

Primary Socialization and the Perception of Gender Roles: Study of Children in Selected Households and Schools.

**Presented
By**

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At the

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**3rd International Conference of the National Association of Women Academics
(NAWACS) held from September 2-7, 2002 at the Ahmadu Bello University,
Zaria**

PRIMARY SOCIALIZATION AND THE PERCEPTION OF GENDER ROLES: A STUDY OF CHILDREN IN SELECTED HOUSEHOLDS AND SCHOOLS.

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ABSTRACT

Primary socialization is significant because it begins at birth and continues through infancy when the individual is very impressionable. Images confronted by individuals in childhood remain with them and often form the basis of their behaviour in adulthood. This study seeks to ascertain the influence of primary socialization on individuals' perception of gender roles. It uses a sample of 452 children randomly selected from households and schools in Badagry and Surulere local government areas of Lagos State, as part of data collected for the study on Gender, Household Headship and Children's Educational Performance. The study examines the children's understanding and perception of gender roles. The findings of the study show that not only do children go through gender learning; they are socialized into gender roles and cannot but allocate and define roles and responsibilities in terms of gender. The results further show that children allocate the performance of capital-based responsibilities to men and identify them as household heads while the performance of household chores are allocated to women and other females in the household. The study concludes that the gender role differentiation already learnt by the children is likely to stay with them and inform their future values, decisions and all kinds of gendered behaviour. It recommends that to minimize or eliminate gender disparity or inequality, agents of socialization must make conscious efforts to correct the images that have been created of men and women and the roles they are expected to perform.

INTRODUCTION

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Socialization is of tremendous significance to the human race. Through this process, the culture of a society is learnt and internalized by its members. Without socialization it would be impossible to share and transmit language, values and norms. Primary socialization is significant because it is the period when the personality of the individual is shaped in terms of the central values of the culture. It is believed that images confronted during primary socialization remain with individuals and often form the basis of their behaviour in adulthood.

Gender roles refer to those attributes which are considered desirable for men and women and which form the basis of responsibilities and tasks assigned to male and female. Although some scholars (e.g. Murdock 1949) have argued that gender roles are the direct result of biological

differences between male and female, others (e.g. Oakley 1974) have rejected biology as the *raison d'être* for gender roles and in its place, identify culture.

Gender roles vary from one society to the other. What is considered men or women's role in some societies may be shared by men and women in others. It is a fact that gender role differentiation exists in all human societies but apart from child bearing, there are no tasks which are performed exclusively by female across cultures. Gender role differentiation has however been utilized to foster inequality and stereotyping. With the distinction between men and women's work, there is a tendency to trivialize and undervalue what women do as opposed to what men do.

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It is true that by the close of the 20th Century the question of how to improve the status of women had become an important item on the global agenda, but patriarchal systems and ideas are in many cultures resistant to the translation of recommendations into policy statements. Where this has been done, there is a wide gap between policy and practice. A school of thought considers women's progress in education which has led to incursion into fields which were hitherto men's preserve as the panacea to the problem of women's low status. Such an argument ignores the fact that women's achievement in education and the labour market does not always mean commensurate empowerment in the family where gender role expectations still hang over them and determine their attitude, behaviour, and the tasks and responsibilities they perform. Also in the public sphere, be it management or politics, gender role expectation hinders women's productivity by the way it shapes their preferences and limit their choices.

Learning gender role expectations begins in childhood. This being so, we should be interested in how socialization impacts children's understanding of gender roles. In this paper, our interest is

to examine what children observe in their immediate social environment in terms of allocation of tasks and responsibilities and how it influences their understanding and consequently their explanation for gender division of labour.

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STATE OF KNOWLEDGE

The literature on gender and sexuality is vast. Since the emergence and recognition of gender as a category of analysis, scholars have continued to look at the centrality of gender in human lives. Within the social sciences in particular, it has been realized that it is imperative to acknowledge gender as an analytic category in order to offer accurate explanations for social realities in Africa. Hence there have been attempts to situate gender within the contexts of the family, education, religious and even the State. For this study, we have limited our consideration of literature to a brief examination of two broad headings: Gender and related concepts and Socialization and gender roles.

