HOMEMAKING ACTIVITIES IN SELECTED EASTERN NIGERIAN HOUSEHOLDS

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ABSTRACT

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by Nancy Wigsten Axinn

The objectives of this study were to: (1) identify selected resources available to selected families in Nsukka, Nigeria; (2) identify homemaking activities existing in these families; and (3) investigate the managerial role of the senior wife in a polygynous compound.

The sample consisted of thirty-two households within a five-mile radius of Nsukka, Nigeria. Compounds were chosen to meet the following criteria:

1. Wives in the compound were known to be receptive to the interviewer. In this culture, women are unlikely to talk with strangers. For this reason, most of the women interviewed had some contact with the interviewer, in informal classes or meetings.

2. The wives were resident in the compound where they were interviewed.

3. Both monogamous and polygynous compounds were included. Where the interview was done in a polygynous compound, the senior, or first wife was interviewed.

Data were collected by the interview method. The interviewer, trained by the researcher, was a Nigerian home economist belonging to the Ibo tribe.

Most homemakers were dependent on their own work capacity to supply food and clothing for the family and for money income. Water was a scarce natural resource, not available in any of the compounds during the dry season. A wide range of foods were grown on the garden land by the homemakers.

The compound, or physical setting, of the home did not follow a standard pattern. Most of the houses were built of local mud, with thatched roofs. None of them had electricity; about one-third of them did not have windows.

The markets were used for a wide range of purchases. Most material resources for simple homemaking were available. About half the homemakers had clocks and irons, and used a variety of kinds of cooking and eating utensils. Only about one-third of the group had access to mass media, an outside source of information.

There appeared to be no striking variation in the resources available and used by the polygynous household as compared to the monogamous household.

While these selected resources were identified, it should be noted that there may be additional resources used by homemakers. Beyond mere identification, it is believed that resources can be measured by the observation-interview technique.

The second objective was to identify homemaking activities existing in these families. The homemaker's description of her daily activities gave one a sense of the organization of the constant activities, such as food preparation, child care, and water gathering. These pivoted around the weekly or seasonal routines such as market day and farm work.

Meals prepared the day before the interview utilized a wide variety of foods, some perhaps more nutritious than others. Some homemakers served three different meals, while others ate what was available. The variation in meals did not appear to be related to family type.

Evidence of planning and saving were cited in some families. Banks were used by the monogamous families for their savings more than by the polygynous families.

The third objective of this study was to investigate the managerial role of the senior wife in a polygynous compound. This was done indirectly. Several of the senior wives

reflected on the period of training a new wife would spend with her. It was in this rather indirect way that the habits, goals and values of the family were transmitted to the newcomer in the compound. Following this, the traditional Ibo democracy gave each woman an opportunity for individuality, even within the same family.

It is evident from this study that it is possible to gather specific information through direct questioning. The acquisition of more information through skilled observation is needed for better understanding of the managerial role. Detailed observation of all family members, assessment of time spent for given activities, and the interaction between family members is possible and needed.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS - Continued

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The interest in, and need for increased home economics education for women in West Africa is becoming widely recognized. A report of the Institute on International Education in Home Economics, held at Cornell University in 1958 notes:

> Home Economics recognizes the family as the primary biological and social unit in any culture and the one which greatly influences and in part determines the social, physical, and moral development of the individual. Such basic needs as adequate and satisfying food, clothing, housing and human relationships, all of which have economic and social implications, are therefore the concern of home economists in all parts of the world. The availability of human and material resources is determined in part by the levels of technological development, as well as by religious, cultural, educational, political, economic and social patterns prevailing in different parts of the world. Steps toward satisfactory solutions of these diverse problems include the clarification of goals, derived from the interaction of needs and values, the assessment of resources, the proposal of alternative solutions, the selection of a suitable solution, the action itself and the evaluation of results.[1]

A similar conference held in London reports:

> The whole task is to create a better understanding and use of existing resources, raise levels of living; promote a more fruitful use of idle time, especially

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[1] Alfred L. Baldwin (ed.) Report of Institute on International Education in Home Economics. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 1958), p.6.

> among youth -- encourage new thinking at all ages about the personal relationships of men and women to one another and to their children, thus encouraging balanced and stable patterns as a basis for nationhood.[1]

In developing a curriculum in home economics for a new university in a new country and culture, guidance for determining objectives will be needed. If home economists are to help meet this challenge, then the education of home economists in a new culture must be based on a solid foundation, and a keen understanding of the families within that culture.

> In order that the teaching of homemaking may rest on a solid foundation, and command the confidence of special technical services on whose field it neighbours, home economists must be trained at a rising level in the territories where they are to work. This could be a stimulus to women's education and an important contribution to the welfare of the territories served.[2]

Fundamental subject matter knowledge and understanding of family life within a culture gives to a program of home economics a sound basis.

