultural construction of girlhood and the respondents were asked the following question, “how does your culture identify a girl or “what does it mean to be a girl?”

Table 5.9 Percentage Distribution of Respondents’ Conception of the Definitive Features of Girlhood

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Girl</i>	<i>All Respondents</i>
Physiological features define girlhood	98.7 (380)	99.7(384)	99.0 (410)	99.5(410)	99.2(586)
Good skills in housework is a mark of girlhood	99.0(381)	99.7(384)	98.3(407)	91.5(379)	97.1(1551)

Table 5.9 presents the percentage distribution of respondents’ conception of the defining features of girlhood. There was a consensus among all of the sub-groups in the sample that girlhood was defined by physical and physiological feature of the “female” gender. In addition, the acquisition of good skills in housework was considered as the hallmark of girlhood. Corroborating these views, a girl-child FGD participant from age group 10-17 years stated:

A girl is usually known by her physical features which are quite different from that of a boy. A girl would one day become a mother by giving birth to children; no boy could do that because God have not made it so (FGD 1/Res 3/Urban in-School Girl-Child/Salka).

An adult male FGD participant from age group 20-44years highlighted another aspect of the cultural construction of girlhood when he stated:

A girl is incomplete without good skills in domestic work because she would eventually marry and become a wife and a mother. A girl who doesn’t know how to cook and do other related housework is seen as a shame to her mother (FGD10 Younger Rural Adult Male /Res 7/Azavoku).

In addition, a girl-child FGD participant from Balugu added another dimension to the cultural construction of girlhood when she noted:

A girl is known by her dressing, the way she beautifies her body with the traditional marks, ear-rings, bangles, headtie, “gele” and sometimes “hijab” or clothes (FGD 2/Res8/Rural Out-of-School Girl –Child/Balugu)

The foregoing cultural construction of girlhood by the respondents indicated that their conceptions are shaped by socio-cultural ideas on the notion of femininity as well as the biological classification of features of the female gender with respect to the physiological and the aesthetic presentation of girlhood. The body is central to gender identity construction; it is seen as a type of cultural text whereby the girl-child usually expresses her identity. Thus, social-cultural ideas about the notions of “femininity” and “masculinity” take tangible form on the physical locale of the body (Bordo 1993; Willis, 2008).

5.3.2 Prescribed Roles of the Girl-Child

The respondents expressed their views about the prescribed roles of girl-children in Kambari society. An overwhelming majority of the respondents in the sample supported five prescribed roles of girl-children, namely:

- To undertake all domestic work (99.3%)
- Acquire skills in buying and selling (99.6%)
- Assist mother in her trade (99.2%)
- Care for younger ones (99.2%)
- Expected to assume the role of wife and mother (98.9%)

The prescribed roles of the girl-child identified by the respondents conform to the traditionally ascribed roles of the female gender which are mainly in the “domestic domain”. The cultural construction of girlhood provided insights on the societal representation of her roles” and responsibilities that would later transform her into a “woman” This implies that the socio-cultural construction of girlhood have impact on the roles that the girl-child would eventually play later in life as a woman. Willis (2008:9) stated that the categorization of bodies as either “female” or “male” transmitted “culturally symbolic gendered meanings that translate into social expectations for behaviours and social roles in the material world”.

In sum, the girl-child’s experience of discriminatory practices is closely linked to the socio-cultural construction of girlhood, which cannot be divorced from the material and structural systems that shaped their daily lives. Also, socio-cultural ideas, gender stereotypes about femininity shape their conception of the prescribed roles of the girl-child, her value and character index.

5.3.3 Perceived Appropriate Qualities of a Girl-Child

Table 5.10 presents the percentage distribution of respondents' perceived appropriate qualities a girl-child should possess. In order to explore the cultural construction of girlhood among the Kambari, the respondents were asked the following question, "What kind of qualities are considered appropriate for a Kambari girl to possess". Five specific qualities identified as the most important appropriate qualities for a girl-child to possess in the following descending order are: patience (96.4%), kindness (94.2), and good skills in domestic work (88.2%), obedience (87.4%) and respect for elders (57.6%).

Among the Kambari "respect for elders" would enable the girl-child to have a good suitor, and she was taught early in life to imbibe this quality. Women and girl-children are expected to show deference to men and elders of the household and community. Thus, it is a quality that defines girlhood among the Kambari. In most African societies, as is the case with the Kambari, obedience is a virtue that should be demonstrated, particularly by the younger generation to older persons at the household and community levels. Also, patience is seen as a virtue appropriate for a girl-child to possess. Kindness is another virtue identified by the respondents as appropriate for a girl-child to possess. The sums of these qualities are closely associated with social expectations on the notions of femininity in respect to her future as a wife and mother.

Table 5.10 Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Perceived Appropriate Qualities of a Kambari Girl-Child

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Overall</i>
<i>Perceived qualities for a girl-child</i>					
<i>Respect for elders</i>					
Yes	50.1(193)	55.8(215)	57.2(237)	66.7(276)	57.6(921)
No	49.9(192)	44.2(177)	42.8(177)	33.3(138)	42.4(677)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(414)	100.0(1598)
<i>Obedience</i>					
Yes	90.6(349)	80.0(308)	90.6(375)	88.2 (365)	87.4(1397)
No	9.4 (36)	20.0 (77)	9.4 (39)	11.8 (49)	12.6 (201)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(414)	100.0(1598)
<i>Patience</i>					
Yes	98.7(380)	96.6(372)	96.4(399)	94.0(389)	96.4(1540)
No	1.3 (5)	3.4 (13)	3.6 (15)	6.0 (25)	3.6 (58)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(414)	100.0(1598)
<i>Kindness</i>					
Yes	99.2(382)	94.5(364)	94.0(389)	89.6(371)	94.2(1506)
No	0.8 (3)	5.5 (21)	6.0 (26)	10.4 (43)	5.8 (93)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(414)	100.0(1598)
<i>Good skills in domestic work</i>					
Yes	99.2(382)	74.5(287)	99.8(413)	79.2(328)	88.2(1410)
No	0.8 (3)	25.5 (98)	0.2 (1)	20.8 (86)	11.8 (188)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(414)	100.0(1598)

5.3.4 Respondents' Cultural Conception of the Valuation of Girl-Children

Table 5.11 presents the percentage distribution of respondents' cultural conception of valuation of girl-children. The study also focused on cultural construction of girlhood by asking series of questions on how the culture perceived the value, status and their membership of the household. As regards the cultural conception of the value of girl-children, an overwhelming majority of the respondents agreed that girls were of less value than boys because they had no inheritance rights. Moreover, descent was traced through the male, being a patrilineal society. It is on this basis that her value was considered lower than that of the boy-child. An overwhelming majority of respondents affirmed that the position of girls was traditionally lower than that of boys. Following from the earlier discussion, the right to inheritance by the boy-child and his likelihood of assuming the headship of the household placed him at a relatively higher position than the girl-child.

In most agrarian communities girls work in the family farm in addition to the domestic work, but there is under-reporting of the extent of her participation (Ajani, 2008). Traditionally, among the Kambari the girl-child is involved in farm-work related activities such as clearing of the farmland in preparation for farming, harrowing, planting and harvesting of crops. Also, the preservation of the crops after harvesting was the responsibilities of women and girls in the household. Despite, the low value ascribe to the girl-child, she is known to contribute directly to the livelihood of the household through her farming related activities that she is not usually given credit for. Also, through the child betrothal bridal farming services known as "gulmo", she contributes indirectly when her betrothed partner's family (in-law to-be) engage on a yearly basis in cultivating the farmland of her father with between 10-20 people depending on their capabilities. Besides, the farm labour was free and it would also increase the yields of variety of grains and crops grown and harvested by her family.

Also, the girl-child was culturally defined as a temporary member of the household, which implied by right that she belonged to the household of the husband by marriage. It was significant that there was a consensus as regards the value, status and membership of the household by the girl-child among all the sub groups represented in the sample.

Table 5.11: Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Cultural Conception of the Valuation of Girl-Children

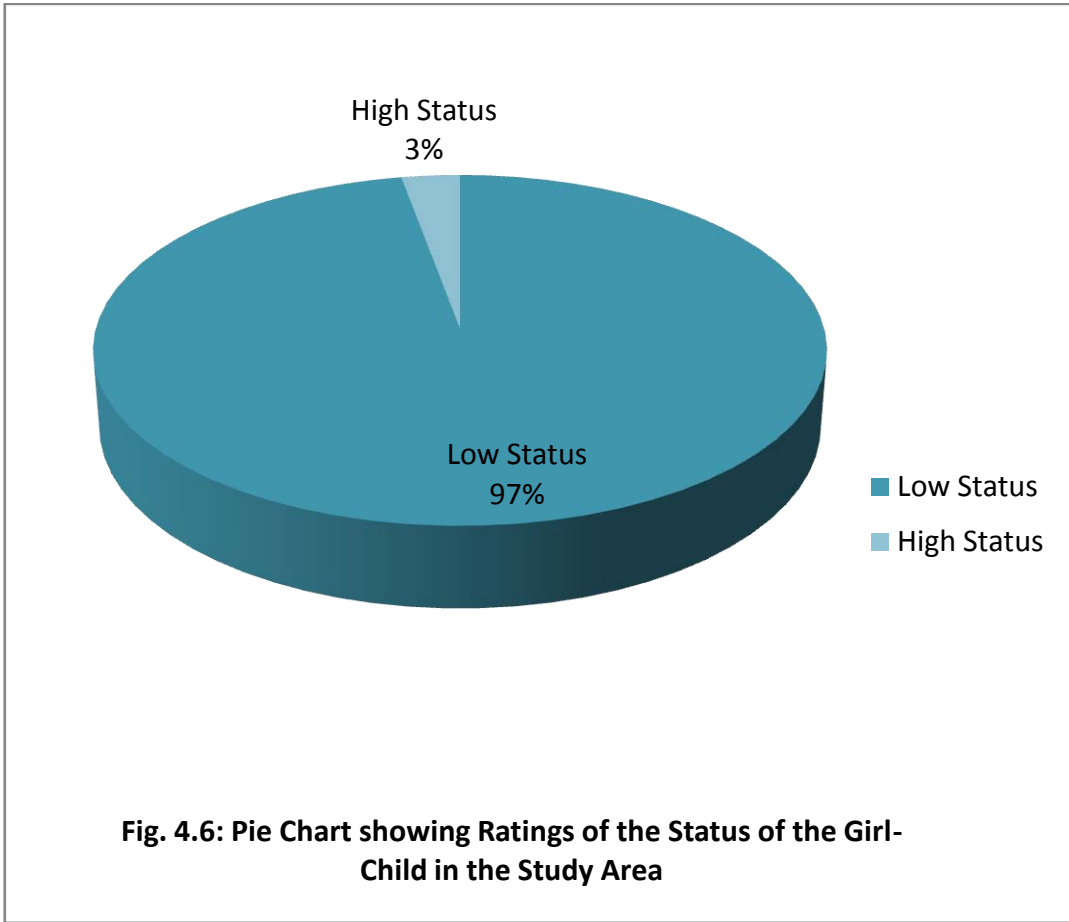
<i>Variable</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>All Respondents</i>
<i>Girls are of less valued than boys because boys have rights to inheritance</i>					
Yes	99.2(382)	97.4(375)	97.8(405)	94.9(393)	97.3(1555)
No	0.8 (3)	2.6 (10)	2.2 (9)	5.1 (21)	2.7 (43)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(414)	100.0(1598)
<i>Girls' position is traditionally lower than that of boys</i>					
Yes	100.0(385)	98.2(385)	99.3(414)	98.7(414)	98.7 (1598)
No	-	1.8 (7)	0.7 (3)	2.7 (11)	1.3 (21)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(414)	100.0(1598)
<i>Girls seen as temporary members of the household</i>					
Yes	100.0(385)	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(414)	100.0(1598)
No	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(414)	100.0(1598)

In sum, the qualities or virtues identified by the respondents could be classified as ‘feminine qualities’ which clearly defines girlhood. These include ‘respect for elders’, ‘obedience’, ‘patience’, ‘kindness’ and ‘good skills in domestic work’. Furthermore, she was less valued than the boy-child because of the patriarchal nature of the society

5.4 Status and Valuation of the Girl-Child

5.4.1 Respondents' Rating of the Status of Girl-Children

Fig 5.6 shows respondents' rating of the status of the girl-child in their respective communities. An overwhelming majority, that is, 97.1 percent affirmed that the status of the girl-child was relatively low. Also, when asked whose status was relatively higher in their respective communities, 98.6 percent of the overall respondents in the sample said the status of the boy-child was higher compared to that of the girl-child (See Fig5.7).



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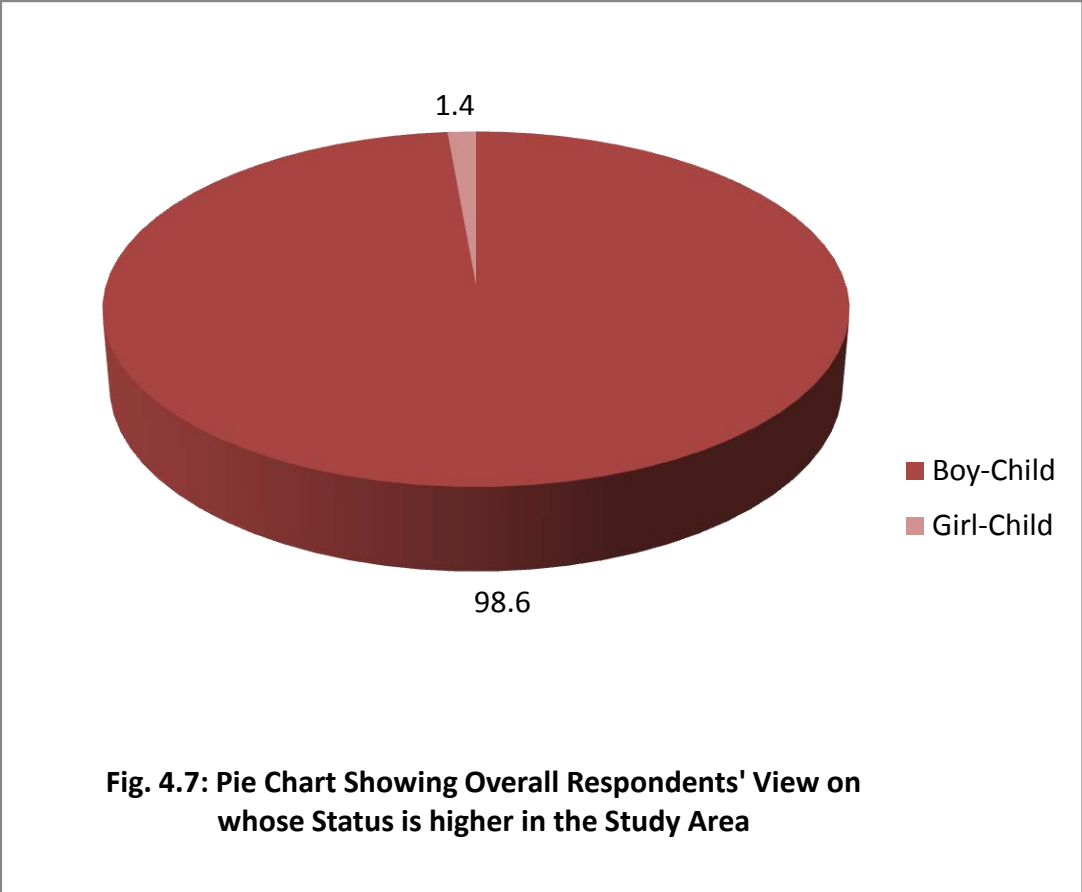


Fig. 4.7: Pie Chart Showing Overall Respondents' View on whose Status is higher in the Study Area

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Table 5.12 shows similar results with regard to the rating of the status of the girl-child among the Kambari which was relatively low and was attributed to socio-culturally related factors. Three major reasons given for the low rating of her status were: boys were seen as potential heads of households (68.3%); role of the boy-child in ensuring continuity of the family name and lineage (17.5%) and that the boy-child had greater responsibilities (8.7%).

Table 5.12 Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Perception and Rating of the Status of Girl-Children and Associated Reasons for the Rating

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>All Respondents</i>
<i>Rating the status of girl-children</i>					
Low	98.4(379)	96.1(370)	96.1(398)	100.0(404)	97.1(1551)
High	1.5 (6)	3.9 (15)	3.9 (16)	2.4 (10)	2.9 (47)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(414)	100.0(1598)
<i>Whose status is relatively higher in the community?</i>					
Boy-child	98.2(378)	99.7(384)	99.8(413)	96.9(401)	98.6(1576)
Girl-child	1.8 (7)	0.3 (1)	0.2 (1)	3.1 (13)	1.4 (22)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(414)	100.0(1598)
<i>Reasons why boy's status is higher</i>					
Seen as head of households	64.7(249)	62.3(240)	67.9(281)	77.5(321)	68.3(1091)
Ensure continuity of family name	21.6 (83)	7.5 (29)	24.9(103)	15.5 (64)	17.5 (279)
Have greater responsibilities	10.1 (39)	21.1 (81)	2.1 (9)	2.2 (9)	8.7 (138)
Bring more honour	3.6 (14)	9.1 (35)	5.1 (21)	4.8 (20)	5.5 (90)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(414)	100.0(1598)

Re-affirming this position one of the male FGD participants in age-group 45+ noted:

Men and boys are the foundation of every community. The male child is seen as the owner of the household. He represents the family in the absence of his father in the community and inheritance of land, farm lands, properties and offices are for the male child not and the female. The boy-child has been given more honour and privileges, because he is seen as a "male" whom authority has been given to by the society. (FGD 9/Res 6/Older Illiterate Male/Azavoku)

An educated older female FGD participant in age group 45+ at Salka empathically supported and corroborated the position of the older illiterate male in this manner:

In our tradition, you don't even contest it; the boy-child like his father has a higher status over and above the girl-child. We honour them; they are served food before any other person in the family. A girl is seen as a stranger who would eventually leave and the boy-child would be left to take charge of the household (FGD14/Res8/Older Educated Woman/Salka).

In addition, a girl-child FGD participant from Bunsuru further reiterated this position as follows:

The status of the boy-child is higher than that of girl-child. What we know is; once he gets married the lineage of that family would continue to increase through him (FGD 3/Res 5/Out-of-School Rural Girl-Child/Bunsuru)

This implies that the boy-child is highly valued and ascribed a higher status than the girl-child. All the reasons proffered to justify the privileged and dominant position and status of the boy-child are a reflection of the patriarchal nature of the Kambari. Like in most patrilineal societies, the role of the male child cannot be overemphasized. The boy-child is seen as the representative of the family in the community and inheritance of land, farm lands, properties and political offices are through the male child as identified by the FGD participants. Ferraro (2008: 234) referred to it as the “vertical function” of the kinship system.

5.4.2 Respondents Valuation of the Girl-Child

5.4.2.1 Sex Preference among Adult Respondents

Son preference plays a critical role in the valuation of the girl-child at the household and community levels. These are reiterated by a number of participants from the qualitative and quantitative data collected during the fieldwork. An FGD participant from a rural community known as Bunsuru noted:

It is important to have male children; it is the prayer of every family. When the strength of the father has gone, he would become the caretaker of that household. A female child cannot perform that role in our community; she would always occupy a second place after the male child in the family (FGD 3/ Res 5/Out-of-School Rural Boy-Child/Bunsuru).

The girl-child traditionally is ascribed a second place after the boy-child. Lending support to this view, an educated younger female FGD participant in age-sub-group 20-44years stated:

When a male child is in a family, it is seen as having a complete house. When he eventually gets married the household would continually increase. However, when the girls in that household get married, they would rather help to increase the household of the husband not their fathers'. This accounts for why we value male children more (FGD 11/Res 7/Educated Younger Urban Female/Salka)

The following remarks from an FGD participant affirms the fact that the boy-child is highly valued; a household is seen as “incomplete” without him. In addition, respondents interviewed in the household survey expressed similar opinions with regard to the valuation of the girl-child. Also, the value of a girl-child has been aptly described by the following Case Study.

Case Study 11 – Nabila: The Worth of a Girl-Child

“Nabila” aged 10 years old is the third child of a family comprising 4 boys and 4 girls. The father had two wives and her mother was the first wife. She belonged to the Aposhi language dialect group of the Kambari. The father was a farmer and the mother sold locally brewed beer known as “burukutu” every market day. They were traditional religious adherents. Nabila and her sisters had never attended any formal school. She was betrothed from an early age and she said she would eventually marry her betrothed partner. She did not have bodily tattoos. In her view, “her parents dislike it”. Nabila observed that right from an early age our parents treated us differently. In terms of the work, we were assigned and the privileges given to each one had been based on their gender. The boys usually seat with other men in the household. They were allowed to eat all kinds of meat. Girls got married and left the household and the boys would eventually head the household. She further explains:

The boys are seen as the pillars of every household, without them that family would be forgotten in the community. Therefore, it is important to send them to school. Girls are only second to the boy-child in everything.

5.4.2.2 Adult Respondents’ Most Preferred Sex of Children and Associated Reasons

Table 5.13 presents the sex preference of respondents in the study area. The respondents were asked the following question: “what sex of children would you prefer to have most”? A total of 23 percent of adult females prefer more male children, and only 16 percent females said they prefer to have more daughters. The corresponding figures for adult males are 61.6 percent and 3.6 percent, respectively. More adult females (61.4 percent) indicated that they have no preference as compared to 34.8 percent of adult males.

Adult males are more forthcoming in indicating their preference for male children than adult females. Conversely, more adult females indicated they have no preference as compared to adult males. In most African societies the preference for male children is not far-fetched. Earlier studies have confirmed male sex preference by parents

(Orubuloye, 1987; Isiugo-Abanihe, 1994; Ogidi, 1997). This study found that the reasons associated with male sex preference differ by gender. More adult females (57.9%) indicated that they would render assistance in old age as compared to 40.1 percent of adult males who responded in the same manner. In contrast, about 48 percent of males and 21% of females prefer male children because they provided labour in the farm. This is particularly crucial for the Kambari where farming is the mainstay of the economy. In general, about 42% of all the respondents' preferred males over females, only 10 percent preferred female children among the Kambari. Inheritance is mainly through the male line, and therefore preference for male children becomes quite imperative among them. The boy-child is seen eventually as the "head of the household".

On the other hand, those who indicated preference for female children provided reasons for their decisions. It is important to note that about half of adult males felt daughters have more concerns for their parents than male children as against 36.9 percent who felt the same way. Also, about 43 percent of adult males and 48% of women mentioned that they preferred females because they would render domestic assistance at home.

Table 5.13 Percentage Distribution Respondents by their Most Preferred Sex of Children and the Associated Reasons

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>All Respondents</i>
<i>Sex of Children Preferred to have most</i>			
Male	61.6(237)	22.9 (95)	41.6(332)
Female	3.6 (14)	15.7 (65)	9.9 (79)
No Preference	34.8(134)	61.4(254)	48.6(388)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(799)
<i>Reasons for Male Preference</i>			
More Labour for farm work	48.1(114)	21.1(20)	40.4(134)
Assist Parents in Old Age	40.1 (95)	57.9(55)	45.2(150)
Continuity of Family Name	11.8 (28)	15.8(15)	13.0 (43)
Brings More Recognition	-	15.8(15)	4.5 (15)
Total	100.0(237)	100.0(95)	100.0(332)
<i>Reasons for more Females</i>			
More Concern for Parents	50.5 (7)	36.9(24)	39.2(31)
Assistance in Domestic Work	42.9 (6)	47.7(31)	46.8(37)
Give Practical Assistance if mother Absent	7.1 (1)	15.4(10)	13.9(11)
Total	100.0(14)	100.0(65)	100.0(79)

5.4.2.3 Perceived Feelings towards the Sex Composition of their Children

Table 5.14 presents the percentage distribution of adult respondents by their perceived feelings towards the sex composition of their children. The respondents were asked the following questions "how would you feel if you have the following sex composition among your children"? In the first instance, the respondents were asked what their

feelings would be if they had no male child among their children. Only 14.5 percent of adult males said they would be happy as compared to 5.8 percent adult females. It is quite interesting to note that over half of the adult males and females (52% and 51%, respectively) affirmed that they would be very unhappy if they had no male child among their children. This together with, 24.2 percent of adult women and 11.2 percent of men who would be unhappy if they had no sons indicating that an overwhelming majority of the Kambari exhibited male preference among their children. Furthermore, respondents were asked “what if you have only one male child how would you feel?” Table 4.10 reveals that 67 percent of adult males said they would be happy as compared to 45.5 percent of adult females. It is significant to note that people who would be very unhappy is drastically reduced compared to having no male children. In addition, they were also asked “How would you feel if all your children are males?” An overwhelming majority of adult men (82 percent) said they would be very happy as compared to close to one-third of adult women. Clearly, none of the respondents would be unhappy if all children are males. These responses revealed the position accorded a male child among the Kambari. Most of the respondents would be unhappy and very unhappy without a male child.

Table 5.14: Percentage Distribution of Adult Respondents’ Perceived Feelings towards the Sex Composition of their Children

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>All Respondents</i>
<i>Feeling if no male Child</i>			
Very Happy	6.0 (23)	3.4 (13)	4.5 (36)
Happy	14.5 (56)	5.8 (24)	10.0 (80)
Partially Happy	6.0 (23)	12.1 (50)	9.1 (73)
Indifferent	10.4 (40)	4.3 (18)	7.3 (58)
Unhappy	11.2 (43)	24.2(100)	11.4(143)
Very Unhappy	51.9(200)	50.5(209)	51.2(409)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(799)
<i>Feeling if only one male Child</i>			
Very Happy	13.2 (51)	9.2 (38)	11.1 (89)
Happy	67.0 (258)	45.5 (188)	55.8(446)
Partially Happy	13.8 (53)	32.4 (134)	23.4(187)
Indifferent	2.9 (11)	9.4 (39)	6.3 (50)
Unhappy	3.1 (12)	3.6 (15)	3.4 (27)
Very Unhappy	3.1 (12)	3.6 (15)	3.4 (27)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(799)
<i>Feeling if all male Children</i>			
Happy	7.3 (28)	30.7(127)	19.4(155)
Very Happy	81.8 (315)	31.4(130)	55.7(445)
Partially Happy	6.8 (26)	21.7 (90)	14.5(166)
Indifferent	1.8 (7)	9.7 (40)	5.9 (47)
Unhappy	2.3 (9)	6.5 (27)	4.5 (36)
Very Unhappy	–	–	–
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(799)

5.4.2.4 Variation in Privileges and Opportunities

Table 5.15 shows that 98.9 percent of all the respondents stated that girl- children were given second place in opportunities at the household level after the boy-child. Also, 99.1 percent of all the respondents noted that boy-children were more valuable and productive than girl-children. There was a consensus also among the entire respondents that boy-children were given more opportunities and preferences at the household level. That implied that in the distribution of household resources, the boy-child was usually considered first. Such action placed the girl-child at a disadvantaged position and further engendered discriminatory practice against the girl-child.

The boy-child is accorded the following privileges and opportunities: firstly, initiation into the maigiro cult was the exclusive right of male children. The boy-child is initiated at a very tender age of between 7-12 years. Women and girls are not allowed to participate in the initiation ceremony nor be anywhere near where the initiation ceremony is being conducted. The mai-giro cult had both religious and judicial functions in the community particularly among the traditional religious adherents. Secondly, the culturally acceptable practice during the serving of meals at the household level and during festivities in the community was that adult males and boy-children were usually served first. Rather, women and girls ate whatever is left after serving. Thirdly, preference is given to boy-child education. Parents would prefer to send their male children to school particularly among the non-literate parents. The educational outcome of boy-children in the study attested to this practice. About 67.0 percent of boy-children were in school compared to only 44.0 percent of girl-children. Fourthly, boy-children were allowed like the adult-male to eat all kinds of meat while restrictive food taboos were placed on women and girls. The girl-child was not allowed to eat dog and goat meat, chicken, eggs and certain kinds of fish among others depending on the language dialect group the girl-child belonged to. Fifthly, boy-children were given the right to inherit, political offices, properties and farmlands from his father.

Table 5.15: Respondents’ Valuation of Girl-Children based on Opportunities and Privileges

Variable	Men	Boys	Women	Girls	All Respondents
Girls given second place in opportunities and privileges	98.7 (380)	99.7 (384)	98.3 (407)	98.1 (410)	98.9 (1581)
Boys are more valuable and Productive than girls	99.5 (383)	99.7 (384)	99.0 (410)	98.1 (410)	99.1 (1583)
Boys are given more Opportunities and preferences	99.5 (383)	99.7 (384)	99.8 (413)	99.5 (412)	99.7 (1593)
Boys are seen as wealth and Strength of households	99.7 (384)	99.5 (383)	99.8 (413)	99.8 (413)	99.7 (1593)

Similarly, 99.7 percent of all the respondents stated that boy-children remained the “wealth” and “strength” of every household. The FGD participants also underscored the high premium ascribed to a boy-child among the Kambari. A household with no boy-child or boy-children was usually seen as “worthless” and “powerless” in the community. Based on the foregoing, it can be inferred that the girl-child is seen as of less value than the boy-child at the household and community levels in spite of her contributions to the sustenance of the household.

5.5 The Socio-Cultural Practices Associated with Discrimination against the Kambari Girl-Child

A number of deep-rooted socio-cultural practices were found to engender discriminatory practices towards the girl-child. It is imperative therefore to have an in-depth understanding of the practices that influence individual behaviour towards the girl-child.

5.5.1 Household Decision- Making and Power Dynamics

Household power dynamics refers to the pattern of decision-making at the household level with specific reference to household discriminatory practices. Were decisions taken jointly or was the husband mainly responsible for taking most of the decisions at the household level? Furthermore, was there areas in which, the wife took the initiative of deciding what to do? This was quite pertinent; it provided insight on the critical stakeholders at the household level that could negatively impact on girl-children through their decisions. In addition, it also provided insight on who should be the focus of interventions that aim to address gender inequality at the household level.

5.5.1.1 Adult Respondents on Decision Making Pattern on Critical Issues

Table 5.16 indicates that 83 percent of the adult respondents opined that men as husbands always decided on major decisions of the family. Only 1.3 percent indicates that women were the major decision makers, and 16 percent thought that major family decisions were made jointly between the man and his wife. With regard to providing household needs, interestingly, about 43.5 percent of adult women said it was a joint responsibility. Some opined that mostly men provided the basic food items but other items for making soup among others were provided by women.

On the issue of sending children to school, an overwhelming majority of the adult respondents in the sample opined that it was the responsibility of the husband. About 86.5 percent of adult men and 72.5 percent of adult women said it was the responsibility of the husband. In addition, on the assignment of domestic work at the household level, an overwhelming majority of the overall sample said it was the responsibility of the “wife”. In sum, decision making at the household levels were as defined by societal expectations. Husbands played a very key role on critical issues that affect the well-being of the household such as providing household needs, which child should be sent to school and under what conditions. On the other hand, assigning of domestic work which was seen as activities within the realm of the household level was confirmed as the responsibility of the “wife”. She did most of the domestic work at home with the assistance of her daughters. Therefore, she assigned various types of domestic work to her daughters each time the need arose.