GENDER AND RELATED CONCEPTS

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There is a consensus in literature that gender emanates from social, psychological and cultural interpretations of the difference between the sexes. To explain the concept, most scholars start with a distinction between sex and gender. This distinction is a fundamental one since many differences between males and females are not biological in origin (Giddens 2001:107).

Sex is used to refer to biological or anatomical features in the human body which makes it to be classified as male and female. The same word can be used to describe physiological denotation – hormones, chromosomes etc. Gender refers to the social and historical constructions of the roles, behaviour and attributes of the sexes. Although biological differences are assumed to be

responsible for gender roles, scholars caution against this erroneous belief (Stoller 1968, Rubin 1975, Scott 1988, Imam 1997, Giddens 2001). Scott observes that:

Gender is the social organization of sexual difference. But this does not mean that gender reflects or implements fixed and natural physical differences between women and men.... (1988:2)

The vastness of the concept of gender is acknowledged. As its usage expands, it takes on new meaning; a fact which compels a restraint when it comes to a summary definition of the word.

Glover and Kaplan (2000: ix) observe that:

We talk about gender roles, worry about gender-gap; question whether ideas are not gender-biased or gender-specific ...

They note that most of these terms point in opposite directions making fluid what was first thought to be fixed. Gender role for instance suggests a part we are constrained to play, whereas gender-bending suggests a way-out. The message one gets from the authors' examination is that the content of gender discourse is not static.

Important distinctions are made in the lexicon of gender and sexuality. Imam (1997:3) considers some of these distinctions. Gender division of labour which refers to socially and historically constructed division is distinguished from sexual division of labour which is biologically determined. Gender neutrality means without distinction between genders and implies applicability to all genders, whereas gender blindness is used to indicate a lack of awareness of distinctions of gender. Gender bias refers to a consideration of one gender (usually masculine).

In terms of roles, gender-ascriptive roles refer to parts occupied by persons of a particular gender (e.g. mother, father, daughter, son) while gender-bearing roles are those which in principle, need not be inhabited by a person; for example associating the job of a secretary with the feminine gender. A consideration of these terms shows that all social situations including those which

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might seem on the surface to be irrelevant are gendered. It is rightly noted in literature that the meaning of gender varies in different cultures, and that even within any one culture, femininity or masculinity varies over time within contexts and among different groups of men and women (Kimmel 2000:3, Imam 1997:3, Ahonsi 1997:4).

SOCIALIZATION AND GENDER ROLES

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Socialization is the process through which individuals internalize the culture of their society. It is a life long process in which human behaviour is continually shaped through social interaction. The most important aspect of this life long process is the first phase called primary socialization. It begins at birth and continues through infancy and childhood when the individual is still very impressionable (Bammeke 1998:78). The agent of socialization here is mainly the family. Secondary socialization which is the second phase takes place in later childhood and continues into maturity and throughout life. Agents of socialization at this stage include schools, peer groups, religious groups, the media, organizations and the workplace.

Scholars agree that primary socialization is the most intense period of culture learning when children acquire the language and basic behavioural patterns which form the foundation for later learning (Giddens 2001:28). The view is also held that this is the stage when the central values of culture shape the child's personality (Haralambos and Holborn 2000:509). This view has however been criticized for presenting socialization as a kind of 'cultural programming' in which the child absorbs passively the influences with which he or she comes into contact. Contrary to this view, the child is an active participant in the socialization process. Although the individual's personality, values and behaviour are conditioned by socialization, it has been argued that socialization is also at the origin of a person's individuality and freedom.

In spite of individual's capacity for independent thoughts and action, agencies of socialization confront children with expectations which are seen to correspond with their sex. Gender stereotyping actually begins with expectations for an infant before its birth. These expectations manifest as social reality when parents respond to the baby's appearance and gestures with gender-typed messages about what 'little or big boys and girls' are supposed to want and do (Hess et al. 1993:208). This way, children are taught the behaviour, attitude and expectations associated with their sex (Bammeke 1998:78) and the end product is typically a person who fits the cultural definition of feminine or masculine whatever these traits are in that society (Hess et al. 1993). Beyond this, these scholars argue that at a very early age, the child becomes an active agent in its own socialization, developing the motivation as well as specific skills for sex-appropriate behaviour.