> There is a distinction between Home Economics as a helping profession concerned with direct aid and counsel to families, and as a scientific discipline concerned with the study and elucidation of the factors that affect the welfare of families and that influence the relation of a family to the society to which it lives and to the people who comprise it.[3]

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[1] Community Development, A Handbook Prepared by a Study Conference. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1958), p.14.

[2] Ibid., 75.

[3] Baldwin, 20

However, concrete research on which to base programs of home economics in a West African culture is lacking. In the United States, home economics specialists have become concerned with the basic concepts of the subject matter field. If these concepts are indeed basic to the discipline, they should apply across cultures. It is necessary to test the concepts across cultures. This research was motivated by a need for the answer to the question, "Are home economics concepts and particularly, home management concepts peculiar to Western culture, or do they apply across cultures?"

Purpose of Study

Two concerns: (1) to develop a research base in home management as a part of the total home economics program for West Africa; and (2) to test some home management concepts in another culture, form the basis for this exploratory study.

There is great need for documentation and increased understanding of the traditional West African's family resources and current home management activities. Beyond this, of course, is need for research in the area of affect of technological change on the homemaker's role, and on the family system it supports.

If we can identify the resources available to families and the managerial activities involved in utilizing them,

we will have established a base from which home management teaching can begin to be developed and from which the influence of technical change can be evaluated.

The basic concept applied in this study was that decisions about the use of resources are made in relation to the goals of a particular family. In all cultures the alternatives (resources plus goals) are limited in one way or another, by the culture itself, or by a lack of knowledge or awareness of the possibilities by individuals in families. Discovering the goals in a given culture is difficult. These are rarely verbalized. A deep understanding of the culture is necessary to bring these to the level of empirical observations. One can begin to infer these goals by noting, in given individuals in families, the perception of available resources and their utilization.

This exploratory study focuses on inventorying resources available to selected homemakers, and in a limited manner, identifying how selected women within a household chose to use these resources.

The objectives of this study were to: (1) identify selected resources available to selected families in Nsukka, Nigeria; (2) identify homemaking activities existing in these families; and (3) investigate the managerial role of the senior wife in a polygynous compound.

Assumptions

Assumptions made in this study were: (1) many families around Nsukka were polygynous, and (2) wives in this area of Nigeria did have some control over the use of family resources.

Operational Definition of Terms

Compound refers to the family homesite; a collection of huts, usually surrounded by a fence.

Extended kin refers to members of the same family lineage, but related beyond the immediate family group.

Family refers to a man, his wife or wives, and their children.

Homemaker refers to any married woman with responsibility for the maintenance of a home.

Homemaking activities refer to selected tasks and their execution in maintaining a home.

Household refers to the family group, consisting of a man, his wife or wives, their children and other relatives, or people identifying with that family group.

Monogamous refers to the practice of being married to only one person at a time.

Nuclear family refers to a monogamous family, with no extended kin; that is, father, mother and children.

Polygynous refers to the practice of being married to more than one wife at a time.

Resources refer to selected means available for achieving family goals.

Senior wife refers to the first wife a man marries in a polygynous household.

Limitations of Study

Because of limitations of time and financial support, this study was restricted to the daily round of homemaking activities at a given season of the year. The author recognizes the wide seasonal variations in activities, and the limitations this places on the study. This study is also limited by the cultural biases that may have existed in the researcher, both in the formulation of interview questions and her perception of interview responses.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Literature was reviewed in five different areas. These were:

(1) research which relates to resources and homemaking activities;

(2) research of a cross cultural nature in home management;

(3) descriptive background of the African woman's home life;

(4) information about the Ibo tribe of Eastern Nigeria; and

(5) research methodology pertinent to exploratory investigation in a culture different from that of the researcher.

Throughout the world, whether it receives academic attention or not, the management of the home receives attention from those directly involved. This has been the case throughout time, as noted by Gross and Crandell:

> It is generally recognized that important social legacies have come to the American people from the Hebrews, Greeks and Romans, as well as from

Western European people. Among these legacies are attitudes toward the use of resources.[1]

These authors present writings from many early scholars who recognized the activities of home management, such as Aristotle, who wrote that the duties of a household manager were to order the things nature supplies.[2]

Home Management Research

According to Gudjensson, "Household Management .. is in all countries the most important occupation, employing the most people, handling the most money, and ... is of fundamental importance for the health of the people."[3]

Most of the academic attention to home management has been concentrated in the past few decades. Formal study and research have been centered in the United States of America; although a limited amount of research relative to family resources has been done in Europe.[4] Because research in

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[1] Irma H. Gross and Elizabeth Walbert Crandall. Management for Modern Families (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954), p.516.