Table 5.16: Percentage Distribution of Adult Respondents on Decision-Making Pattern on Critical Household Issues

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Overall</i>
<i>Who decides on major issues?</i>			
Husband	81.6 (314)	84.5(350)	83.1(664)
Wife	0.3 (1)	2.2 (9)	1.3 (10)
Jointly	18.2 (70)	13.3 (55)	15.6(125)
Total	100.0 (385)	100.0(414)	100.0(799)
<i>Decides on providing household needs</i>			
Husband	86.5(336)	54.8 (227)	70.5(125)
Wife	0.8 (3)	1.7 (7)	1.3 (10)
Jointly	11.9 (46)	43.5(180)	28.3(226)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(799)
<i>Decides on sending children to school</i>			
Husband	86.5(333)	72.5(300)	79.2(633)
Wife	1.8 (7)	3.4 (14)	2.6 (21)
Jointly	11.7 (45)	24.1(100)	18.1(145)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(799)
<i>Assigning Domestic work</i>			
Husband	11.9 (46)	0.7 (3)	6.0 (48)
Wife	87.3(336)	85.0(352)	86.1(688)
Jointly	0.8 (3)	14.3 (59)	7.8 (62)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(799)
<i>Quantity of food given to each child</i>			
Husband	18.2 (70)	-	8.7 (70)
Wife	62.3(240)	85.7(355)	74.5(595)
Jointly	19.5 (75)	14.3 (59)	16.8(134)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(799)
<i>Enforcing food taboos on girls</i>			
Husband	4.2 (16)	8.2 (34)	6.3 (50)
Wife	17.9 (69)	18.4 (76)	14.4(115)
Jointly	77.9(300)	73.4(304)	75.6(604)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(799)

On the issue of quantity of food given to each child, more than 7 out of every 10 respondents in the overall sample opined that it was the responsibility of the wife. There was a large gap between the figures for men and women on this matter. Whereas only 62 percent of men thought they decided on the quantity of food given to children, about 86 percent of women thought it was their responsibility. Furthermore, on the issue of enforcing food taboos at the household level, about 75.6 percent of the sample claimed it was a joint responsibility.

Based on the foregoing, quantity of food given was considered as the responsibility of the wife in view of the fact that she dished out the food to family members with the assistance of girl-children in the household. Therefore, the wife determined the quantity of food given to each child. Consequently, based on the peculiarities of each child she attended to the needs of each child. Furthermore, in as much as the husband remained the custodian of the cultural practices of his community or ethnic group, the study found that enforcing restrictive food taboos was a joint responsibility. On the one hand, the husband

used his authority to clearly spell out to his family members' food that could or could not be eaten. On the other, the wife who cooked the food always must ensure that "food" restricted for girls were not given to them when sharing meals.

5.5.1.2 Non-Participation of Women in Decision-Making and Its Effects on Girl-Children's Aspirations

Table 5.17 shows the percentage distribution of adults by their views on non-participation of women in decision-making and its effects on girl-child's aspirations. The study was also interested in finding out if non-participation of women in the decision-making process at the household level could negatively impact on the well-being of girl-children. Consequently, respondents were asked the following questions: "Do you think non participation by women in decision-making is likely to affect the girl-child negatively?" There were marked gender differences on the responses elicited from adult men and women in the sample with women being more supportive of a positive attitude towards the girl-child. For instance, more women felt that non-participation of women in the decision-making process negatively impacted on girl-children. Only 47 percent of men felt so.

Furthermore, respondents were asked if "non consultation of women negatively affected the girl-child's schooling aspirations". An overwhelming majority of women (88%) in the sample said "yes" while more than half of the men answered that non consultation could not negatively impact on the girl-child's schooling aspirations. In addition, when asked if "non consultation of women can negatively affect the overall girl-child's future aspirations," a similar trend emerged from the responses of men and women in the sample. About 50.9 percent of the men felt it would not, relative to 85.5 percent of adult women who opined that non-consultation of women would negatively affect the girl-child's future aspirations.

Table 5.17: Percentage Distribution of Adult Respondents' View on Non-Participation of Women in Decision-Making and Its Effects

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Overall</i>
<i>Non-Participation of women in decision making affect girls negatively</i>			
Yes	47.3(182)	88.4(366)	68.6(548)
No	52.7(203)	11.6 (48)	31.4(251)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(799)
<i>Non-consultation negatively affects girls schooling aspirations</i>			
Yes	49.1(189)	87.9(364)	69.2(553)
No	52.7(196)	12.1 (50)	30.8(246)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(799)
<i>Non-consultation can negatively affect girl-children's future aspirations</i>			
Yes	49.1(189)	85.5(354)	68.0(543)
No	50.9(196)	14.5 (60)	32.0(256)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(799)

Lending support to the findings of the quantitative data, an older illiterate rural male FGD participant from age sub-group 45 + years stated:

Men as heads of the family took most of the decisions even in small and big matters. The wife is expected to support and carry out those decisions without questioning the authority of her husband. (FGD 9/Res 8/Older Illiterate Rural/ Male /Balugu)

Speaking in the same view, a younger urban educated male from FGD age sub group 44 + years opined:

We know the best for our respective families; a wife ought to agree with decisions taken. Yes! If anything happens, it is the husband that would take the responsibility. (FGD 6/Res 3/ Educated Urban Male/Salka)

On the other hand, women expressed divergent views as noted in the following statement of an educated younger female FGD participant from age sub-group 15-44 years.

Really, most times decisions are taken by the men by virtue of their role as head of their families. However, the problem with uneducated men is that western education is seen as bad and therefore it is not important to send girls to school. Rather, they would prefer she gets married due to the value of bridal services rendered by the in-laws which we call "gulmo" in our native tongue. (FGD11/Res7/Educated Younger Urban Female/Salka)

Similarly, an older illiterate rural female FGD participant noted:

If a husband decides that he would not send his female children to school because he feels that it would corrupt them, what can the wife do? She would not be able to force him to change his mind. He is expected to know what is best for his family. (FGD 15/Res 6/Older Illiterate Rural Women/Papirin Gajere)

In sum, decision-making at the household level could negatively impact on the aspirations of girl-child particularly when parents do not value western education or when women are not involved in the decision-making process at the household level.

5.5.2 Gender Stereotyping

Gender stereotyping largely influenced the mindsets and individual actions of the respondents towards exhibiting discriminatory practices towards the girl-child. A number of gender stereotypes, with respect to the notions of femininity, prescribed roles of the girl-child, valuation of the girl-child among some of the sub-groups of the sample were identified as follows:

“A girl is like a stranger in her fathers’ household”. (FGD 10/Res6 /Illiterate Rural Man/Azavoku)

“A household is empty if they have only female children”. (FGD 6/Res 5/ Younger Educated Urban Man/Salka)

“A man with only female children has no say in the community”. (FGD7/Res8 /Illiterate Rural Man/Bunsuru)

“Boys are more superior to girls”. (FGD 4/Res 5/ In-School/Boy-Child/Salka)

“A girl is of less value when compared to a boy”. (FGD 7/Res 4/Younger Illiterate Rural Male/Bunsuru)

“Domestic chore is seen as girls’ work” (FGD 5/Res 3/Out-of- School Boy –Child/Bunsuru).

These gender stereotypes influenced the actions of adult men and women towards their children. The resultant effect was that privileges and a higher status were accorded the boy-child over the girl-child such as providing more access to educational opportunities to them. On the other hand, girl-children were burdened with domestic chores and denied access to education because they were seen as strangers who would eventually leave the household. Moreover, domestic chore was seen as girls’ work. Therefore, parents rationalised on the value of spending so much to educate a girl-child who would one day get married. This affirms the patriarchal nature of the Kambari society whereby gender stereotypes were further employed to perpetuate discriminatory practices towards the girl-child. Corroborating these views, a male community influential noted:

The underlying motives that influenced the actions of parents towards the girl-child are linked to deep-rooted beliefs, stereotypes about girls which may not necessarily be true. For instance, there is this belief that boys are more intelligent than girls as a result of this, some parents may not see the need to educate girls. (IDI 8, 50 years /Male Community Influential 50 years/Wando)

Case Study 4, as well as others, debunked such gender stereotypes about the inability of girl-children to excel in their studies when given the opportunity or progress beyond primary school as was the case of Abigail who wanted to train as a nurse.

Case Study 4 – Hadiza: Breaking Stereotyped Expectations

“Hadiza” aged 10 years, was the last child in a family of 5 children, comprising 2 boys and 3 girls. Her parents were Muslims, the father, a primary school teacher and the mother, a petty-trader. She belonged to the language-dialect group known as “Cishingin” or “Ashingini”. Hadiza had a good enabling environment. She was a Class II pupil at the primary school. She attended extra lessons at the headmasters’ house once a week for a fee of ₦20 per week with her other siblings. Her performance in school was excellent as she either took 1st or 2nd position in her class. She did not hawk, but before going to school in the morning she used to help her mother with some domestic chores such as sweeping the surroundings, fetching water and washing of plates.

Her father, who was enlightened, disapproved of child betrothal and none of his children either female or male was betrothed from childhood. This implied that the education of parents could significantly improve the well-being of the girl-child due the opportunities that were likely to be provided at the household level. More so, when provided with an enabling environment the girl-child was likely to do well academically. That should be seen as gateway towards the upliftment of her status.

Case Study 10 – Abigail: I want to Train as a Nurse

“Abigail” was the sixth child in her family of 6 children, 2 boys and 4 girls. She was 15 years old. However, the mother later lost a daughter as at the time of the study, so had 3 girls left. The parents were Christians of the protestant denomination. They were farmers but the father was also a petrol dealer and a politician. She was an SS II student of a secondary school at Kara-Bangi. She belonged to the Akimba language-dialect among the Kambari. She noted with great enthusiasm that her desire after completion of her

secondary education was to train as a nurse. When asked why not other professions, she responded with a smile that she enjoyed caring for the sick.

Furthermore, she observed that her desire for all children irrespective of their gender would be that they be given opportunity to acquire higher education. She further noted that “girls especially could do well as boys in their studies” On child betrothal, she observed that her children would not be subjected to it in her view “it was an old tradition”, the younger generation would prefer personal choice over parental choice”. There were many such Kambari girls like Hadiza who were denied access to education because of such stereotypes.

5.5.3 Conception of Gender Roles

Every community usually assigned distinct gender roles to its members. Similarly, among the Kambari, distinct roles existed for each of the gender. The Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) held among the various groups revealed their respective views on conception of traditional gender roles among the Kambari. There was a consensus among the various sub-groups on the specific roles assigned to either boy-children or girl-children, as stated below:

Boys get involved in farming, rearing of cattle, thatching the roof of a house and other activities related to building (FGD 10/Res 9/ Illiterate Younger Rural Man/Azavoku).

In a similar view, older men irrespective of their literacy status or place of residence either rural or urban expressed similar views as follows:

We don't have any other occupation besides what our forefathers were involved in which is farming. Therefore, all our male children must do likewise.(FGD9/Res4/Illiterate Older Rural Man/Balugu)

Honestly speaking, boys have less to do at home. Kambari boys are considered as the wealth and strength of the household. Therefore boys are more involved in farming than in any other activity, and various crops are produced either for consumption or sales. (FGD 8/Res 5/Educated Older Urban Man/Salka)

There was also a consensus on the roles assigned to girl-children by the various sub-groups represented in the FGDs. An urban in-school girl-child aged 12 years noted:

Girls usually cook meals, fetch water and firewood, clean the surroundings and also care for their younger ones. (FGD 1/Res 5/In-School Urban Girl-Child/Salka)

Corroborating this view, a rural out-of-school boy-child stated:

Girls' sweep, washes plates, run errands particularly to the market and also cooks the meals. (FGD 5/Res 8/Out-of-School Rural Boy-Child/Bunsuru)

Adult men and women in the FGDs further affirmed the views expressed by both girl- and boy-children in the FGDs conducted:

When girls are 5-6 or even 7 years, they can run errands, sweep the surroundings, wash plates, fetch water and even care for their younger ones also. Meanwhile, the older ones from 8 years and above wash plates, fetch water, fetch firewood, set fire, pound soup ingredients and also cook the meals. (FGD 13/Res 10/Illiterate Younger Rural Woman/Papirin-Gajere)

Indeed, the listed activities imply that roles assigned to girl-children were associated with the “domestic sphere” which had been closely linked to their future roles as “wives” and “mothers”. Thus, the role assigned to each child was clearly distinct based on their gender. Consequently, parents assigned domestic chores to girl-children because traditionally it was seen as prescribed role assigned to them by the community. On the other hand, boy-children were assigned roles that were in the “public domain”, mainly masculine activities as exemplified by farming, hunting, building and other related activities.

A religious cleric noted some significant issues on conception of gender roles as follows:

The male and the female have been made distinct by Allah and their roles are also quite different. When a girl is assigned domestic work or is over-burdened with it, she is seen as performing her role as a girl and that of a mother and a wife in the nearest future. It is not seen as discrimination but a training ground for her future roles. (IDI 12, 56 years/Religious Muslim Cleric/Auna)

Another religious cleric stated his views in this manner:

In as much as God made the female and the male distinct with differing roles, nothing stops a boy-child from assisting to carry-out domestic chores when the need arises at the household level. (IDI 10, 57 years/Religious Christian Cleric/Bakon Mission)

The dilemma with regard to discriminatory practices was that parents did not really view assigning domestic work to girls, or their being over-burdened with domestic work, as “discriminatory”. Rather it was seen as a required “training” that would assist her to assume her future roles effectively. In addition, the distinctiveness of each gender as well

as tradition-bound beliefs influenced the mind-sets of individual actors towards the girl-child with regard to discriminatory practices. However, there were varying opinions among religious clerics that were interviewed. The Christian religious cleric felt that boy-children could help in household chores when the need arose within a household. Unlike, the Muslim religious cleric who felt it was training ground for girl-children who will eventually become mothers.

5.5.4 Gender Socialization

Hartley (1959) posits that gender socialization occurs through four processes namely: manipulation, channelization, different verbal appellations and also by different activity exposure. Firstly, manipulation involves the way a child is handled by the parents and significant others. For instance, boy-children are treated as strong “autonomous beings” whereas girl-children are treated as “fragile pretty being” that require the “protection’ of a male. These are based on the notions of femininity and masculinity. These early childhood experiences shaped the self-perception of both the girl-and the boy-child.

Secondly, through channelization the social constructions of girlhood and boyhood are achieved by directing the attention of the girl-child and the boy-child to different objects, interests and also those they closely relate to. A girl-child relates more with the mother and is associated with objects such as “brooms”, “pots” buckets”, “firewood” and her interests are channelled into feminine roles and interests as defined by the society. On the other hand, the boy-child’s attention is directed to objects such as “hoe”, “bow” “arrow”, “cutlass” “guns”, “canoe”, “bicycles” and interests such as “farming”, “hunting”, “cattle-rearing” “building”, “warfare” among others which are seen as appropriate masculine roles. These differential treatments make them develop different capabilities, attitudes, aspirations and dreams.

Thirdly, verbal appellations employ on a regular basis during the course of social interaction with parents and significant others help to construct and reinforce their self-identity. For instance, the following statements are often made: “You look strong?; “Don’t behave like a woman or girl”; “Boys don’t cry”; whereas to a girl-child the comments usually made are: “You look pretty”; “You are not behaving like a girl”; “A girl is not suppose to act in this manner”, et cetera.

Lastly, different activity exposure of the girl-and boy-child to the traditionally feminine and masculine activities reinforce the learning of masculine and feminine behaviour that are often internalized unconsciously. All these four processes come to bear in the ways girl-and boy-children are socialized into their respective roles among the Kambari.

Gender socialization plays a critical role in ensuring that the individual internalized the roles, norms and values ascribed to their specific roles. Generally, children learn by observation and imitation at the household level. As pointed out during the FGDs and in-depth interviews (IDIs) gender socialization accounts for one of the reasons why boy-children and girl-children are treated differently. Parents play clearly defined roles during the process of socialization among the Kambari; usually boy-children are closer and are brought up by their fathers, whereas girl-children are closer to their mothers for effective instruction and impartation of skills necessary in fulfilling their ascribed roles. Gender socialization is initiated at an early age. An elder and a religious cleric among the Aposhi noted that:

When a boy-child is about 4 years old, he is usually taken to the farm of the father and given a very small hoe to play with. By the very act of observing others work in the farm and hitting the hoe on the ground, he has started learning the act of farming. Consequently at age 5, he should start harrowing and as he grows up he learns how to plant and grow various crops such as millet and guinea corn, among others. (IDI 11, 60 years/ Traditional Religious Cleric/ Utula)

Besides, the art of farming was further perfected during “gulmo” which was the bridal communal farming services rendered as part of the dowry obligations to the family of boy’s betrothed partner. His ability to participate actively in such situation among relations, peers and the community would further determine people’s response to his need when he would be expected to provide such services later in life. In the past, as the boy-child grew he was initiated into the mai-giro cult where he was taught the art of secrecy, courage and the value of hard work. Furthermore, as he interacts with other males at the family or communal level, he was taught about the role and position accorded males at the family and community levels. In addition, he learnt how to care for his younger siblings, parents and his future family in the nearest future.

On the other hand, a girl-child was taught her ascribed roles and the necessary skills and values by her mother, other female members of her immediate and extended family kins and other women in wider community. The girl-child remained in the company of her

mother and other female relations most times whether within the household or during market days. The wife of a community elder at Madinbu in Genu district of Rijau Local Government Area observed that:

When a girl-child is about age 4 the mother, other female relations and her elder sisters could send her to fetch water from the pot, carry plates or spoons during meal-time when the food is being served. She learns how to sweep the surroundings at least by age 6, she can also be sent to pound soup ingredients at age 7. Also, she could follow her elder sisters to the stream at age 7 and 8 years and remain in the kitchen area to run other errands. At that age, as well, she could be allowed to pound grains. (IDI 7, 54 years/Female Community Influential/Madinbu)

Affirming this view, the District head of Genu noted:

The strength of the girl-child is in the mother and no one else. The girl receives instructions from the mother on how to carry out domestic chores such as sweeping, pounding, cooking and washing of plates and also practically carryout these activities when the need arises in the household.(IDI 3, 57 years/Traditional Ruler/Genu)

This implies that all she needed to learn about womanhood and motherhood emanated from the mother. Thus, when a girl-child was assigned any form of domestic chores, it was done within the context of her prescribed role and she was taught on how to carry out each of these activities. Besides, engaging in domestic chores was not seen as a “burden” but as part of “training” to fulfill her prescribed roles as a “mother” and “wife” in the near future. The exhibitions of discriminatory practices against the girl-child were what have been internalized unconsciously during gender socialization by individual actors.

5.5.5 Cultural Construction of Girlhood

Societies differ cross-culturally on how girlhood is constructed. During the FGD with younger and older illiterate rural women, they noted the following with regard to cultural construction of girlhood which further buttressed the findings of the quantitative data generated in this regard as follows:

No matter how small a girl is, she is rather seen in the light of her role as a woman (FGD 15, Res 6/Older Illiterate Rural Woman/Papirin-Gajere)

Arguing along the same vein, a younger illiterate rural woman noted:

A girl would grow up to be a woman and would eventually become a wife and a mother of children (FGD 13, Res 7/Younger Illiterate Rural Woman/Papirin-Gajere).

This is a clear indication that the notions about femininity shaped the cultural construction of girlhood. Consequently, the prescribed roles of the girl-child, her subordinate and secondary position accorded, as well as the gender stereotypes about the notions of femininity eventually influenced individual actors' behaviour towards the girl-child. An educated community male influential noted:

In our community more value is placed on boys than girls, because they are our "eyes and "ears" within the community. Therefore, more privileges and preferences are given to them early in life. However, for a girl most parents would prefer to invest more on their male children with regards to education. Girls would eventually leave, only the boys would remain. (IDI 5, 56 years/Community Male Influential /Agwara)

Another educated female community influential also observed:

Girls are denied certain rights, privileges and opportunities because they are "girls" who the community only "see" as "women" in the making. Most time, what is done for her is usually an after-thought when the boys in the family have been dully considered. We have negative images about girls and these are what account for the kind of treatment and discrimination faced by her in most households in our community. (IDI 8, 50 years/Female Community Influential/Wando)

These accounted for boy-children receiving more education over girl-children, girl-children being overburdened with domestic work and also why males and boy-children are served meals first in most households. In a nutshell, the cultural construction of girlhood among the Kambari was closely associated with her prescribed role in the community. Likewise, the expected behaviour pattern was an expression of the secondary role she would eventually occupy at the household and community levels. Consequently, qualities such as "submissiveness", "obedience" found common expression among the various sub-groups.

Besides, other qualities associated with "motherhood" such as "kindness", "caring" and "hard-work" were seen as attributes that girl-children were expected to imbibe in order to fulfill the roles ascribed to them by their forefathers. The cultural construction of

girlhood underscores the patriarchal nature of the society. Thus, a girl-child was assigned most of the domestic work at home and it was also seen as the work of girls rather than boys.

5.5.6 Valuation of the Girl Child.

The roles ascribed to each of the gender within the household or at the community levels had different values. In the FGDs and IDIs conducted these opinions were expressed by the different sub-groups involved in the study. The role of the boy-child had been described in this manner: “heads of households”, “owners of households” and having “greater responsibilities” which were also associated with the role of “a husband” and “father”.

In one of the FGDs with older educated men at Salka in Magama Local Government Area, they observed that “boys are the strength of every household”, which encapsulates the value attached to the roles of boy-children. Furthermore, out-of-school girl-children at Balagu in Magama Local Government Area also noted “A boy-child’s position is more superior to that of a girl-child”. This clearly provides insight on the high premium attached to the roles of the boy-child who would eventually remain in the household when his own sisters would have been married into different households within or outside the community. A female community influential noted the value of the boy-child in this manner;

You cannot compare the boy-child who would eventually head the family and a girl-child who would only spend half of her life time in her fathers’ household. This is one of the reasons why we value male children most. (IDI 9, 46 years/Female Community Influential/Salka)

Another male community influential who affirmed this view noted:

The roles of girls are secondary to those played by the boy. It is unheard of, even a taboo for a female to head a family. Girls would always come after boys in any communal activity; they would be where the men are. However, the girls would usually be with their mothers inside the compound (IDI 2, 60 years/ Male Community Influential/Bakon Mission)

These corroborate the fact that the roles of the girl-child were within the “domestic domain” and within the household, where she should only to be “seen” not “heard”; her

future role as a “wife” and “mother” limited her participation in communal activities that are male-dominated. At the household and community levels, the girl-children were aware of the value and preferential treatment given to the boy-child. An in-school girl-child in an FGD, stated:

We are taught to show respect for the males in our families and our parents. From their day-to-day actions and activities we know that boys are more valued; they are given more respect and preferences in so many ways. A boy would follow the father for festivities or meeting in the community when they are of age. They eat different kinds of meats or fish which girls are not allowed to eat because of our traditions... Boys are considered first with regard to schooling. (FGD 1/Res 3/In-School Girl-Child/Salka)

Consequently, the devaluing of the girl-child was due to her secondary and subordinate position vis-à-vis the position accorded the boy-child. Thus, discriminatory practices against the girl-child were based on the value of her roles, worth and contributions to the household in terms of its continuity as an entity within the community. These further underscored the patriarchal nature of the Kambari society whereby male dominance permeated every aspect of societal life.

Notwithstanding, despite the low value ascribed to the girl-child, she is known to contribute to the livelihood of the household directly through her farming related activities that she is not usually given credit for. Also, through the child betrothal bridal farming services known as “gulmo”, her betrothed partner’s family on a yearly basis assisted in cultivating the farmland of her father. The girl-child therefore, contributed indirectly to the livelihood of the household. Rather, her valuation was based on the gender hierarchy among the Kambari that has placed women and girls in a lower position relative to men and boys.

5.5.7 Traditional Practices

There were two main traditional practices among the Kambari that had placed limitations on the girl-child which could have significant impact on her well-being and the opportunities available to her later in life. Firstly, the enforcement of restrictive food taboos denied the right to certain nutritious food that would have enhanced her growth and health. Food taboos included the traditional practices that engendered discriminatory practices towards the girl-child particularly among the Kambari. The prevalence of food

taboos cut across the various language-dialect groups among the Kambari. However, due to superstitious beliefs and the desire by parents to instil discipline, self-control and restraint on the girl-child who would eventually be a wife and a mother, restrictive food taboos were enforced early in life. A community influential and traditional ruler stated:

Girls and women are not allowed to eat chicken or any form of meat and even eggs, particularly among the Aposhi. In the past it was a very common practice among the Kambari. (IDI 1, 55years/Male community Influential/Salka)

Similarly, another traditional ruler also affirmed this fact:

Girls are not allowed to eat duck, chicken, and goat as well as sheep meat. It is the tradition passed down by our forefathers. (IDI 3, 57 years/Male Community Influential/Genu)

In some language dialect groups it varied, this was pointed out by the wife of a ward head. She observed that:

A girl-child and even women cannot eat chicken until after the delivery of 5 children. However, they can eat certain type of fish or cow meat. (IDI 7, 54 years/Female Community Influential/Madinbu)

On the other hand, a retired pastor and a community leader noted:

It is a common practice that was strictly adhered to. However, those who have been converted to Christianity no longer uphold such restrictive food taboos in their respective homes. (IDI 10, 57 years/Christian Religious Cleric/Bakon Mission)

Therefore, it is significant to note that among those who practiced food taboos, particularly restricting girl-children from eating certain types of meat should rather be seen as discriminatory. Unfortunately, this has been not regarded as such because these are traditional practices that have been transmitted from one generation to another among the Kambari.

Secondly, the practice of child betrothal by certain language dialect groups of the Kambari placed serious constraints and limitations that could negatively impact on her well-being, future aspirations and choice of a marriage partner in the nearest future. Child betrothal played a critical role in the economic life of households and the community. The bridal farming services known as “gulmo” ensured the continual supply

of farm labour through the in-laws for a predominantly farming community. In recent times, however some girls' betrothal arrangements have failed.

A community influential noted:

I have received series of complaints on failed betrothal mostly on the part of the girls. The consequences have the capacity to destroy years of long-standing relationships between families. Where such cases are common among girls in a family they are not likely to find families coming to ask for their hand in marriage. (IDI 2, 60 years/Male Community Influential/Bakon Misson)

Another community influential also observed:

Parents don't like to send their female children to school because when their "eyes" get opened they would reject their betrothed partners and some might bring shame by getting pregnant. (IDI 12, 56 years/Muslim Religious Cleric/Auna)

These practices limit the opportunities for capacity development and empowerment of the girl-child whose future has been pre-determined early in life by parents who do not place premium on girls' education.

5.5.8 Son Preference

Son preference is a critical factor engendering household discriminatory practices towards the girl-child. It has been closely associated with the patriarchal nature of most societies particularly where inheritance is through the male line, as is the case with the Kambari. An older illiterate rural male in an FGD stated:

A boy-child as a male would eventually head the family. Therefore, he has to be treated like the head of the family so that he can appreciate the depth of his responsibilities. Preferences have to be given to him in all matters. (FGD 9/Res 4/Older Illiterate Rural Man/Balugu)

Another older illiterate female in age sub-group 45 years also stated the reasons as follows:

We would like to have one or two female children to assist us with domestic work and other related female activities. However, you need to have male children to earn respect of your husband's family and to ensure stability and continuity of the family within the community. So preferences are accorded to boys within the household and in the community as well. (FGD 15/Res6/Older Illiterate Rural Women /Papirin –Gajere)

The girl-child usually faced discriminatory practices at the household level because of her disadvantaged position vis-a-vis the boy-child. Educating a boy-child was seen as a priority. A girl-child would eventually bear the name of someone else and would eventually leave the household. Girls did most of the domestic work because a boy was regarded as a potential head of household who should not be involved in girls' work.

5.5.9 Kinship Pattern and Rule of Inheritance

Traditionally, the Kambari were patrilineal in descent. In other words, “a man, his own children, his brothers' children (not his sister's children), and his son's children (but not his daughter's children), were all members of the same descent group” (Ferraro, 2008:238). Girl-children when they are grown and mature for marriage are expected to marry outside their own patrilineages. Also, the children she would eventually bear belonged to the lineage of the husband rather than to her own. Therefore, inheritance is through the male line, only boy-children were entitled to inherit land, properties and political offices in the family and community at large. A traditional ruler succinctly explained it in this manner:

Our tradition does not permit a girl-child to inherit to anything. It is the boy-child, who is a male that inherits farmland, land, properties and traditional titles within the family or community. (IDI 1, 55 years/Traditional Ruler/Salka)

Also, a community youth leader corroborating this view noted:

Boy-children were seen as potential householders and the backbone of their families, respectively. A household and its lineage would continue to exist if there were males in the family line. The boy-child inherits and decides what to give his sisters if he so wishes. (IDI 14, 35 years/Community Youth Leader/Bakon Mission)

Furthermore, an FGD participant also expressed similar views. An older illiterate woman observed that:

Support in our old age mostly is from boy-children who would eventually head the households. Girl-children would eventually marry and leave the household. The help they would be able to render cannot be equated with a male child who you see every other day. The boy-child inherits and a woman without a male child would not be happy. So, boy-children are treated differently and special preference and attention

is given to their needs (FGD 15/Res 4/ Older Illiterate Rural Woman/Papirin-Gajere)

This further buttressed the prevalence of strong son preference among the Kambari and the privileged position of boy-children in traditional Kambari society. The boy-child as a result of his right to inheritance was accorded privileges and opportunities that the girl-child is not given because she would eventually belong to another family by marriage. Land, properties of the household must remain in the lineage for members of the same kinship group which is passed from one generation to another. Therefore, parents justify their actions towards the girl-child by providing more access to household resources to the boy-child thereby discriminating against the girl-child.

5.5.10 Religious Beliefs and Practices

Religious practices have been associated with household discriminatory practices against the girl-child in Asia (Nilsson, 200; Sultana, 2010). In Nigeria; the misinterpretation of religious injunctions has been closely linked to low enrolment and retention of girls in schools with specific reference to states in Northern Nigeria (Indabawa, 2004; Rufai and Ogidi, 2006). Similarly, with regard to the current study, case studies 5 and 2 had brought to fore the effects of religious beliefs and practices on girl-children's aspiration to acquire formal education.

Hauwa: Case Study 5.

She was the eldest child and the first daughter who dropped-out of school in Class IV due to the burden of domestic work. She would have preferred to her complete primary education. Rather, her father enrolled her in a Quranic school close to their house. Although, her parent had no formal education, her younger brothers were enrolled in the primary school. This was an indication of preference for boy-education.

A Muslim religious cleric noted:

Koranic education is very important for all our children. Even when a girl-child does not attend formal schooling, she must acquire Koranic education. What she in the Koranic school would help in her future role as a wife and mother (IDI12, 56years/Muslim Religious Cleric /Auna)

On the other hand a Christian religious cleric noted:

Most times our people feel that western education corrupt the morals of our children. Parents are more concerned about their girl children so as not to bring disgrace and shame to the family. However, early missionaries and churches today in Kambari land are encouraging parents to send their girl-children to school (IDI 10, 57years/Christian Religious Cleric /Bakon Mission)

In fact, this was the case of “Hauwa” aged 11 years as noted below:

Hauwa: Case Study 2.

Hauwa’s father was a farmer and at the same time a herbalist, she was never enrolled in any formal schooling. She noted in her own words “my father told me that going to the white man’s school would make me loose our traditions” when further asked to explain further she said “some of these traditions included chastity, child betrothal, restrictive food taboos and religious beliefs.”