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Gender roles are created by the society and learnt and negotiated by individuals. Oakley (1994) observes that socialization into gender roles takes place in four major ways: the first is manipulation which affects the child's self-concept through the emphasis on dressing and appearance; for example dressing girls in feminine clothes and paying attention to their hair. The second is canalization which involves the direction of boys and girls towards different objects; for example the toys given to boys and girls encourage them to rehearse their expected adult roles. The third is the use of verbal appellations which make children identify with their gender; for example, saying 'you're a good girl' or 'you're a naughty boy' and the fourth is the exposure of male and female children to different activities, for example encouraging them to be involved in traditional social roles. In all cultures, the traditional social role of women is to provide nurture and care for the family while that of the man is material provision. This division of labour makes the domestic sphere the woman's area of operation while the public sphere is the

man's. Men's role are more highly valued and rewarded than women's and this had continued to serve as the basis for inequality.

PERSPECTIVES ON SOCIALIZATION AND GENDER ROLES

Socialization Theory

The thesis of the socialization theory is that infants learn what sex has been attributed to them and what is expected of them through their interactions with people close to them and through exposure to the values of their society. Children are frequently reminded of differences between the sexes as division of labour in most families point to different responsibilities for men and women. Reinforcement (praise and other rewards for gender appropriate behaviour and punishment for deviation) and modeling (imitating parents, older siblings or other role models of the same sex) help children to internalize the gender prescription of their society.

Socialization theory has been criticized for offering incomplete explanation for gendered identity and gendered desires. It portrays children as passive receivers of gendered messages contrary to research findings that young children often make gender-stereotyped choices for themselves (Robinson and Morris 1986 in Hess et al. 1993). It is also criticized for accepting that the biological distinction between the sexes provides a framework which becomes culturally elaborated (Giddens 2001:112).

In relation to this study, socialization theory might explain the gendered patterns in children's identification of responsibilities performed by their parents and their designation of who is head of household. The observed division of labour in families and households which the theory highlights might be responsible for this pattern.

Social Construction Theory

Some sociologists have criticized socialization theorists for their consideration of sex as biologically determined and gender as culturally learned. They argue that both sex and gender are socially constructed products (Giddens 2001:109). Social forces can shape the human body and alter it human body. They can acquire new meanings which challenge what is considered as natural. For example, through dieting, body piercing, fashion to plastic surgery and sex change operations, individuals can choose to construct and reconstruct their bodies. Social construction theorists believe that the human body and biology are not 'givens' but are subject to human agency and personal choice within different social contexts. They reject all biological bases for gender differences and argue that gender identities emerge in relation to perceived sex differences in society and in turn help to shape those differences.

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This perspective considers people and the human body through the eyes of Western scholars in whose society scientific and technological advancement could alter the human body to levels which truly challenge 'accepted' biological differences between the sexes. This theory may not offer explanations for how children in Africa perceive gender roles within households. Considering the fact that many adults can only imagine families of same-sex parents, then children are not likely to have been raised in households with transsexuals or even be able to comprehend the phenomenon. In a society where the biological basis of the distinction between maleness and femaleness is yet to be defied, this theory is inadequate in the explanation of children's perception of gender roles.

Conceptual Framework of Study

The perception of gender roles among children is influenced by the nature and content of their socialization. As gender consciousness begins and the child identifies sex specific expectations, he or she also perceives gender roles as being biologically determined (see fig1.1). At adolescence, there may be challenges to gender expectations and the individual may modify gender role or negotiate them because he or she is not just a passive assimilator of culture. In spite of the active participation of the individual in the socialization process, he or she may still perceive gender roles as norms because of the overwhelming 'evidence' in his or her environment, especially in the family. Life experiences may make the adult emerge as a non-conformist, challenging accepted definitions of masculinity or femininity or the individual may perceive gender roles as given and teach same to younger people. The female adult may make choice which conform to traditional gender role expectations but are at variance with the enhancement of her productivity. How children perceive gender roles may be a reflection of the content of their primary socialization and an indication of what their future attitude would be to women's participation in non-traditional areas.