[2] Aristotle, Politics, Book I, Chapter 30, Volume 9 of Britannica Great Books p.452

[3] Sk. V. Gudjensson, "The Contributions of Technics of Domestic Science and Application of the Contribution to Improving the Homelife." L'Enseignement Menager, Vol. 24, No. 1 (March 1951), p.4.

[4] Ir. M. Pieters - De Roon, l.i, A Study of the Time-Budgets of Groups of Dutch Housewives Carried Out for the Netherlands Household Council. (Wageningen,The Netherlands: Department of Rural Home Economics, Agricultural University, 1961).

home management has been done primarily in Western societies, the concepts and definitions developed and utilized in the United States of America were examined.

Paolucci and O'Brien wrote:

> We define home management as a series of decisions which form a goal-directed process. This in turn serves as a vehicle for helping families to channel their resources toward achievement of goals.[1]

Nickell and Dorsey say:

> Home management is accomplishment of work, by use of resources, to allow time for expanding life expressions.[2]

Gross and Crandall wrote:

> Reduced to simplest terms, management is using what you have to get what you want...home management is a series of decisions making up the process of using family resources to achieve family goals.[3]

Relatively little home management research has been reported on the assessment of resources and their relation to homemaking practices. One study done by Gross and Zwemer had as its prime objective:

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[1] Beatrice Paolucci and Carol B. O'Brien, "What is Management?" Forecast (September 1959) p.22.

[2] Pauline Nickell and Jean M. Dorsey. Management in Family Living (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1959) p.54.

[3] Gross and Crandall, 3-4.

> To investigate practices in all phases of management of material and human resources in the home for the purpose of determining the influence of various factors on these practices.[1]

This research was a pioneer attempt at viewing inter-related factors in home management. The investigation identified the relationship that existed between given cultural variables and a family's use of resources through selected managerial practices.

In a study of patterns of home management in three generations of the same family, Millar assessed the resources of the six families she studied. She considered as resources time, energy, money and skills. She found that "none of the six families showed complete continuity in patterns of management of resources throughout the three generations."[2] Her findings indicated that the homemaker's management patterns tend to be influenced by the time in history and its accompanying socio-economic changes.

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[1] Irma H. Gross and Evelyn Zwemer. Management in Michigan Homes Michigan State College Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin, 196 (June 1944), p.6.

[2] Pamela L. Millar, "A Pilot Study of Patterns in Home Management Over a Period of Three Generations in a Selected Group of Families." Unpublished M.A. thesis. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University, 1959, p.119.

Cross Cultural Home Management Research

Some cross cultural time studies have been done. Dr. Jean Warren used her experience with time study research in the United States and carried out some replicate work with a group of homemakers, not randomly sampled, in Uruguay.[1] Several other time studies at Cornell have been done in other cultures.[2,3]

Linda Nelson studied the concept of activity patterns among the Costa Rican peasants. This involved the presence, repetition and sequence of activities within a time span.[4] Her study concluded that:

> There is more than one way to organize among and within activities. Home management theory needs to reflect a sensitivity to variations outside the middle-class, western, industrialized patterns of organization. Perhaps other factors which have traditionally been termed "resources" in the conceptual framework of home management have appropriate patterns of relationship within each culture.[5]

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[1] Jean Warren. "Use of Time by Homemakers in Uruguay, 1957." Cornell University (mimeo) 1957.

[2] Carmen Maria Crespo. "Use of Time by 53 Puerto Rican Rural Homemakers." Unpublished Master's thesis, Cornell University, 1957.

[3] Delfina A. Maceda. "Use of Time by Married Homemakers in the Teaching Force," Manilla, Philippines: Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University, 1958.

[4] Linda Jean Nelson, "Daily Activity Patterns of Peasant Homemakers." Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University, 1963.

[5] Ibid., 106.

An exhaustive search of the literature reveals no published research concerning home management in Nigerian households.

Descriptive Background of the African Woman's Home Life

References to the women in Africa in written form fall into two classes: the wide generalizations and the specific descriptions of isolated tribes. The wide generalizations are typically based on inadequate data. They are often written by people who have travelled through the West African countries or who have lived in some of them for a period of time, and write of their observations, generalizing their particular experience to cover the whole.

Such authors as Guy Hunter,[1] R.J. Mason,[2] Lord Hailey,[3] T.R. Batten,[4] and Melville Herskovits[5] write much that can be used as background information for viewing home management in the African culture. Further background information in

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[1]Guy Hunter, The New Societies of Tropical Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).

[2]R. J. Mason, British Education in Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).