A traditional religious cleric further provided insight on some of these practices in the following manner:

Our actions and conduct are guided by the religious beliefs and practices of our forefathers. For instance, the restrictive food taboos on girls are for their protection and brighter future as a wife and mother. Once, she abides by the taboos child delivery will not be a problem. Also a girl who does not preserve her chastity will incur the wrath of our ancestral spirits (IDI 11, 60 years/Traditional Religious Cleric/Utula)

An older illiterate male FGD participant reiterated the following views on religious beliefs and practices and its effect on the girl-child in this manner:

Our religious beliefs have established male superiority and authority over women and girls. The boy-child since is a male child is superior over the girl. This is demonstrated on how the preferences accorded him. A girl would always come after a boy that is the way God ordained it (FGD 10/Res 5/Older illiterate Rural Man/Balagu)

Besides, among the Kambari only the boy-child is initiated into the Mai-giro cult. It was one of the privileges enjoyed by the boy-child. A traditional religious cleric noted as follows:

Boy-children are initiated at age 5 by the Mai-giro. Cult priest known as “Magajin Mai-giro” it was a

demonstration of manliness and he is sworn to an oath of secrecy. Any boy-child who is not initiated is ridiculed by both his age group, men and women. In fact, he is seen as a “woman”, fearful, weak and powerless. A boy-child must be strong, aggressive, courageous and fearless (IDI, 11, 60 Years/Traditional Religious Cleric/Utula)

Religious beliefs and practices further reinforced the value system that engenders household discriminatory practices against the girl-child. The preferences, privileges and opportunities accorded the boy-child were seen as “acceptable norm” ordained by God and the imposition of restrictive food taboos were rather seen as in the “best interest” of the girl-child. She is being protected from the woes of bareness in the nearest future. Restrictive food taboos are steeped in superstitious beliefs as earlier shown by respondents in the study. In sum, the study found that conception of gender roles, gender socialization, gender stereotypes, cultural construction of girlhood, low valuation of the girl-child, traditional practices, household decision-making, son preference, kinship pattern and rule of inheritance and religious beliefs and practices engender household discriminatory practices towards the girl-child. These have been closely associated with the patriarchal nature of the Kambari society. Thus, deep-rooted socio-cultural practices influenced and shaped the mind-sets of individual towards exhibiting discriminatory practices against the girl-child.

5.6 Dynamics of Discriminatory Practices

This sub-section examined discriminatory practices at the household level. How were boy and girl-children treated with regard to domestic work assignment, family food distribution and educational aspirations? Studies, particularly in South Asia and the Middle-East, have shown that parents demonstrate preferential practices that favour boy-children which in turn lead to discriminatory practices against girl-children (UNICEF 1993; Sharma, 1995; El Kholy, 1997). In addition, it explored the childhood experiences of adult men and women as regards household practices. Was there preferential treatment that favoured boys? In what areas were boy and girl children treated differently? This study highlighted the pattern of discriminatory practices in the households of at least three generations of the Kambari by virtue of its large sample population. The households of adult men and women when they were younger represented the past. Households of adult men and women represented the present and households of boy-and girl children represented the future.

This is achieved through a recollection of the childhood experiences of adult men and women which represented the past in the study and examination of the present situation in the household of adult men and women represented the present. An interrogation of boy and girl-children in the sample was conducted with respect to their own future households, this represented the future. This provided insight on the dynamism of change at the inter-generational level on discriminatory practices.

5.6.1 Childhood Experiences of Adult Men and Women

Table 5.18 presents the percentage distribution of the childhood experiences of discriminatory practices by adult men and women and the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices against the girl-child. There was a consensus among adult men and women that when they were younger in their respective households that girl-children were assigned more domestic work than boy-children and boy-children had more access to education than girl-children. Also, the quantity of food given to boy-children was usually bigger and there was the enforcement of restrictive food taboos against the girl-child in the past. Similarly, despite their childhood experiences adult men and women were more likely to assign most domestic work in their households to their girl-children and would prefer to provide more access to boy-children over girl children with regard to education. On the other hand, they were less likely to give boy-children more food and only 37.9 percent of adult men and 30.0 percent of adult women were likely to enforce restrictive food taboos against the girl-child in their respective households.

Table 5.18 Percentage Distribution of Childhood Experience of Discrimination by Adult Respondents and the Likelihood of Engaging in Discriminatory Practices in their Households

Variable	Childhood Experiences		Contemporary Practices	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Girls assigned more domestic work	96.1	97.1	79.0	80.0
Boys receive more education	77.4	63.5	80.0	69.8
Girls get less food than boys	75.3	59.7	15.3	10.6
Girls restricted from eating certain foods	77.7	61.4	37.9	30.0

An influential male community leader noted the following with regard to areas girl-children faced discriminatory practices in the past:

It is unheard of that girls are sent to school, her greatest aspiration is to become a good wife and mother. Therefore, she is assigned most of the domestic work at

home. Also, there are a lot of restrictive food taboos against women and girls due to the superstitious nature of our society before the advent of Christianity, Islam and modern ways of doing things (IDI 6, 63 years/Community Influential/Wando).

Similarly, an older female FGD participant from 45 year age subgroup noted:

When we were younger our parents ensured that girls did most of the domestic work. It was seen that the boys were never allowed to do those things that girls ought to do. We were never sent to school, what did a girl need it for? We were told education made a girl corrupt. Also, by an early age a girl had a betrothed partner that she would eventually marry. Everything was done to protect the agreement between the parents (FGD15/Res4/Illiterate Older Rural Women/Paprin-Gajere).

5.6.2 Discriminatory Practices against the Kambari Girl-Child

A combination of qualitative and quantitative data indicates that girl-children faced discriminatory practices on access to education, domestic work assignment and in the enforcement of restrictive food taboos.

5.6.2.1 Access to Education.

The girl-child faced discriminatory practices with regard to access to educational opportunities. Case studies 5, 6, 7, 11 and 12 were girl-children who never attended any form of formal education, while on the other hand, Case Studies 2, 3, 8 and 9 dropped-out of school for varied reasons as presented below for Case Studies 5 and 8 (see Appendix7).

Case Study 5 – Asabe: A Victim of Parental Ignorance

“Asabe” aged 11 years, belonged to the language dialect group known as “Ashingini”. She was the fifth child in a family of 7 comprising 4 girls and 3 boys. Her father was a traditional herbalist and also a farmer while the mother was a farm labourer who assisted others in their farms in exchange for money. Although, she had interest in formal education, her parents had no value for western education which they feel would corrupt their daughter. Rather, she was enrolled in a Koranic school. She said “my father told me that going to the white man’s school would make me to loose our traditions”.

Coupled with that, most times the burden of domestic work was on Asabe and her other sisters, who usually spent an average of 5 hours daily on household chores. On other

issues, she disapproved of child betrothal and restrictive food taboos against girl-children. She approved of girl-children doing most of the domestic chores at home noting that “it is the role assigned to girls by the community”. Despite the fact that she was never sent to school by her parents, she noted that whenever she eventually got married her sons would receive more education over her daughters. Asabe’s willingness to send her boy-children to school in the nearest future was based on her socialization which placed high premium on boy’s education due to the patriarchal nature of the society

Parents who had low value for western education were less likely to send their girl-children to school. The situation of Asabe exemplified the plight of a proportion of girl-children in the Northern part of the country who were out of school for similar reasons. Her desire to allow boy-children in her future home receive more education than her girls was due to cultural inclination.

Case Study 8 – Beatrice: A Truncated Hopeful Future

“Beatrice” was 15 years old and the second child of a family of 5 children comprising 3 girls and 2 boys. She belonged to the “Cshingini” also known as the “Ashingini” language dialect group. The parents were Christians of the Protestant denomination and her parents were farmers. Her mother also sold farm products such as bambara nuts, groundnuts and millet during market days. Beatrice was in Class II in Senior Secondary School (SSS) at Salka. She also had two sisters, aged 12 and 10 years, who were in JSS 1 and Class V in the primary school, respectively. The first child in the family, a boy, was in SSS 3 and the last son in their family was about 4 years old and therefore had not been enrolled in the primary school yet. She noted with regret:

I was in SS 2, when I dropped-out of school because I got pregnant when I was 14 years of age, after my first sexual experience with my boyfriend. I never knew it would result into pregnancy. I had a son and when he grows old enough I would allow my mother take care of him, so that I can go back and complete secondary school. (Case Study 10/Girl-Child /Salka).

Thus, her parents had value for western education and were keen that each child, irrespective of his or her gender, an opportunity to be educated. The parents’ aspiration for all their children was that they acquire higher education in any field of their choice. Unfortunately, she dropped out of school when she was in SSS II because she got pregnant. At the time of the study, her son was just 4 months old. She was willing to go

back and complete her schooling when the baby was old enough to be left with his grandmother. Her future aspiration was truncated and her desire to return to school was fraught with series of problems as a teenage mother. These girl-children were denied the right to education due to wrong misconceptions about western education, ignorance and lack of value for the significance of western education and unwanted pregnancy. A community influential from Auna stated:

Our people have no value for western education. We are predominantly farmers and some are afraid that their children would forsake farming. Also, a female child does not need western education to know how to cook, wash plates and carry out other responsibilities expected of a woman (IDI 13, 55 years/Traditional Ruler/Auna)

Also, a female community influential highlighted other reasons as follows:

I was lucky my parents embraced Christianity through the missionaries who came to our village. A girl must maintain her chastity before marriage and many believed that western education corrupts the morals of a girl and she would eventually abandon the customs and traditions of her people (IDI 8, 50 years/female Community Influential/Wando).

Lending support on the issue, a traditional religious cleric from Utula stated:

A girl's major responsibility is to learn how to be a good wife and mother. What does she need education for? Once her eyes are open, she would reject the traditions of our fathers, the practice of child betrothal and the bridal service of "gulmo" which we rely on as farmers would fail. (IDI 11, 60 years/ Traditional Religious Cleric/Utula).

The quantitative data also indicated that girl-children faced household discriminatory practices in education and parental educational aspirations for the girl-and boy-child showed marked significant differences.

The table 5.19 indicates percentage of the respondents reporting desired level of education for boy-children and girl-children. More adult males than females reported that boy-children should have more access to education than girl-children. For instance, 80 percent of adult males and 70 percent of adult females desired that male-children should have tertiary education. The corresponding figures for girl-children are 27 percent and 24 percent, respectively. The desired educational aspirations for boy-children are relatively higher when compared to that of girl-children. This implied that the girl-child faced household discriminatory practices with regard to education as earlier confirmed

by the qualitative data. It is important to note that there seemed to be a generational shift, as younger generation of boys and girls favour higher education for girl-children (63% and 70.8%, respectively).

Table 5.19. Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Desired Educational Aspirations for the Boy- and Girl-Children in their Households

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>All Respondents</i>
<i>Desired level of educational attainment for Boys</i>					
Koranic	4.7 (18)	7.5 (29)	12.3 (51)	7.4 (31)	8.1 (129)
Primary	2.9 (11)	11.3 (5)	5.1 (21)	2.4 (10)	2.9 (47)
Secondary	12.5 (11)	11.2 (43)	12.8 (53)	7.5 (31)	11.0 (175)
Tertiary	80.0(308)	80.0(308)	69.8(289)	82.6(342)	78.0(1247)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(414)	100.0(1598)
<i>Desired level for educational attainment for girls.</i>					
Koranic	15.3(59)	15.8 (61)	26.7(110)	15.7(65)	18.5 (295)
Primary	15.8(61)	5.7 (22)	16.4 (68)	4.8 (20)	10.7 (171)
Secondary	42.0(162)	15.1 (58)	32.9(136)	8.7 (36)	24.5 (392)
Tertiary	26.8(103)	63.4(244)	24.2(100)	70.8(293)	46.3 (740)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(414)	100.0(1598)
<i>Boys receive more education than girls</i>	80.0		69.8		

5.6.2.2 Domestic Work Assignment

Data derived from both the qualitative and quantitative sources indicates that the girl-child faced household discriminatory practices in domestic work assignment. An in-school girl child from Salka, who participated in the FGD noted:

If a girl-child shows interest in schooling, particularly formal education, the father would complain and would say if you go to school who would be doing the housework? Certainly, not your brothers (FGD 1/Res 5/In-School Urban Girl-Child/Salka)

Similarly, a rural out-of-school boy-child FGD participant stated:

It is the responsibilities of girls to do the domestic work at home. Cooking, fetching water, firewood, washing plates, sweeping are girls' work. That has been the tradition of our people. (FGD2/Res 4/ Out-of-School Rural Boy-Child/Balugu)

Table 5.20: Percentage Distribution of Respondents by their views on Domestic Work

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Overall</i>
<i>Who is assigned domestic work</i>					
Boys	10.6 (41)	3.4 (13)	7.7 (32)	23.7 (98)	11.5 (184)
Girls	79.0(304)	88.1(339)	80.0(331)	66.2(274)	78.1(1248)
Joint	10.4 (40)	8.6 (33)	12.3 (51)	10.1 (42)	10.4 (166)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(414)	100.0(1598)
<i>Boys assigned Domestic work at home</i>					
Yes	16.9 (65)	29.1(112)	25.9(106)	21.3(88)	23.2 (371)
No	83.1(320)	70.9(273)	74.4(308)	78.7(326)	76.8(1227)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(414)	100.0(1598)

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Table 5.20 shows percentage distribution of respondents by their views on domestic work. There was a consensus among all the sub-groups in the study that girl-children did most of the domestic work in their household. It confirms earlier findings of the FGDs. Similarly, all the girl-children involved in the case studies whose age ranged from 10 to 17 years, both in-school and not-in-school girl-children reported that they were responsible for doing most of the domestic work. Some of them noted as follows:

Case Study 1-Joy: The Realities of a Girl-Child's Work.

“Joy” aged 11 years was an in-school girl-child and the fourth child in the family of 3 females and 5 males. She belonged to the language-dialect group of the Kambari known as “Ashingini”. She was the oldest girl in the family and her younger sisters were aged 4 and 2 years respectively. She was a Class VI pupil at the primary school not too far from their house. Her parents were Christians of the Protestant denomination. The father was a farmer and the mother was a petty trader who sold food items on market days in either Gallah or Bakon Mission. She hailed from Gallah in Agwara Local Government Area. Both parents were not literate. “Joy” as the eldest daughter in the family was over-burdened with domestic work. She spent an average of 5 hours on domestic chores alone apart from other familial roles assigned to her by her parents. She noted in her own words:

Since, I am schooling, I usually fetch water, wash the plates and also light the fire for my mother to boil water and prepare the meals in the mornings. However, when I return from school I also cook what we would eat later in the afternoon and evening. During weekends, particularly on Saturdays, I also assist my mother to sell food items such as rice at Gallah or Bokon Mission (Case Study1/In-School Rural Girl-Child/Gallah).

Her brothers usually weed the surrounding of their compound and she noted that domestic work is “girls’ work” and even when she eventually got married her girl-child would do most of the domestic work at home. The strict gender division of labour in their household and her upbringing had shaped her views on who should be assigned domestic work in the family. The rank order of the girl-child was significant in determining the number of hours spent on domestic chores. She was over-burdened with domestic chores in view of the fact that her other two sisters were quite younger.

Case Study 2-Hauwa: An Unrealised Personal Ambition

On the other hand, the burden of domestic work and being the first daughter made “Hauwa” to drop-out of school when she was in class IV. Her situation was quite disheartening; she enrolled at the primary school due to her keen interest in formal education. However, both parents had no value for western education. “Hauwa” aged 11 years was from a family comprising 3 other sisters and 2 brothers and both parents were farmers. She noted:

I had to drop-out of school because of the burden of domestic work, farm work and petty-trading because I am the first daughter and child in the family (Case Study 2/Out-of-School Rural Girl-Child/Sallah)

Case Study 3

“Mairo” aged 15 years, belonged to a polygamous family. Her mother was the first wife in their household and was engaged in petty trading. She was the fifth child of her mother and had other 7 siblings comprising 3 boys and 7 girls. She spent an average of on domestic work is 7 hours daily domestic chores and she also spent another average of 5 hours on market days to sell a delicacy known as “moi-moi”.

In my family, there is strict assignment of domestic chores; boys are not allowed to carry out in any assignment meant for girls. Domestic work is meant for girls not boys (Case Study 3/Out-of-School Rural Girl-Child/Gallah/2008)

Clearly, the girl-child faced discriminatory practices in domestic work assignment. That was associated with the cultural construction of girl-hood and conception of gender roles. Also, another associated reason was reiterated by an older rural female FGD participant who noted:

It would be shameful and the talk of the community that a girl child cannot cook and carry out other domestic work that her future role as a wife and mother would demand. Therefore, most times girls have to do the work; it is training for the future. (FGD 15/Res6/Older illiterate Rural Woman/Papirin-Gajere)

The girl-child was also burdened with domestic work because it was seen as a preparation for her future role as a wife and mother and also to avoid ridicule from prospective in-laws and community members of her inability to carry out domestic work.

5.6.2.3 Restrictive Food Taboos

The study found that restrictive food taboos were being enforced in some households against the girl-child. A female illiterate FGD participant in age sub-group 15-44 years stated:

There are certain kinds of meat the women and girls don't eat in our community because of the negative effects it could have on a woman during delivery. We don't eat "Mamastu". It is a type of fish. When eaten by a woman during delivery, water could enter the nose of the child and suffocate the child. The other type of fish is known as "godam". It is a fish with six fingers. If a woman eats it the child delivered would also have six fingers. (FGD 12/Res 8/Illiterate Rural Younger Woman/Mara'astu)

Lending support on the enforcement of restrictive food taboos against the girl-child, a younger illiterate female FGD participant in age sub-group 15-44 years noted:

Women and girls are not allowed to eat a type of fish known in Hausa language as "giwan ruwa" and zomo" (rabbit). This is because women and girls would develop problem during menstruation that would make it difficult to have children. Also, during delivery water would be coming out and the baby would die in the process because the baby would not be able to come out. Children would also get sick such as having convulsion that could also lead to death. (FGD13/Res3/ Illiterate Rural Woman/Papirin Gajere)

In addition, an older illiterate female FGD participant in age –group 45 years stated:

Women and girls in our tradition are not allowed to eat eggs. Only men and boys are allowed to eat eggs. It would make a girl to steal and this would bring shame and ridicule to the family. She might be rejected by her prospective suitor and in-laws (FGD 15/Res 4/Older Illiterate Rural Woman/Papirin-Gajere).

The study found that even among younger men the enforcement of restrictive food taboos persist against the girl-child for similar reasons as stated by an FGD participant in age sub-group 20-44 + years. In his own words:

Women and girls are not allowed to eat any cow, sheep or goat meat that has delivery problems. They are likely to have serious problems during pregnancy or delivery (FGD 9/Res 5/Illiterate Younger Rural Man/Balugu).

Girl-children involved in the case studies reported the enforcement of restrictive food taboos in their respective households as indicated below:

Case Study 7 – Maimuna: A Life of Cultural Restrictions

“Maimuna was the fifth child in a family of 5 comprising of all females. One of them passed on and 4 remained at the time of the study. Therefore, she was the last child of her mother and was 11 years old. She belonged to the Avadi one of the dialect group of the Kambari. Maimuna had never seen the four walls of a school. In fact, her parents never thought of sending her to school because they had no interest in western education. The parents were traditional religious adherents and both parents were farmers. She had been betrothed from childhood but would not want to marry him. She said “I would prefer to marry someone else” and she had gotten somebody who was willing to pay all the bridal farming services and other attendant costs. Her sisters also have been betrothed to partners while they were in their early childhood. Also, in their household there was the enforcement of restrictive food taboos against women and girls. They were not allowed to eat goat meat, dog meat and ram meat and yet they were allowed to prepare it for their father and other male members of the family. She did not have bodily tattoos because she disapproved of the practice. Maimuna’s world view was shaped by her socio-cultural environment. That accounted for her willingness to enforce restrictive food taboos on her own daughters and also to allow them to do most of the domestic chores.

The quantitative data also indicates that restrictive food taboos were enforced against the girl-child in many households and communities. Table 4.21 presents the percentage distribution of respondents reporting the practice of restrictive food taboos in their respective households and approval of its enforcement against girl-children. About one-third, of the overall respondents affirmed that restrictive food taboos are being enforced in their respective households against the girl child. 37.9 percent of adult men as compared to 30.0 percent of adult women confirmed that the practice of restrictive food taboos against the girl-child existed in their households. On the other hand, girl-children reported most about the enforcement of restrictive food taboos in their households than boy-children (32.6% vs. 28.6%). Adult men and boy-children had the highest approval rate of restrictive food taboos (37.9 percent and 27.3 percent respectively). Based on the foregoing, superstitious beliefs on the fear of abnormalities in pregnancy and safe motherhood were closely linked to the practice of restrictive food taboos being enforced on the girl-child. Also, the food taboos are associated with the expected behaviour pattern of a “wife” and “mother” which the girl child would later assume. She was

therefore expected to demonstrate self-restraint in her actions. Thus, the food taboos centred on the societal notions about the role, appropriate character index of femininity and superstitious beliefs among the Kambari.

Table 5.21: Percentage Distribution of Respondents Reporting Incidence of Restrictive Food Taboos and Approval of Restrictive Food Taboos against Girl-Children

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Boy</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>All Respondents</i>
<i>Are there foods girls don't eat in your household</i>					
Yes	37.9(146)	28.6(110)	30.0(124)	32.6(135)	32.2 (515)
No	62.1(239)	71.4(275)	70.0(290)	67.4(279)	67.8(1083)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(414)	100.0(1598)
<i>Approve of restrictive food taboos</i>					
Yes	37.9(146)	41.6(160)	30.0(124)	38.4(159)	36.9 (589)
No	62.1(239)	58.4(225)	70.0(290)	61.6(255)	63.1(1009)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(414)	100.0(1598)

5.6.2.4 Family food Distribution

With regard to family food distribution, the study found that girl-children were less likely to face discriminatory practices at the household level although the men and boys are usually served first. An older rural male FGD participant in age sub-group 45 + years noted:

Women and girls usually served the men and boys in the household first and then later served themselves...Every child eats to his or her satisfaction. We are well known farmers and there is usually enough food for everybody in the family. It is our tradition that strangers are not denied food how much more our own children (FGD9/Res7/OlderRural Illiterate Male/Balugu).

Similarly, a younger female FGD participant from 15 -44 years sub-group opined:

We usually serve food to the children based on their gender and age group. So younger boys eat together and the younger girls also eat together. The older ones usually eat together and whoever is not satisfied is given more food, either boys or girls. (FGD12/Res6/Younger Illiterate Rural zoman/Mara'atsu).

With regard to girl-children's view on the matter an in- school girl-child from age-group 10-17 years stated:

We are made to serve the meals to all the male members of the family first. No matter what, everybody eats to his or her satisfaction. The quantity of food given depends on the number of boys or girls eating from the same plate (FGD 1/ Res 5/In-school-Girl-Child/Salka).

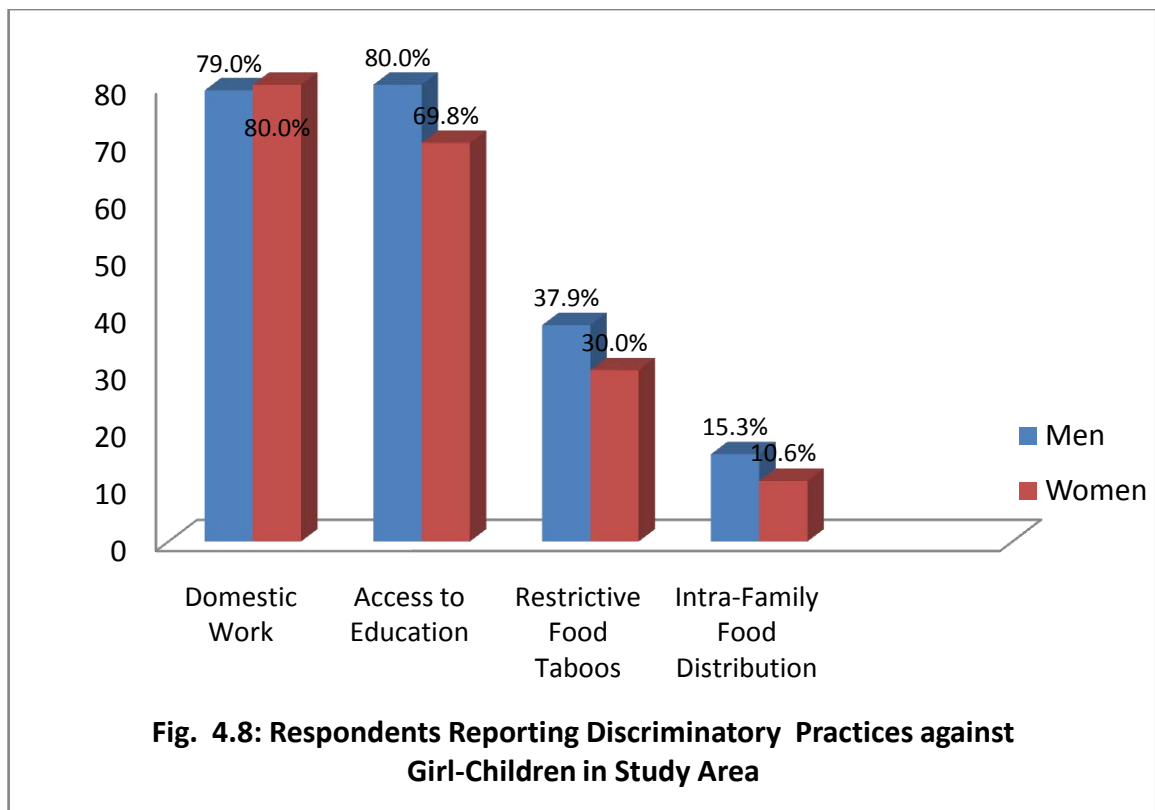
Likewise, girl-children involved in the case studies expressed similar opinions about family food distribution (see Appendix 7).

Pattern of Family Food Distribution and Quantity of Food Given to Boy and Girl Children

Table 5.22 presents the percentage distribution of pattern of family food distribution and quantity of food given to boy and girl-children. The table shows that 62.5 percent of all the respondents opined that food was shared equally at the household level. However, while 31 percent of the respondents thought that boys were served bigger food only 7 percent believed girls got more food. It was also instructive that food distribution was on the basis of gendered groupings and that the groups generally ate to their satisfaction.

Table 5.22: Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Pattern of Family Food Distribution.

Variable	Men	Boy	Women	Girl	All Respondents
<i>Pattern of food distribution</i>					
Eat individually	28.8(111)	21.6(83)	36.0(149)	21.7(90)	27.1 (433)
Eat in groups					
Grouped by gender	71.2(274)	78.4(302)	64.0(265)	78.3(324)	72.9(1165)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(414)	100.0(1598)
<i>Whose quantity Is bigger among children?</i>					
Girls	6.2 (24)	11.9 (46)	4.7 (17)	6.0 (25)	7.0(112)
Boys	15.3 (59)	57.9(223)	10.6 (44)	39.1(162)	30.5(488)
Equally shared	78.4(302)	30.1(116)	85.3(353)	54.8(227)	62.5(998)
Total	100.0(414)	100.0(385)	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(1598)
<i>How is quantity determined</i>					
Based on number	26.2(101)	44.7(172)	14.0 (58)	19.6 (81)	25.8 (412)
Based on their age	13.2 (51)	14.8 (57)	15.0 (62)	16.4 (68)	14.9 (238)
Eat to satisfaction	60.5(233)	40.5(156)	71.0(294)	64.0(265)	59.3 (948)
Total	100.0(385)	100.0(385)	100.0(414)	100.0(414)	100.0(1598)



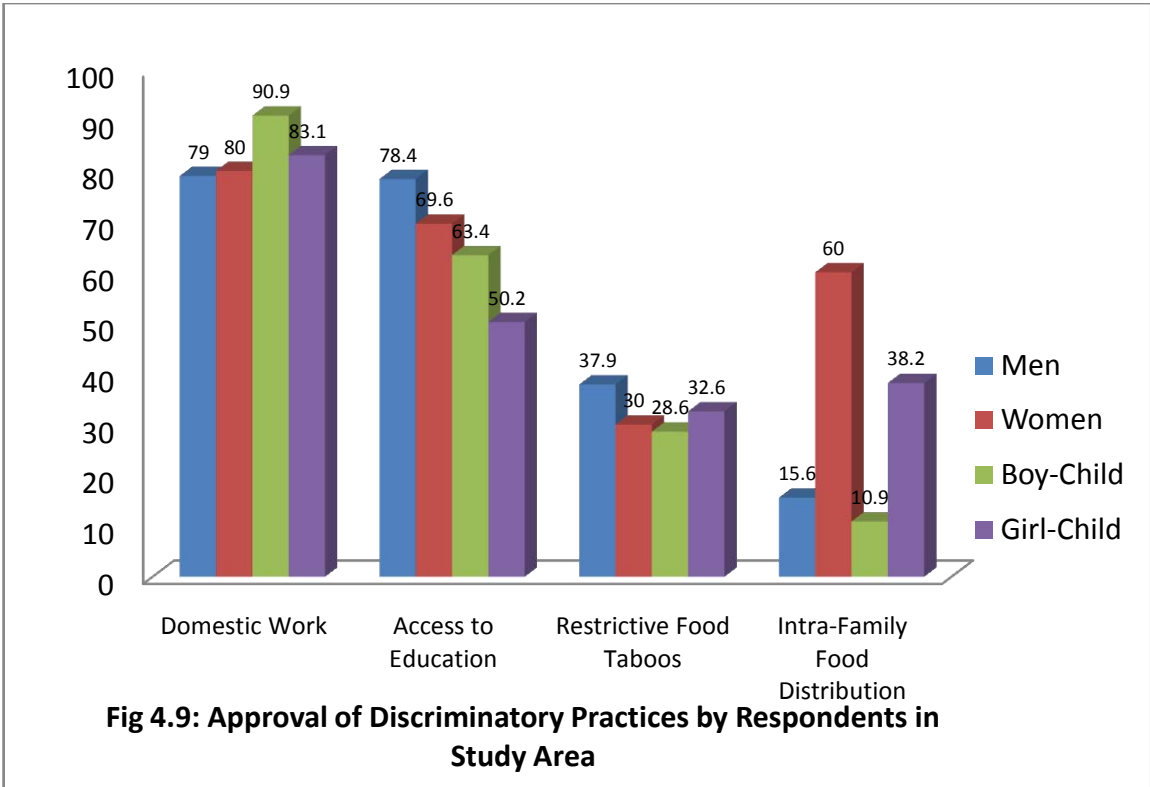
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5.7 Attitude and Perception towards Discriminatory Practices

5.7.1 Approval of Discriminatory Practices by Respondents

Fig 5.9 shows the percentage distribution of approval of discriminatory practices in domestic work, education, family food distribution and restrictive food taboos. With regard to domestic work assignment, 83.2 percent of the overall respondents approved of girl-children doing most of the domestic work. There was a consensus among all the sub-groups in the study that girl-children should do most of the domestic work at the household level. Boy-children had the highest approval rate of 90.9 percent relative to other sub-groups in the sample. On education, 65.2 percent of the overall respondents approved of boy-children receiving more education over girl-children. Adult men and women had the highest approval rate among all the sub-groups with 78.4 percent and 69.6 percent, respectively. Even girl-children approved of more boy-child education (50.2 percent). As regards girls getting less food than boys, only 30.9 percent, that is, about one third of the overall respondent approved of the practice. Boy-children had the highest approval rate of 60.0 percent and in contrast adult women had the least approval rate of 10.9 percent.

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5.7.2 Approval of Preferences for Boy-Children's Education over Girl-Children by Selected Characteristics of Adult Respondents

Table 5.23 presents the relationship between the approval of preference for boy-children's education over girl children by selected characteristics of adult respondents. The result indicated that respondents' occupation, residence, educational qualification and religious affiliations were statistically significant. On occupational groups, the result indicated an X^2 value 20.520; $df = 4$; $P < .05$, respondents who are farmers and traders had the highest approval of 62.3 percent and 52.8 percent, respectively when compared with other occupational groups. It was indicative of a strong association between occupational groups of respondents and their approval of preferences for boy-children's education over girl-children.

