Nigeria’s Urban History: Past and Present

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Gender, Urbanization and Socio-Economic Development

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Introduction

From the pre-colonial era till the present day, patriarchy, which is the basis of gender discrimination, dominates the social structure across societies (Nigeria inclusive). For example, in ancient Israel, the male’s Morning Prayer was: “Blessing art thou who have not made me a Gentile or a slave or a woman”. Also in France in 865 A.D., a conference was held to ascertain the biological status of women, and it was resolved “that woman are human beings but created purposely to worship men”. Moreover, in many societies, especially those in Africa, women are regarded as their husbands’ property (Ojo, 1997). Hence, some scholars now conceptualize gender as a relationship of permanent opposition between males and females.

Resulting from the above is the fact that-despite immense human and material resources endowment, Nigeria remains a sleeping giant as it is unable to wake up from the deep slumber of economic underdevelopment, high rate of rural-urban migration, urban problems (poverty, unemployment, crime), gender discrimination and so on. The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria takes no cognizance of gender disparity in the various aspects of national life and therefore does not provide for gender equality in any sector of the society. The effect of this includes the disempowerment of women, which is rooted in discriminatory traditional practices such as disinheritance of females, humiliating widowhood practices, taboos against acquisition of properties and so on (Agina-Ude, 2003:4).

Unfortunately, an adequate explanation of the problem of Nigeria’s socio-economic development remains elusive. Thus, the need to search deeper and identify social configurations that are supportive or inhibitive to the Nigerian socio-economic development is still a challenge to African scholars. As such, the problem of development in Nigeria is yet to be fundamentally addressed because the former and existing African values have given way to capitalist oriented development strategies. These strategies have pauperized women and relegated them to inactive players. Evidently, the traditional roles of women are ignored in
categories that determine the development of a nation (especially in the European sense) such as the measurement of per capita income, Gross Domestic Products, and manpower. Therefore, the extent to which African nations imbibe or fail to imbibe European culture has been the yardstick for measuring their level of development.

Ironically, the more the attempt at grafting the European ideas in African societies the less the effects have been. For instance, developmental policies (Modernization by Design of the 1950s/1960s, Basic Needs Approach of the 1970s, the Human Resource Approach of the 1980s, and the Sustainable Development of the 1990s to date) are yet to yield desirable results. Policy makers adopt the economic approach to redress Africa's development problems whereas the root cause is political. Thus, an administration of wrong remedies has compounded the crisis due to failure of past development strategies (Nuhu, 2003:44; Olutayo, 2003:31; Omoweh, 2003: 34; NISER, 2003).

Hence, the most conspicuous effect of the European contact of the 20th century was the dramatic change in the entire traditional economic orientation of Nigerians. The quest for gender mainstreaming, guided urbanization and socio-economic development in Nigeria instigate this chapter. One distinctive feature of technologically advanced societies is that gender tolerance, urbanization, and industrialization contributed in no small measure to their development. In light of the above, it must be noted that the problem of gender issue, urbanization and socio-economic development are interlinked. Therefore, this chapter is guided by the following questions:

- How important is gender role to urbanization and socio-economic development?
- How does urbanization influence the pattern of Nigeria’s socio-economic development?
- What are the factors that influence the Nigerian socio-economic development?
- In what ways do women/men contribute to or inhibit Nigeria’s socio-economic development?
- How can men and women be adequately encouraged to support guided urbanization and sustainable socio-economic development?
- How effective are government machineries and policies aimed at supporting gender mainstreaming and development culture in Nigeria?

**Gender and Sex Roles**

Gender is a concept used to depict the different social, economic, political, and religious roles performed by male and female in the society in all human societies, from the most primitive to the most industrialized. Females and males have certain roles and responsibilities to perform with in a society; that is, there is a division of labour between both genders. Women are mostly recognized for their
productive roles, which are regarded as the "primary" role of all women. Any role apart from this is regarded as "secondary" and a deviation from established norm. In contrast, the male gender is regarded as the custodian of law and order; the overall "primary breadwinner" of the household as well as the defender of the family in case of attacks (Oyakanmi, 2000). Both at home and at school, females are taught to be gentle, peaceful, and "norm" abiding while males are expected to be aggressive and playful. These stereotype behaviors are carried into adulthood (Olutayo, 2000). Thus, gender and sex roles could determine life the chances of both male and female as seen in the structure of urban life in Nigerian cities.