[3]Lord William Hailey, An African Survey (London: Oxford University Press, 1957).

[4]T. R. Batten, Problems of African Development (London: Oxford University Press, 1960).

[5]William R. Bascom and Melville J. Herskovits (eds.) Continuity and Change in African Cultures (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1959).

a compilation of the writings of many scholars of Africa, has been edited by George H. T. Kimble.[1]

From this variety of sources it is possible to get a picture of the traditional African homemaker, and the way the changing world is affecting her. Kimble writes:

> It was customary for the woman to fetch water and fuel, grind and pound food, make pots and baskets, sow, weed, hoe and harvest crops. She did most of the continuous, repetitive work necessary to maintain the family.[2]

> The demonstrably greater "toughness" of the womenfolk extends even to their ability to survive the hazards of childbirth under unhygenic conditions and without medical attention.[3]

Lord Hailey noted that:

> The woman cultivator's success as a wife and housekeeper depends on her skill in varying the diet from her garden.[4]

Recently, many reports of research done in Africa have been published. Some of these deal with various aspects of the woman's role.

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[1] George H. T. Kimble, Tropical Africa. Volumes I and II (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1960).

[2] Kimble, I, 9-10.

[3] Kimble, I, 107.

[4] Hailey, 825.

Exploring the results of accelerated technical change and urbanization, Joseph Kahl reports that African men who are educated are finding it hard to find a wife who can intelligently manage money, entertain his friends, and create the kind of home that the husband thinks is appropriate to his new status.[1] Kahl believes that the noneconomic functions of the nuclear family are likely to be more essential in the city. The family will become an agent of socialization, a center of consumption activities and all family members will share career responsibilities.[2]

In 1960, Daniel McCall, reporting research he did in a West African town, found that:

> The market is largely a woman's world, it is her club as well as her means of livelihood. A woman would rather be a trader than a farmer if she has the choice.[3]

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[1] Joseph A. Kahl, "Some Social Concomitants of Industrialization and Urbanization," Human Organization, Vol. 18, 1959, p.64.

[2] Ibid., 68.

[3] Daniel F. McCall, "Koforidua, a West African Man," Journal of Human Relations, Vol. 8, 1960, p.423.

Herskovits writes of the market women:

> They often become independently wealthy. With their high economic status, they have likewise perfected disciplined organizations to protect their interests in the markets, these organizations comprise one of the primary price fixing organizations.[1]

Moore points out that the:

> Market women have formed strong associations to fight injustices. This ability of African women to stand solidly in time of great trial has earned for the women as a group the respect of the men.[2]

Moore indicated, however, that the household and family still constitute the important social center of life in Africa.

G. Allison Raymond says that African women are disciplined; they are not lazy; they are accustomed to long working days. The women are playing a key role both in the family and in the economy of the country. They can rise above the political and traditional differences more easily than the men, and work in a unified way in child care, nutrition, literacy, improvement of social and health conditions.[3]

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[1] Melville J. Herskovits, The Myth of the Negro Past. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958), p.62.

[2] J. Aduke Moore, "The Sphere and Influence of Women in Africa" Journal of Human Relations, Vol.8, 1960, p.713.

[3] G.Allison Raymond, "Her Baby Off Her Back." Journal of Human Relations, Vol.8, 1960, p.702.

A number of anthropological studies done in Nigeria give some detail on the life of the women in the traditional, isolated tribes. Margaret Mead reported on observations done in the Tiv area of Central Nigeria that women had no part in their own marriage choice,

> Yet women did have a high status. They had complete control of the food-supply of the village; their authority in domestic affairs was hardly ever questioned.[1]

> The ordinary day was planned for the woman, who spent it in dealing with her housework and the seasonal work in the fields, with variety coming from special occasions.[2]

> A woman worked to fill her husband's needs and to help him get wealthy by spinning cotton for him to weave into cloth for sale. She also took care of his children for him.[3]

Noting the affect of technical change on this tribe, Margaret Mead discovered that:

> Now the young men complain that their wives expect them to spend their earnings on them, demanding that they buy cloth and other trade-goods, upon threat of leaving them.[4]

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[1] Margaret Mead, Cultural Patterns and Technical Change. (New York: New American Library reprint, UNESCO, 1955), p.109.

[2] Ibid., 111.

[3] Ibid., 112.

[4] Ibid., 126.