Similarly, the relationship between residence and approval of preferences for boy-children's education over girl-children were evidently strong and in the expected direction. Adult rural respondents had the highest approval when compared to urban adult respondents. Also, gender was statistically significant ($X^2 64.018$; $df 1$; $P < .05$) with adult males having the highest approval in comparison to adult females. With regard to educational qualifications, a strong and positive relationship was evident from the results. Respondents with no schooling had the highest approval in comparison to respondents with some form of educational qualifications. Also, the results on religious affiliation indicated a strong relationship, whereby respondents who were traditional religious adherents had the highest approval when compared with those from other religious affiliations.

Table 5.23 Distribution of Adult Respondents' Reporting Approval of Preferences for Boy-Children's Education over Girl-Children by Some Selected Characteristics

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Approve Preference for Boy's Education</i>						χ^2	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
	<i>Yes</i>		<i>No</i>		<i>Total</i>				
	<i>Percent</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>N</i>			
Occupation									
<i>Farming</i>	62.3	407	37.7	246	100	653	20.520	4	.000
<i>Trading</i>	52.8	38	47.2	34	100	72			
<i>Civil Servant</i>	31.4	11	68.6	24	100	35			
<i>Un-employed</i>	44.4	8	55.6	10	100	18			
<i>Others</i>	38.1	8	61.9	10	100	18			
<i>Total</i>	59.1	472	40.9	327	100	799			
Residence									
<i>Rural</i>	64.1	420	35.9	235	100	655	38.311	1	.000
<i>Urban</i>	36.1	52	63.9	92	100	144			
<i>Total</i>	59.1	472	40.9	327	100	799			
Gender									
<i>Male</i>	73.5	283	26.5	102	100	385	64.018	1	.000
<i>Female</i>	45.7	189	53.7	225	100	414			
<i>Total</i>	59.1	472	40.9	327	100	799			
Educational Qualification									
<i>Primary</i>	41.3	26	58.7	37	100	63	35.413	3	.000
<i>Secondary</i>	26.7	4	73.3	11	100	15			
<i>Tertiary</i>	17.4	4	82.6	19	100	23			
<i>No Schooling</i>	62.8	438	37.2	259	100	697			
<i>Total</i>	59.1	472	40.9	326	100	798			
Religious Affiliation									
<i>Protestant</i>	39.6	93	60.4	142	100	235	73.816	4	.000
<i>Catholic</i>	39.1	18	60.9	28	100	46			
<i>Islam</i>	66.9	249	33.1	123	100	372			
<i>T/Religion</i>	76.7	112	23.3	33	100	146			
<i>Total</i>	59.1	472	40.9	327	100	799			

5.7.3 Adult Respondents' Perception of Significant Others' Approval of Discriminatory Practices and Likelihood of Accepting their Advice

Table 5.24 presents the percentage distribution of adult respondents' perception of significant others approval of discriminatory practices against the girl-child and their likelihood of accepting their advice. With regard to domestic work, there was a consensus among adult respondents that their close relations/friends (87.0%), religious clerics (86.4%) and community leaders (86.0%) would approve of girl children doing most of the domestic work at the household level and they were also likely to accept their advice to assign most of the domestic work in their household to girl-children. On education, the majority of the respondents also indicated that their close relations and friends (66.3 %), religious clerics (65.7 %) and community leaders (66.2 %) would approve of girl-children receiving fewer opportunities in education over boys. When asked if they were likely to accept their advice 58.7 percent of the overall respondents said they would accept the advice of their close relations /friends, religious clerics and community leaders on the matter. With regard to restrictive food taboos, it had the least approval rate of significant others as perceived by the overall respondents of the study as

well as in terms of accepting their advice to enforce restrictive food taboos at the household levels against the girl-children. However, closed relations/friends (54.4%) and community leaders (54.6%) had the highest approval rate as perceived by the overall respondents of the study. In contrast, religious clerics had the lowest perceived approval rate on enforcement of restrictive food taboos on the girl-child. Similarly, the willingness of adult respondents to accept their advice was relatively low in comparison to domestic work assignment, education and family food distribution.

On family food distribution, only 32.2 percent and 10.6 percent of the overall respondents perceived that close relations friends, religious clerics and community leaders were likely to approve of girl-children getting less food than boy-children at the household level. With regard to accepting their advice on the issue, only about tenth of the overall respondents said they would be willing to accept the advice of their religious clerics and community leaders to give girl children less food than boy-children in their respective households.

Table 5.24 Percentage Distribution of Adult's Perception of Significant Others Approval and their Likelihood of Accepting their Advice on Discriminatory Practices.

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Perception of Significant Others Approval</i>			<i>Accepting Significant others Advice</i>		
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Overall</i>
<i>Girls Doing most of the Domestic Work</i>						
<i>Parents/close relations/ friends</i>	87.8(338)	86.2(357)	87.0(695)	87.0(335)	81.6(338)	84.2(673)
<i>Religious Clerics</i>	86.8(333)	86.2(357)	86.4(690)	83.1(320)	81.9(339)	82.5(659)
<i>Community Leaders</i>	86.8(334)	85.3(353)	86.0(687)	85.7(330)	80.7(334)	83.1(664)
<i>Girl-Children Receiving less Food than Boys</i>						
<i>Parents /close relations/ friends</i>	33.0(127)	31.4(130)	32.2(257)	14.3(55)	10.4(43)	12.3(98)
<i>Religious Clerics</i>	11.6(45)	9.7(40)	10.6(85)	11.4(44)	9.4(39)	10.4(83)
<i>Community Leaders</i>	11.2(43)	10.1(42)	10.6(85)	10.9(42)	9.9(41)	10.4(83)
<i>Boys Receiving more Education than Girl-Children</i>						
<i>Parents /close relations/ friends</i>	75.1(289)	58.2(241)	66.3(530)	74.8(288)	43.7(181)	58.7(469)
<i>Religious Clerics</i>	74.0(285)	58.0(240)	65.7(525)	79.0(304)	44.2(183)	61.0(487)
<i>Community Leaders</i>	75.1(289)	58.0(240)	66.2(529)	74.8(288)	45.7(189)	59.7(477)
<i>Enforcing Restrictive Food Taboos on Girl- Children</i>						
<i>Parents /close relations/ friends</i>	54.5(210)	54.3(225)	54.4(435)	37.4(144)	34.5(143)	35.9(287)
<i>Religious Clerics</i>	11.7(45)	12.1(50)	11.9(95)	10.4(40)	11.1(46)	10.8(86)
<i>Community Leaders</i>	55.3(213)	53.9(223)	54.6(436)	37.7(145)	34.1(141)	35.8(286)

5.8 Perception of the Girl-Child towards Discriminatory Practices

This section focussed on the girl-child's response to discriminatory practices. How does she feel when boy-children are considered first with regard to allocation of household resources or discriminated against with regard to access to education, domestic work assignment and restrictive food taboos? Is she happy about it? Is she likely to discriminate against girl-children in her future household when she is grown and married?

5.8.1 Girl-Child's Perception of Her Disadvantaged Position

Table 5.25 presents the percentage distribution of the girl-child's perception of her disadvantaged position. When asked if parents were right to accord more privileges and preferences to boy-children over girl children about 67 percent said "yes". When further asked about the reasons why it was right to give more privileges and opportunities to boy-children 58.3 percent said it was an acceptable tradition and 41.7 percent it was ordained by God. With regard to how they feel when parents accorded preferential treatment and privileges to the boy-child 86.2 percent said they did not feel threatened or unhappy and only 13.8 percent said they felt neglected or unwanted.

Table 5.25: Percentage Distribution of Girl-Children's Perception of Her Disadvantaged Position

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Girl-Children</i>
<i>Parents are right for giving boys more privileges and preferences than girls</i>	
Yes	66.7(276)
No	33.3(138)
Total	100.0(414)
<i>Reasons why parents are right to accord more privileges to boys</i>	
Acceptable Tradition	58.3(161)
Ordained by God	41.7(115)
Total	100.0(276)
<i>Feelings when parents show preferences to boys</i>	
Don't feel threatened/Unhappy	86.2(357)
Feel neglected/unwanted	13.8 (57)
Total	100.0(414)

Case study 12 is reflection of household discriminatory practices is perceived by the girl-child.

Case Study 12- Talatu : A Tradition Not Discrimination

"Talatu", an out-of-school 15 year old girl-child was the third child in a family of 8, comprising 2 boys and 6 girls. Eventually, the mother lost a girl leaving the number of 5 girls and a boy as at the time of the study. She belonged to the Aposhi dialect group of the Kambari. They were traditional religious adherents. The parents were both farmers

and she was involved in hawking at least once a week. She started hawking when she was aged 7. She had been betrothed from childhood and would marry her betrothed partner. Furthermore, she had bodily tattoos and she approved of it. She had never attended any formal schooling. In her view, she preferred farming. She spent an average of 5 hours daily carrying out domestic chores. Also, in their household, food was shared equally and everyone ate to his or her satisfaction.

There were restrictive food taboos against women and girls in their household. They were not allowed to eat dog, cat or snake meat. She said, during festivals or *gulmo*, my sisters, mother and I took time to prepare all the meat we were given but we were not part of those who enjoyed such delicacies. It was the same practice even whenever we visited other neighbouring villages during festivities. She said restrictive food taboos had been a practice that had been enforced by various sanctions and the fear of those sanctions made us never to have a taste of the meat even while cooking it for the family or during festivities. Over the years, we are told it was the tradition of our forefathers. Nobody in our community saw it as a discriminatory practice against the girl-child.

5.8.2 Discriminatory Practice in Educational Opportunities by Boy-and Girl-Children

Table 5.26 presents the relationship between discriminatory practices in educational opportunities and some selected characteristics of girl and boy-children in the study from the views of girl- and boy-children themselves. Evident from the results was that gender, residence and religious affiliations were statistically significant indicating a strong association with discriminatory practices against the girl-child. The results were in the expected direction indicative of the influence of gender, residence and religious affiliation on discriminatory practices towards the girl-child, even among children. This was a strong indication that the negative perception of the girl-child is not about to change among the Kambari. If children reported they would continue with these discriminatory practices to their own children. There was the need for a strong intervention programme to change the psyche of future Kambari parents.

Table 5.26 Girl and Boy-Children Reporting Discriminatory Practice in Educational Opportunities towards the Girl-Child by Some Selected Characteristics

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Will give boys more education than girls</i>						χ^2	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
	<i>Yes</i>		<i>No</i>		<i>Total</i>				
<i>Gender</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>N</i>			
<i>Girl-children</i>	50.2	208	49.8	206	100	414	14.009	1	.000
<i>Boy-children</i>	63.4	244	36.6	141	100	385			
Total	56.6	452	43.4	347	100	799			
<i>Residence</i>									
<i>Rural</i>	63.4	415	36.6	240	100	655	68.162	1	.000
<i>Urban</i>	25.7	37	74.3	107	100	144			
Total	56.6	452	43.4	347	100	799			
<i>Religious Affiliation</i>									
<i>Protestant</i>	35.8	91	64.2	163	100	254	96.241	4	.000
<i>Catholic</i>	35.7	15	64.3	27	100	42			
<i>Islam</i>	63.7	232	36.3	132	100	364			
<i>T/Religion</i>	82.0	114	18.0	25	100	139			
Total	56.6	452	43.4	347	100	799			

5.8.3 Practice of Restrictive Food Taboos towards the Girl-Child by Boy-and Girl-Children

Table 5.27 presents the relationship between discriminatory practices in restrictive food taboos towards the girl-child by some selected characteristics of girl and boy-children. The results indicate that most of the categories of gender, residence and religious affiliations were less supportive of food taboo against the girl-child. This indicated that of all the discriminatory practices against the girl-child, food taboo might be the one to attenuate sooner; to be specific, the more modern the variable, the more disposition to a positive change toward the girl-child.

Table 5.27 Girl and Boy-Children Reporting Would Practice Restrictive Food Taboos towards the Girl-Child

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Will Restrict girls form foods forbidden</i>						χ^2	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
	<i>Yes</i>		<i>No</i>		<i>Total</i>				
<i>Gender</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>N</i>			
<i>Girl-children</i>	38.4	159	61.6	255	100	414	0.827	1	0.201
<i>Boy-children</i>	41.6	160	58.4	225	100	385			
Total	39.9	319	60.1	480	100	799			
<i>Residence</i>									
<i>Rural</i>	44.3	290	55.7	365	100	655	28.671	1	0.000
<i>Urban</i>	20.1	29	79.9	115	100	144			
Total	39.9	319	60.1	480	100	799			
<i>Religious Affiliation</i>									
<i>Protestant</i>	23.2	59	76.8	195	100	254	131.121	4	0.000
<i>Catholic</i>	35.7	15	64.3	27	100	42			
<i>Islam</i>	36.3	132	63.7	232	100	364			
<i>T/Religion</i>	81.3	113	18.7	26	100	139			
Total	39.9	319	60.1	480	100	799			

5.9 Multivariate Analysis and Hypothesis Testing

This section presents the multivariate analysis of the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices against the girl-child in three critical areas: education, domestic work assignment and in restrictive food taboos. Also, the attitude towards exhibiting discrimination against the girl-child was considered and the study hypotheses were tested using binary logistic regression. The multivariate analysis employed the logistic regression analysis (LRA). Sociological studies employ logistic regression models with the view of interrogating the effects of multiple explanatory variables on an outcome variable of interest (Gayle and Lambert, 2009). The binomial logistic regression otherwise known as binary logistic regression was adopted for the fitted models presented in this study using SPSS 17 for Windows.

The study adopted the binomial logistic regression analysis for the following reasons. Firstly, the survey data of this study was moderately large enough to generate reliable results. Secondly, the outcome measure was a dichotomous variable which was one of the underlying assumptions for employing binomial logistic regression. Thirdly, the logistic regression models determined the effect(s) of the explanatory variables on the outcome variable. Logistic regression models were used to know the net effect (s) of the independent variables on the dependent variable (s). Based on the logistic models probability indices, it was possible to predict the likelihood effect of exhibiting discriminatory attitude towards the girl-child and also the predictors that determined her exposure to discrimination. A total of 14 models have been generated from the dependent variable (s) under-study. In each model, one of the categories listed under the variable heading was a reference category against which all other values were compared by default values; the reference categories were given a regression estimate of 1.00. Regression estimates greater than 1.00 indicated that the odd for the “outcome variable” for the category in question was greater than for the reference category. Conversely, regression estimates of less than 1.00 indicated that odds for the outcome variable for the category in question are less than that for the reference category.

5.9.1 Exploring the Likelihood of Exhibiting Discriminatory Practices

Hypothesis 1: There is an association between the incidence of discriminatory practices towards the girl-child and the parent’s gender, level of education, socio-economic status, and place of residence, religious affiliation and socio-economic status.

Logistic Regression of Adult Respondents' Likelihood of Exhibiting Discriminatory Practices towards the Girl-Child in Educational Opportunities by their Selected Background Characteristics

Table 5.28 presents the fitted model which regressed the outcome binary measure (dependent variable) whether or not adult respondents are likely to exhibit discriminatory practices in educational opportunities towards the girl-child with 6 explanatory measures (independent variables) also known as predictors. These are gender, residence and education, type of marital union, religious affiliation and occupation. Four of the explanatory variables namely gender, residence, education and religious affiliation are statistically significant in predicting discriminatory practices. However, type of marital union and occupation when controlling for other variables is not statistically significant. Consequently, these variables have not contributed in explaining the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices towards the girl-child once the other variables are accounted for as indicated by the p-values.

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Table 5.28: Logistic Regression Coefficients of Adult Respondents' Likelihood of Exhibiting Discrimination towards the Girl-Child in Educational Opportunities by their Selected Background Characteristics

	B	Odds	p-value
Gender			
Male	1.691	5.426***	0.000
Female (ref)	0.000	1.000	
Literacy Status			
Non-literate	1.422	4.156***	0.000
Literate (ref)	0.000	1.000	
Residence			
Rural	0.549	1.732*	0.000
Urban (ref)	0.000	1.000	
Type of Marital Union			
Polygamous	0.090	1.095	0.017
Monogamous (ref)	0.000	1.000	
Religious Affiliation			
Traditional	1.358	3.888***	0.000
Islam	0.004	2.703 ***	0.000
Christian (ref)	0.000	1.000	
Occupation			
Farming	0.004	1.004	0.991
Others	0.052	1.054	0.907
Civil Servant (ref)	0.000	0.062	0.000
Overall Model Evaluation			
Likelihood ratio	191.263 (0.000)		
Wald test	26.021(0.000)		
Goodness of Fit			
Hosmer & Lemeshow	18.208		
% classified correctly	70.6%		

N=799, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001; ref = reference category

The logistic model fitted to the data tested the research hypothesis regarding the relationship between the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices (EDB) towards the girl-child by adult respondents depends on a set of explanatory variables (Adults' socio-demographic characteristics).

According to the model in Table 5.28 after controlling for other variables, gender has the highest odds ratio (5.426). This implies that the odds of exhibiting discriminatory practice towards the girl-child in educational opportunities are 6 times higher among adult males compared to the females. Consequently, the null hypothesis (H_0) is rejected and the alternate hypothesis (H_1) which states that men are more likely to exhibit discriminatory practice in educational opportunities towards the girl-child than women is accepted.

Furthermore, non literate respondents, after controlling for other variables in the model, are 4.2 times more likely to exhibit discriminatory practices towards the girl-child compared with literate respondents. Therefore, the null hypothesis (H_0) is rejected and the alternate hypothesis (H_1) which states that “non-literate respondents are more likely to exhibit discriminatory practice towards the girl-child in educational opportunities towards the girl-child than literate respondents” is accepted.

With regard to religious affiliation, the logistic model indicated that adherents of traditional religion are 4 times more likely and adherents of Islam are 3 times more likely to exhibit discriminatory practices in educational opportunities towards the girl-child relative to Christians. Drawing inference from the results of the logistic model, the null hypothesis (H_0) is rejected and the alternate hypothesis (H_1) is accepted which stated that adherents of traditional and adherents of Islam are more likely to exhibit discriminatory practices towards the girl-child in educational opportunities than Christians.

In addition, with regards to the residence of respondents, respondents from rural settings are about 2 times more likely to exhibit discriminatory practices towards the girl-child in educational opportunities when compared with those from urban settings. Consequently, the null hypothesis (H_0) is rejected and the alternate hypothesis (H_1) which states that “Respondents from rural settings are more likely to exhibit discriminatory practice towards the girl-child in educational opportunities than respondents from urban settings” is accepted.

In sum, the null hypothesis (H_0) of the study is rejected and the alternate hypothesis (H_1) is accepted which states that the incidence of discriminatory practices is a function of the gender, level of education, religious affiliation and place of residence of adult respondents (parents). The males play dominant role in decision-making at the household and community levels due to the patriarchal nature of the Kambari society. The issue of who should be sent to school is largely determined by men, which is indicative of the result of the logistic model presented. Also, non-literate parents and those in rural settings are less likely to value formal education and are therefore more likely to exhibit household discriminatory practices towards the girl-child. Similarly, with regard to religious affiliation, adherents of the traditional religion are very conservative. Also, the

characteristic apprehension of adherents of Islam particularly with respect to girl's education is that formal education is more likely to corrupt the morals of the girls and therefore would prefer to send boy-children than girl-child to school.

Finally, on the overall, evaluation of the model in Table 5.28 reveals that the Wald test = 0.000 and the likelihood ratio (LR) test = 0.000 yield similar conclusion of being statistically significant. Similarly, the goodness-of-fit statistics, the Hosmer & Lemeshow (H-L) test that yielded an χ^2 (8) of 18.203 and is insignificant ($p < 0.05$), suggesting that the model fit to the data well, implying that the null hypothesis of a good model fit to data is tenable. Also, with regard to the correctly predicted cases, it increased from the null model from 59.1% to 70.6% for the full model, that is, about an increase of 11.5%.

Logistic Regression of Adult Respondents' Likelihood of Exhibiting Discriminatory Practices towards the Girl-Child in Educational Opportunities by Ideational variables

According to Table 5.29, the outcome binary measure (dependent variable) whether or not adult respondents are likely to exhibit discriminatory practices towards the girl-child with "Yes" coded as 1 and "No" coded 0, with 4 explanatory measures which are ideational variables. These are conceptions of gender roles, patterns of decision-making and non participation of women in decision-making. The logistic coefficients of the ideational variables indicate that all are statistically significant. These are namely: conception of gender roles, childhood experiences, pattern of decision-making and valuation of women's participation in decision- making. This second model is premised on the fact that deep-rooted socio-cultural values, beliefs and practices tend to engender discriminatory practices towards the girl-child. The model presented in table 5.2 is fitted to the data to test the research hypotheses with regard to the relationship between the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices (EDB) towards the girl-child in educational opportunities by adult respondents is a function of the conception of gender roles, childhood experiences, pattern of decision making and the non-participation of women in decision-making at the household levels.

Hypothesis 2

There is an association between rigid conception of gender roles by parents and the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices towards the girl-child.

The second hypothesis which is on conception of gender role when controlled for other variables is statistically significant as indicated by its p value (0.000). Therefore, the null hypothesis (H_0) is rejected and the alternate hypothesis accepted (H_1) which states that parents who are culturally disposed to a rigid conception of gender roles are more likely to exhibit discriminatory practices towards the girl-child when compared with those who are culturally disposed to a liberal conception of gender roles. The result is in the expected direction; those with rigid conception of gender roles are 1.4 times more likely to exhibit discriminatory practices towards the girl-child when compared with those with liberal conception of gender roles.

Table 5.29: Logistic Regression Coefficients of Adult Respondents' Likelihood of Exhibiting Discrimination towards the Girl-Child by Ideational Characteristics

	B	Odds	p-value
Conception of Gender Roles			
Rigid	0.276	1.317***	0.000
Liberal (ref)	0.000	1.000	
Childhood Experience			
Negative	1.481	4.395**	0.004
Positive (ref)	0.000	1.000	
Pattern of Decision Making			
Jointly (ref)	0.000	1.000	
Wife	1.106	3.023	0.094
Husband	1.742	5.707***	0.000
Valuation of Women's Participation in Decision-making			
Non-valuation	0.429	1.535*	0.032
Valuation (ref)	0.000	1.000	
Constant	-0.409	0.664	0.000
Overall Model Evaluation			
Likelihood ratio	177.862 (0.000)		
Wald test	26.021 (0.000)		
Goodness of Fit			
Hosmer & Lemeshow	5.532		
% classified correctly	73.5%		

N=799, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001; ref = reference category

Hypothesis 3

There is an association between parents' childhood experiences of discrimination and the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices against the girl-child.

The model indicates that parents with negative child experiences on discriminatory practices are 4.5 times (4.395) more likely to exhibit discrimination towards the girl-child when compared with those with positive childhood experiences. Consequently, the null hypothesis (H_0) is rejected and the alternate hypothesis (H_1) accepted because childhood experience is statistically significant. The third hypothesis of the study which states that parents who are subjected to discriminatory practice in their childhood are more likely to discriminate against the girl-child than those who have positive childhood experiences is accepted.

Hypothesis 4

There is an association between the pattern of decision making by parents and the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices towards the girl-child.

The third panel of Table 5.29 shows the logistic regression result with respect to pattern of decision making. Households where most of the decisions are taken by husbands at the household levels are 6.1 times more likely to exhibit discriminatory practices towards the girl-child when compared with those who jointly take decisions. This ideational variable is statistically significant. Drawing inference from the statistical test of significance, the null hypothesis (H_0) is rejected and the alternate hypothesis (H_1) is accepted. It states that households whose patterns of decision-making are predominantly taken by husbands are more likely to discriminate against the girl-child when compared with households where decisions are jointly taken by couples.

Hypothesis 5

There is an association between non participation of women in decision-making and the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices towards the girl-child.

Also, another ideational predictor that is part of the study hypothesis is valuation of women's participation in decision-making. The fitted model indicates that those that do not value women's participation in decision making at the household are 2.1 times (1.535) more likely to exhibit discriminatory practices towards the girl-child when

compared with those who value women's participation after controlling for other variables. It is statistically significant (Wald: $X^2(1) = 4.587$, $p < 0.05$). Therefore, the null hypothesis (H_0) is rejected and the alternate hypothesis (H_1) is accepted. The study hypothesis states that families who do not value women's participation in decision-making are more likely to engender discriminatory practices against the girl-child than those who value women's participation.

In sum, parental childhood experiences, pattern of decision-making and valuation of women's participation in decision-making are statistically significant in explaining the outcome variable, which is the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices towards the girl-child. The two statistical tests of the overall evaluation of the model in Table 37 have similar conclusions of being statistically significant. These are namely: Likelihood ratio (LR) test and Wald test. In addition, the Hosmer-Lemeshow (H-L) test, which is the goodness-of-fit statistics yielded a ($X^2(8)$ of 5.532) which is insignificant significance at $p < 0.05$. This suggests the fitted model match the data well. This invariably implies that the null hypothesis of a good model fit to data is tenable. Furthermore, the overall correctly predicted cases improved from 59.1% to 81% from the null model to the full model. It has an increase of 21%, which is relatively significant.

Logistic Regression of Girl-Children's Exposure to Discrimination in Domestic Work Assignment and Restrictive Food Taboos by their Selected Background Characteristics

Table 5.30 presents fitted models of logistic coefficients of girl-children reporting of discriminatory practices in domestic work assignment (Model 1) and restrictive food taboos (Model 2). Model 1 presents logistic coefficients of the outcome binary measure of likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices in domestic work assignment at the household level while model 2 deals with the binary measure of the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices or not in restrictive food taboos.

The explanatory variables for the fitted models 1 and 2 are residence, schooling status and religious affiliation. Table 5.30 reveals that for Model 1 residence is statistically significant after controlling for other variables in the model. The likelihood of exposure to discriminatory practices in domestic work assignment by girl-children from rural settings is (2.467) 3.1 times higher when compared with those from urban settings.

Also, the odds ratio for out of school is 2 times higher when compared with in-school girl-children. This implies that out-of-school girl-children are more likely than in-school girl-children to face discriminatory practices in domestic work assignment.

Furthermore, religious affiliation shows that, the odds ratio for adherents of Islam decreased by 0.353 when compared to the reference category (Christians). This implies that being a Muslim decreased and has a significant reducing effect on the likelihood of being discriminated against with specific reference to domestic work assignment when compared with the reference category.

On the other hand, Model 2 reveals that residence; religious affiliation and schooling status are statistically significant after controlling for other variables with regards to explaining discriminatory practices towards the girl-child in food taboos.

According to fitted model 2, the odds ratio of discriminating against the girl-child (6.896) which is 7.2 times higher for those in rural areas when compared with those from urban areas. The odds ratio is 2.4 times higher for out-of-school girl-children when compared with in-school girl-children. According to model 2, odds ratio of the likelihood of being discriminated against on restrictive food taboos is 28.1 times higher for girl-children who are adherents of traditional religion when compared to girl-children who are Christians after controlling for other variables. The odds ratios of girl-children who are Muslim are 2.2 times higher than odds ratio of girl-children who are Christians when controlled for other variables. This implies that girl-children from Muslim households are 2.2 times more likely to face discriminatory practices on food taboos when compared with girl-children from Christian households when controlled for other variables.

According to model 1, the three statistical tests on the overall evaluation of the model yielded a far-reaching conclusion of being statistical significant. These are the likelihood ratio (LR) test and Wald test. Similarly, the goodness-of-fit statistics, the Hosmer-Lemeshow (H-L) test yielded 12.326 is statistically insignificant at $p < 0.05$. This is indicative of the fact that the model is fit to the data and correctly classified cases are 86.0%. For model 2 also, the overall model evaluation is indicative of model as fit for the data. The two statistical tests also yielded similar conclusions namely: Likelihood ratio (LR) test and Wald test. The goodness-of-fit statistical test which is, Hosmer-Lemeshow

(H-L) test yielded an X^2 of 1.676 is insignificant at $p < 0.05$. In addition, the correctly classified cases improved from the null model from 67.4% to 82.1%.

Table 5.30: Logistic Regression Coefficients of Girl-Children's Exposure to Discrimination in Domestic Work Assignment and Restrictive Food Taboos by their Selected Characteristics

	Model 1			Model 2		
	Discriminatory Domestic Work			Restrictive Food Taboos		
	B	Odds	p-value	B	Odds	p-value
Residence						
Rural	0.903	2.467*	0.013	1.931	6.896*	0.010
Urban (ref)	0.000	1.000		0.000	1.000	
Schooling Status						
Out-of-school	0.370	1.448	0.262	0.901	2.403**	0.006
In-of-school (ref)	0.000	1.000		0.000	1.000	
Religious Affiliation						
Traditional	1.747	5.738	0.108	3.337	28.143***	0.000
Islam	-1.042	0.353**	0.005	0.781	2.184*	0.038
Christian (ref)	0.000	1.000		0.000	1.000	
Constant	1.367	3.925	0.000	-4.194	0.015	0.000
Overall Model Evaluation						
Likelihood Ratio	31.343 (0.000)			177.981 (0.000)		
Wald test	163.631 (0.000)			65.968 (0.000)		
Goodness of Fit						
Hosmer & Lemeshow	12.326			1.676		
% classified correctly	86.0%			82.1%		

N=799, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; ref = reference category

Logistic Regression Coefficients of Adult Respondents' Likelihood of Exhibiting Discrimination in Domestic Work Assignment and Food Taboos towards the Girl-Child by some Selected Characteristics

Table 5.31 presents the logistic coefficients of adult respondents' likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices in domestic work assignment and food taboos towards the girl-child. Two models are presented in table 5.4, Model 1 deals with domestic work assignment with its log odds and odds ratios reported in column 1 and 2, respectively. On the other hand, model 2 on food taboos has its log-odds and odds ratios reported in column 3 and 4 also.

The outcome binary measure which is the dependent variable is the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices. The two models are registered with 4 sets of explanatory variables namely: gender, residence, literacy status and religious affiliation.

According to the fitted model 1, only religious affiliation and residence are statistically significant. On the other hand, for model 2 gender, literacy status and religious affiliation are statistically significant. The regressed model 1 on domestic work assignment indicates that when compared with reference category, the log odds for males' decreases, an indication that being male has a significant reducing effect on the likelihood of intra-household practices. However, the odds ratio for an adult respondent from a rural area is 4 times higher when compared to the reference category who is respondent from urban area.

Also, the odds ratio of non-literate respondents is 2.1 times (1.777) higher when compared with literate respondents when controlling for other independent variables. Furthermore, religious affiliation, after controlling for other explanatory variables, has a significant effect on likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices on domestic work assignment towards the girl-child. Muslim adult respondents were 5.1 times more likely to discriminate against the girl-child on domestic work assignment when compared with adult respondents who are Christians.

According to fitted data in model 2, gender, literacy status and religious affiliation, the second category (Islam) are statistically significant in explaining the likelihood explaining discriminatory practices towards the girl-child on food taboos. The fitted model 2, in table indicates that the odds ratio (4.982) for males is 5.1 times higher when compared with females holding other explanatory variables constant. This implies that male respondents are 5.1 times more likely to enforce food taboos on girl-children at the household level when compared with female respondents. Also, with respect to education, the odds ratio is 3 times higher for non-literate respondents who invariably are more likely to enforce food taboos on girl-children in their households when compared with literate respondents. Interestingly, adherents of traditional religion have the overall highest odds ratio (8.895), which implies that adherents of traditional religion are 9.2 times more likely to enforce food taboos on the girl-child when other explanatory variables are held constant when compared with Christians. This is expected in view of the fact that they are very conservative and would want to adhere strictly to the tradition relating to enforcement of food taboos. On the other hand, Muslims are 1.2 times more likely to enforce food taboos on the girl-child when compared with Christians.