Rate of Urbanization in Nigeria

The rate of urbanization in Nigeria is one of the fastest in the world; indeed the growth rate of Nigeria's major cities such as Lagos, Abuja, and Kano is ranked among the world's fastest. Between 1963 and 1991, Nigeria's population census showed an increase of over 35 percent in the numbers of people living in urban areas. Between 1991 and 2001 the increase is estimated currently to be about 41 percent. This is largely a result of rural-urban and urban-urban migration. Such a phenomenal increase brings monumental problems in its wake. These problems usually include housing, water and sanitation, electricity, transportation, lack of opportunities for gainful employment, pollution of the environment, security problems, crime, and social risks. Men and women create all these and are in turn adversely affected with women usually being more disadvantaged than men.

Urban development in Nigeria can be described haphazardly as an uneven development in the towns as the very rich areas lie close to slum areas. Inhabited by squatters, the latter develops as rapidly as the population grows. No migrant has ever given his or her government a prior notice of intention to migrate. Therefore, the task has been undoubtedly frustrating and daunting. Additionally, the spiraling growth retards all efforts made to improve the situation. This is even more so in the face of inadequate regulatory regimes. Even where these regimes exist, people are reluctant to abide by them or even flaunt them. An example of this would be the defiant and fraudulent ways in which people acquire and build over sewerage lines, in green areas, and drainage areas with no consideration of the fact that these are part of the design of the city layout, which is meant to serve generations of Nigerians.

Existing services become overstretched. This especially occurs when illegal connections are continuously made, making the supply epileptic and grossly inadequate. Consequently, most urban dwellers become dissatisfied, if not perplexed, and often agitated. Reactions from these bottled up frustrations can eventually find expressions in a variety of ways (Nigerian Tribune 7th Jan 2003; Daily Trust 5 December, 2002).

Therefore, the question is this: Has the government done anything in the area of urban development and within the last three years, and if it has, can it continue to do so alone? The answer to the first part of the question is yes. Available
evidence shows that the current administration has made an appreciable strive to improve the conditions in urban areas though these may not be glaringly evident. But sadly, the answer to the second question is a resounding no. The government needs the support, cooperation, and understanding of the people as well as the direct participation of the citizenry in the infrastructural development of towns and cities in Nigeria.

Without such cooperation, urban development in Nigeria can be seriously delayed. As things are, it is evident that most Nigerian cities tend to wear a drab and dilapidated look; buildings are placed in every available space-green area. The unregulated trading activities and the haphazard location of small-scale repair outfits along major roads disfigure city centers. As for the mountains of refuse in the cities, they are so much a part of the landscape that they actually serve as landmarks for directing people who may be new to an area. Again in the urban areas, people, and especially women, are so unconscious of the environment and pollution that they freely throw refuse about.

To address the above, the Nigerian government sets up a 15-man committee assigned with the task of recommending an appropriate organizational framework for housing development and to find ways of facilitating greater participation from the private sector in urban development. This gives an indication of the desire to change the morass of urban development in Nigeria. At the same time, it is a call for support and assistance from the public. The committee’s report recommended far reaching actions to be carried out. Already the government is setting up a new Ministry of Housing and Urban Development designed specifically to deal with the urban problem. This is a clear indication of government’s commitment to continue shouldering the responsibility. However, the participation of the citizenry is paramount.

Other specific actions taken by government indicating her commitment to urban development includes the direct inputs into housing, transportation, social amenities such as electricity, telecommunications, water and sanitation, etc. Government also has four parastatals directly involved in housing. These as follows: Federal Housing Authority (FHA), Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria (FMBN), Federal Mortgage Finance Limited (FMFL) and The Urban Development Bank (UDB). The Federal Housing Authority, responsible for implementing government housing programs by developing and managing real estates on commercial basis, has within the last 2 years completed 500 housing units in Abuja. It has gone into partnership with private developers to complete 1127 units in Abuja and Port Harcourt. In Lagos, work has resumed at sites which were previously abandoned (Satellite 2 and Abesan 1&4). In other states, the FHA encouraged the state governments to take over formerly abandoned housing projects in their states. The financial institutions have been working hard on housing provisions as they have been granting loans, mortgages, etc. to people to build their houses.