METHODS

The data examined for this study was extracted from data collected between August and September 2001 for a larger study on Gender, Household Headship and Children's Education. The original study involved male and female household heads (and their partners where present) and one child aged between 10 and 17 years from each of their 247 households. A total of 390 adults were included in the study. In addition to the 247 children sampled from selected households, 205 children were included in the study from primary and secondary schools in the

study area. The children respondents constitute the sample for the study under discussion. The study was conducted in two local government areas of Lagos State – Badagry and Surulere, selected on rural-urban basis through a simple random sampling technique. This was followed by a multi-stage sampling technique involving the use of clusters to identify major settlements in the local government areas. Five major settlements were selected in each. For Badagry, Akarakumo, Ajaratopa, Ikoga Zebbe, Itoga and Ajido were selected while Aguda, Ikate, Ijeshatedo, Ojuelegba and Eric Moore were selected in Surulere.

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FIG. 1.1 SOCIALIZATION AND PERCEPTION OF GENDER ROLES

STAGE =	INFANCY	CHILDHOOD	ADOLESCENCE	ADULTHOOD
AGENTS OF SOCIALIZATION	Parents/Care Givers Other Household Members	Parent/caregivers, other household members, peers, teachers, textbooks, media, religious	Peers, teachers, media, parents, household members, religion	Household/family including children colleagues, workmates, media, religion, environment.
SYMBOLS OF SOCIALIZATION	Agents' Language Dressing of Child Child's Toys	Agents' language, dress, play activities allowed in schools/home, images in textbooks. Nature of assigned tasks at home. Negative/positive reinforcement of gender appropriate behaviour.	Media portrayal of the sexes through symbols, images etc Courses labeled as difficult or simple and identified with specific sexes Gender role expectations cultural/religious expectations	Emerging trends from around the world, workplace values, Gender role expectation and cultural/religious expectations.
SOCIALIZATION PATTERN/OUTCOME	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender Training commences although child is not yet Gender conscious i.e. Gender learning is unconscious Perception of gender roles is non-existent. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender consciousness begins Child identifies expectation with specific sex Child perceives gender roles as being natural Child's perception may influence his/her attitude to women's participation in non-traditional areas. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender consciousness at its peak May challenge expectations May create or modify roles through own language, dressing, aspiration, choice of course etc. May perceive gender roles as 'norm' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> May be a non-conformist by challenging acceptable definitions of masculinity or femininity. May conduct own life according to the acceptable images of men and women and teach same to younger people. Female may make choices at variance with the enhancement of her productivity. Common terms of conformists are "That's the way it's done", 'it's our culture' etc.

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Two enumeration areas were selected from each settlement to give a total of 10 enumeration areas in each local government area. Streets and quarters in each enumeration area were listed and identified with the aid of a street map during the pre-study visit. Using the list as a sampling frame, streets were later selected and all houses on identified streets were included in the study. Households qualified for the study if they had in-school children aged between 10 and 17 years. Further selections were made in cases where more than one household qualified. The upper limit for the age of children is informed by the fact that legally in Nigeria; a person ceases to be a child at 18 years. For the lower limit, it was expected that a child of 10 would not only be in school but should be able to answer questions on gender role allocation within the household. At the level of the household, children in selected households qualified for inclusion in the study. Where a household had more than one in-school child, a simple pick of yes and no determined who was selected for the study. Children from schools were selected systematically using class registers.

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The interview-administered schedules used at the level of schools and households were similar. Section A gathered information on the background of the children including age, sex, class, ethnic group and residence pattern while section B focused on the children's perception of headship and role allocation in households. A major difference between the instruments is that the one for schools had a third section- C which contained teachers' comments on certain traits in children. This section and some parts of section B are not directly relevant to this discourse.

RESULTS

THE RESPONDENTS

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The respondents for this study were male and female in-school children resident in Surulere and Badagry local government areas of Lagos State. More females (52.2 percent) than males (47.8 percent) were sampled at the household level while more males (58 percent) than females (42 percent) were sampled in schools (See Table 1). Children aged 14-16 years predominated among respondents in schools while those aged 10-13 years formed the majority in households. Respondents at both levels were predominantly Christians and from the Yoruba ethnic group. The majority lived with both parents (81.0 and 62.3 percent for those in schools and households respectively). Only 8 percent of children in schools lived with 'mother only' compared to 26.3 percent of those in households. The inclusion of female-headed households in the original study could account for this.