Finally, the overall model evaluation the three statistical tests namely likelihood ratio (LR) test and Wald test for model 1 has similar conclusions of being statistically significant. The goodness-of-fit statistics, the Hosmer-Lemeshow (H-L) test yielded an X^2 of 4.233 which is insignificant at $p < 0.05$. This implied that the model is a good match fit for the data presented. In addition, the correctly predicted case is 93.0%.

Model 2 also indicates that the two statistical tests for the overall model evaluation are statistically significant. These are: likelihood ratio (LR) test and Wald test. Similarly, the Hosmer-Lemeshow (H-L) test also yielded an X^2 of 24.515 of insignificant at $p > 0.05$, which implies that the data matched the model. Finally, the correctly predicted cases improved from 62% to 71.2%, which is an increase of about 9.2% from the null model to the fitted model.

Table 5.31: Logistic Regression Coefficients of Adult Respondents' Likelihood of Exhibiting Discrimination in Domestic Work Assignment and Food Taboos against the Girl-Child by some Selected Characteristics

	Model 1			Model 2		
	B	Odds	p-value	B	Odds	p-value
Gender						
Male	-0.542	0.581	0.085	1.606	4.982***	0.000
Female (ref)	0.000	1.000		0.000	1.000	
Residence						
Rural	1.261	3.530***	0.000	0.386	1.471	0.078
Urban (ref)	0.000	1.000		0.000	1.000	
Literacy Status						
Non-literate	0.577	1.777	0.097	0.929	2.531***	0.000
Literate (ref)	0.000	1.000		0.000	1.000	
Religious Affiliation						
Traditional	1.431	4.184*	0.025	2.185	8.895***	0.000
Islam	1.593	4.918***	0.000	0.169	1.184	0.350
Christian (ref)	0.000	1.000		0.000	1.000	
Constant				-1.694	0.184	0.000
Overall Model Evaluation						
Likelihood ratio	77.693 (0.000)			178.035 (0.000)		
Wald test	348.615 (0.000)			44.765 (0.000)		
Goodness of Fit						
Hosmer & Lemeshow	4.233			24.515		
% classified correctly	93.0%			71.2		

N=799, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; ref = reference category

5.9.2 Approval of Discriminatory Practices

A Comparison of Logistic Regression of Combined Adult Respondents and Combined Girl and Boy Children on Approval of Higher Education for the Boy-Child than for the Girl-Child by some Selected Background Characteristics

Table 5.32 presents the logistic coefficients of all adult respondents and combined girl and boy-children's approval of higher education for boy-children than girl-children. The outcome binary measure is the approval or not of boy-children receiving more education than girl-children. A total of 4 sets of explanatory variables are fitted into data to provide insights on discriminatory practices on approval of higher education for boy-children than girl-children.

According to the model 1, the following explanatory variables namely gender, residence, literacy status and religious affiliation are statistically significant. A closer examination of the individual explanatory variables indicates that gender has the highest odds ratio of 5.371. Adult males are 5.4 times more likely to approve of higher education for boy-children than girl-children when compared with adult females when other predictors are held constant. Rural adult respondents are 2.1 times more likely to approve of preference for higher education for boy children than girl-children when compared with adult respondents from urban areas. Non literate adult respondents are 4.2 times more likely to approve of higher education for boy-children than girl-children when compared with literate adult respondents when controlled for other variables. Also, religious affiliation indicates that adherents of traditional religion are 6.4 times, whereas Muslims are 2 times, more likely to approve of higher education for boy-children than girl-children when compared with Christians if other explanatory variables are held constant.

According to Model 2, the fitted data for girl and boy children indicates that all the 4 sets of explanatory variables are statistically significant. These are gender, residence, schooling status and religious affiliation. A closer examination of the odds ratio for model 2 indicates that schooling status has the highest odds ratio of 4.753, that is, out-of-school girl and boy-children after controlling for other variables. On the other hand, boy-children are 3.3 times more likely to approve of higher education for boys than girl-children when compared with the reference category. This is indicative of the role of gender in contributing to providing explanation on the likelihood of approval or not of boy-children receiving more education than girl-children. Boy and girl-children from

rural areas are 3.1 times more likely to approve of higher education for boy-children than girl-children when compared with those from urban areas particularly when other explanatory variables are held constant. Furthermore, adherent of traditional religion are 2 times and Muslim boy and girl children are 1.5 times more likely to approve of higher education for boy-children than girl-children when compared with boy and girl children who are Christians after controlling for other explanatory variables.

In sum, gender, residence, schooling status and religious affiliations are significant in explaining the likelihood of approval or non approval of higher education for boy-children than girl-children.

Finally, the overall model evaluation for model 1 indicates that the two statistical tests are significant, these are namely: likelihood ratio (LR) test and Wald test. This implies that the data match the fitted model well. In addition the goodness-of-fit statistics, the Hosmer-Lemeshow (H-L) test yielded an X^2 of 18.240 with a $p > 0.05$ is statistically insignificant. This further corroborates the earlier conclusion of a well matched data to the model. Furthermore, the correctly predicted case improved from 59.1% to 71%. With regard to overall model evaluation for model 2, the 2 critical statistical tests are also significant and also yielded similar conclusions. The score, likelihood ratio (LR) test and Wald test are statistically significant. Furthermore, the Hosmer-Lemeshow (H-L) test yield an X^2 of 17.766 with a $p > 0.05$. This implies that the data matched the model and is consistent with earlier results. Finally, the correctly predicted cases improved from 59.4% to 69.1%, with regard to the null model to the fitted model.

Table 5.32: A Comparison of Logistic Coefficients of Combined Adult Respondents and Combined Girl and Boy Children on Approval of Higher Education for the Boy-Child than for the Girl-Child by Some Selected Characteristics

	Model 1: Adult				Model 2: Children		
	B	Odds	p-value		B	Odds	p-value
Gender				Gender			
Male	1.681	5.371***	0.000	Boy-child	1.201	3.325***	0.000
Female (ref)	0.000	1.000		Girl-child (ref)	0.000	1.000	
Residence				Residence			
Rural	0.551	1.735*	0.016	Rural	1.067	2.908***	0.000
Urban (ref)	0.000	1.000		Urban (ref)	0.000	1.000	
Literacy Status				Schooling Status			
Non-literate	1.423	4.150***	0.000	Out-of-school	1.559	4.753***	0.000
Literate (ref)	0.000	1.000		In-school (ref)	0.000	1.000	
Religious Affiliation				Religious			
Traditional	1.374	3.951***	0.000	Traditional	0.643	1.903*	0.041
Islam	1.024	2.785***	0.000	Islam	0.384	1.468*	0.041
Christian (ref)	0.000	1.000		Christian (ref)	0.000	1.000	
Constant	-2.764	0.063	0.000		-1.963	0.140	0.000
Overall Model Evaluation							
Likelihood ratio	190.988 (0.000)			196.095 (0.000)			
Wald test	26.021 (0.000)			28.191 (0.000)			
Goodness of Fit							
Hosmer & Lemeshow	18.240			17.766			
% classified correctly	71.6%			74.0%			

N=799, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001; ref = reference category

A Comparison of the Logistic Coefficients on Approval of Higher Education for Boy-Children by Fathers and Sons by some Selected Background Characteristics

Table 5.33 presents a comparison of the logistic coefficients on approval of higher education for boy-children by fathers and sons. This is quite significant in order to tease out the inter-generation differences between “fathers” and “sons” with a view to providing insight on the interplay of explanatory variables that differentiates between the older and the younger generation on the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices at the household level.

Model 1 represents logistic coefficients of fathers with their log odds and odds ratios presented in columns 1 and 2 respectively. On the other hand, model 2 represents the coefficients of the sons with their log odds and odds ratios presented in columns 3 and 4, respectively as well. The models are fitted with 3 sets of explanatory variables namely: residence, literacy status and religious affiliation. It is interesting to note that drawing inference from the regressed model for fathers. Religious affiliation and literacy status

are statistically significant as explanatory variables that are associated with the likelihood of approval or non approval of higher education for boy-children than girl children. Non literate fathers are 6.2 times more likely to approve of higher education for boy-children than girl children when compared with literate fathers after controlled for other variables. Also, fathers who are adherents of traditional religion are 6.4 times more likely to approve of higher education for boy-children than girl-children in their households when compared with fathers who are Christians if other variables were held constant. Also, on the other hand, fathers who are Muslims are 2 times more likely to approve of higher education for boy-children than girl-children when compared with fathers (adult males) who are Christians.

On the other hand, unlike their fathers, for sons, residence and schooling status is statistically significant in explaining the likelihood of approval or non approval of higher education for boy-children than girl-children. It is interesting to note that sons (boy-children) from rural areas are 3 times more likely to approve of higher education for boy-children than girl-children when compared with those from urban areas if other variables are held constant. Similarly, boy-children who are out-of-school are 3 times and those of them who are traditional adherents are more likely to approve of higher education for boy-children than girl-children when compared with in-school boy children and those who are Christians. According to Table 5.6, the overall model evaluation based on the related statistical tests yielded similar conclusions of being significant for model 1. These include the following: likelihood ratio (LR) test and Wald test. In addition, the Hosmer-Lemeshow (H-L) test yielded an X^2 of 4.984 with a $p > 0.05$ which implies that data match the model as presented in table. Furthermore, the correctly predicted case improved from 74.0% to 79%.

On the other hand, for model 2, the related statistical tests to evaluate the overall model also yielded the same conclusion of being statistically significant. These are namely: likelihood ratio (LR) test and Wald test. Also the Hosmer-Lemeshow (H-L) test yielded an X^2 of 5.059 with an insignificant $p > 0.05$. This implies that the data fitted in the model matched well. In addition, the correctly predicted cases improved from 66.8% to 71.4%.

Table 5.33: A Comparison of the Logistics Coefficients on Approval of Higher Education for Boy-Children by Fathers and Sons by Some Selected Characteristics

	Father Model 1			Sons Model 2			
	B	Odds	p-value	B	Odds	p-value	
Residence				Residence			
Rural	0.268	1.307	0.409	Rural	1.040	2.828***	0.000
Urban (ref)	0.000	1.000		Urban (ref)	0.000	1.000	
Literacy Status				Schooling Status			
Non-literate	1.721	5.589***	0.000	Out-of-school	1.003	2.727**	0.002
Literate (ref)	0.000	1.000		In-school (ref)	0.000	1.000	
Religious Affiliation				Religious Affiliation			
Traditional	1.861	6.433**	0.001	Traditional	0.938	2.555	0.096
Islam	0.700	2.013*	0.013	Islam	0.027	1.028	0.913
Christian (ref)	0.000	1.000		Christian (ref)	0.000	1.000	
Constant	-0.995	0.370	0.001	Constant	-0.495	0.609	0.048
Overall Model Evaluation							
Likelihood ratio	81.034 (0.000)			53.107 (0.000)			
Wald test	78.078(0.000)			41.515 (0.000)			
Goodness of Fit							
Hosmer & Lemeshow	4.984			5.059			
% Classified correctly	79.0			71.4			

N=385, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001; ref = reference category

A Comparison of Logistics Coefficients on Approval of Higher Education for Boy-Children by Mothers and Daughters by some selected Characteristics

Table 5.34 presents a comparison of logistic coefficients on approval of higher education for boy-children than girl-children. The binary measure is the likelihood of approval or non approval of higher education for boy-children than girl-children. The regressed explanatory variables are residence, literacy/schooling status and religious affiliation. The individual explanatory variables in Models 1 & 2 revealed that each of them is statistically significant in explaining the likelihood of approval or non approval of higher education for boy-children than girl-children.

The fitted data for model 1 indicates the adult mothers from rural areas are 2.2 times more likely to approve of higher education for boy-children than girl children when compared with adult mothers from urban areas if other variables are held constant. Similarly, non literate adult mothers are 2.3 times more likely to approve of higher education for boy-children than girl-children in their households when compared with literate mothers when controlled for other variables. On the other hand, adult mothers who are adherents of traditional religion and Islam are 4.1 times more likely to approve

of higher education for boy-children than girl-children when compared with adult mothers who are Christians if other explanatory variables are held constant.

However, with respect to their daughters (girl-children) as indicated in Table 5.34, those from rural areas are 3.5 times more likely to approve of higher education for boy-children than girl-children when compared with those from urban areas. This also implies that residence is statistically significant. Also, out of girl-children are 6 times more likely to approve of higher education for boy-children than in school girl-children when controlled for other explanatory variables. It is statistically significant. Adherents of traditional religion and Islam are 2 times and 2.2 times more likely to approve of higher education for boy-children than girl-children when compared with girl-children who are Christians when controlled for other explanatory variables. The second category of religious affiliation adherents of Islam is statistically significant (Wald: $X^2(1) = 7.573$, $p < 0.001$).

In sum, the residence, literacy/schooling status and religious affiliations of respondents, irrespective of whether they are adult mothers or girl-children are significant explanatory variables that would determine the likelihood of approval of household discriminatory practices towards the girl-children with regard to educational opportunities. The overall model evaluation of Model 1 indicates that the likelihood ratio (LR) test and Wald test are statistically significant. Furthermore, the Hosmer-Lemeshow (H-L) test also yielded an X^2 of 8.337 with a $p > 0.05$ which is consistent with earlier results, the fitted data match Model 1 as presented in table 41. In addition, correctly predicted case improved from the null model from 54.3% to 64.0% in fitted model.

Finally, with respect to the overall evaluation of model 2, the statistical tests yield similar conclusions of being statistically significant. These are namely: likelihood ratio (LR) test and Wald test. In addition, the Hosmer-Lemeshow (H-L) test also yielded an X^2 of 6.516 with a $p > 0.05$. The fitted data match Model 2 as presented in table 41 in the model matched well. In addition, the correctly predicted cases improved from 66.8% to 71.4%.

Table 5.34: A Comparison of Logistics Coefficients on Approval of Higher Education for Boy-Children by Mothers and Daughters by some Selected Characteristics

	Model 1				Model 2		
	B	Odds	p-value		B	Odds	p-value
Residence				Residence			
Rural	0.807	2.242*	0.021	Rural	1.243	3.464**	0.001
Urban (ref)	0.000	1.000		Urban (ref)	0.000	1.000	
Literacy Status				Schooling Status			
Non-literate	0.805	2.236***	0.184	Out-of-school	1.792	6.000***	0.000
Literate (ref)	0.000	1.000		In-school (ref)	0.000	1.000	
Religious Affiliation				Religious Affiliation			
Traditional	1.325	3.762***	0.000	Traditional	0.707	2.027	0.078
Islam	1.266	3.548***	0.000	Islam	0.783	2.189**	0.006
Christian (ref)	0.000	1.000		Christian (ref)	0.000	1.000	
Constant	-2.510	0.081	0.000	Constant	-2.459	0.086	0.000
Overall Model Evaluation							
Likelihood ratio	56.932 (0.000)			124.636 (0.000)			
Wald test	52.584 (0.000)			6.516 (0.000)			
Goodness of Fit							
Homer & Lemeshow	8.337			5.516			
% classified correctly	64.0%			76.0			

N=414, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001; ref = reference category

5.9.3 Exploring the Likelihood of Exhibiting Discriminatory Practices by Girl and Boy Children

Table 5.35 presents comparison of logistic coefficients of girl and boy-children's likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices in educational opportunities towards the girl-child in their own future households. The binary outcome measure is the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices or not towards the girl-child in educational opportunities. The explanatory variables fitted in the two models are residence, schooling status and religious affiliation.

According to the models presented in Table 5.35 with regard to residence, girl-children and boy-children from rural areas are 3.1 times and 3 times, respectively, more likely to exhibit discriminatory practices towards the girl-child in educational opportunities when compared with those from urban areas if other explanatory variables are held constant. There was not an appreciable difference in their odd ratios and residence as an explanatory variable is statistically significant. Also, with regard to education, out-of-school girl-children and boy-children are 4 times and also 3 times more likely to exhibit discriminatory practices towards the girl-child in educational opportunities when compared with in-school girl and boy-children after controlling for other explanatory

variables in the models. This implies girl-children are more likely than boy-children to allow their boy-children receive more education than their daughters in their own family in the near future. The plausible explanation for this was that sending a male child to school is critical in establishing the family within a community setting. The expectation of most parents is that “boys” are the future “heads of households”; therefore, they should be seen as “doing well”. Schooling status of respondents is statistically significant in explaining the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices.

With regard to religious affiliation girl and boy children who are adherents of traditional religion are respectively 4 times and 2 times more likely to exhibit discriminatory practices towards the girl-child in educational opportunities when compared with girl and boy-children who are Christians when other explanatory variables were held constant. On the other hand, girl and boy-children who were Muslims are 3.4 times and 1.2 times respectively likely to exhibit discriminatory practices when compared with those who are Christians after controlling for other variables. Religious affiliation is statistically significant in respect of girl-children for both adherents of traditional religion and Islam. However, it is not statistically significant for boy children.

In summary, for girl-children, all the three explanatory variables namely: residence, schooling status and religious affiliations are statistically significant in explaining the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices. On the other hand, for the boy-children, only, residence and schooling status are statistically significant. The overall model evaluation for model 1 reveals that the statistical tests yielded similar conclusions of being statistically significant. These are namely, likelihood ratio (LR). Also, the goodness-of-fit statistics, which is, the Hosmer-Lemeshow (H-L) test yielded an X^2 of 8.889 with a $p > 0.05$ indicative of the good match of the data to the fitted model. On the other hand, the correctly predicted cases improved from 50.2% of the null model to 73.2%, a significant increase of 20%.

With respect to model 2, the overall evaluation indicates that the statistical tests are significant and has similar conclusions. These tests include the following: likelihood ratio (LR) test and Wald test. Also, the Hosmer-Lemeshow (H-L) test yielded an X^2 of 4.358 with a $p > 0.05$ indicative that the data fitted matched model 2 presented in table 43. In addition, the correctly predicted cases improved from 63.4% to 70.1%, from the null model to the fitted model.

Model 3 indicates that boy-children are 0.335 times more likely to exhibit discriminatory practices in giving more education to the boy-child than the girl-child. When controlled for other variables children from rural areas are 0.347 times and out of school children are 0.270 times more likely to exhibit discriminatory practices when controlled for other variables. With regard to religious affiliation, traditional adherents are 0.379 times and adherents of Islam are 0.528 times when controlled for other variables to exhibit household discriminatory practices in education towards the girl-child. The overall model evaluation for model 3 reveals that the statistical tests yielded similar conclusions of being statistically significant.

Table 5.35: Comparison of Logistics Coefficients of Girl and Boy-Children's Likelihood of Exhibiting Discriminatory Practices in Educational Opportunities towards the Girl-Child in their Future Households by Selected Characteristics

	Model 1 Girl-Children			Model 2 Boy-Children			Model 3 Combined		
	B	Odds	p-	B	Odds	p-value	B	Odds	p-value
Gender									
Boy-Child							1.092	0.335***	0.000
Girl-Child (ref)							0.000	1.000	
Residence									
Rural	1.093	2.983**	0.004	1.109	3.030**	0.000	-1.058	0.347***	0.000
Urban (ref)	0.000	1.000		0.000	1.000		0.000	1.000	
Schooling Status									
Out-of-school	1.409	4.091***	0.000	1.003	2.726**	0.001	1.308	0.270***	0.000
In-school (ref)	0.000	1.000		0.000	1.000		0.000	1.000	
Religious Affiliation									
Traditional	1.369	3.930**	0.001	0.765	2.150	0.131	-0.970	0.379**	0.001
Islam	1.227	3.411***	0.000	0.160	1.173	0.523	-0.639	0.528**	0.001
Christian (ref)	0.000	1.000		0.000	1.000		0.000	1.000	
Constant	-2.595	0.075	0.000	-0.771	0.462	0.003	2.123	8.353	0.000
Overall Model Evaluation									
Likelihood ratio	134.384 (0.000)			56.973 (0.000)			194.178 (0.000)		
Wald test	121.359 (0.000)			26.875 (0.000)			13.718 (0.000)		
Goodness of Fit									
Hosmer & Lemeshow	8.889			4.358					
% classified correctly	73.2			70.1			72.1		

N=414, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001; ref = reference category

5.9.4 Synopsis of Logistic Regression Results

In sum, the logistic regression results reveal that girl-children are more likely to face discrimination in education, domestic work assignment and restrictive food taboos. Among adult respondents, literacy status (education), gender, residence, religious affiliation, pattern of decision-making, their childhood experiences, valuation of women's participation in decision-making are statistically significant in explaining the

likelihood of exhibiting discrimination against the girl-child in respect of access to education. Adult-males, residents in rural areas, non-literate adults, traditional and Muslims adherents are more likely to have strong preference for boy-child education over girl-child.

The plausible reasons are not far-fetched. They include male dominance in decision making as a result of the patriarchal nature of the Kambari; less value for girl-child education; domestic burden in the household; protecting the girl from unwanted pregnancies which are seen as a taboo among the Kambari as well as apparent misinterpretation of religious injunctions on girl-child education by certain sects in Islam. In addition, the influence of ideational factors further reinforce the findings of earlier studies in Asia (Sultana, 2010; Das Gupta *et al*, 2009; Plan, 2007; Bacellos *et al*, 2011) and other reports on Africa and Nigeria (Jutting and Morrison, 2005a;2005b; UNECA, 2010; FGN, 2008; FMJ, 2008) that deep-rooted socio-cultural values, beliefs, norms and practices engender discrimination against the girl-child.

The logistic regression results among adult respondents on the likelihood of assigning more domestic work to the girl-child reveal that the place of residence and religious affiliation are statistically significant. With respect to enforcing restrictive food taboos against the girl-child, the regression analysis showed that gender, literacy status (education) and religious affiliation are statistically significant. Adults who are traditional adherents are more likely to assign the girl-child more domestic work because it is seen as a God-given role and girls' work. On the other hand, adult males, non-literate adults and traditional religious adherents and Muslims are more likely to enforce restrictive food taboos on the girl-child. This could be associated with the fact that males are regarded as custodians of the culture of the people and non-literate adults are more likely to be conservatives. Likewise, traditional adherents would ensure the enforcements of restrictive food taboos in their households as an indication of maintaining the culture. Also, on exposure to discriminatory practices against the girl-child on domestic work assignment, girl-children in rural area, those out-of-school and traditional adherents are more likely to spend more time fetching water, firewood, cooking, caring for siblings or selling market produce than girl-children who are in school and are residing in urban areas. Likewise, girl-children who are out-of-school and those from rural households and

those whose parents are traditional adherents are more likely to be denied certain foods and meats due to the practice of restrictive food taboos.

On approval of boy-child education over the girl-child, the results of the regression analysis showed that gender, religious affiliation, residence and education are statistically significant. Irrespective of the groups examined, residents in rural areas are more likely to approve higher education for boy-children over girl-children. Also, in all the sub-groups, non-literate adults, traditional adherents and Muslims as well as out-of-school children, are more likely to approve of higher education for boy-children over the girl-children. These findings are similar to the earlier results with respect to the likelihood of exhibiting discrimination against the girl-child in the area of education.

Inter-generational differences on the approval of boy-child education over the girl-child showed significant differences between fathers and sons. As regards the older generation (fathers), religion and literacy status were significant explanatory variables. On the other hand, for the younger generation (sons), only schooling status and residence are significant explanatory variables. In contrast, for mothers and daughters, residence, religious affiliation and education are significant explanatory variables. These further affirmed the interplay of social and cultural factors in influencing individual actors towards exhibiting household discrimination against the girl-child or approval of discrimination against the girl-child.

5.9.5 Validation of Theoretical Framework

The study employed the basic underlying assumptions of Weber's Social action theory, feminist theory on patriarchy and social role theory to establish the links between the dependent and the independent variables as well as other findings from the qualitative data to highlight the socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child among the Kambari. A combination of these theoretical perspectives and the conceptual framework validated the findings and emphasised that the actions, perceptions and attitudes of individuals in relation to discriminatory practices, are largely determined within the context of the socio-cultural norms and values of the society. In essence, the society provided the context within which the actions, attitudes and behaviours of individual actors towards the girl-child are shaped. This is based on the fact that individual actors attached subjective meanings towards exhibiting discriminatory practices in areas of education,

domestic work assignment and restrictive food taboos that are to a great extent defined by the norms, values, beliefs and practices of the society. The society is essentially traditional, rural, agrarian and largely illiterate. Therefore, adherence to the cultural norms on the girl-child is the order of the day.

The study has demonstrated that exhibiting discriminatory behaviour towards the girl-child is, therefore, a function of significant and complex underlying interaction of socio-cultural and individual factors, namely the conception of gender roles, gender socialization, cultural construction of girlhood, the status and valuation of the girl-child, decision-making pattern of households, value of women's role in decision-making, traditional practices such as restrictive food taboos. With the aid of the theoretical perspectives, the study has defined practices that engender and reinforce household discrimination towards the girl-child. Her disadvantaged and subordinate position within the gender hierarchy of the Kambari ethnic group and the privileged position of the boy-child, a male who is seen as the potential head of the household perpetuate discriminatory practices against the girl-child. The study showed that the status of the girl-child is relatively very low and the boy child is accorded more privileges and opportunities at the household level when compared to the girl-child. The boy-child is also accorded more access to education, is not assigned domestic work, with few exceptions, and is allowed to eat foods and meats that are considered as taboos for the girl-child.

The rationalization of individual actors' actions towards the girl-child which engender discriminatory practices towards the girl-child is through the prismatic lens of patriarchal institutions, beliefs, values, genders stereotypes of femininity and masculinity within the Kambari ethnic group. Consequently, the gender roles of the girl and boy-child have led to a gendered division of labour that have classified the "public domain" as the exclusive preserve of the boy-child and the "domestic sphere" which has been undervalued as the main domain of the girl-child. This has been substantiated by the findings of the study. The familial roles of the girl-child is closely associated with the "domestic sphere", activities such as cooking, fetching water and firewood, sweeping, cleaning, mending floors and care of siblings, among others, are seen as "girls' work". Whereas, the familial roles of the boy-child such as farming, rearing animals, maintenance and building activities among others are seen as "boy's work".

The triangulation of Weber's social action theory, feminist theory on patriarchy and also the social role theory have provided deep insights on the socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child among the Kambari of Niger State, Nigeria. Most importantly, the findings of the study validated the theoretical assumptions of the three theories employed. The silver lining is that the more enlightened urban residents, mainly Christians, have started to deviate from strict cultural discrimination against the girl-child. If the society should continue moving forward in this direction, perhaps the story of the Kambari girl-child would soon change.

5.9.6 Discussion of Findings

It has been established that the girl-child faces a "double disadvantage" (UNICEF, 1993). Firstly, as a female and secondly, she faces discriminatory practices at the household level vis-à-vis the boy-child for being a girl. She faces discriminatory practices particularly in Asia in the following areas: obtaining medical services, domestic work assignment, educational opportunities and also in family food distribution. This has been confirmed by a number of studies in Asia (Agrawal and Unisa, 2007; Asfaw, Klaseen and Lamanna, 2007; Chitrakar, 2009; Zimmermann, 2011). Most of these studies employed series of measures to explore discriminatory practices against the girl-child. With specific reference to Asia sex ratio at birth, mortality rates of male and female children, health-seeking behaviour of parents on male and female children are some of the measures employed (Asfaw, Klassen and Lamanna, 2007; Shuzhuo *et al.*, 2007; Das Gupta *et al.*, 2009). Others are anthropometric measures and the incidence of some childhood diseases (Pandey *et al.*, 2002; Pande and Malhotra, 2006). Other studies also focused on the reasons associated with discriminatory practice against the girl-child. Generally, studies have identified two major motives associated with discriminatory practices: economic and socio-cultural. It has also been established that deep-rooted socio-cultural practices, beliefs and values engender discriminatory practices towards the girl-child. Socio-cultural practices such as son-preference, decision-making power which has been male-dominated and gender division of labour place more burden on the girl-child. Also, the pattern of dowry payment whereby having so many girl-children in a family created an economic burden on parents and also engendered discrimination against the girl-child (Lungberg, 2005; Diamond-Smith, Luck and McGarvey, 2008; Jones, Harper and Watson *et al.*, 2010; Sultana, 2010).

The findings of the current study indicate that girl-children have poor educational outcomes. It is glaring that they are less likely to be in school and also more likely to drop-out of school as a result of poor academic performance, heavy domestic burden, premarital pregnancy, and low value for formal education as well as the desire to get their girl-child married off by parents. This has been confirmed by other findings (Ogidi, 1997; Aderinto, 1999; Chitrakar, 2009; ILO, 2009; Lamanna, 2012). Also, girl-children from rural areas whose parents are non literate, traditional adherents or Muslims are more vulnerable to discriminatory practices. They are more likely to do most of the domestic work and also take on additional farming related activities which are usually seen as the exclusive preserve of males than they are usually given credit for. This is a departure from other studies that tend to obfuscate and under-value the roles of the girl-child that are not associated to her societal defined roles. Ajani (2008) posited that the contribution of women and by extension girls in agriculture is poorly documented in Nigeria. This is largely because women and girls carry out activities that are unpaid which include domestic work, care-giving, working on the husband's farm and family farm apart from their own. Also, it has been attributed to the social constructs and cultural inclination of the Nigerian society and by virtue of the fact that they are females.

Coupled with these, the girl-child is more likely to marry early. In some cases due to the practice of child betrothal among certain language-dialect groups of the Kambari, she is more likely to be subjected to marry an individual she does not love. More so, the incidence of failed child betrothal arrangements negatively impact on her well-being and social relations within the community. These are context-specific findings closely associated with the cultural practices of the Kambari. The Kambari girl-child therefore faces a "double-jeopardy" imposed and reinforced by societal structures.

All these should be seen as hindrances to capacity development and female empowerment. Consequently, these would result in the perpetuation of poverty, and enhancement of female subjugation through a vicious cycle of mother-daughter inter-generational discriminatory practices (Jones, Harper and Watson *et al.*, 2010). Furthermore, the relatively low status of women and the patriarchal nature of the society limit their role and power at the household level towards enhancing the well-being of the girl-child. Achieving gender parity particularly in education, a key indicator for social development, should be seen as one of the gateway to empowering the girl-child for life.

The findings also show that the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices towards the girl-child is a function of complex individual-parental factors such as gender, residence, literacy status and religious affiliation. These findings support earlier studies (Ogidi, 1997; Pandey *et al.*, 2002; Koohi- Kamali, 2008). On the other hand, at the societal level, socio-cultural practices such as conception of girlhood, gender socialization, status and valuation of the girl-child, patterns of decision making, traditional practices also endanger discriminatory practices against the Kambari girl-child.

This validates the significant role that socio-cultural values, norms, beliefs and practices play in engendering discriminatory practices towards the girl-child. It should be seen as a serious challenge and dilemma in view of the fact that individuals view discriminatory practices as “acceptable”, “a cultural given” and as “natural”. Also, even the girl-child, the boy-child, significant others and parents do not see anything wrong in giving boy-children privileges and opportunities that the girl-child does not enjoy at the household level. Further, religious beliefs reinforce the low status ascribed to the girl-child and account for the reasons why household discriminatory practices against girl-child in education, domestic work assignment and enforcing restrictive food taboos still persist. The study also found that, parents are also likely to be influenced by significant others to exhibit household discriminatory practices against the girl-child. The cultural construction of girlhood is based on the notions of femininity and gender stereotypes which are internalized during socialization. These internalized world-views further reinforce household discriminatory practices against the girl-child. This accounts for the perpetuation of household discriminatory practices against the girl-child by individual actors at the household level.