In 2001, the Urban Development Bank spent over $110million towards the implementation of some 23 projects which cover housing, markets and motor
parks, upgrading of roads, development of cultural sites, and the construction of shopping complexes. UDB also supports and participates in the implementation of the sustainable city program in Enugu, Kano and Ibadan.

But with an ever-escalating demand in the housing sector, government efforts naturally pale; some estimates put the need for housing stock increases at 40,000 units every year. Can the government alone be realistically expected to provide all that? given all the other areas requiring attention, the answer cannot be yes. The Obasanjo administration also started the redevelopment of inner cities and urban renewal to reduce urban blight in 14 states! Access roads, drains, and electrification are in progress in Rivers, Anambra, FCT, Oyo, Kwara, Enugu, and Kano States. Urban Transport has not been neglected. By 2001, some 66-road projects had been completed and commissioned at a cost over $61.6million. There are still some 129 other on-going projects costing over $190.16million. As mentioned above, the FCT minister has recently completed arrangements for 5000 mass transit buses to ply Abuja municipals. Lagos, Abuja, Port Harcourt, Maiduguri, Yola, Kano, Ibadan, Abeokuta, Onitsha, Jos, Kaduna, Uyo, Ilorin, and Benin are also enjoying urban management strategies. In Addition, a pilot, Community project has been initiated in 2001 in Nyanya, Abuja on waste minimization through source re-use, recycling and the use of biodegradable packing materials. Several ancillary facilities have been constructed such as refuse transfer stations, toilets wells, and a fertilizer plant was thrown into the bargain. This project is ready for replication around the country.

In light of the foregoing, it is obvious that women, more than men, create the bulk of urban problems through sewage disposal and informal sector activities. Unfortunately, women suffer more from urban problems due to disempowerment and urbanisation of poverty that is making urban household to practice urban food production-growing cassava, plantain, etc in their backyard. ILO's concept of aristocracy of labour explains these phenomenal multi occupational families in urban areas as well as rural urban linkages. For instance, in Ghana, every civil servant wife now raises chicken and eggs in her backyard or engages in selling clothes or food; in Kampala cassava and plantain grow in backyards of even affluent residential areas as Kalolo and Naka; in Akure (Nigeria) virtually all income classes practice urban food production (Chinery-Hesse, 1994; Okoko, 2000).

Gender Issues in Development Planning

In the 1970's, Nigeria attempted to join the global race for development through the indigenization exercise. This was unsuccessful because of inherent inadequacies in its implementation and management. Some decades ago, development planners in both developed and developing countries were gender blind. The planners in both developed programs which affected both males and females differently. Many development programs have been said to be unsuccessful because women's activities and roles were not taken into consideration. However, discrimination against women affects their contribution to social development.
In the pre-colonial era, women were not totally powerless. Worthy to mention is Queen Amina (Northern Nigeria), a notable military and political leader who ruled both men and women in Hausa land. Among the Igbo of Eastern Nigeria, women participated fully in decision making at most levels. The Obi (male king) and the Omu (female king) jointly ruled Villages and towns. The Omu is not the wife of the Obi. Omu ruled the women just as the Obi ruled the men. In places where there were no Obi and Omu, there were aged women groups at the village level. They attended village meetings along with men. In Yoruba land, Southern part of Nigeria, women were indispensable in the palace and community administration. Prominent among the women were Erelu (the head of the female Ogboni cult), Iya-Afin (mother of the palace), and Ayaba (wife of the king).

Therefore, a discourse on gender and development requires a critical analysis of the various gender theoretical explanations as this may partly explain why women have hitherto been neglected in the development process.

**Biological Theory**

This holds that the fundamental and psychological differences between males and females in the society make male supremacy and patriarchy inevitable. As George Peter Murdock suggests, the sexual division of labour is the most efficient way of organizing a society. Thus any attempt to abolish gender roles will go against “nature”. However, it will be incorrect to assume that nature is responsible for holding women in servitude. For example, among the Gwaris in Niger State (Northern part of Nigeria), women mostly dominated the agricultural sector while men are mostly involved in petty trading. Also, in metropolitan Lagos, only males (especially the Hausas) worked as commercial load carriers (called “alabarú” in Yoruba language). The occupation has recently witnessed the influx of females from rural areas (notably Southern part of Nigeria). It therefore implies here that economic imperative determines the roles played by both males and females. The inadequacy of the biological determinant theory to provide convincing explanation on the subjugation of women in the society leads to the next theoretical explanation, that is, the cultural determinant perspective.