Also,

> Women cannot make good gardens without periodic assistance of their men, who are now absent for long periods, working for wages at the industrial center.[1]

Marris, reporting research done in urban Lagos, Nigeria, of slum clearance projects, included a summary of the family patterns of the Lagos residents, principally members of the Yoruba tribe, and the effect of an urban resettlement project on the family patterns.[2] He noted:

> All Nigerians regard their membership in family groups with pride and affection and derive a deep sense of emotional security from it.[3]

In a summary of his study with the Tiv tribe in Central Nigeria, Paul Bohannan discusses the division of labor between the sexes, and the types of foods grown by each sex.[4] He describes the compound in a way that would be meaningful among the Ibo of Eastern Nigeria, as well:

> It is evident that the meaning of the Tiv word which we have translated "compound' (ya) has two aspects: it means primarily the site and the huts,

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[1] Ibid., 248.

[2] Peter Marris, Family and Social Change in an African City. (Northwestern University Press, 1962).

[3] Peter Marris, "Slum Clearance and Family Life in Lagos." Human Organization, Vol. 19, 1960, p.124.

[4] Paul Bohannan, "Tiv Farm and Settlement," Colonial Research Studies, Great Britain Colonial Office published by Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1955.

> and the cleared space in the center. But it also means the people who live in it, and the relationships that exist between them. Its range of meaning can be narrowed or expanded situationally.[1]

He writes that the kitchen-garden found within the compound behind each wife's hut is the source of food supply, chiefly vegetables, and also the Tiv symbol of privacy, as they use it as a latrine.[2]

Herskovits discusses the seasonal and daily work patterns as they are involved in the economic development of the African countries:

> Especially in tropical Subsaharan Africa, the rhythm in indigenous societies has always been that of the seasons. There are daily rhythms, but these do not dictate changes in economic activity as do the longer fluctuations of seasonal change. Just what time of day men and women go to the field, or on just what days they will work, will be determined by the demands of the season and the day. The total objective is of primary concern.[3]

> The daily rhythm that continued irrespective of seasonal change dictates the allocation of time to tasks immediately at hand. The day may be thought of as broken into segments delimiting the hours between rising and retiring. The limits of

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[1] Ibid., 7

[2] Ibid., 20

[3] Melville S. Herskovits, The Human Factor in Changing Africa. (New York: Afred A. Knopf, 1962), p.393.

> these segments are set by mealtimes. In West Africa.... the breaks come at about ten in the morning and late afternoon. At times the large meal is eaten at or after nightfall. It must be recalled that day comes without a prolonged dawn, and darkness falls early. There is no time for cooking breakfast in the morning. Waking with the dawn, the African takes a hurried bite of some left-over food before occupying himself with his routine tasks. At the other end of the day, after the principal meal has been consumed, he rests.[1]

Herskovits follows this description of the indigenous pattern with a discussion of some of the problems of developing an industrial society, with its demands for changes in mealtime habits and other changes.

Some additional things can be learned from the literature about the African woman who lives in a polygynous household. For, as noted by John Gunther, the reasons for polygyny are both economic and in the realm of symbolism and superstition.[2]

F. J. Pedler points out that:

> The man who takes a second wife is normally a man of substance, and the girl will enjoy a grand wedding and a comfortable home. The senior wife

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[1] Ibid., 393-394.

[2] John Gunther, Inside Africa. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), p.296.

> usually welcomes the newcomer,[1] who will share the responsibilities of wifehood.

This observation was echoed by Kimble, who found that:

> Whatever the evils of polygyny, a divided home is rarely one of them. It means a relief from work, since it is now divided, and more time is available for each wife's own affairs, including petty trading. For the first wife, it means an improvement in her status, as in this way she becomes the chief wife and mistress of the house. Each wife is free to come and go among[2] her own kin. The sick are seldom left uncared for.

> In a polygynous world, it is to the children, rather than to the husband, that a woman looks for support in her declining years.[3]

> Also, one of the most widely accepted criteria of wealth has[4] been the number of wives and children a man has.

In his most recent book, Herskovits writes that on the Guinea Coast, of which Nigeria is a part:

> As elsewhere in Africa, plural marriage is sanctioned. This does not mean that polygyny is universally practised; the number of wives a man has largely depends on his social and economic status.[5]

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[1] F.J.Pedler, West Africa (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1959), p.34.

[2] Kimble, II, 7.

[3] Kimble, II, 8.

[4] Kimble, II, 70.

[5] Herskovits, The Human Factor, 98.

Herskovits includes some discussion of the kinship structure as it develops, and also the market and village units of society.[1]

Research Among the Ibo

The Ibo, major tribal group of the Eastern Region of Nigeria, have been identified in an ethnographic survey done by Forde and Jones.[2] The characteristic values of the Ibo are listed by the authors as:

> The Ibo are generally held to be tolerant, ultra-democratic and highly individualistic. They dislike and suspect any form of external government and authority. They have a strongly developed commercial sense and a practical, unromantic approach to life.[3]

They note that the women are controlled by their own associations and courts, and:

> As they largely control the food supplies they can influence the man and bring the sanctions of female ancestral spirits to bear upon them.[4]

An early study of the life of the Ibo women, published in 1939, was done by Sylvia Leith-Ross.[5] Since her interest

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[1] Herskovits, The Human Factor, pp.97-99.