Finally, the efforts of government and other relevant stakeholders towards enhancing the wellbeing of the girl-child and empowering her for active participation on issues that affect her and the community would be unsuccessful and ineffective if the deep-rooted socio-cultural practices are not addressed. Also, changing attitudinal behaviour towards the girl-child would require changing the mind-sets and negative images about her. More so, uprooting patriarchal values, beliefs and practices against the girl-child would involve

a concerted, multi-sectored and holistic approach in dealing with the critical issues that has limited her capacity development and empowerment.

5.10 Summary, Conclusion and Recommendation

This final sub-section presents a synopsis of the work. This encompasses major findings, conclusions and recommendations for government actions and suggested areas for further research.

5.10.1 Summary of the Work

The situation of the girl-child gained global attention at the Fourth World Women Conference held in Beijing, China in 1995. The Beijing Platform of Action identified the girl-child as the 12th critical area of concern. This led to an increased interest by social scientists in interrogating the girl-child situation in different countries. Furthermore, earlier studies on gender marginalization usually subsumed the issues relating to girl-children on women. Consequently, their issues, circumstances and problems are equated as the same as those of women, hence masking the peculiar problems confronting girl-children. Given this scenario, a paradigm shift is imperative whereby the girl-child becomes a focus for social research. Furthermore, the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) held in Cairo gave rise to another fundamental paradigm shift in thinking with respect to how population and development issues should be studied. It emphasized the fact that population and development issues cannot be divorced from the broader social and cultural contexts under which they occur (Pradhan, 2001). These underscores the significance of the interrogation of the socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child.

The current study focused on the Kambari, an ethnic minority group found in Niger State, Nigeria. A multi-methodological approach was adopted. Both qualitative and quantitative data were generated during the course of this study. As regards the quantitative data, two structured questionnaires were employed for the household survey to the target population which were married adult male (20-65years) and female (15-49years), and boy and girl-children (10-17 years). The qualitative data included 12 case-studies of girl-children, 14 in-depth interviews conducted among various categories of leaders at the community level, and 15 FGDs among different socio-demographic groups.

The sample population for the study was drawn from 4 sub-groups: adult men, adult women, girl-children, and boy-children. A total of 1,598 respondents comprising a mother/daughter and a father/son pairs formed sample population for the study. The study focused on the socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child and the perspectives of each of the sub-groups provided deeper insights on the subject matter than previous studies revealed.

The objectives of the study are: describe the cultural constructions of girlhood among the Kambari; examine the socio-cultural practices that engender discriminatory practices against the girl-child; to investigate the nature of discriminatory practices among the Kambari; investigate the attitude of the significant others towards discriminatory practices; highlight the perception of the girl-child towards discriminatory practices and determine the combined effects of individual and ideational factors on the likelihood of exhibiting or not exhibiting discriminatory practices towards the girl-child.

The theoretical premises of this study are drawn from the main postulations of Weber's social action theory, feminist theory on patriarchy as well as the social role theory. Any form of practice, custom, belief or the behaviour of an individual in a given culture is interrelated to other institutional patterns within that social group. Consequently, the social action towards the girl-child which gave rise to discriminatory practices exhibited at the household level cannot be divorced from the socio-cultural practices of the Kambari. The conceptual framework provides insights on the inter-play of factors that operated at the societal and household levels to engender discriminatory practices against the girl-child.

The summary of major findings is presented based on the study objectives as follows:

Cultural Construction of the Girl-Child

- The cultural construction of girlhood is largely defined by societal notions on femininity with respect to her future role as a wife , mother and by reason of her gender as a “female” and a “girl”
- Physical, physiological, aesthetic features of the female gender shaped the cultural construction of girlhood among the Kambari.
- The appropriate perceived qualities of the girl-child which are identified such as patience, kindness, obedience, good skills in domestic works are closely linked

with societal expectations on the notions of femininity as well as gender stereotypes on her perceived character trait.

Valuation of the Girl-child

- She is seen as a temporary member of the household who would eventually get married and leave the household. A household without a boy-child is considered as “powerless” and “worthless” within the community.
- An overwhelming majority of all the respondents (98.7%) affirmed that the status of the girl-child was relatively low in their respective communities.
- Similarly, 98.6 percent opined that the boy-child was accorded a relatively higher status and this was attributed to the fact that they were seen as “potential heads of households”
- The study affirmed that the girl-child occupied a second place after the boy-child with regard to opportunities and privileges at the household level.
- Despite, the low value ascribed to the girl-child, she contributed to the livelihood of the household through farming related activities she was not usually given credit for. Moreover, the bridal farming services known as “gulmo” which was rendered by the family of her betrothed partner family for years until the marriage is contracted was a significant contribution that cannot be ignored.
- The girl-child also affirmed that parents were not wrong in according the boy-child higher opportunities and privileges because it was ordained of God and it was the accepted tradition.

Socio-Cultural Practices Engendering Discrimination

- The study reveals that deep rooted socio-cultural practices engendered and supported discrimination against the girl-child. These are the conception of gender roles, gender socialization, cultural construction of girlhood, valuation of the girl-child, traditional practices, gender stereotypes and the male dominated pattern of decision-making among the Kambari.

Profile of the Girl-Child

- The three major problems confronting her in most communities are lack of access to education, teenage pregnancy and subjection to child betrothal.
- Educational outcomes of the girl-child reveals that high levels of school drop-outs are due to poor academic performance, heavy domestic burden, dislike for

schooling and unwanted pregnancy. Whereas cases of never-in-school girl-children are due to lack of value for formal education by parents, preference for marriage, preference for farming and lack of interest in schooling.

- There are significantly marked gender differences on familial roles assigned to the girl-child and boy-child at the household level. The familial roles of the girl-child are predominantly in the domestic sphere and she is assigned additional roles such as weeding, harvesting, harrowing and ploughing than they are usually given credit for.

Pattern of Discriminatory Practices

- The girl-child faced discriminatory practices with regard to access to education, domestic work assignment and restrictive food taboos.
- An overwhelming majority of the respondents in the sample (78.1%) affirmed that girl-children did most of the domestic work at home.
- There were marked differences between adult respondents, the girl- and boy-children, as well as gender differences on educational aspirations for both the girl-child and the boy-child. There were also marked gender differences on the educational aspirations that parents desired for the girl-and boy-child. While, only 26.8% adult men and 24.2% of women felt that girl-children should acquire tertiary education, 63.4% of boy-children and 70.8% of girl-children opined that girl-children should acquire tertiary education. This obvious generational shift is beneficial for the girl-child.
- Girl-children from rural areas, those out-of-school, and those who were adherent of traditional religion were more likely to face discrimination in education, food taboos and domestic work assignment.
- The girl-child was less likely to face discriminatory practices with regard to intra-family food allocation during meals; only 15.3% of men and 10.6% women engaged in such practice

Likelihood of Exhibiting Discriminatory Practices

- The regression analysis found that the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices towards the girl-child by adult respondents was a function of gender, residence, education and religious affiliation. Also, the following ideational variables were significant in explaining the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices towards the girl-child: conception of gender roles,

childhood experiences, pattern of decision-making and valuation of women's participation in decision-making.

- **Girl -and Boy-Children's likelihood of Exhibiting Discriminatory Practices**

- On what they would do in their future homes, about 91.7 percent of boy-children and 84.0 percent of girl-children affirmed that they were more likely to assign their girl-children most of the domestic work. Also, as regards educational aspirations of their children, 63.4 percent of girl-children and 50.2 percent of boy-children affirmed boys would receive more education than girls in their respective future households.
- With respect to family food distribution, more boy- children (63.4%) than girl-children (36.6%) affirmed that girl-children would get less food than boy-children. However, in their future homes, more girl-children (61.6%) than boy-children (58.4%) affirmed they would enforce restrictive food taboos.
- Girl and boy-children from rural areas, out-of-school and adherents of traditional religion and Islam were more likely to exhibit household discriminatory practices towards the girl-child in their future households.
- The study found that residence, education and religious affiliations were significant explanatory variables of the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices in the future homes of Kambari youths.

- **Approval of Discriminatory Practices**

- An overwhelming majority of the respondents approved of girl-children doing most of the domestic work; and approval rate for girls getting less food was significantly lower. Approval of household practices against girl-children was generally higher among males and boy-children relative to women and girl-children.
- The study found that residence, education and religious affiliation are significant explanatory variables that determined the likelihood of approval of discriminatory practices.
- Respondents from rural areas, non-literate and adherent of traditional religion and Islam are more likely to approve of discriminatory practices towards the girl child.

5.10.2 Conclusion and Programmatic Recommendations

This study investigated the socio-cultural context of the girl-child among the Kambari. Through a multi-methodological descriptive approach of data collection, it identified links between socio-cultural variables and discriminatory practices among the Kambari of Niger State, Nigeria. It brought to fore the societal and individual values, attitudes, behaviours and mindsets that engender discriminatory practices. This study has contributed significantly to the methodological and theoretical relevance of gender issues in population and demographic studies. Also, from a methodological stand point. It has underscored the fact that households are not homogeneous units with similar problems or needs. It drew attention on the need for a holistic approach in exploring the lives of male and female members of the household. The study was a departure from previous studies on gender issues that usually homogenized women which led to the masking of the life experiences and true reality of individual members of the household such as the girl-child.

The quest for a comprehensive analysis of the dependent and independent variables due to the complexity of interrogating discriminatory practices necessitated the need to employ a triangulation of feminist standpoint on patriarchy, Weber's Social Action theory and Sex-Role theory to examine the social phenomena. This study, by examining individual level events and practices which were engendered by macro-level and individual factors has reiterated the need for contextual analysis of the interaction of the individual and the demographic environment in which individuals are situated. The role of socio-cultural practices on individual behaviour has been accepted in sociology. In congruence with the foregoing, it has been identified by Hirschman and Tolnay (2005) as one out of three distinct areas within the current trends in Social Demography alongside data collection and descriptive interpretation, theory development and model testing.

This study has affirmed the fact that discriminatory behaviour towards the girl-child was embedded within specific social relations and cultural contexts. Thus, discriminatory behaviour were shaped by social and power relations at the household level, conception of gender roles, gender socialization, cultural construction of girlhood ,traditional practices, gender stereotypes, son preference, household decision -making and individual characteristics such as place of residence, education and religious affiliations.

An issue of serious concern that would have severe consequences on the well-being and empowerment of Kambari girl-children is that discriminatory practices are not seen as a “problem” due to entrenched deep rooted socio-cultural beliefs, values and practices. Attitudinal change would require the transformation of the mindsets of individuals towards the girl-child. This would require the concerted efforts of relevant stakeholders at various levels in order to address gender discrimination against the girl child. Also, the patriarchal nature of the Kambari society underscores the need to engage men and boys in developing positive images for girls and supporting gender equity at the household and societal levels.

This study also provided insight into how feminist epistemological thoughts can contribute to population and demographic studies. The problematization of gender inequality at the household levels can be useful in interrogating other demographic phenomenon and outcomes. The study revealed the likelihood of perpetuation of discriminatory practices from fathers to boy-children and mothers to girl-children. This has the tendency to breed a vicious cycle from one generation to another. The study found that boy- and girl-children still approved of discriminatory practices in domestic work assignment, preference for boy education over girl-child and in the enforcement of restrictive food taboos even though at a slightly lower level than their parents. Thus, breaking the vicious cycle of discriminatory practices would require the need to encourage an inter-generational dialogue in communities, families on the value of gender equality and the negative consequences of discriminatory practices on the well being of the girl-child and the overall development of the entire community.

In as much as the non-participation of women in decision making can negatively impact on the well-being of the girl-child, the study found that women were also “active agents” in enforcing discriminatory practices against the girl-child. In the same view, the girl-child does not perceive ascribing boy-children more privileges and opportunities as “discriminatory” rather it was seen as “cultural given” that cannot be questioned because it was the accepted tradition and it was seen as being ordained by God. This raised the need for inter-generational dialogue among women, mothers and girls with the aid of religious clerics and traditional leaders to promote positive images of girl-children and ensure the abolishing of harmful traditional practices, beliefs and value systems that engendered discriminatory practices against the girl-child. In sum, the socio-cultural

milieu in which the individual actors are situated was predominantly patriarchal in nature. Patriarchal values, beliefs and practices strongly reinforced the perpetuation of discriminatory practices against the girl-child. This study has reiterated the need for a holistic, comprehensive and multi-pronged approach in addressing the problems confronting the empowerment of the girl-child. Achieving gender parity and equality for women in national development by 2015 as conceptualized by the MDGs would be unrealizable if the problems and discriminatory practices confronting the girl-child, who is seen as the “mother of tomorrow”, were not adequately addressed.

The following recommendations and programmatic implications were pertinent based on the major findings of the study:

- Mass-Media campaigns, community mobilization and sensitization should be embarked upon by the State, LGAS, and NGOs with the support of traditional and religious leaders to address the socio-cultural barriers and harmful traditional practices that limit the empowerment of the girl-child.
- The need for national and state data bank on various aspects of the girl-child’s development with the view of strategically addressing and mainstreaming her needs in development plans.
- A holistic approach should be adopted at all levels of government to address the problems of accessing education by providing girl-friendly schools and ensuring that pregnant adolescent girl-children and adolescent mothers continue and complete their education.
- Specific media and advocacy programmes should promote inter-generational dialogue, particularly between mothers and girl-children, on the other hand, and fathers and boy-children on the other, with the view of breaking the vicious cycle of discriminatory practices by developing positive images of girl-children and encouraging gender equality at the household levels.
- The State should pass the Child Right Act of 2003 in order to ensure the protection of the girl-child from all forms of discriminatory practices. Enforcement of the Act once passed should be seen as a priority in the State, such as enforcing the female age at marriage to 18 years.
- The private sector through its social responsibility agenda should be actively involved in partnership with the states and LGAs in improving the well-being of

the girl-child. This may include award of scholarship and free tuition to girl-children to alleviate the financial burden borne by parents in providing education.

- Government should see the opening up of the hinterland and cultural enclaves as a priority by providing roads, schools, microcredit etc all of which are agents of modernization. The sighting of firms and medium scale industries in such places by government and private investors would serve to create formal employment and modern lifestyles that would constitute an assault to traditional practices, and ultimately lead to the demise of discrimination against the girl-child.
- Female role models could be employed in a programme targeted at women and girls boost the positive image of girls and provide them with the needed self esteem to desire to complete school and actively participate in family, community and national life.

5.10.3 Contributions to Knowledge

This study has bridged the existing lacuna on a topic that had been extensively well researched and documented in Asia, but had received little research attention in Africa, and Nigeria in particular. The study, therefore, has contributed to cross-cultural understanding of socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child among the Kambari and thus debunked earlier consideration of discriminatory practices as an Asian phenomenon. The study has further re-affirmed the need for context-specific studies with a view to avoiding over-generalization of issues with regard to gender discrimination in developing countries as enunciated by earlier studies. It has contributed to the growing literature on girlhood studies an emergent field that has witnessed a growing interest in sociological inquiry. It has also contributed to girlhood studies which had been a nascent development in African Social Demography. How girlhood was socially constructed among the Kambari, an ethnic group that has also received little research attention was brought to fore by this study. Of sociological interest was the practice of child betrothal among the Kambari which this study has brought to limelight, and which requires further interrogation by demographers and other social scientists in order to tease out the pattern and consequences of the practices on social relations, political economy of the Kambari as well as the impact of social change on the practice.

The triangulation of feminist stand point on patriarchy, Weber's Social Action theory and Sex -Role theoretical perspectives to explain the data generated in the course of the

study revealed how the persistence of patriarchal institutions, values, beliefs and traditional practices were interwoven with the personal characteristics of individual actors combined to engender discriminatory practices in domestic work assignment, education and restrictive food taboos against the girl-child.

This study also provided insight on the attitudes of individual actors such as parents, significant others and girl-children and boy-children on approval of specific discriminatory practices against the girl-child. This was illustrative of how the attitudes of individual actors, which are shaped by the cultural beliefs and values of the society, further perpetuated discriminatory practices against the girl-child. The low status of the girl-child has been attributed to three main factors: tradition, greater boy-child preference, and divine order of the home. This informed the subordinate position accorded the girl-child vis-à-vis the boy-child. Consequently, the privileging of the boy-child led to the under privileging and undervaluing of the girl-child with regard to her status and, allocation of resources and opportunities at the household level, which indeed should be seen as the genesis of exhibiting discriminatory practices against the girl-child. Unfortunately the patriarchal milieu which engendered discriminatory practices against the girl-child has made it difficult for the girl-child to see anything wrong in the over-privileging of the boy-child in the allocation of opportunities and resources at the household level. This study, therefore, highlighted why the girl-child is accorded a relatively low status vis-à-vis the boy-child among the Kambari and how the valuation of the girl-child is closely associated with the likelihood of exhibiting discriminatory practices towards the girl-child.

This study demonstrated the value of giving a voice to girl-children as well as boy-children, to express their views on discriminatory practices which provided robust and balanced findings that unveiled the life experiences of the girl-child with regard to the focus of this study. It debunked the notion by some social scientists that children lack understanding of critical issues that affect their well-being. In addition, their perspectives on the issues would provide policy makers nuanced understanding of the matter and also a robust and holistic approach in addressing the socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child in view of the fact that they are the “future mothers” and “fathers” of tomorrow.

Finally, this study brought to fore how gender relations at the household level, particularly with regard to household power dynamics and decision making which were strengthened by the patriarchal nature of the Kambari society and most traditional societies, engender discriminatory practices against the girl-child. This study has provoked new thoughts on the girl-child that would require further research contributions by social scientists on a number of issues; the situation of girl-children in special conditions such as girl-child domestics, displaced girl-children, and girl-child with disabilities, girl-children who served as aids to beggars, traditional practices and problems confronting girl-children. This study also contributed to knowledge by raising crucial programmatic issues from its findings to provoke the thoughts and actions of policy makers as follows:

- What specific methods or approaches could be developed at the state and national level to further understand the situation of the girl-child?
- How can censuses and surveys be used to build a data bank on girl-children?
- What should be the best strategies and options for men and boys to become advocates of gender equity at the household and community levels?
- How best can the needs and concerns of girl-children be mainstreamed in the state and local governments' developmental plans?
- How can girls be sensitized to actively participate in discussions and programming on issues that would enhance their well-being?
- What form of sensitization and mobilization of the populace would lead to attitudinal change of their mind-sets toward the girl-child?

5.10.4 Areas for Further Research

The girl-child has increasingly become the focus of social scientists. Series of studies had highlighted different aspects with specific reference to discriminatory practices confronting in the girl-child. Drawing insight from the current study, there is the need for studies to explore areas at the household level where the girl-child faces egalitarian practices as well.

Secondly, there is the need to further explore child betrothal among the Kambari in as much as the practice is more prevalent among certain language dialects, such as the Aposhi, Avadi, Akimba and Agadi. This would further provide insights into the girl-

child phenomenon and the problems associated with rejection of betrothal arrangements by girl-children, which is now prevalent in some areas.

Thirdly, the study further highlighted problems confronting the girl-child, particularly the issue of teenage pregnancy which had become an issue of concern among community and religious leaders and should also be of interest to social scientists to gain more understanding of its occurrence irrespective of strong familial and religious checks against it.

Fourthly, there was the need for large-scale studies to further explore the socio-cultural practices affecting girl-children among different ethnic groups in Nigeria with a view to highlighting circumstances under which they faced discriminatory practices.

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Appendix 1

Adult Questionnaire: Household Survey

**SOCIO-CULTURAL PRACTICES AFFECTING THE GIRL-CHILD AMONG THE
KAMBARI OF NIGER STATE, NIGERIA
QUESTIONNAIRE (FOR ADULTS)**

My name is _____ I am an investigator for a study on socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child among the Kambari of Niger State, Nigeria. This study is in partial fulfilment of a Ph.D. programme at the Sociology Department, University of Ibadan. This research will assist us to know the situation of girl-children here, and will be of help to our female children. It has nothing to do with census, politics or tax evaluation. Therefore, I would appreciate your honest answers to the questions I will ask you. I assure you that all the information you give will be completely confidential.

Thank you for your time and co-operation

RESPONDENT ID NUMBER

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HOUSEHOLD IDENTIFICATION:

Name of Town/village _____ Ward _____

Rural _____ 1 Urban _____ 2

Name of LGA _____ House number _____

INTERVIEWER'S VISITS

	1	2	3	Final visit
Date _____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Interviewer's name: _____

Result: _____

Result codes: 1= Completed; 2= Not at home; 3= Postponed; 4= Refused; 5= Partial completion

Language interview: _____ Date _____

Field Editor: _____ Date _____

General Comments: _____

HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE

I would like to know more about the people who usually live in your household at least for the past 6 months?

S/ No	PERMANENT RESIDENCE	RELATIONSH IP TO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	RESIDEN CE	OCCUPATI ON	SEX	AGE	EDUCATION				PARENTAL SURVIVORSHIP AND RESIDENCE FOR PERSONS LESS THAN 18 YEARS OLD				ELIGIBILITY
							IF AGED 5 YRS OR OLDER				Is ___ natural mother alive?	IF ALIVE Does ___'s natural mother live in this household . IF YES: What is her name? RECORD MOTHER 'S SERIAL NO	Is ___'s natural father alive	IF ALIVE Does ___'s natural live in this househo ld? IF YES: What is his name? RECOR D FATHE R'S SERIA L NO	
1	Please can you give me the names of those who usually live in this household starting from the head of household	What is the relationship of _____ to the head of the household?	Does ___ usually live here	What does ___ do for a living? (if aged above 18 yrs)	Is ___ mal e or fem ale	How old is ___?	Has ever bee n to sch?	IF ATTENDED SCHOOL	IF AGED 5 YRS-18 YRS						
								What is highest level of schoolin g ___ attended ? How many years did ___ spent in school?	IF AGED LESS THAN 15 YRS	Why did ___ not complet e schoolin g at that level	Why is ___ not schoolin g currentl y?				
							9	10	11	12					

S/ No	PERMANENT RESIDENCE 2	RELATIONSH IP TO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD 3	RESIDEN CE 4		OCCUPATI ON 5	SEX 6	AGE 7	EDUCATION IF AGED 5 YRS OR OLDER				PARENTAL SURVIVORSHIP AND RESIDENCE FOR PERSONS LESS THAN 18 YEARS OLD				ELIGIBILITY 17						
			Yes 1	No 2				LEVEL YRS 1 2	Yes 1	No 2	13	14	15	16								
															Yes 1		No 2	Yes 1	No 2	Yes 1	No 2	Dk 8
01			Yes 1	No 2		M 1 2	IN YRS 1 2	Yes 1	LEVEL YRS 1 2	Yes 1	No 2			Yes 1	No 2	Dk 8	Yes 1	No 2	Dk 8		01	
02			1	2		1 2	1 2	1	1 2	1	2			1	2	8		1	2	8		02
03			1	2		1 2	1 2	1	1 2	1	2			1	2	8		1	2	8		03
04			1	2		1 2	1 2	1	1 2	1	2			1	2	8		1	2	8		04
05			1	2		1 2	1 2	1	1 2	1	2			1	2	8		1	2	8		05
06			1	2		1 2	1 2	1	1 2	1	2			1	2	8		1	2	8		06
07			1	2		1 2	1 2	1	1 2	1	2			1	2	8		1	2	8		07
08			1	2		1 2	1 2	1	1 2	1	2			1	2	8		1	2	8		08
09			1	2		1	1 2	1	1 2	1	2			1	2	8		1	2	8		09

S/ No	PERMANENT RESIDENCE	RELATIONSH IP TO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	RESIDEN CE	OCCUPATI ON	SEX	AGE	EDUCATION					PARENTAL SURVIVORSHIP AND RESIDENCE FOR PERSONS LESS THAN 18 YEARS OLD			ELIGIBILITY	
							IF AGED 5 YRS OR OLDER									
					2		2									
10		<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2			1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	10
11		<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	11
12		<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	12
13		<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	13
14		<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	14
15		<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	15
16		<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	16
17		<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2		1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	17
18		<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	18
19		<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	19
20		<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1	<input type="text"/>	1	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	20

S/ No	PERMANENT RESIDENCE	RELATIONSH IP TO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	RESIDEN CE	OCCUPATI ON	SEX	AGE	EDUCATION				PARENTAL SURVIVORSHIP AND RESIDENCE FOR PERSONS LESS THAN 18 YEARS OLD				ELIGIBILITY	
							IF AGED 5 YRS OR OLDER									
					2		2									
21		<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	21
22		<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	22
23		<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	23
24		<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2		1 2			1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	24
25		<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2		1 2			1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	25
26		<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	1 2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	1 2 8	<input type="text"/>	26

CHECK: Make sure the list of the household members is complete:

1. Is there any other person such as small children or infants that we have not list? Yes enter each in table No
2. Are there any other person/people who may not be members of your family such as domestic servants, friends who usually live here? Yes enter in Table no
3. How about any guest or visit who slept re last night

CODE FOR Q3

RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

- 01 Head
- 02 = Wife
- 03 = Son
- 04 = Daughter
- 05 =Son-in-law
- 06 = Daughter in-law
- 07 = Grand child
- 08 = Parent 98DK
- 09 =Parent in law
- 10 = Brother
- 11 = Sister
- 12 = Other relative
- 13 Adopted child
- 14 = Domestic servant
- 15 = Not related

CODES FOR Q5

1. Farming
2. Trading
3. Civil servant
4. Artisan/Mechanic
5. Medical Personnel
6. Business Contractor
7. Transport/Driver
8. Unemployed

CODES FOR Q9 LEVEL

1. Dry season
2. Literacy
3. Primary
4. Secondary
5. Tertiary

YEARS (Q9)

If years less than 1 year record 00 and 98 for (Don't know) DK

CODES FOR Q11

1. Dislike schooling
2. Prefer farming
3. Poor academic performance
4. Got pregnant
5. Prolonged illness
6. School distant from home
7. Rendering domestic assistance
8. Too much financial burden
9. Mature for marriage

CODES FOR Q12

1. Completed schooling
2. Prolong illness
3. Too much financial burden
4. Don't value education
5. Not interested in schooling
6. Mature for marriage
7. School distant from home.

Name of Household Head _____

Total in household

--	--	--

Total eligible men/women

--	--	--

Serial number of respondent in the mother's household schedule

(If a female respondent) serial number of respondent eligible **B**

Boy or girl in the household schedule **G**

SELECTION GRID
ELIGIBLE RESPONDENTS SELECTION GRID

INSTRUCTION: List all eligible respondents that are married women (15-49 years) and men (20-65 years) in the household, and randomly select one using the selection grid. Circle the respondents to be interviewed.

ELIGIBLE RESPONDENTS	SELECTION GRID
1. _____	8 6 0 2 7 0 6 5 9 9 0
2. _____	6 5 5 1 5 0 5 3 2 1 9
3. _____	1 0 6 8 2 4 4 3 9 7 1
4. _____	4 4 2 8 8 0 9 9 5 6 2
5. _____	7 2 9 0 5 5 6 0 4 3 0
6. _____	1 2 2 3 4 9 0 5 1 1 3
7. _____	3 7 0 3 9 8 2 2 0 9 6
8. _____	9 4 2 9 9 3 8 6 5 1 0
9. _____	7 4 3 3 1 0 8 3 4 3 2
10. _____	8 8 1 0 2 4 1 6 7 8 0

NOS	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	YES	NO	CODES
SECTION 1: HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS				
101	INSTRUCTIONS: Circle the right responses for each question asked.			
	Does any member of your household own:	Yes	No	
	A car _____	1	2	<input type="text"/>
	A canoe _____	1	2	<input type="text"/>
	A bicycle _____	1	2	<input type="text"/>
	A motorcycle _____	1	2	<input type="text"/>
	A horse/donkey/camel _____	1	2	<input type="text"/>
	A flying boat _____	1	2	<input type="text"/>
	A bus _____	1	2	<input type="text"/>
	Does any member of your household own:			
	A radio _____	1	2	
102	A television set _____	1	2	<input type="text"/>
	A refrigerator _____	1	2	<input type="text"/>
	A video set _____	1	2	<input type="text"/>
	An electric fan _____	1	2	<input type="text"/>
	An air-conditioner _____	1	2	<input type="text"/>
	How many rooms in your household are used for sleeping _____			<input type="text"/>
	Is the current house you are living connected with electricity			<input type="text"/>
	(1) Yes (2) No			<input type="text"/>
103	What kind of toilet facility does your household have?			
104	Flush toilet _____	1		<input type="text"/>
	Traditional pit toilet _____	2		
105	Ventilated improved pit latrine _____	3		<input type="text"/>
	No facility/bush/field _____	4		
SECTION 2: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENT				
	Sex of respondent			
	Male _____	1		
	Female _____	2		
201	What ethnic group do you belong to?			<input type="text"/>
	Kambari _____	1		
	Others _____ (specify) _____	2		
	What language dialect do you speak?			
	Ashingini _____	1		<input type="text"/>
202	Agadi _____	2		<input type="text"/>
	Avadi _____	3		
	Akimba _____	4		
	Asawuni _____	5		
203	Aposhi _____	6		

NOS	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	YES	NO	CODES
	Makatenge _____ 7			
	What religion do you belong?			
	Protestant _____ 1			<input type="text"/>
	Catholic _____ 2			
	Islam _____ 3			
	Traditional religion _____ 4			
	No religion _____ 5			
	What is your marital status?			
204	Married _____ 1			<input type="text"/>
	Separated _____ 2			
	Divorced _____ 3			
	Widowed _____ 4			
	Just living together _____ 5			
	How old were you when you first got married? _____			<input type="text"/>
	What type of marriage are you currently in?			<input type="text"/>
205	Monogamy _____ 1			<input type="text"/>
	Polygynous _____ 2			<input type="text"/>
	Are you living together?			
	Yes _____ 1			<input type="text"/>
	No _____ 2			
206				
207				
208				

	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	SKIP TO	CODES ENTERED
	Please cross check the household schedule and be sure the following are correct		
	1. Occupation		
	2. Spouse occupation		
	3. Age		
	4. Education		
	*** Remember to circle the serial number of the eligible respondent		
301	been interviewed		
	SECTION 3: REPRODUCTIVE BEHAVIOUR, FERTILITY		
302	INTENTION AND SEX PREFERENCE		
	Have you ever given birth?		
	Yes _____ 1		

	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	SKIP TO	CODES ENTERED
303	No _____ 2 If yes, how many have you ever born? Boys _____ Girls _____ Total _____	→ Skip to 306	<input type="text"/> B G T <input type="text"/>
304	(Record 00 if none for any group) How many of your sons and daughters live with you? Boys _____ Girls _____ Total _____		B G T <input type="text"/>
305	(Record 00 if none for any group) How many of your sons and daughters live elsewhere? Boys _____ Girls _____ Total _____ (Record 00 if none for any group)		
306	Have you ever given birth to a boy or a girl who later died few hours or days after birth? Boys _____ Girls _____ Total _____ (Record 00 if none for any group)		
307	Sum up 303. 304. 305 and enter total Do you intend to have more children? Yes _____ 1 No _____ 2		
308	If Yes, how many? Boys _____ Girls _____ Total _____ (Record 00 if none for any group) Don't know _____ 8		
309	What sex of children would you prefer to have most? Male _____ 1 Female _____ 2 No preference _____ 3	→ Skip to 311	<input type="text"/>
310	If female, why would you prefer to have more female(s)? Have more concern for parents _____ 1 Assistance for domestic work _____ 2 Render practical help if mother absent _____ 3 Meet the needs of the household _____ 4 Have more suitors to work on my farm _____ 5 Others _____ (specify) _____ 6 If male, why would you prefer to have more male(s)? More labour for farm work _____ 1 Assist parent in old age _____ 2 Have more strength for demanding task _____ 3		<input type="text"/>
311	Continuity of family name _____ 4 Brings more recognition _____ 5 Assist younger siblings _____ 6 Others _____ (specify) _____ 7 (Tick the appropriate response) How would you feel if you have the following sex composition among your children? Sex _____ Very _____ Partially _____		<input type="text"/>