**The Cultural Determinant Theory**

The cultural determinant perspective postulates that culture, rather than biology, is responsible for the relegated position of women. Anne Oakley, a British sociologist, who is one of the proponents of this school of thought from her investigation of several societies (the Mbuti Pygmies of the Congo forests, the Australian Aborigines, China, Russia, Cuba, and Israel), concluded that apart from child bearing, there are tasks which are exclusively performed by women. Biological characteristics do not bar women from particular occupations; rather, the mother-role is a cultural construct and a validating myth for the “domestic oppression of women”. In support of the above, Heidi Gottfried (1998) posits that gender relations are embedded in the way major institutions are organized. Also,
Sherry Ortar opined that it is not biology as such that ascribes women to their position in the society, but the way in which every culture defines and evaluates female biology.

The Marxian Approach

Karl Marx and Engel postulate that female subordination is the result of the emergence of private ownership of production means, which is protected by monogamous marriage. Certain individuals have accumulated surplus wealth, and they desire to bequeath this wealth to their "own flesh and blood", preferably a male child. Therefore, men need to dominate women to ensure the 'undisputed paternity' of their heirs (Haralambos and Holborn, 2000). However, the key to women's liberation will be their entry into paid labour market and their participation in the class struggle. In line with the Marxian argument, Ogionwo and Otite (1979) observed that in pre-colonial Nigeria, the society frowned on girls working while waiting to get married. Once married, they must keep to the duties of a wife and mother. The applicability of the theory to Nigeria is rather limited because control of the means of production by the male gender is inadequate to explain the domination of the female. Thus, the "Feminism theory" becomes necessary.

Feminist Theory

Feminism started in the Western world around the 1930s to ensure women's liberation and emancipation. For example, in Britain, the Equal Pay Act was enacted in 1970, sex discrimination Act in 1975, and Equal Employment Act in 1972. The Equal Pay Act provides that it is illegal to pay women less than men for doing the same work on jobs that require equivalent skill, effort, responsibilities, and under similar working conditions. There are several feminist theories (first wave feminism, Autonomous feminism and Post feminism), which originated from the Western society. Thus, Radical, Liberal, Social, and Marxian feminists agree that there is a patriarchal society that oppresses women. Feminism comes in different forms: Liberal feminism, Radical feminism, Socialist feminism, and Post feminism. The feminist writers submit that culturally defined gender roles should be abolished. To really appreciate why women, particularly Nigerian women, are clamoring for empowerment, the status of the "ordinary" Nigerian woman suffices.

Profile of the Nigerian Woman

The health status, especially reproductive health, of the Nigerian woman is very poor. Health services are inadequate and inaccessible to the rural women (Igbube, 2001). Female Genital Mutilation is prevalent in twenty-eight African countries. It is performed on two million young girls yearly. The practice leads to long-term morbidity, complications during childbirth, mental torture, and even death. The participation of women in Nigerian politics is minimal in that
the political powers of women were drastically reduced with the introduction of native administration (Olurode, 1990). Wife battering rape, acid attack, forced prostitution, trafficking of women, and so on, are the order of the day as regards violence against women in Nigeria. According to Nigerian Human Development Index Report (1996), Nigeria’s literacy rate is 54.1 percent. 62.5 percent of male are literate while 39.5 percent female are literate (Femi Olokesusi, 2001).

**Development**

Development has often been equated with economic growth, process of modernization, industrialization, social change and high achievement motivation, etc. Development being seen as social change is conceived in terms of an evolutionary and structural differentiation phenomena (Labinjo, 1995). To evolutionists like Charles Darwin, the development of a society is perceived as evolving from simple to an increasing complex form. On the basis of Parson’s pattern variables, Hoselitz contend that industrialized societies exhibit the characteristics of universalism, achievement, specificity, affectivity, neutrality, and self-orientation, while industrialized societies exhibit their opposites. Wait Whitman Rostow in his major work, the stages of Economic Growth subtitled A Non-Communist Manifesto, identified five stages of economic development namely:

1. The traditional stage: characterized by primitive agricultural economy.
2. Stage of preparation or preconditions for take-off: at this stage, the manufacturing sector is gradually being developed.
3. Take-off Stage: The society is on the verge of development. There is substantial increase in the level of production and the society is attaining the level of self-sufficiency.
4. Drive to maturity: Economic growth at this stage is very fast and the society can produce virtually anything it desires.
5. Era of mass consumption: The leading sector shifts towards the production of durable consumer goods and services and has captured the world markets.