[2] Daryll Forde and G. I. Jones, The Ibo and Ibibio-Speaking Peoples of South-eastern Nigeria. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950).

[3] Ibid., 24

[4] Ibid., 24

[5] Sylvia Leith-Ross, African Women - A Study of the Ibo of Nigeria. (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1939).

was in the daily tasks of the women, her findings are of considerable importance to this study. Variables relating to differences between the two studies must be acknowledged. One is the lapse of time between the early study and the present one. This may account for differences, but it also makes an interesting reinforcement of similarities. Her study was done in the Owerri Province of the Eastern Region (131 miles south of Nsukka), and some variations observed may be attached to geographical and sub-tribal differences. Leith-Ross does not identify the size of the group on which her observations were based, so the reliability of her generalizations is open to question. Nevertheless, once the differences are acknowledged, the findings provide a base for comparison with present research findings, and the similarities are all the more meaningful.

Among the highlights of Leith-Ross' findings are:

> Among the Ibo the women do play an influential part, not only by native custom but because of their inherent vitality, independence of views, courage, self-confidence, desire for gain and worldly standing. More than men, they seem able to cooperate, to stand by each other even in difficulties, and to follow a common aim. The women are already members of two towns: their husband's, in which they live, their parents', which they often visit. Their marketing takes them far afield, as do visits to their married daughters; but beyond these tangible factors there does seem to be an intangible

> communion, normally latent and without visible organization, but so profoundly felt that the slightest stir sets the whole body [of women] trembling.[1]

> No generalizations are possible. No statement can be made unless it is immediately qualified by a warning that this statement may probably be true as regards one family in one village, and the more one learns the more one sees how endlessly shifting is the Ibo scene, so that the Western onlooker cannot, as yet, decry a pattern or even recognize what is warp and what is woof in this immense and crowded tapestry.[2]

> A good deal of the (palm) oil produced is used locally as it forms the basis of the sauce eaten with pounded food, and is also used in frying sliced yams, coco-yam, plantains, etc.[3]

> There are several ways of varying the pounded foods, and all sorts of flavourings can be added to the sauce. Real interest is taken and imagination exercised and the native will describe with enthusiasm the preparation of a good dish.[4]

> In the farming season, the arrangement of a woman's day depends upon the stage the farm work has reached and the distance to the farm. It will be seen that a woman's day is full and sometimes heavy but it must be remembered that she is not often alone to do the work, but is helped by her co-wives, her children and by the elderly female relations of her husband.[5]

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[1] Ibid., 22.

[2] Ibid., 50.

[3] Ibid., 63.

[4] Ibid., 65.

[5] Ibid., 88.

> Division of labor between the sexes does not seem so clear cut among the Ibo as among other tribes.[1]
>
> In theory, a man is expected to provide food for wives and children, but in practice it is the woman who by her wise management ensures that the supply is constant.[2]

Research of an anthropological nature, has been reported by Simon and Phoebe Ottenberg, on the Afikpo Ibo. Simon Ottenberg's report on "Ibo Receptivity to Change"[3] gives an assessment of Ibo culture, and the effect of colonial influence on it.

Phoebe Ottenberg's article on "The Changing Economic Position of Women Among the Afikpo Ibo"[4] reviews that portion of the Ibo woman's daily life that is related to economic matters, the effect of culture change on these matters. She concludes that:

> Though change in the relative economic positions of men and women in Afikpo has contributed to conditions of instability in relations between husbands and wives, it has not altered the

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[1] Ibid., 90.

[2] Ibid., 179.

[3] Simon Ottenberg, "Ibo Receptivity to Change," Continuity and Change in African Cultures, ed. William R. Bascom and Melville J. Herskovits. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959).

[4] Phoebe Ottenberg, "The Changing Economic Position of Women Among the Afikpo Ibo," Continuity and Change in African Cultures, ed. William R. Bascom and Melville J. Herskovits. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959).

> traditional division of economic responsibility for the maintenance of the household, upon which the survival of the family and the society depends.[1]

Review of Methodology Literature

According to McCormick, an exploratory study paves the way for more careful investigation.[2] He finds exploratory research of great value for creating insight and understanding of relationships of variables.[3] He feels it is developed to a scientific level if it meets the criteria of painstaking accuracy and final predictive worth.[4]

Jahoda explains that an exploratory study provides information about existing situations but does not attempt precise measurements of the factors involved.[5]

At Michigan State University, in 1940, a study of three methods of research in home management was done comparing the personal interview, the mail questionnaire, and the diary methods for obtaining data. Results showed the interview to

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[1] Ibid., 223.