	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	SKIP TO	CODES ENTERED
	_____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	_____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	_____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	_____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	How does your culture view boys? Yes No		
405	1. A boy is the head of the house in the absence of the father _____ _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	2. Boys are more valuable and productive than girls _____ _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	3. Boys occupy a higher position than girls traditionally _____ _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	4. Boys are given more opportunities and preferences than girls because of their position _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	5. A boy is considered as the wealth and the strength of the household _____ _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
406	6. Boys have greater responsibilities than girls _____ _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	What are the prescribed roles of boy?		
	1. A boy is not expected to be involved in any task done by girl _____ _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	2. A boy must have mastery of all masculine tasks particularly farming _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	3. A boy will eventually head the household _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	4. A boy must acquire skills that enable him perform his role as a husband and father _____ _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
407	What kinds of qualities are considered appropriate for a Kambari boy to possess?		
	_____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	_____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	_____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	_____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	_____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	_____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	_____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	(Read out and indicate, Yes or No in the appropriate column)		
501	Yes No		
	1. A boy is not expected to do any form of female work at home _____ _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	2. A boy should share in the domestic work at home _____ _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	3. A girl should not be allowed to pursue professions dominated by men _____ _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	4. A girl should be given assistance in carrying out domestic work at home _____ _____		<input type="checkbox"/>

	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	SKIP TO	CODES ENTERED
	Girls _____ 2		
	Jointly done _____ 3		<input type="text"/>
1	Are the boys assigned any domestic work in your household?		
2	Yes _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	No _____ 2	→ Skip to	
3	How many hours in a day do boys spent in domestic work in your	505	
4	household? _____ hrs		<input type="text"/>
	How many hours in a day do girls spent in domestic work in your		
5	household? _____ hrs		<input type="text"/>
6	SECTION 6: DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES		
	Childhood Experience		
602	(Read out and indicate Yes or No)		
		Yes No	
	Girls were assigned most of the domestic work _____	_____	<input type="text"/>
	Boys received more education than girls in		
	your family _____	_____	<input type="text"/>
	Girls were given less food than boys? _____	_____	<input type="text"/>
	Girls were restricted from eating certain foods		
603	Based on tradition _____		<input type="text"/>
1	Girls were more involved in hawking than boys _____		<input type="text"/>
	Boys are more involved in farming than girls _____		<input type="text"/>
2	Access to education		
	(Read out the following levels of educational attainment and ask for		
	boys followed by girls) What is the highest level of education should the		
	following attain?		
3		None Koranic Primary Secondary Tertiary	
	1. Boy child 1 2 3 4 5		<input type="text"/>
	2. Girl child 1 2 3 4 5		<input type="text"/>
	Intra family food distribution		
604	What is the pattern of food distribution in your household?		
1	Eat individually _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	Eat in groups based on their gender _____ 2	→ Skip to 3	
	Whose quantity is bigger among the children in your household?		
	Boys _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
2	Girls _____ 2		
	Shared equally _____ 3		
	How is quantity for food determined for each group?		
	Based on their number _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	Based on their age _____ 2		
	Eat to their satisfaction _____ 3		
	Child Labour Activity		
3	Are children in your household participating in any form of economic		
	activity that generates income?		
	Yes _____ 1		<input type="text"/>

	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	SKIP TO	CODES ENTERED
	No _____ 2	→	
	What kind of activity do girls in your household engage in?		
	Hawking _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
4	Selling food items _____ 2		
	Selling locally brewed beer _____ 3		
5	Selling pottery products _____ 4		
	Buying & Re-selling of food items _____ 5		
6	Others _____ specify 6		
	What kind of economic activity do boys in your household engage in?		
	Barrow pushing _____ 1		
	Moulding and selling local blocks _____ 2		<input type="text"/>
7	Farm labour _____ 4		
	Hawking _____ 5		
	Others _____ specify 6		
	At what age do boys start getting involved?		<input type="text"/>

701	At what age do girls start getting involved?		<input type="text"/>

	Who owns the proceeds of the sales?		
1	Self _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	Spouse/partner _____ 2		
2	Each child _____ 3		
	In the past 6 months how many of your children are involved in economic- generating activity?		
3			
4	Boys _____ Girls _____ Total _____		B G T <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
5	SECTION 7: ATTITUDE TO DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES		
	(Read out and indicate, Yes or No) What do you feel about the following?		
6			
		Yes No	
7	I would prefer boys to be more educated than Girls _____	_____	<input type="text"/>
702	I would prefer girls to be more involved in domestic work than boys. _____	_____	
1	I prefer boys to be given more food than girls _____	_____	<input type="text"/>
	Food taboos should be strictly observed by Women/girls _____	_____	<input type="text"/>
	Girls should be more engage in hawking than boys _____	_____	<input type="text"/>
	I would prefer girls to be more involved In farming than boys _____	_____	<input type="text"/>
2	I would prefer getting a marriage partner for Children while they are still young _____	_____	<input type="text"/>
	(Read out and indicate Yes or No) Would these people approve of the		

	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	SKIP TO	CODES ENTERED
805 1	5. Ensuring food restricted to girls and women are obeyed to _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	6. Pattern of food distribution _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	7. Quantity of food given to each child _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	Do you think non-participation by women in decision-making is likely to affect the girl child negatively?		
	Yes _____ 1		<input type="checkbox"/>
	No _____ 2		
	(Indicate, Yes or No) Can non-consultation in decision making negatively affect the girl in the following areas?		
	2 Yes No		
	1. Schooling aspirations _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	2. Future aspirations _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
(Indicate Yes or No) Would you accept the advise by these significant others to do the following? Yes No			
Giving girls less food than boys			
3	1. Partner _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	2. Mother-in-law _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	3. Father-in-law _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	4. Closest relations/friends _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	5. Religious clerics _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	6. Community leader _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
Restricting girls from eating food/meats prohibited by tradition?			
4	1. Partner _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	2. Mother-in-law _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	3. Father-in-law _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	4. Closest relations/friends _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	5. Religious clerics _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	6. Community leader _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
Boys receiving more education than girls			
901 1	1. Partner _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	2. Mother-in-law _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	3. Father-in-law _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	4. Closest relations/friends _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	5. Religious clerics _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	6. Community leader _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
Girls doing most of the domestic work.			
2	1. Partner _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	2. Mother-in-law _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	3. Father-in-law _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
3	4. Closest relations/friends _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	5. Religious clerics _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	6. Community leader _____		<input type="checkbox"/>

	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	SKIP TO	CODES ENTERED
4	SECTION 9: TRADITIONAL PRACTICES		
	Child betrothal		
5	Are there girls in your household who have gotten a betrothed partner from childhood?		
	Yes _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
902	No _____ 2	→ Skip to 902	
1	If yes, How many _____		<input type="text"/>
	In the past 12 months has any one of them rejected their betrothed partner?		
2	Yes _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	No _____ 2		<input type="text"/>
903	If yes, How many		<input type="text"/>
1	_____		<input type="text"/>
	Did her action make you unhappy?		
	Yes _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	No _____ 2		<input type="text"/>
2	Beautification marks		
	Have any of your daughters been subjected to beautification marks in the past 12 months?		
	Yes _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	No _____ 2		<input type="text"/>
	If yes, How many _____		<input type="text"/>
	Food Taboos		
	Are there certain kinds of food/meat based on your tradition that girls don't eat in your household?		
	Yes _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	No _____ 2	→ Skip to 904	
904	Can you mention them?		
	_____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	_____ 2		<input type="text"/>
	_____ 3		<input type="text"/>
905	_____ 4		<input type="text"/>
	_____ 5		<input type="text"/>
	_____ 6		<input type="text"/>
	_____ 7		<input type="text"/>
	_____ 8		<input type="text"/>
	_____ 9		<input type="text"/>
	_____ 10		<input type="text"/>
	_____ 11		<input type="text"/>
	_____ 12		<input type="text"/>
906	Whose status is relatively higher in your community? (Boys/Girls)		

	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	SKIP TO	CODES ENTERED
	Boy-child _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	Girl-child _____ 2		
	Why is the status of the boy-child relatively higher?		
	Seen as heads of household _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	Ensure continuity of family line _____ 2		
	Stronger than girls _____ 3		
	Likely to acquire more wealth _____ 4		
907	Can engage in strenuous activities _____ 5		
	Care for parents/siblings _____ 6		
	Bring honour and glory to family _____ 7		
	Have exclusive right to establish household _____ 8		
	Girls will marry and leave the household _____ 9		
	How would you rate the status of the girl-child in this community?		
	Low _____ 1		
	Very low _____ 2		<input type="text"/>
	Moderately low _____ 3		
908	High _____ 4		
	Very high _____ 5		
	Moderately high _____ 6		
	What are the major problems confronting girls in this community?		
	Teenage pregnancy _____ 1		
	Lack of access to education _____ 2		<input type="text"/>
	Subjection to child betrothal _____ 3		
	Betrothal rejection _____ 4		
	Sickness _____ 5		
	Others _____ specify 6		
	Do you think the situation of girls can be improved		
	Yes _____ 1		
	No _____ 2		<input type="text"/>
Thank you for answering these questions			

Appendix 2

Girl/Boy-Child Questionnaire: Household Survey

Socio-Cultural Practices Affecting the Girl- Child among the Kambari of Niger State, Nigeria
Questionnaire (**Girl-Children/Boy-Children**)

My name is _____ I am an investigator of a study on the situation of girl-children in this community. The purpose of this study is to assist the government plan better programmes that will improve the well-being and welfare of girl-children. Therefore, I would want you to feel free and provide us with answers to the questions we will ask you. I assure you that all the information you give will be completely confidentially.

Thank you for your time and co-operation

MOTHER'S ID NUMBER

RESPONDENT ID NUMBER

HOUSEHOLD IDENTIFICATION:

Name of Town/village _____ Ward _____

Name of LGA _____ House number _____

Rural _____ 1 Urban _____ 2

INTERVIEWER'S VISITS

	1	2	3	Final visit
Date _____	—	—	—	—

Interviewer's name: _____

Result:

Result codes: 1= Completed; 2= Not at home; 3= Postponed; 4= Refused; 5= Partial completion

Language interview: _____

Field Supervisor: _____ Date _____

Field Editor: _____ Date _____

General Comments: _____

You are expected to derive this information from the mother's household schedule

Name of Household Head	_____
Total in household	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
Total eligible girls/boys	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
Serial number of respondent in the mother's household schedule	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>

SELECTION GRID

INSTRUCTION: List all eligible girl-children/boy-children that are in-and-out of school between (10-18) years in the household, and randomly select one using the selection grid, circle the respondents to be interviewed.

ELIGIBLE RESPONDENTS SELECTION GRID

1. _____	8 6 0 2 7 0 6 5 9 9 0
2. _____	6 5 5 1 4 5 3 2 1 9 8
3. _____	1 6 8 1 8 2 5 7 4 3 2
4. _____	4 4 2 8 8 0 9 1 2 4 5
5. _____	7 2 9 0 5 5 6 0 4 4 3
6. _____	1 2 3 4 9 6 7 1 5 7 7
7. _____	3 7 0 3 9 0 8 1 2 2 0
8. _____	9 3 2 4 5 1 6 7 1 8 8
9. _____	3 4 4 2 2 1 8 9 6 5 9
10. _____	1 0 4 1 0 3 3 7 8 9 7

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SECTION 1: PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	SKIP TO	CODE ENTERED
1a	Circle the schooling status of the girl-child/boy child In-school _____ 1 Out-of school _____ 2		<input type="text"/>
1b	Sub-group Boy child _____ 1 Girl child _____ 2		<input type="text"/>
2a	What ethnic group do you belong? Kambari _____ 1 Others _____ Specify _____ 2		<input type="text"/>
2b	What language dialect do you speak? Ashingini _____ 1 Agadi _____ 2 Avadi _____ 3 Akimba _____ 4 Asawuni _____ 5 Aposhi _____ 6 Makatenge _____ 7		<input type="text"/>
3	What religion do you belong to? Protestant _____ 1 Catholic _____ 2 Islam _____ 3 Traditional religion _____ 4 Others _____ Specify _____ 5		<input type="text"/>
4	How old were you at your last birthday? _____		
5	What is your ranked position in your family? First child _____ 1 Second child _____ 2 Third child _____ 3 Fourth child _____ 4 Fifth child _____ 5 Above fifth _____ 6		<input type="text"/>
6a	What is your current schooling status? Still schooling _____ 1 Dropped out of school _____ 2		<input type="text"/>

	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	SKIP TO	CODE ENTERED
	Never attended school _____ 3		
	Completed school _____ 4		
6b	If schooling at what level?		<input type="text"/>
	Dry season _____ 1		
	Literacy class _____ 2		
	Primary school _____ 3		
	Secondary school _____ 4		
	Tertiary _____ 5		
6c	If dropped out of school, why?		<input type="text"/>
	Dislike schooling _____ 1		
	Poor academic performance _____ 2		
	Prefer farming _____ 3		
	Preparing for marriage _____ 4		
	Got pregnant _____ 5		
	Prolong illness _____ 6		
	School distant from home _____ 7		
	Rendering domestic assistance _____ 8		
	Too much financial burden _____ 9		
	No assistance _____ 10		
	Others _____ Specify _____ 11		
6d	If never attended school why?		<input type="text"/>
	Too much financial burden _____ 1		
	Prefer farming _____ 2		
	No interest in schooling _____ 3		
	Parent's don't value education _____ 4		
	School distant from home _____ 5		
	Parents prefer educating boys _____ 6		
	Fear of moral laxity _____ 7		
	Others _____ Specify _____ 8		
6e	If completed school at what level?		<input type="text"/>
	Literacy class _____ 1		
	Dry season school _____ 2		
	Junior secondary school _____ 3		
	Senior secondary school _____ 4		
	Beyond secondary _____ 5		

	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	SKIP TO	CODE ENTERED
7a	What does your father do for a living? Civil servant _____ 1 Artisan/mechanic _____ 2 Farming _____ 3 Transporter/Driver _____ 4 Medical personnel _____ 5 Trading _____ 6 Business contractor _____ 7 Others _____ specify 8		
7b	What does your mother do for a living? Trading _____ 1 Farming _____ 2 Medical personnel _____ 3 Civil Servant _____ 4 Others _____ specify 5		<input type="text"/>
8a	Are your parents alive? Both are alive _____ 1 None is alive _____ 2 Mother only _____ 3 Father only _____ 4	Skip to 9a	<input type="text"/>
8b	If your parents are alive, are they living together? Yes _____ 1 No _____ 2		<input type="text"/>
8c	If no, why are they not living together? Separated _____ 1 Divorced _____ 2 Living apart because of job/transfer _____ 3 Dead _____ 4 Parent were never married _____ 5		<input type="text"/>
9a	Are you living with your parents/any of your parents? Yes _____ 1 No _____ 2		<input type="text"/>
9b	If no, whom are you currently living with? Senior brother _____ 1 Senior sister _____ 2 Aunt _____ 3		<input type="text"/>

	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	SKIP TO	CODE ENTERED
	Uncle _____ 4		
	Grandparent _____ 5		
	Mistress/master _____ 6		
	Father's other wife _____ 7		
	Others _____ specify 8		
9c	Why are you not living with your parents/any of your parents?		
	Both parent dead _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	Father not living _____ 2		
	Mother not living _____ 3		
	An house help _____ 4		
	Caring for children _____ 5		
	Learning a trade _____ 6		
	Others _____ specify 7		
9d	How long have you been living in this household? _____ mths/yrs		<input type="text"/>
	SECTION 2: FAMILIAL ROLES		
10	(Read out and indicate, yes or No in the appropriate column) In your household/family which of the following works are assigned to girls or boys?		
	1. Housework	Both	Boys Only
			Girls Only
	Food preparation _____	_____	_____
	Grinding/pounding _____	_____	_____
	Washing/Peeling food items _____	_____	_____

	Cooking _____	_____	_____
	Serve meals _____	_____	_____

	2. Cleaning		
	Wash dishes _____	_____	_____
	Sweep veranda _____	_____	_____
	Sweep surroundings _____	_____	_____
	Weed surroundings _____	_____	_____
	3. Running Errands		
	Fetch firewood _____	_____	_____

	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	SKIP TO	CODE ENTERED
	Fetch water _____		
	Carry messages _____		
	4. Marketing		
	Purchase food items _____		
	Carry goods for sale _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	Hawking _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	5. Care for children		<input type="checkbox"/>
	Carry child _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	Caring for siblings _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	6. Maintenance Repairs		<input type="checkbox"/>
	Mending of floors _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	Mending walls/fences _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	Thatching roofs _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	Moulding blocks _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	7. Farming		<input type="checkbox"/>
	Harrowing/ploughing _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	Weeding _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	Sowing _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	Harvesting _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	8. Animal Husbandry		<input type="checkbox"/>
	Cattle grazing _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
11a	Tend fowls _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	Tend goats/sheep _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
	Who do you think should be assigned domestic work at home?		<input type="text"/>
	Boys _____ 1		
11b	Girls _____ 2		
	Jointly done _____ 3		
	Are the boys assigned any domestic work in your household?		<input type="text"/>
11c	Yes _____ 1	Skip to 11d	
	No _____ 2		<input type="text"/>
11d	How many hours in a day do boys spent in domestic work in your household? _____ hrs		
12a	How many hours in a day do girls spent in domestic work in your household? _____ hrs		<input type="text"/>

	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	SKIP TO	CODE ENTERED
13c	Selling locally brewed beer _____ 9		
	Others _____ specify 10		
	How often do you engage in this activity in a week?		
	Everyday _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	Once a week _____ 2		
	2 times in a week _____ 3		
	3 times in a week _____ 4		
	4 times in a week _____ 5		
	5 times in a week _____ 6		
14a	6 times in a week _____ 7		
	Only on holidays _____ 8		
14b	At what age did you start engaging in this economic activity? _____ yrs		<input type="text"/>
	How many hours do you spend any day you engage in this economic activity?		
	1 hr _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	2 hrs _____ 2		
	3 hrs _____ 3		
	4 hrs _____ 4		
	5 hrs _____ 5		
	6 hrs _____ 6		
14c	7 hrs _____ 7		
	8 + hrs _____ 8		
	(If still a pupil/student ask this question) Does your engaging in this economic activity give you enough time to study?		
15a	Yes _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	No _____ 2		
	Who keep the proceeds of your earnings?		
	Father _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	Mother _____ 2		
	Step Mother _____ 3		
	Master/Mistress _____ 4		
15b	Self _____ 5		
	Others _____ specify 6		
	Do you know what the money is used for?		

	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	SKIP TO	CODE ENTERED
15c	Yes _____ 1 No _____ 2 If yes, what t is used for? Supplement family income _____ 1 Pay my brother's fees _____ 2 Buy things I need _____ 3	Skip to 16a	<input type="text"/>
16a	Pay my school fees _____ 4 Others _____ specify 5 Do you approve of participating in any income yielding economic activity?		<input type="text"/>
16b	Yes _____ 1 No _____ 2 (If respondent is a boy) Do you approve of your sisters or girls participating in any income yielding economic activity? Yes _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
17	No _____ 2		<input type="text"/>
SECTION 4: DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES			
Education			
(Read out the following levels of educational attainment and ask for boys followed by girls) What is the highest level of education should the following attain?			
None Koranic Primary Secondary Tertiary			
18a	1. Boy child 1 2 3 4 5 2. Girl child 1 2 3 4 5		<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
Intra family food distribution			
How is food shared in your household?			
18b	Eat individually _____ 1 Eat in groups based on their gender _____ 2 Whose quantity is bigger among the children in your household?		<input type="text"/>
	Boys _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
18c	Girls _____ 2 Shared equally _____ 3 How is quantity for food determined for each group?		<input type="text"/>
	Based on their number _____ 1		<input type="text"/>

	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	SKIP TO	CODE ENTERED
19	Based on their age _____ 2 Eat to their satisfaction _____ 3 (Read out the following statements and indicate Yes and No)		<input type="text"/>
	Yes No		
	1. Do your parents assign more domestic work to girls than boys? _____		<input type="text"/>
	2. Are boys given more food than girls? _____		<input type="text"/>
	3. Are girls more involved in farming than boys _____		<input type="text"/>
	4. Are boys more involved in farming than girls _____		<input type="text"/>
	5. Are girls sent to school? _____		<input type="text"/>
	6. Do boys receive more education than girls _____		<input type="text"/>
20a	SECTION 5: ATTITUDE OF SIGNIFICANT OTHERS TO DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES (Read out and indicate Yes or No) Would these people approve of the following discriminatory practices?		
	Giving girls less food than boys Yes No		
	1. Father _____		<input type="text"/>
	2. Mother _____		<input type="text"/>
	3. Grand Father _____		<input type="text"/>
	4. Grand Mother _____		<input type="text"/>
	5. Parents close relations/friends _____		<input type="text"/>
20b	6. Religious clerics _____		<input type="text"/>
	7. Community leader _____		<input type="text"/>
	Girls doing most of the domestic work.		
	1. Father _____		<input type="text"/>
	2. Mother _____		<input type="text"/>
	3. Grand Father _____		<input type="text"/>
	4. Grand Mother _____		<input type="text"/>
	5. Parents close relations/friends _____		<input type="text"/>
20c	6. Religious clerics _____		<input type="text"/>
	7. Community leader _____		<input type="text"/>
	Boys getting more educated than girls		
	1. Father _____		<input type="text"/>
	2. Mother _____		<input type="text"/>
	3. Grand Father _____		<input type="text"/>

	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	SKIP TO	CODE ENTERED	
20d	4. Grand Mother	___	___	<input type="checkbox"/>
	5. Parents close relations/friends	___	___	<input type="checkbox"/>
	6. Religious clerics	___	___	<input type="checkbox"/>
	7. Community leader	___	___	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Restricting girls from foods that should not be eaten by her traditionally		Yes No	
	1. Father	___	___	<input type="checkbox"/>
	2. Mother	___	___	<input type="checkbox"/>
20e	3. Grand Father	___	___	<input type="checkbox"/>
	4. Grand Mother	___	___	<input type="checkbox"/>
	5. Parents close relations/friends	___	___	<input type="checkbox"/>
	6. Religious clerics	___	___	<input type="checkbox"/>
	7. Community leader	___	___	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Getting a marriage partner by parents when still a child ("Kame")			
	1. Father	___	___	<input type="checkbox"/>
21	2. Mother	___	___	<input type="checkbox"/>
	3. Grand Father	___	___	<input type="checkbox"/>
	4. Grand Mother	___	___	<input type="checkbox"/>
	5. Parents close relations/friends	___	___	<input type="checkbox"/>
	6. Religious clerics	___	___	<input type="checkbox"/>
	7. Community leader	___	___	<input type="checkbox"/>
	SECTION 6: ATTITUDE TO DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES AND ITS EFFECTS			
	(Read out and indicate, Yes or No) Would you approve of the following discriminatory practices?			
		Yes No		
22	a. Giving girls less food than boys	___	___	<input type="checkbox"/>
	b. Boys getting more educated than girls	___	___	<input type="checkbox"/>
	c. Girls doing most of the domestic work.	___	___	<input type="checkbox"/>
	d. Restricting girls from foods traditionally forbidden?	___	___	<input type="checkbox"/>
	e. Getting a marriage partner while still a child or children?	___	___	<input type="checkbox"/>
	(Read out and indicate, Yes or No) When you are grown up and you have your own family, are you going to do the			

	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	SKIP TO	CODE ENTERED
	<p>following? Yes No</p> <p>a. Allow girls do most of the domestic work. ____ ____</p> <p>b. Get girls less food than boys ____ ____</p> <p>c. Restrict girls from eating foods that are forbidden? ____ ____</p> <p>d. Give boys more education than girls ____ ____</p>		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
23	<p>e. Choose marriage partner for your children? While they are still young ____ ____</p> <p>(Read out and indicate, Yes or No) What do you think about the following discriminatory practices?</p> <p>Yes No</p> <p>a. If a girl is over burdened with domestic work, she is likely to fall sick ____ ____</p> <p>b. Getting less food can make her unhealthy ____ ____</p> <p>c. Getting less education or none is likely to affect her status ____ ____</p> <p>d. A girl may feel dejected if parents give less care and attention to her ____ ____</p>		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
	<p>SECTION 7: TRADITIONAL PRACTICES</p> <p>Child betrothal</p> <p>Do you have a betrothed marriage partner choose for you from childhood?</p>		
24b	<p>Yes _____ 1</p> <p>No _____ 2</p>	<p>Skip to 24e</p>	<input type="checkbox"/>
24c	<p>If yes, are you likely to get married to him/her</p> <p>Yes _____ 1</p> <p>No _____ 2</p>		<input type="checkbox"/>
	<p>If No, why have you not accepted him/her as your future partner?</p> <p>I don't love him/her _____ 1</p> <p>I have someone I would prefer to marry _____ 2</p> <p>We had conflict _____ 3</p>		<input type="checkbox"/>
24d	<p>Ran away with another person _____ 4</p> <p>Others _____ specify 5</p> <p>If yes, do you prefer approve of your new partner?</p> <p>Yes _____ 1</p>		<input type="checkbox"/>

	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	SKIP TO	CODE ENTERED
24e	No _____ 2		
	Would you prefer that your parents make a choice of marriage		<input type="text"/>
24f	Yes _____ 1		
	No _____ 2		
	Are there cases of your sisters rejecting their betrothed partner in the past 1 year?		<input type="text"/>
25a	Yes _____ 1		
	No _____ 2		
	Beautification marks		
	Have you been subjected to beautification marks?		
	Yes _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
25b	No _____ 2		
	If no, why?		
	I am not yet of age _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
25c	Parents dislike it _____ 2		<input type="text"/>
	I don't like it _____ 3		<input type="text"/>
	Do you approve of beautification marks for girls?		
	Yes _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
26a	No _____ 2		<input type="text"/>
	Food Taboos		
	Are there certain kinds of food/meat that girls don't eat by tradition in your household?		
26b	Yes _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	No _____ 2		
	Can you mention them?		
	_____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	_____ 2		<input type="text"/>
	_____ 3		<input type="text"/>
	_____ 4		<input type="text"/>
	_____ 5		<input type="text"/>
	_____ 6		<input type="text"/>
	_____ 7		<input type="text"/>
	_____ 8		<input type="text"/>
	_____ 9		<input type="text"/>

	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	SKIP TO	CODE ENTERED
	_____ 10		
	_____ 11		
	_____ 12		<input type="text"/>
27a	<p>SECTION 8: CULTURAL CONSTRUCTION OF GIRLHOOD AND BOYHOOD</p> <p>(Read and indicate Yes or No in the following statements)</p> <p>How does your culture view girls? Yes No</p> <p>1. Girls are of less value than boys because they have no rights to inheritance _____ _____</p> <p>2. The birth of a girl does not bring much joy as the birth of a boy _____ _____</p> <p>3. A girls position is traditionally lower than that of a boy _____ _____</p> <p>4. A girl is seen as a temporary member of the household because she will eventually marry _____ _____</p> <p>5. A girl's physical and physiological features must be fully developed and seen by all. _____ _____</p> <p>6. A girl will always take the second place in opportunities after boys have been considered _____ _____</p>		<input type="text"/>
27b	<p>7. A girl who cannot demonstrate good skills in housework cannot be considered as a girl _____ _____</p> <p>What are the prescribed roles of girls?</p> <p>1. She undertake all form of domestic work _____ _____</p> <p>2. She is expected to acquire skill in buying and selling _____ _____</p> <p>3. A girl is expected to help the mother in her trade _____ _____</p> <p>4. She must learn how to care for her younger ones _____ _____</p>		<input type="text"/>
27c	<p>5. She will eventually assume the role of a wife and mother _____ _____</p> <p>What kinds of qualities are considered appropriate for a Kambari girl to poses?</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>		<input type="text"/>

	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	SKIP TO	CODE ENTERED
29a	<p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>SECTION 9:1 STATUS OF THE GIRL-CHILD</p> <p>Whose status is relatively higher in your community? (Boys/Girls)</p>		<input type="text"/>
29b	<p>Boy-child _____ 1</p> <p>Girl-child _____ 2</p> <p>Why is the status of the boy-child relatively higher?</p> <p>Seen as heads of household _____ 1</p> <p>Ensure continuity of family line _____ 2</p> <p>Boys are stronger than girls _____ 3</p> <p>Likely to acquire more wealth than girls _____ 4</p> <p>Can engage strenuous activities _____ 5</p> <p>Bring honour and glory to family _____ 6</p>		<input type="text"/>
29c	<p>Care for parents/younger ones _____ 7</p> <p>How would you rate the status of the girl-child in this community?</p> <p>Low _____ 1</p> <p>Very low _____ 2</p> <p>Moderately low _____ 3</p> <p>High _____ 4</p> <p>Very high _____ 5</p> <p>Moderately high _____ 6</p>		<input type="text"/>
30a	<p>*** ASK Q30A-30E to boy-child only</p> <p>Do you think that the position accorded boys in your community should be higher than girls?</p> <p>Yes _____ 1</p>		<input type="text"/>
30b	<p>No _____ 2</p> <p>If yes, why?</p> <p>It has been ordained by God _____ 1</p> <p>It is the tradition _____ 2</p> <p>A male is supposed to be superior than a female _____ 3</p>		<input type="text"/>
30c	<p>Boys have greater responsibilities than girls _____ 4</p> <p>Do you think boys should be given more privileges and preferences than girls?</p>		

	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	SKIP TO	CODE ENTERED
	Yes _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
30d	No _____ 2		
	How do you feel about the disadvantaged position (situation) of girls in your community?		<input type="text"/>
	I feel sad and unhappy _____ 1		
	I don't see anything wrong _____ 2		
	I feel she is cheated _____ 3		
30e	It is the tradition _____ 4		
	Do you think her situation can be improved?		
	Yes _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	No _____ 2		
31a	*** ASK Q31a-31e to girl-child only		
	Do you think parents are right for giving more privileges and preference to boys?		
	Yes _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
31b	No _____ 2		
	If yes, why:		
	It has been ordained by God _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	Boys have greater responsibilities _____ 2		
	It is not wrong _____ 3		
31c	We cannot be treated equally _____ 4		
	If no, why?		
	Girls should be treated equally _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	Girls are also useful _____ 2		
	You cannot be sure of what they can become in future _____ 3		
	it is wrong to discriminate/show preference		
31d	to boys _____ 4		
	How do you feel when parents who preference to boys?		
	Feel sad and unhappy _____ 1		
	Feel unwanted and neglected _____ 2		<input type="text"/>
	I don't feel anything _____ 3		
	I don't see it as bad _____ 4		
31e	Do you think her situation can be improved?		
	Yes _____ 1		<input type="text"/>

	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	SKIP TO	CODE ENTERED
	No _____ 2		
	*** ASK ALL*** Q32a-32f		
32	What are the major problems confronting girls in this community?		
	Teenage pregnancy _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	Lack of access to education _____ 2		
	Subjection to child betrothal _____ 3		
	Betrothal rejection by girl _____ 4		
	Sickness _____ 5		
	Others _____ specify 6		
	(Ask those who are betrothed this question)		
	Do you have a boy friend/girl friend apart from your betrothed partner?		
	Yes _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	No _____ 2	→ Skip to 32c	
	(Ask only who are not betrothed this question)		
	Do you have a boy friend/girl friend?		
	Yes _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	No _____ 2		
	Do you have sex before marriage?		
	Yes _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	No _____ 2		
	Have had sex before?		
	Yes _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	No _____ 2		
	If yes, at what age? _____ yrs		<input type="text"/>
	In the past 12 month have you heard of any girl getting pregnant before marriage?		
	Yes _____ 1		<input type="text"/>
	No _____ 2		
	Thank you for answering these questions		

Appendix 3

FGD Guide (Adult)

The Socio-Cultural Practices Affecting the Girl-Child among the Kambari of Niger State, Nigeria

Focus Group Discussion Topic Guide

Sub-Groups: Adult Married Men and Women

Introduction:

A. Conception of Gender Roles

1. What are the traditional roles of the following children in your community?

i. Boy-child

ii. Girl-child

b. Why?