To Rostow, only the United States of America has reached the mass consumption stage, and he identifies the gap between the developed and developing nations in terms of these stages. However, Gunder Frank argues that the first two changes are fictional and the last two are utopian. In addition, Oyejide (1998) identified three key purposes of development which include:

1. The creation of wealth.
2. Poverty alleviation.
3. Raising the standard of living.

For these purpose to be achieved, two pre-requisites must be satisfied:
1. Investments in human capabilities, particularly in education, skill acquisition and health, which enable people to work productively and creatively.

2. Adaptation, transformation and creation of institution, which assist in channeling people's energy towards the achievement of the goals of development.

However, NISER (2003) noted that development encompasses physical development (e.g. housing), social development (health, crime rate, life expectancy, poverty, PLWHA, etc), political development (legislation, resources allocation), technological development (industrialization), and economic development (human resources).

Theories of Development

The Modernization theory and the Dependency theory are the two main competing paradigms of development.

**Modernization Theory**

Modernization theory was developed by Neo-evolutionists such as Richard Bendix, Nell Smelser, McClelland, Everett, etc. who posit the inevitable transformation from one type of social order to another and identified three types of society:

a. Pre-industrial or agrarian
b. Industrializing
c. Industrialized

Richard Bendix defined modernization as social change that has occurred in the 18th century in Europe and have led to economic or political breakthroughs in the pioneering societies. In summary, modernization theorists assume that development can be achieved in a lineal form through the transfer of institutions, technology, and attitudes from developed to under-developed nations. Europe is perceived as having a higher culture, and the "Europeanization" of the lower culture will lead to development in the less developed nations (Olutayo, 1999).

**Dependency Theory**

In contrast to the foregoing, Dependency theorists contend that global parity was disrupted by colonialism, which developed the first world and simultaneously underdeveloped the third world such that the rich nations grow richer and the poor nations become poorer. Thus, the first world countries have concentrated global resources while producing massive debts in third world thereby creating barriers to economic development in the third world. In reaction to this, Chinery-Hesse (1994) noted that there are two opposing views of the causes of African underdevelopment: Externalist view (belief in decline in international prices and foreign influence) and Internalist view (belief in economic management of African government). However, if development is associated with growth as claimed by the
modernization and dependency theorists, there should be progress and improve-
ment over the previous state of affairs in rural societies (Igbo, 2000).

**Approaches to the Integration of Women in Development Programs**

Three main approaches have been attempted in order to incorporate women in development planning. They are as follows: Women in Development (WID); Women and Development (WAD); Gender and Development (GAD). These paradigms of women and development have different theoretical perspectives. However, in practice, there is considerable interweave among them.

**Women in Development (WID)**

The concept of Women in Development came into limelight during the Women’s decade (1975 – 1985) declared by the United Nations. Women development experts who held the view that the oppression of women by men was compounded by their economic position as dependent housewives initiated it. WID lied within the framework of the liberal feminist theory which attributed women’s unequal status and social position to their exclusion from public share. Women’s exclusion from the public was said to be largely due to sexual division of labour. To integrate women into the mainstream of economic, political and social life, laws and institutions must be reformed and attitudes changed. Women without the right level of qualifications have to be encouraged and assisted to acquire a higher-level education and training. However, a major shortcoming of the Women in Development paradigm is that it overlooked the fact that women were already engaged in a wide range of activities that contributed to development. The problem was that women’s economic contribution to the development process had always been undervalued because the measure of “productive work” was restricted to paid employment. For example, the meal prepared by the housewife is not regarded as a productive or economic activity. If a restaurant renders the same service, it will be considered as a productive work.

**Women and Development**

The proponents of “Women and Development” argue that the level of women’s participation in the process of growth and development is low. Increasing women’s participation and improving their shares in resources, land, employment, and income relative to men were seen as both necessary and sufficient to effect dramatic changes in their economic and social development. The WAD approach takes account of the fact that women have always been “in” the development process. It focuses more on the development process itself, emphasizing the way in which it has become a major source of women’s poverty, marginalization and inequality.