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Children's observation and report of role allocation in the family was the same whether they were sampled in households or schools. Their report on five selected tasks (See Table 2) showed a gender division of labour which depicted men as breadwinners and women as home keepers. Capital-based responsibilities were overwhelmingly allocated to fathers while those related to the welfare of members of the household were allocated to mothers. For the payment of rent, 54.3 and 66.8 percent of children in households and schools respectively identified their father while 59.5 and 75.1 percent respectively did the same with regard to the payment of school fees. Hospital bills are also paid mainly by fathers as indicated by 51.4 and 66.3 percent of children in households and schools respectively. Cooking of meals is a gendered activity predominantly

performed by mothers although other people may also do this. The category reported as 'others' include older children, relations or paid persons such as domestic staff.

Bathing of young children is another activity largely performed by 'others' but with greater female involvement. As table 2 shows, 29.1 and 43.4 of children in households and schools respectively indicated that mothers performed this task whilst at both levels no father is involved.

GENDER AND ROLE ALLOCATION

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There are also gender differences in children's performance of household tasks. Although both male and female children are involved in all tasks listed (See Tables 3a & 3b), female involvement is greater. For children in households, table 3a shows that 47.3 percent of females wash dishes compared to 26.3 percent of males. Sweeping also has more female involvement with 37.2 percent of girls and 24.6 percent of boys. The pattern repeats itself for fetching of water with 33.3 percent of girls and 24.6 percent of boys reporting their involvement. Table 3b shows that for children interviewed in schools, 25.6 percent of females and 22.7 percent of males wash dishes while 24.4 and 16.0 percent of females and males respectively take part in sweeping. For fetching of water, 18.5 and 22.1 percent of males and females respectively participate. The 'others' category encompasses all forms of joint participation in the activities e. g. 'my sister and I', 'my brother and I', 'other relations' and 'all children'. Our interest is in boys and girls who indicated that they performed these tasks.

CHILDREN'S PERCEPTION OF GENDER ROLES

Children (whether male or female) overwhelmingly identified fathers as heads of household. Table 4b shows that 97.6 percent of male children who live with both parents identified their

fathers as head, whilst 94.8 percent of female children in the same category did the same. Only children in ‘mother only’ households identified their mothers as head to a significant extent (77.8 and 70.3 of male and female respectively). Even in this category, 19.4 and 29.7 percent of male and female respectively still identified their absent fathers as head of household. The children’s explanation shows that their designation of headship is closely tied to gender role performance. Table 4b shows the children’s explanation for the allocation of headship. For the majority, (57.1 and 42.4 percent in households and schools respectively) what qualified their father or mother for headship is the fact that he or she ‘takes care of the family’. Taking care means that he or she pays the bills. This is close to what is meant by those who say that he or she ‘provides for all our needs alone’. The children’s response also shows that many of them accept gender roles as norms. Statements such as ‘it’s a known fact that father is head’ show the extent of the children’s perception.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper has examined the perception of gender roles among children based on their observation of their parents or guardians’ areas of responsibility and their own participation in household tasks. The findings confirm that gender learning is an essential aspect of socialization. Children observe and learn that men are expected to provide material needs for the family whilst women ensure the welfare of the family through the preparation of food and other related activities. They demonstrate this learning through their allocation of capital-based responsibilities to men and allocation of housework to women and other females.

In a developing society such as Nigeria where basic needs of food, shelter, health and education cannot be taken for granted, the provision of these needs is highly valued. The fact that fathers are

seen as being responsible for these needs in most homes confers authority on men. Gender role expectation is so deeply rooted in African societies that even in situations of inability or unwillingness to meet these essential needs tradition still places the man in a position of authority.

The findings show that the children overwhelmingly identify their fathers as heads of household because of their observation and involvement in social interaction in the family. Children's identification of fathers as heads of households could also be a demonstration of their knowledge of what ought to be. In other words, children could attribute the performance of some responsibilities to their fathers just because they expect, based on their learning, that fathers should do these. In father-absent households it is easy for the children to acknowledge the role of their mothers, although the study shows that some children in this category still attribute headship to their fathers.

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Children are socialized through the tasks assigned to them. Girls are more likely than boys to be assigned household chores. We found that more girls than boys participate in sweeping, washing dishes and fetching water. The pattern discernable in the children's responses are indicative of future expectation that girls would invariably be in charge of the domestic domain. The nature of the children's involvement in tasks and those of their parents might influence the children's perception of gender roles and reinforce gender learning.