2a At household level what roles do they play?

i. Boy-child

ii. Girl-child

b. Why?

B. Cultural Conception of Girlhood

3i. Who is a girl-child?

ii. How does your culture describe/view the girl-child?

iii. What are the cultural values, belief that shapes your views about the girl-child?

4i. In your community what sex of children are the most preferred/valued and why?

ii. If a man/woman has all male children, how is it viewed and why?

ii. If a man/woman has all female children, how is it viewed and why?

5 How will you feel if all your children were to be?

i. All male and why?

ii. All female and why?

6. a How will you describe the position/status of the following in your community?

(i) Boy-child

(ii) Girl-child

b. Why?

C. Problems Confronting the Girl-Child

7a. Generally, what are the problems confronting children in the community?

b. What are the specific problems confronting the boy-child?

c. What are the specific problems confronting the girl-child?

d. What do you think are likely reasons why these problems persist?

8a. What are the harmful traditional practices that affect the well-being of the girl-child?

- e. Why do these practices persist?
- f. Why are the cultural norms, beliefs superstitions, traditions that encourage these practices?
- g. What are the cultural taboos that affect the well being of the girl-child?

D. Socialization Patterns

- 9. a. Can you describe your childhood experience on how you were reared on your prescribed role?
- b. Can you recollect if there were noticeable differences between how a boy-child and a girl-child is brought up.
- c. In what areas are their differences and why?
- 10a. Now as a married adult can you describe the way you bring up.
 - i. Boy-child
 - ii. Girl –child
- b. What are the cultural values, tradition and beliefs that influences the pattern you have adopted?

E. Discriminatory Practices

- 11 a. Looking at the past, did your own parents exhibit discrimination between the boys and the girls?
 - b. If yes, in what areas and why?
- 12. a Currently in what areas are the girl children likely to face discrimination?
 - (i) Household
 - (ii) Community
- b. Why?
- c. What are the cultural beliefs and traditions that justify parental attitude of discriminations towards the girl-child?
- 13 a. Do parents show discrimination against the girl-child in the following areas.
 - i. Access to education
 - ii. Future aspirations
 - iii. Domestic work assignment
 - iv. Child-labour
 - v. Quantity and quality of food
 - vi. Health-care utilization
- b. Why do these practices persist?
- c. Under what other conditions is the girl-child likely to face discrimination at the household level?
- 14. Do you think the following factors influences discrimination against the girl-child in your community?

- i. Marriage pattern
- ii. Gender hierarchy
- iii. Inheritance rights
- iv. Value attached to her role
- v. Son preference
- vi. Parental socialization experience

15 a. What role can these categories of people play in influencing parental discrimination against girl-child?

- i. Closest friend
- ii. Mother-in-law
- iii. Close relations
- iv. Close relations
- v. Religious clerics

b. Under what condition can they strongly influence parents to take action or exhibit discrimination that can affect the well-being of the girl-child?

F. Household Decision-Making

16 a. In your household who decides on most issues that affects the family?

b. On what issues are you likely to consult your spouse/or be consulted on before a decision is taken?

c. In what ways can decision making at the household level negatively affect the well being of the girl-child?

17a. Who controls the family income?

b. In what ways can the control of the income by only one partner affect the well being of the girl-child?

G. Feelings /Views about Discrimination

a. What are your views/feelings about discrimination against the girl-child?

H. Promoting Gender Equality

18. What can parents do in order to promote gender equality at the household level?

19. What can the following bodies do to support and promote gender equality between boys and girls?

- i. Community
- ii. LGA
- iii. State Government
- iv. Federal government
- v. NGO's

Appendix 4

FGD Guide (Girl/Boy Child)

**Socio-Cultural Practices Affecting the Girl- Child among the Kambari of Niger State,
Nigeria**

Focus Group Discussion Topic Guide

Sub-Groups: The Girl-Child/The Boy-Child

Introduction

We highly appreciate your presence here; the purpose of this group discussion is to seek your opinions, ideas comments, and suggestions on the issues that affect girl-children in this community. I would want it to be a discussion with each person contributing on an issue one at a time so that the tape recorder can pick up every person's contribution clearly. No comment is right or wrong. We welcome both positive and negative comments. Feel free to agree or disagree with one another. We shall treat all your responses as confidential and your contributions enrich and improve the status of the girl-child in this community.

B. Conception of Gender Roles

1. What are the traditional roles of the following children in this community?
 - i. Boy-child
 - ii. Girl-child
2. What roles do you play at:
 - i. Home
 - ii. Community

C. Cultural Conception of Girlhood

3. How are girls "seen" in your community?
 - i. Expectations about their behaviour
 - ii. Expectations about their aspirations
 - iii. Why?
4. How are boys "seen" in your community?
 - a. Expectations about their behaviour
 - b. Expectations about their aspirations
 - c. Why?
5. In your community what sex of children are preferred and valued most?
Why?
6. How would you describe the status/position of:
 - a (i) Boy-child
 - (ii) Girl-child
- b. Why?

D. Discriminatory Practices

7. (a) Have you noticed that boys and girls are treated differently?
(b) Why?
8. In what areas are they treated differently?
 - i. Socialization
 - ii. Inheritance
 - iii. Marriage
9. In your household have you been differently as compared to your brothers/sisters in these areas?
 - i. Access to education
 - ii. Future aspirations
 - iii. Quantity and quality of food given
 - iv. Domestic work assignment
 - v. Access to health-care utilization
10. What do, you think are the reasons for this?

E. Attitude of Significant Others

11. a. Who is more likely to show discrimination against girl-child in the household
 - i. Mother
 - ii. Father
- b. Why?
12. Who is more likely to encourage discrimination against the girl-child in your community?
 1. Closest friends of parent
 2. Closest relations (give examples)
 3. Religious clerics

F. Perception of the Girl-Child

13. How can discrimination against the girl-child affect her?
 - ii. Self-worth, self-esteem
 - iii. Status
14. How do you feel when parents discriminate against the girl-child? Why?
15. When you have your own family will you discriminate against the girl-child? Why?

G. Problems Confronting Girls

16. What are the major problems confronting girls in this community?
17. What are the harmful traditional practices against the girl-child?
18. What can be done to solve the problems confronting girls?
 2. Parents

3. Community
4. LGA
5. NGO
6. State

H. Home Environment

19. a. In what kind of home is the girl-child likely to face discrimination?
 2. Separated couples/Living apart
 3. Monogamous home
 4. Polygamous home
 5. Male-children dominated home
 6. Female-children dominated home
- b. Why?
20. In what kind of home is the girl-child likely to be treated equally as the boy-child? Why?

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Appendix 5
In-Depth Interview Guide
Socio-Cultural Practices Affecting the Girl-child among the Kambari of Niger
State, Nigeria

In-depth interview

The purpose of the interview is to enrich our study of household discriminatory practices against the girl-child in Nigeria; particularly among the Kambari. Therefore, your opinions, ideas, comments and suggestions on the socio-cultural practices associated with discrimination at the household level will be highly appreciated.

➤ **Gender Discrimination against the Girl-Child**

1. In the Past, with specific reference the Kambari in which areas did the girl-child face persistent discrimination –vis-à-vis the boy-child?
2. Currently, in what areas is the girl-child likely to face discriminatory practices at the household level?
3. Highlight the socio-cultural practices responsible for persistent discrimination against the girl-child

➤ **Traditional Practices**

4. What is the significance of the traditional mode of dressing among Kambari girls (Whereby the chest upwards is left bare)?
5. What are the factors responsible for changes in the mode of dressing among some of the Kambari girls?
6. Which are the Kambari sub-groups who prefer to “stick” to the traditional mode of dressing and why?
7. What is the cultural significance of child betrothal, which is a common practice among the Kambari
8. What is responsible for the current trend of rejection of betrothal? Partner by girls/boys?
9. What is the cultural significance of food taboos, that is, restricting women & girls in particular from heating certain foods & meats?
10. What is the cultural significance of beautification marks over the body of girls before marriage?

➤ **Inter-Generational Dialogue/Communication**

11. How can we promote and encourage the girl-child to take part in discussions on issues of interest in her

12. How do we promote inter-generational dialogue/communications especially among the Kambari between this groups:-

- i. Mother's & girl-children
- ii. Father's & boy-children
- iii. Father's & girl-children
- iv. Mother & boy-children

➤ **Promoting Gender Equality**

13. What can be done by the community for parents to support the following:

- i. Attitudinal change in behavior towards the girl-child (in relation to discriminatory and harmful traditional practices)
- ii. Egalitarian treatment in family allocation of resources
- iii. Boys helping to ease the domestic burden to girls at the household level.

14. What do you think the following bodies can do to promote gender equality between boys and girls?

- i. Local Government
- ii. State Government
- iii. Federal Government
- iv. NGOs
- v. Communities

4. **Marketing**

Purchase food items _____

Carry goods for sale _____

Record **Total**

5. **Care of children**

Carry child _____

Bath child/children _____

Care of Siblings _____

Record **Total**

6. **Farming**

Record **Total**

7. **Care of animals**

Record **Total**

GENERAL COMMENTS

CASE STUDY GUIDE

NO _____

FORM B

A. Personal Characteristics

1. LGA _____ TOWN _____ VILLAGE _____

2. Language cluster _____ Age _____

3. Religion _____ Rank order _____

4. Schooling status _____

5. Sub-group _____

6. Marriage status _____

B. Father's Background

1. Occupation _____

2. Source of income _____

3. Educational Attainment _____

4. Number of wives _____

5. Number of children B _____ G _____ Total _____

C. Mother's Background

2. Occupation _____

3. Source of income _____

4. Educational Attainment _____
5. Rank among wives (if applicable) _____
6. Number of children B _____ G _____ Total _____

D. Family Situation/Home Environment

1. Living apart/Divorced
2. Monogamous
3. Polygamous

E. Involvement in Child Labour Activities: Yes/No

1. Type of child labour activity
 - i. Hawking
 - ii. "Sari" of food items
 - iii. Selling food items
 - iv. Selling firewood
 - v. Selling Brewed Beer
 - vi. Selling pottery products

Record if weekly/daily and hours spent

ACTIVITY	DAILY	WEEKLY	MIN	HRS
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Record				Total

2. Average Earnings _____

Total

F. FOOD TABOOS

Is there any restrictive food/meat that girls don't eat? Yes/No
(Mention with reason)

Foods	Reasons
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

G. SUBJECTION TO BEAUTIFICATION MARKS

- 1. Any involvement? Yes/No
- 2. Approves Yes/No

RESPONDENT'S COMMENTS

1. Schooling Status _____

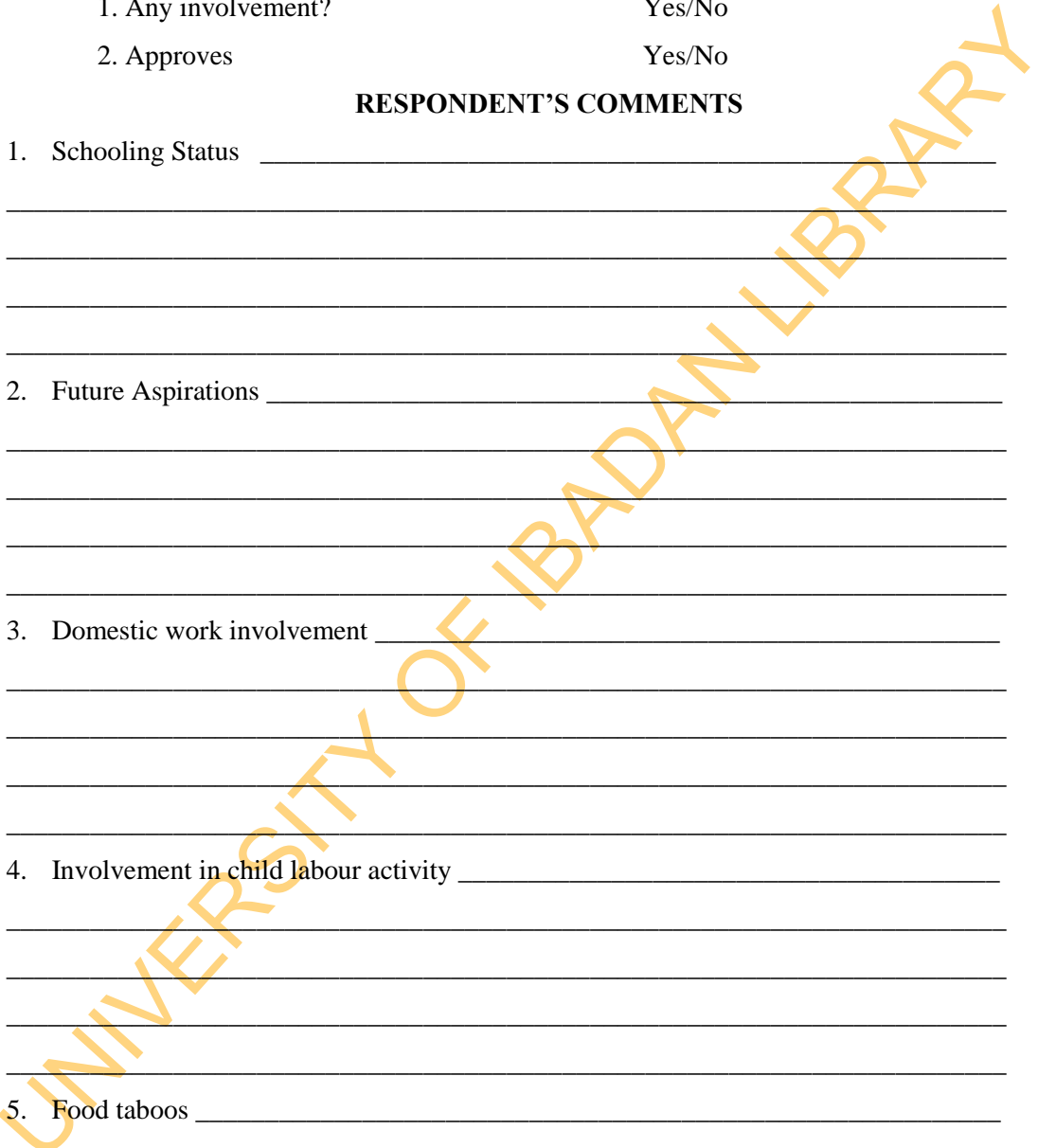
2. Future Aspirations _____

3. Domestic work involvement _____

4. Involvement in child labour activity _____

5. Food taboos _____

6. Marriage Status _____



7. Subjection to Beautification marks _____

FATHER'S COMMENTS/VIEWS

1. Schooling Status _____

2. Future Aspirations _____

3. Domestic work involvement _____

4. Involvement in child labour activity _____

5. Food taboos _____

6. Marriage Status _____

7. Subjection to Beautification marks _____

MOTHER'S COMMENT/VIEWS

1. Schooling Status _____

2. Future Aspirations _____

3. Domestic work involvement _____

4. Involvement in child labour activity _____

5. Food taboos _____

6. Marriage Status _____

7. Subjection to Beautification marks _____

GENERAL REMARKS/COMMENTS

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Appendix 7

Presentation of Case Studies

The case studies of girl-children were conducted during the household survey. The essence was to provide different or diverse profile of the girl-child phenomenon with the view to teasing out underlying socio-cultural factors as well as the inter-play of socio-cultural practices affecting the girl-child among the Kambari of Niger State, Nigeria. A total of about 12 case-studies were presented. The identities of each of the girl-children, in terms of the real names are not disclosed; rather pseudonyms were used.

Case Study 1-Joy: The Realities of a Girl-Child's Work.

“Joy” aged 11 years was an in-school girl-child and the fourth child in family of 3 females and 5 boys. She belonged to the language dialect group of the Kambari known as “Ashingini”. She was the oldest girl in the family and her younger sisters were aged 4 and 2 years respectively. She was in Class VI at the primary school not too far from their house. Her parents were Christians of the Protestant denomination. The father was a farmer and the mother was a petty trader who sold food items on market days in either Gallah or Bakon Mission. She hailed from Gallah in Agwara Local Government Area. Both parents were not literate. “Joy” as the eldest daughter in the family was over-burdened with domestic work. She spent an average of 5 hours on domestic chores alone apart from other familial roles assigned to her by her parents. She noted in her own words:

Since am schooling, I usually fetched water, washed the plates and also lit the fire for my mother to boil water and prepare the meals in the mornings. However, when I returned from school, I also cook what we would eat later in the afternoon and evening. During weekends, particularly on Saturdays I also assist my mother to sell food items such as rice at Gallah or Bokon Mission.

Her brothers usually weed the surrounding of their compound and she noted that domestic work was “girls’ work” and even when she eventually get married her girl-child would do most of the domestic work at home. The strict gender division of labour in their household and her upbringing had shaped her views on who should be assigned domestic work in the family. The rank order of the girl-child was significant in determining the number of hours spent on domestic chores. She was over-burdened with domestic chores in view of the fact that her other two sisters were quite younger.

Case Study 2 – Hauwa : An Unrealized Personal Ambition

“Hauwa” who was 11 years, was an out-of-school girl-child. She was the first of 5 children in a family comprising 3 females and 2 males. She was the first daughter and first child of her parents. She belonged to the “Aposhi” dialect, one of the most conservative language dialect groups among the Kambari. Her parents were both farmers and Muslims by religious affiliation. She hailed from Gallah, a fairly big village with a primary school established by the Local Government Council.

“Hauwa” had keen interest to acquire formal education. She always admired other girls dressed in their uniforms going to school in her neighbourhood and desired to be like them. Eventually, on her own she enrolled in the primary school. Unfortunately, when she had just 2 more years to the completion of her primary education (Class IV), she narrated her experience with deep sadness in her own words, viz:

I dropped-out of school because of the burden of domestic work, farm work and petty-trading. More so, I am the first daughter and first child in the family. My father had interest in formal education but my mother disapproved of it. Eventually, I dropped out of school, with the consent of my father. I am now engaged in petty trading and farming. I am attending Koranic school but I would want to complete my primary education (Case Study2/Girl-Child/Gallah).

Her younger brother was enrolled into the primary school; as a male child. The other brother had not yet reached the school age for enrolment. This is also indicative of preference for boy-child education among the Kambari. Rather, she was told to attend Koranic school but still expressed her desire to complete her primary education. She had been following the mother on market days to sell food items when she was just 4 years old. Usually, she spent an average of 6 hours daily on domestic chores.

Despite the fact that her father gave tacit approval of her enrolment at the primary school, the burden of domestic chores and other familial roles she played as the eldest child and first daughter in the family contributed to her dropping out of school. Apart from being a drop-out, she was betrothed right from childhood and she disapproved of the practice. However, she was compelled to continue with the relationship. This represents a peculiar situation that girl-children face with specific reference to those residing in rural areas.

Case Study 3 – Mairo: Frustrated out of School

“Mairo” aged 15 years was from a polygamous family and her mother was the first wife of the father. Both parents were Muslims and belonged to the language dialect group known as “Cshingini” or “Ashingini”. The parents have no formal education. Her father engaged in

farming while the mother was a petty-trader. Mairo was the fifth of 8 children of her mother's, comprising 3 boys and 5 girls.

She dropped out of Class IV in the primary school due to poor performance and took to petty-trading like the mother. Her parents encouraged her to continue but she refused and felt that petty-trading was the best option for her. Coupled with that, on the average she usually spent 7 hours daily on domestic chores at home. She noted in her own words:

In our household, boys were not allowed to engage in any assignment that is meant for girls. My father had other wives, however only girls were allowed to do most of the domestic work. It was not easy for me I wasn't doing well in school and I also had household chores to be carried out even when it was not my mother's turn to cook for the household.

In Mairo's view her constant poor performance in subjects such as Mathematics, Primary Science, Quantitative Reasoning made her to be sad and discouraged whenever she was handed her homework or report card by her class teacher. She said sometimes I used to cry and my parents would encourage me. Poor academic performance was one of the major reasons why girl children drop-out of school.

In addition, she had been betrothed from childhood and would likely get married to her betrothed partner. She disapproved of the practice noting that children should be allowed to make their choices of whom to get married to. This implied that she was being compelled to get married to her betrothed partner. If given the opportunity she would have made another choice. These challenges have negative impact on the empowerment of the girl-child, with regard to having a fulfilled life, breaking the cycle of poverty and lower status.

Case Study 4 – Hadiza: Breaking Stereotyped Expectations

“Hadiza” aged 10 years, was the last child in a family of 5 children, comprising 2 boys and 3 girls. Her parents were Muslims, the father a primary school teacher and the mother a petty-trader. She belonged to the language-dialect group known as “Cishingin” or “Ashingini”. Hadiza had a good enabling environment. She was a Class II pupil at the primary school. She attended extra lessons at the headmasters' house one a week for a fee of ₦20 per week with her other siblings.

Her performance in school was excellent as she took 1st or 2nd position in her class. She was not engaged in hawking, but before going to school she usually helped the mother with some domestic chores such as sweeping the surroundings, fetching water and washing of plates.

Her father, who was enlightened, disapproved of child betrothal and none of his children either female or male were betrothed from childhood. This implied that the education of parents can significantly improve the well-being of the girl-child due the opportunities that were likely to be

provided at the household level. More so, when provided with an enabling environment the girl-child could do well academically a gateway towards the upliftment of her status.

Case Study 5 – Asabe: A Victim of Parental Ignorance

“Asabe” aged 11 years belonged to the language dialect group known as “Ashingini”. She was the fifth child in a family of 7 comprising 4 girls and 3 boys. Her father was a traditional herbalist and also a farmer while the mother was a farm labourer who assisted others in their farms in exchange for money. Although, she had interest in formal education, but her parents had no value for western education which they felt would corrupt their daughter. Rather, she was enrolled in a Koranic school. She said “my father told me that going to the white man’s school would make me to lose our traditions”.

Parents who have low value for western education were less likely to send their girl-children to school. The situation of Asabe exemplified the plight of a proportion of girl-children in the Northern part of the country who are out of school for similar reasons. Coupled with that, most times the burden of domestic work was on Asabe and her other sisters. They usually spent an average of 5 hours daily on household chores. On other issues, she disapproved of child betrothal and restrictive food taboos against girl-children. She approved of girl-children doing most of the domestic chores at home noting that “it was the role assigned to girls by the community”. Despite the fact that she was never sent to school by her parents, she noted that when she eventually got married her sons would receive more education over her daughters. Asabe’s willingness to send her boy-children to school in the nearest future should be based on her socialization which placed high premium on boy’s education due to the patriarchal nature of the society.

Case Study 6 – Grace: A Failed Betrothal Arrangement

“Grace”, aged 17 years old. She was the second child of 7 children comprising 5 boys and 2 females. Her parents were Christians of the protestant background. She belonged to the “Asawani” also known as “Aposhi” among the dialect group of the Kambari. She had never attended any formal school. According to her, “my father never sent me to school”. Grace was betrothed during her early childhood, but her betrothed partner died at the age of 9 years.

During the period she was betrothed to her late partner, his family only engaged in communal bridal farming service known as “gulmo” to her family only once. After the death of their son they wanted her to be betrothed to his younger brother whom she did not love. She said in her own words, “I have someone else I would want to marry and I love him, although he was from another dialect of the Kambari and a Christian as well”. Also, he was willing to pay in monetary terms all that the deceased partner’s family had rendered in communal bridal farming services back to them.

The deceased partner’s families were not happy about the situation because they would prefer her to be betrothed to the junior brother of the deceased, not wanting to start the process of looking

for a bride for the surviving son. Therefore, they eventually reported the case to the police, her father was arrested and they reported the case to the “Justice Commission for Development and Peace” (JC DP) of the Catholic Church who intervened in the matter and was interested that the matter be resolved amicably. Grace noted that her own children in the nearest future would not be subjected to child betrothal

The younger generation has rejected the practice of child betrothal and would rather prefer choosing their partners without parental interference. Failed betrothal arrangements have been on the increase among the Kambari which was previously a taboo among the older generation. Furthermore, on other issues she noted, her boy-children will receive more education over girl-children because; in her own words “they were potentially heads of households who had greater responsibilities”. Finally, her daughters would do most of the domestic work at home.

Case Study 7 – Maimuna: A Life of Cultural Restrictions

“Maimuna was the fifth child in a family 5 comprising of all girls. Sadly, the mother lost one of the girls. Therefore, she was the last child of her mother and 11 years old. She belonged to the Avadi one of the dialect group of the Kambari. Maimuna was never sent to school parents had no interest in western education. The parents were traditional religious adherents and both parents were farmers. She had been betrothed form childhood but would not want to marry him. She said “I would prefer to marry someone else” and she had gotten somebody who was willing to pay all the bridal farming services and other attendant costs. Her sisters also had been betrothed to partners while they were in their early childhood.

Also, in their household there was the enforcement of restrictive food taboos against women and girls. As such they were not allowed to eat goat meat, dog meat and ram meat. Yet they were allowed to prepare such meat for their father and other male members of the family. She had bodily tattoos, because she disapproved of the practice. Maimuna’s world view had been shaped by her socio-cultural environment. This accounted for her willingness to enforce restrictive food taboos on her own daughters and also allow them to do most of the domestic chores.

Case Study 8 – Beatrice: A Truncated Hopeful Future

“Beatrice” was 15 years old and the second child of a family of 5 children comprising 3 girls and 2 boys. She belonged to the “Cshingini” also known as the “Ashingini” language dialect group. The parents were Christians of the Protestant denomination and her parents were farmers. Her mother also sold farm products such as bambara nuts, groundnuts and millet during market days. Beatrice was in Class II in Senior Secondary School (SSS) at Salka. She also had two sisters, aged 12 and 10 years, who were in JSS 1 and Class V in the primary school, respectively. The

first child in the family, a boy, was in SSS 3 and the last son in their family was about 4 years old and therefore had not been enrolled in the primary school yet. She noted with regret:

I was in SS 2, when I dropped-out of school because I got pregnant when I was 14 years of age, after my first sexual experience with my boyfriend. I never knew it would result into pregnancy. I had a son and when he grows old enough I would allow my mother to take care of him, so that I can go back and complete secondary school. (Case Study 10 /Girl-Child / Salka)

Thus, her parents had value for western education and were keen that each child, irrespective of his or her gender, an opportunity to be educated. The parents' aspiration for all their children was that they acquire higher education in any field of their choice. Unfortunately, she dropped out of school when she was in SSS II because she got pregnant. At the time of the study, her son was just 4 months old. She was willing to go back and complete her schooling when the baby was old enough to be left with his grandmother. Her future aspiration was truncated and her desire to return to school was fraught with series of problems as a teenage mother.

Case Study 9 – Halima: I Disliked Schooling

“Halima” was 7 years old and was the first child out a family of 2. They were all girls in their household. She belonged to the “Akimba” dialect group of the Kambari. The parents were Muslims, and farmers. She dropped out of school because according to her “I disliked like schooling, so I dropped out when I was in Class II at the primary school”. Her dislike for schooling was associated with the distance from her home and the attitude of some teachers who felt that girls cannot perform better than boys.

She further noted “I preferred hawking. At least, I would make some money to purchase items that are necessary when you eventually get married”. The mindset of “Halima” on the matter must have been shaped by her socio-cultural environment whereby girl-children save money from whatsoever items they hawk to buy basic things needed when they get married. She also usually hawked at least 4 times in a week and started that when she was 7 years old. She usually spent roughly 2 hours each time she went to hawk her wares within the neighbourhood or market.

Case Study 10 – Abigail: I want to Train as a Nurse

“Abigail” was sixth child in her family 6 children, 2 boys and 4 girls. She was 15 years old. However, the mother later lost a daughter, leaving behind 3 girls. The parents were Christians of the protestant denomination. They were farmers but the father was also a petrol dealer and a politician. She was currently attending a secondary school at Kara-Bangi was an SS II. She belonged to the Akimba language-dialect among the Kambari. She noted with great enthusiasm that her desire after completion of her secondary education was to train as a nurse. When asked

why not other professions? She responded with a smile and said that she enjoyed caring for the sick.

Furthermore, she observed that her desire for all children irrespective of their gender would be given opportunity to acquire higher education. She further noted that “girls especially can do as well do well as boys in their studies” On child betrothal, she observed that her children would not be subjected to it in her view “it was an old tradition, the younger generation would prefer personal choice over parental choice”.

Case Study 11 – Nabila: The Worth of a Girl-Child

“Nabila” aged 10 years old was the third child of a family comprising 4 boys and 4 girls. The father had two wives and her mother was the first wife. She belonged to the Aposhi language dialect group of the Kambari. The father was a farmer and the mother sold locally brewed beer known as “burukutu” every market day. They were traditional religious adherents. Nabila had never attended any formal school and that also was applicable to all her other sisters. She had been betrothed from an early age and she said she would eventually marry her betrothed partner. She did not have bodily tattoos in her view “her parents disliked it”.

Nabila observed that right from an early age our parents treated us differently. In terms of the work they were assigned and the privileges given to each one was based on their gender. They usually sat with other men in the household. They were allowed to eat all kinds of meat. Girls would marry and leave the household and the boys would eventually head the household. She further noted:

*The boys were seen as the pillars of every household,
without who the family would be forgotten in the community.
Therefore, it is important to send them to school. Girls are only
second to the boy-child in everything.*

.Case Study 12- Talatu : A Tradition Not Discrimination

“Talatu”, an out-of -school 15 years old girl-child was the third child in a family 8 comprising 2 boys and 6 girls. Eventually, the mother lost a girl leaving 5 girls and a boy. She belonged to the Aposhi dialect group of the Kambari. They were traditional religious adherents. The parents were both farmers and she was involved in hawking at least once a week. She started hawking she was aged 7. She had been betrothed from childhood and would marry her betrothed partners. Furthermore, she has bodily tattoos and she approved of it. She had never attended any formal schooling. In her view, she preferred farming. She spent an average of 5 hours daily carrying out domestic chores. Also in their household food was shared equally and everyone ate to his or her satisfaction.

There were restrictive food taboos against women and girls in their household. They were not allowed to eat dog, cat or snake meat. She said during festivals or “gulmo” my sisters, mother

and I took time to prepare all the meats we were given. However, we were not part of those who enjoyed such delicacies. It was the same practice even when we visit other neighbouring villages during festivities. She said restrictive food taboos had been a practice enforced by various sanctions. The fear of those sanctions made us never to have a taste of the meat even while cooking it for the family or during festivities. Over the years were told it was the tradition of our forefathers. To that effect, nobody in our community saw it as a discriminatory practice against the girl-child.

The case studies were drawn from girl-children of diverse dialect groups and religious affiliation and their age ranged from 10 to 17 years. As regards their schooling status 5 were in school and 10 out of school girl-children. In summary, the case studies have presented a descriptive overview of diverse profiles of the girl-child. They further provided insight into the girl-child phenomenon among the Kambari.

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