**Gender and Development (GAD)**

According to Schuler (1989), women constitute one major social group that is excluded from full economic participation as well as production for develop-
ment. They are most often the last to benefit from development efforts due to their inferior economic, social and political position, which results in continuous lag in opportunities for them in education and training, employment, health and public life. In spite of the unequal social and economic relationship, The World Bank (1997) showed that African women comprise sixty percent of the informal sector and provide seventy percent of the total agricultural labour. They also head forty percent of African households and supply sixty percent of food processing. Thus, judging from informal sector potentials, the role of women in the development has been significant over the years, but they face obstacles in their development efforts. Unlike both Women in Development, and Women and Development paradigms, the focus of Gender and Development is on both genders. The key propositions of GAD are as follows:

1. A focus on women alone was inadequate to achieve a sustainable development.
2. Women are not a homogeneous category, but rather they are divided by class, color, creed, and so on.
3. Any analysis of a social organization and a social process has to take into account the structure and dynamics of gender relations.
4. The totality of the lives of women and men has to be the focus of analysis, not just their productive or their reproductive activities.
5. The woman is not passive or marginal but an active subject of social processes and recipient of development.
6. Men and women are differently located within the socio-economic structure and as such have different sets of interests and needs.

Obstacles to the Participation of Women in the Development Process

The Nairobi Conference of 1985 identified some obstacles to the effective and full integration of women in development process, some of which include:

1. Lack of awareness of the relationship between development and the advancement of women; therefore, making the formulation of policy, programs, and projects difficult.
2. Inappropriate national machinery for the effective integration of women in the development process.
4. The justification of physiological, social and cultural grounds for the continuation of women's stereotyped reproductive and productive roles.
Gender Mainstreaming in the Nigerian Social Structure

Making organizations gender responsive has continued to be a major dimension since the states, including Nigeria, have ratified many international treaties and conventions on gender equality. In view of this, gender mainstreaming is imperative for social justice since it would utilize the potential of women more efficiently and enhance their contributions to sustainable developments. The work of women was more valued in pre-capitalist and pre-colonial African societies, but the prevailing Victorian concept of the public-private dichotomy has led to the marginalization of women in access to and control over resources such that they constitute the bulk of the poor all over the world. Women constitute 70% of those living in poverty, hold fewer than half the jobs on the market, and are often paid half as much as men for work of equal value. Globally, only 10% of all members of legislative bodies and a smaller percent of government ministers are women (Awe, 1992; Parpart and Staudt, 1990:50; CEDPA, 1997:6-8).

Blau and Ferber (1992) noted that differences occur in the distribution of men and women across various occupations (horizontal segregation) and within occupations (vertical segregation). Theoretically, both supply and demand influence occupational gender segregation. Supply side: women may be less motivated to undertake human capital investment decisions in the labour market due to discrimination and gender division of labour in the family. A vicious circle is caused by traditional gender roles, which provides a rationale for labour market discrimination. Other supply side factors are sexism in classroom, gender stereotyping, etc. Demand side influences entail discrimination against equally qualified women in human resources planning (Blau and Ferber, 1992: 197).

Trends in Occupational Segregation in Nigeria

Scarcity of data on horizontal and vertical segregation makes it difficult to determine its extent. Given the large proportion of women engaged in the informal sector, it would be illuminating to highlight trends in occupational gender segregation. However, the FOS Industry Survey excludes enterprises employing less than 10 persons.

Agriculture, Gender, and Development

Agriculture is the major occupation in Nigeria. FOS (1997:51) indicates that 31.6% of all agricultural workers are women compared to 68.55% of men. Men dominated agricultural occupations in all but 4 states (Abia, Akwa-Ibom, Imo and Rivers). Data for female workers were lowest in Jigawa (2.9%), Katsina (6.0%), and Kano (9.5%). Vertical segregation is shown by women’s ownership and control of agricultural resources. Women have merely user’s right over land owned by their husbands and other male relatives (Adeyeye, 1988; Afonja, 1990; Soetan, 1994; Soetan, 2002). Horizontal segregation exists in terms of crops that are cultivated. Men cultivated higher income earning cash crops, while women utilize marginal and less fertile farms for cultivating subsistence crops like pepper
and vegetables for home consumption. Women may be required to help out on their husbands’ farms before working on their own plots. However, while women carry out a large share of work including the planting, weeding, harvesting, and food processing, they do not have control over the income from the sale of their husbands. Over 70% of women had farms that were less than one hectare in size. Olurode (1990) supported this view and added that gender segregation is socially conditioned. He further noted that in most Nigerian community’s women have no right to land, inheritance of family property, and equal opportunity to education. This means that women would have limited access to credit and other productive assets for which land is usually required as collateral.