[2] Thomas C. McCormick and Roy G. Francis, Methods of Research in the Behavioral Sciences. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958) p.24.

[3] Ibid., 28.

[4] Ibid., 29.

[5] Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch and Steward W. Cook, Research in Social Methods. (New York: Dryden Press, 1951) p.33.

be the most satisfactory method for obtaining home management information.[1]

Jahoda discusses the open-ended interview technique, noting that it is superior to the questionnaire for exploration of areas where it is difficult to know exactly what to ask, or how to ask it to bring forth the information desired.[2] Disadvantages of the interview, pointed out by Jahoda are: the questionable accuracy of the respondent's memory, the time required to talk with each case, the difficulty encountered in classifying the wide variety of responses, and the fact that the personality of the interviewer enters into every interview.

In analyzing cross-cultural field work, B. D. Paul notes:

> The field worker aimes to gather and relate two sets of data: a description of the situation as he sees it, and a description of the situation as the native sees it.[3]

He pointed out that the women confided information to a woman they would not dare tell any man and were equally

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[1] Irma H. Gross, et al., A Study of Three Methods of Research in Home Management, Michigan State College Agricultural Experiment Station, Technical Bulletin 171, February 1940, p.19.

[2] Jahoda, p.157.

[3] B.D. Paul, "Interview Techniques and Field Relationships." Anthropology Today, ed. A.L. Kroeber (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), p.442.

curious about the role of women in the United States. The realization that women both places share the role of wives, facilitated good relationships.[1] He believes "a combination of interview and observation yields the best results."[2] He defines an informant as "an articulate member of the studied culture who enters into personal relationship with the investigator to bring about cognitive learning."[3]

Leith-Ross, in explaining her research methods among the Ibo, and particularly the use of an informant, wrote:

> Even with the highest degree of trained discernment, it is difficult for a male investigator to get an accurate impression of what goes on in a woman's mind when it is revealed to him by another man; and with all possible good-will, it is difficult for that man not to be biased by tradition, vanity, or self-importance.[4]

Maccoby and Maccoby point out that in interviewing in other societies:

> Before a field worker can do intelligent interviewing in particular topics, he must steep himself in the culture to the fullest possible extent...The field worker in another society must start very far back -

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[1] Ibid., 435.

[2] Ibid., 442.

[3] Ibid., 443.

[4] Leith-Ross, 21.

> not only will he be ignorant of the shared customs and beliefs that everyone takes for granted, but he won't know how to ask about them. He must therefore spend a much larger proportion of his time in the exploratory and "scouting" phases of his research than would be necessary to study a specific topic in his own society.[1]

Maccoby and Maccoby believe interview questions should be as open as possible and followed with non-directive probes.[2]

According to Whiting, cross-cultural research indicated that a reasonably reliable estimate of the typical behavior of people in small homogeneous societies or subgroups throughout the world can be made on the basis of ethnographic data.[3]

In describing the methods used for his research in Lagos, Marris wrote that "the research worker in an African city has to some extent to choose between refinement of techniques and a less systematic search for insight into the society he is studying."[4]

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[1] Eleanor E. Maccoby and Nathan Maccoby, "The Interview: A Tool of Social Science." Handbook of Social Psychology, ed. Gardner Lindzey. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1954) Vol.1, p.474.

[2] Ibid., 474.

[3] John W.M. Whiting, "The Cross-Cultural Method." Handbook of Social Psychology, ed. Gardner Lindzey. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1954) Vol.1, p.527.

[4] Marris, xvi.

Thus, the literature indicates that much of the time spent on research in another culture must be spent in preparation before contact with that culture. The methods to be followed cannot be as precise as are used in one's own culture. The intuitiveness of the researcher plays a greater part in the research.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This study was designed to be exploratory and descriptive in nature. Very little literature and no published research concerning the home management of West African homemakers exists. It is expected that this research will generate hypotheses that can be examined in future studies.

Development of Interview Schedule

Prior to going into the field for study, an exhaustive search of the current literature relating to the Nigerian woman's homemaking activities was carried out. On the basis of this literature, and what one believed was observable about the managerial concept of assessment and allocation of resources in a culture different from one's own, a preliminary interview schedule was developed. (Appendix I) Standard demographic identification information and a series of open-ended questions relating to family resources and activities were included.

Upon arrival in Nsukka, Nigeria, in January, 1962, the researcher worked toward refinement of the interview schedule, training of the interviewer, and deciding on the sample.