If children are socialized into gender roles and they go into adulthood with fixed images of society's expectations of men and women, they are likely not only to exhibit all forms of gendered behaviour, but to perpetuate them. This would make it difficult to end gender inequality and stereotyping which have their roots in gender role differentiation and hinder

women's productivity. On their part, if women continue to conform to gender role expectation through their preferences, they cannot be productive and where they manage to be, it would be difficult to attain optimum productivity. The implication of this is that there is need to deconstruct the images of men and women presented to children, especially those which depict them in their traditional roles and teach boys and girls to take on these roles. Efforts and programmes meant to eliminate gender inequity may not achieve much until there is a change in the pattern and contents of socialization since gender role expectations are learnt through the process of socialization.

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APPENDIX:

TABLE 1: CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS BY WHETHER SAMPLED IN SCHOOL OR WITHIN HOUSEHOLD

VARIABLE	WHERE SAMPLED			
	HOUSEHOLD N=247		SCHOOL N= 205	
	NO	%	NO	%
LOCATION:				
Badagry	84	34.0	51	24.9
Surulere	163	66.7	154	75.1
SEX				
Male	118	47.8	119	58.0
Female	129	52.2	86	42.0
AGE:				
10 - 13	97	39.3	68	33.2
14 - 16	86	34.8	104	50.7
17 ⁺	57	23.1	25	12.2
No response	7	2.8	8	3.9
CLASS:				
Pry 5	31	12.6	4	2.0
Pry 6	15	6.1	5	2.4
Jss 1	23	9.3	29	14.1
Jss 2	36	14.6	7	3.4
Jss 3	28	11.3	45	22.0
Sss 1	25	10.1	14	6.8
Sss 2	39	15.8	76	37.1
Sss 3	50	20.2	25	12.2
RELIGION:				
Christianity	178	72.1	151	73.7
Islam	58	23.5	46	22.4

Traditional	8	3.2	-	-
Others	3	.12	8	3.9
ETHNIC GROUP:				
Igbo	29	11.7	69	33.7
Hausa	9	3.6	2	1.0
Yoruba	167	67.6	76	37.1
Egun	33	13.4	36	17.5
Others	9	3.6	22	10.7
DO YOU LIVE WITH:				
Father & Mother	154	62.3	166	81.0
Father Only	7	2.8	8	3.9
Mother Only	65	26.3	8	3.9
Father & Stepmother	2	0.8	4	2.0
Mother & Stepfather	14	5.7	3	1.5
Relations	5	2.0	10	4.9
No Response	-	-	6	2.9

TABLE 2: CHILDREN'S REPORT ON ROLE ALLOCATION IN HOUSEHOLDS

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TASK/ RESPONSIBILITY	PERFORMED BY						Total
	Father	Mother	Father/ Mother	Others	Not Applicable	Don't Know	
<u>Payment of rent</u>							
Children in households	134 (54.3)	55 (22.3)	7 (2.8)	6 (2.4)	30 (12.1)	15 (6.1)	247 (100)
Children in schools	137 (66.8)	-	-	-	43 (21.0)	25(12.2)	205 (100)
<u>Payment of school fees</u>							
Children in households	147 (59.5)	69 (27.9)	17 (6.9)	14 (5.7)	-	-	247 (100)
Children in schools	154 (75.1)	11 (5.4)	30 (14.6)	8 (3.9)	2 (1.0)	-	205 (100)
<u>Payment of hosp. bills</u>							
Children in households	127 (51.4)	77 (31.2)	22 (8.9)	9 (3.6)	6 (2.4)	30 (12.1)	247 (100)
Children in schools	136 (66.3)	19 (9.3)	29 (14.1)	4 (2.0)	6 (2.9)	11 (5.4)	205 (100)
<u>Cooking meals</u>							
Children in households	-	131 (53.0)	2 (.8)	114 (46.1)	-	-	247 (100)
Children in schools	1 (.5)	125 (61.0)	1 (.5)	78 (38.0)	-	-	205 (100)