**Industry, Gender, and Development**

Ngeri (1996) noted that Nigerian women are marginalized in the labor force. Women are more likely to concentrate in the trade, agriculture, and services sectors. Women were not found in the mining and utility sectors and were minimally represented in construction. Although there seems to be hardly gender differences in employment in the manufacturing sector, women are often concentrated in small scale manufacturing enterprises, as indicated by the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Both</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>57.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utility</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>37.6</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Women in the Public Sector**

The public sector is the main employer of labour in a developing country like Nigeria. Between 1990 and 1993, consistently less than a quarter of Federal Civil Service employees were women. There are a lower proportion of women in the professional and clerical occupations while a large percentage were in the sales and agricultural sectors. The above could be proved as follows:
Table 3.2. Percentage Distribution of Persons by Occupational Groups (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinds of Occupation</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Both</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>21.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>57.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production &amp; related workers</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 3.3. Federal Civil Service Staff by Gender 1990-1993

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>136,553</td>
<td>78.75</td>
<td>36,839</td>
<td>21.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>137,098</td>
<td>75.41</td>
<td>44,700</td>
<td>24.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>145,385</td>
<td>76.02</td>
<td>45,865</td>
<td>23.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>149,712</td>
<td>75.92</td>
<td>47,490</td>
<td>24.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Gender and the Informal Sector**

Although there is hardly any reliable data on the informal sector, most Nigerian women are concentrated in the informal sector as micro entrepreneurs. This arises from low educational status and limited access to productive resources such as land, credit, technology, and agricultural inputs. Low capital requirements, low productivity, and high attrition rate of businesses characterize the informal sector. Most of the businesses in the sector employ less than 10 persons and are constantly overlooked by the FOS census of industrial enterprises. The informal sector provides apprenticeship training for young school leavers who plan to set up their own business upon completing their training. Wages and hours of work are not regulated in the informal sector and there is the potential for exploitation of employees and apprentices. There is evidence of occupational segregation in the sector. Most women are found engaged in occupations such as hairdressing, dressmaking, and food processing which requires low capital and skills and generating low income. On the other hand, more men are found in the relatively more lucrative higher capital, skills and income sub sectors such as the transportation and construction businesses (Soetan, 203:8).

**Gender and Medical Practice**

In 1984, 14.4 % of all medical practitioners in Nigeria are women. In the ten-year period 1984-1993, there has been a small increase of 3.1% in the percent of females in medical practice. Thus, men are more likely to work as medical practitioners as shown below.
Table 3.4. Medical Practitioners in Nigeria by Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Female As % Of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>8,522</td>
<td>1,436</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>10,148</td>
<td>1,760</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>10,829</td>
<td>1,965</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>11,281</td>
<td>2,051</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>12,102</td>
<td>2,262</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>12,656</td>
<td>2,419</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>13,561</td>
<td>2,653</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>14,316</td>
<td>2,929</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>15,119</td>
<td>3,211</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>15,361</td>
<td>3,258</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Gender and Manpower in Educational Institutions**

The proportion of male teachers was consistently higher than that of female teachers for all levels of educational institutions, but the gender gap increased more widely from primary schools (5%) to colleges of education, polytechnic and universities (+80%). There is evidence of vertical segregation of gender in the teaching profession in Nigerian universities. By the 1992/1993, sessions among professors and associate professors there were 1,315 males (94.3%) and 80 females (5.7%). For senior lectures and senior research fellows, there were 2141 males (88.1%) and 288 females (11.9%). In addition, the higher the level of educational institutions and cadres (within professions), the less the proportion of females.

Table 3.5. Distribution of Primary School Teachers by Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>230,287</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>207,332</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>437,619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>216,950</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>199,797</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>416,747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>227,430</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td>201,531</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>428,961</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.6. Distribution of Teaching Staff by Tertiary Institution by Gender 1980/81-1992/93

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>Polytechnic</th>
<th>Colleges Of Edu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tot Fem %</td>
<td>Tot Fem %</td>
<td>Tot Fem %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>- - -</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>- - - - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981/82</td>
<td>8470 716 8.5</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>- - - - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982/83</td>
<td>8773 716 8.5</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>- - - - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983/84</td>
<td>9285 1163 12.5</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>- - - - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984/85</td>
<td>10038 1163 11.6</td>
<td>2075 235 11.3</td>
<td>2628 463 17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985/86</td>
<td>11016 1359 12.3</td>
<td>3625 439 12.1</td>
<td>2746 449 16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986/87</td>
<td>11122 1284 11.5</td>
<td>2790 413 14.8</td>
<td>2972 478 16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987/88</td>
<td>11521 1481 12.8</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>3233 338 10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988/89</td>
<td>9914 1323 13.3</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>- - - - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992/93</td>
<td>8454 1318 15.6</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>- - - - -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: FOS (1997:44) - The Statistical Profile of Nigerian Women

Literacy and Enrollment into Tertiary Education

The male-female literacy in 1995/96 was 56.1% for males and 41.2% for females (FOS: 1997). The enrollment rates for women at the tertiary level in Pharmacy, Science, and Medicine were 25.95%, 26.5% and 22.98% respectively. The enrollment rates for engineering and environmental design were quite low at 6.13% and 13.64% respectively.

Gender and Political Participation

Women lack adequate representation in political and decision-making positions as can be seen here. Agina-Ude (2003:4) noted that out of 49 ministers and Presidential Advisers appointed in 1999, only 6 are women and only 4 of the 52 ambassadors of the Federal Republic of Nigeria were women.

Table 3.7. Distribution of Persons Holding Political Positions (1999-2003) by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positions</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ministers/ Special Advisers</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speakers</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governors</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Governors</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGA Chairman</td>
<td>765</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>774</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Councilors</td>
<td>8,667</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>8,810</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of Representatives</td>
<td>978</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>990</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senate</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State House of Assembly</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: UNIFEM, Status of Nigerian Women and Men, Statistical Profile.
Instruments for Gender Mainstreaming in Nigeria

There are several instruments that serve as a basis for gender mainstreaming in the country: National Legislation Concerning Gender Equity: Section 1 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Similarly, section 17, subsection 3 provides that: “all citizens, without discrimination on any grounds whatsoever, have opportunity for securing adequate means of livelihood, as well as adequate opportunity to secure suitable employment.” The African Charter on Human Rights or The Banjul Charter (1987) provided for gender equality. Also, other instruments such as the following aim at promoting gender mainstreaming:

- CEDAW or the Bill of Rights of Women (1979)
- Optional Protocol to CEDAW (2000)
- ILO Convention 100 (equal remuneration for work of equal value, 1953)

Conclusion

The chapter has discussed various issues bordering on gender, urbanisation and socio-economic development in Nigeria, and a close review of the paper is necessary to ensure necessary policy implications in line with, among other things, the following suggestions:

1. Incorporation/ Institutionalization of women’s issues at local, national, regional, and international levels.
2. Elimination of gender bias and prejudice hindering solution to women’s problems.
3. Recognition should be given to the remunerated and un-remunerated contributions of women to all aspects of development.
4. Also, efforts should be made to measure and reflect women contributions in the Gross National Product (GNP).
5. The need should be recognized for the full participation of women in socio-economic and political process.

Notes and References


"In Nigeria’s Urban History, Tijani has successfully put together one of the most comprehensive discourses on urbanization in Nigeria. A truly scholarly enterprise, with contributions by a corps of experts...this work is a critical and balanced study, and an informative excursion into the under-researched but important aspect of Nigerian studies. The compendium is a giant achievement and a compelling read."
—Adebayo Oyebade, Associate Professor of History, Tennessee State University

"Nigeria’s Urban History: Past and Present is a considerable body of scholarship on Nigerian urbanization...[in the vein of] Akin Mabogunje’s pioneering study...Hakeem Tijani must be commended for this volume that enriches the knowledge of the general reader...[and] pushes the frontiers of the specialist’s understanding."
—Akanmu Adebayo, Professor of History & Executive Director Global Initiatives, Kennesaw State University

Nigeria’s Urban History is a collection of sixteen peer-reviewed essays that explore the nature of Nigeria’s urbanism and the challenges it faces. Beginning with analysis of the role of colonialism in the country’s urban identity, the volume examines the role of the present oil economy, gender issues, human interactions, poverty, crime, prostitution, and transportation on the nature of urban life and culture. The insights of this collection will benefit students and researchers, historians and social scientists, policymakers and planners alike.

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