TABLE 3a: PERFORMANCE OF HOUSEHOLD TASKS BY CHILDREN (SAMPLED) IN HOUSEHOLDS BY SEX
N= 247

TASK	PERFORMED BY			TOTAL
	SELF	SIBLINGS	OTHERS	
<u>WASHING DISHES</u>	31(26.3)	31(26.3)	56(47.4)	118(100)
SEX: MALE				
FEMALE	61(47.3)	23(17.8)	45(34.9)	129(100)
<u>SWEEPING</u>	29(24.6)	23(19.5)	66(55.9)	118(100)
SEX: MALE				
FEMALE	48(37.2)	23(17.8)	58(45.0)	129(100)
<u>FETCHING WATER</u>	29(24.6)	27(22.8)	62(52.5)	118(100)
SEX: MALE				
FEMALE	43(33.3)	20(15.5)	66(51.2)	129(100)

TABLE 3b: PERFORMANCE OF HOUSEHOLD TASKS BY CHILDREN (SAMPLED) IN HOUSEHOLDS BY SEX
N= 205

TASK	PERFORMED BY			TOTAL
	SELF	SIBLINGS	OTHERS	
<u>WASHING DISHES</u>	27(22.7)	11(9.2)	81(68.1)	119(100)
SEX: MALE				
FEMALE	22(25.6)	10(11.6)	54(62.7)	86(100)
<u>SWEEPING</u>	19(16.0)	8(6.7)	92(77.3)	119(100)
SEX: MALE				
FEMALE	21(24.4)	10(11.6)	55(63.9)	86(100)
<u>FETCHING WATER</u>	22(18.5)	7(5.9)	90(75.6)	119(100))
SEX: MALE				
FEMALE	19(22.1)	17(19.8)	50(58.1)	86(100)

TABLE 4b: CHILDREN'S EXPLANATION FOR ALOCATION OF HEADSHIP

WHY DO YOU IDENTIFY YOUR FATHER OR MOTHER AS HEAD	WHERE SAMPLED			
	HOUSEHOLD N=247		SCHOOL N= 205	
He/ she takes care of the family	141	57.1	87	42.4
Provides for all our needs alone	37	15.0	43	21.0
Pays school fees	14	5.7	4	2.0
It's a known fact that father is head	28	11.3	41	20.0
No partner present	13	5.3	3	1.5
Control & authority	4	1.6	4	2.0
NR	10	4.0	23	11.1
TOTAL	247	100.0	205	100.0

TABLE 4a: CHILDREN'S IDENTIFICATION OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD BY SEX BY WHOM THEY WITH

DO YOU LIVE WITH	WHO WOULD YOU DESCRIBE AS HEAD				TOTAL
	MOTHER	FATHER	OTHER RELATIONS	NO RESPONSE	
FATHER & MOTHER					
SEX: MALE	2 (1.2)	162 (97.6)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)	166 (100)
FEMALE	8 (5.2)	146 (94.8)	-	-	154 (100)
TOTAL	10(3.1)	308 (96.2)	1(0.3)	1 (0.3)	320 (100)
MOTHER ONLY					
SEX: MALE	28 (77.8)	7 (19.4)	-	1 (2.8)	36 (100)
FEMALE	26 (70.3)	11(29.7)	-	-	37 (100)
TOTAL	64 (74.0)	19 (26.0)	-	-	73 (100)
FATHER ONLY					
SEX: MALE	-	11 (100)			11 (100)
FEMALE	-	4 (100)			4 (100)
TOTAL	-	15 (100)			15 (100)
FATHER & STEP MUM					
SEX: MALE	-	2 (100)			2 (100)
FEMALE	1 (25.0)	3 (75.0)			4 (100)
TOTAL	1 (16.7)	5 (83.3)			6 (100)
MOTHER & STEP DAD					
SEX: MALE	1 (10.0)	4 (40.0)	5 (50.0)		10 (100)
FEMALE	-	1 (14.3)	6 (85.7)		7 (100)
TOTAL	1(5.9)	5 (29.4)	11 (64.7)		17 (100)
RELATIONS					
SEX: MALE		7 (100)	-		7 (100)
FEMALE		5 (62.5)	3 (37.5)		8 (100)
TOTAL		12 (80.0)	3 (20.0)		15 (100)
NO RESPONSE					
SEX: MALE	3 (50.0)			3 (50.0)	6 (100)
TOTAL	3 (50.0)			3 (50.0)	6 (100)

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