Refining the Schedule

The researcher traveled extensively in the study area, visiting the local schools, hospitals, and markets to develop a more accurate set of questions for the interview schedule.

Local compounds were also visited, and as much observation as possible was carried on within them. It was difficult to gain access quickly. A white woman is not expected to be interested in everyday homemaking activities and resources. Most of the women did not speak English. A researcher needs much time and patience to gain acceptance. While, in all cases, the women were friendly, they do not typically have an easy relationship with white women. A genuine interest in their children, a ready smile, and whatever empathy can be shown for their problems were considered important, as was, of course, observation of all local customs.

The researcher attempted to take in, in quiet observation, as much of the interaction, both between people and things, as possible, and to evaluate it in later reflection. Particularly helpful to the researcher in this phase of the study was a student of the University of Nigeria. He was engaged as guide and interpreter for this phase of the study. His family lived in Nsukka village, where his father had a

position of leadership in a sub-tribal group. This student had some formal training in sociology and some research experience, and was able to translate relationships and events in meaningful terms. At all times he was most open and willing to discuss divergent philosophy. His understanding of the woman's role was somewhat limited, and in the few weeks the researcher traveled with him it was difficult to overcome the deference a white woman from the United States automatically receives in a rural Nigerian community. That one would be interested in the simple household activities (performed by servants if you were in a position of high status in that country) was beyond his ken.

Also helpful to the researcher were the sociologists at the University of Nigeria. Both the American and Nigerian sociologists in residence were willing to share their research experiences. Since their residence in Nsukka was only about a year, their aid was limited. They did, however, extend themselves as much as possible to give the researcher insight into the problems of research in the Nsukka area, and the knowledge they had of the family patterns of the area.

The researcher also worked with the head of the College of Home Economics at the University of Nigeria who was most helpful in arranging for the researcher to attend classes in

home economics being taught in the village centers near Nsukka. The head of the College was also able to give insight into the problems home economics students at the University of Nigeria faced, both in their home and academic background, and in their current pursuit of learning in home economics.

Selecting and Training the Interviewer

While observing the rural home economics classes, the researcher identified the teacher of these classes as a possible interviewer. She had some background in home economics, as she had training in domestic science in England for three years. This teacher was a Nigerian, a member of the Ibo tribe, though of a different sub-tribal group from the Ibo of the Nsukka area. In her rural classes she demonstrated a great rapport with the local women. This was a very important factor, since the Ibo women seem reluctant to discuss their affairs with outsiders. Not only would the interviewer have to be able to speak their local dialect, which this teacher could do, but she would also need some prestige in the group, and acceptance by the women.

A lengthy guide was developed for the interviewer's use. Also, arrangements were made for the interviewer to receive training in interviewing techniques, as this was taught to a

group of field interviewers by the sociology faculty. This group met weekly, from February to June, to discuss interviewing aids and problems they met as they were doing field work. Journals kept by the interviewers will be most helpful to further research workers in the area.

Testing the Instrument

Using the schedule developed in East Lansing as a guide, the researcher spent two days in a detailed interview with the rural home economics teacher. A case study of her life developed, as the researcher probed deeper into each question, in an attempt to understand the 'why' of the responses. From this lengthy interview, some additional insight was gained in the daily round of activities of a homemaker. The interview schedule was refined to include these aspects, and is included in Appendix I.

Selection of Sample

A non-random, purposive sample was drawn. The sample was drawn from the compounds within a five mile radius of the University of Nigeria. Within this area, the interviewer was free to gather data from homemakers who were willing to discuss their homemaking resources and activities. The interviewer did, in fact, make an effort to include homemakers

from the village, as well as the country, and from several different socio-economic levels and family types. However, in no way can this group be considered to represent a larger population. It does, however, indicate some of the benchmarks from which a more extensive study can be done.

Collection of Data

Data were collected by the interviewer between February 15, and May 31, 1962. Since the interviewer was a full-time employee of the University, most of her interviewing was done on weekends, and in late afternoons.

Usually the interviewer made an appointment to come to a woman's compound to visit. She made this appointment when she saw the woman in the market or at her class. This specific appointment followed a general announcement made in her classes that she hoped to visit all their homes to learn their ways of homemaking.

Sometimes while visiting one woman, she was invited to visit the woman in a neighboring compound, and did this without a previous appointment.

Upon entering the compound, the interviewer usually joined the women in their work, and did her interviewing while they continued to work. This was usually out-of-doors, near their kitchen huts.

She explained her need for information in terms of the needs of the College of Home Economics at the University of Nigeria. Many of the women had visited the Home Economics Building on the nearby campus. The interviewer expressed her interest in understanding their homemaking activities so they could be related to what was taught at the University.

The interview lasted from one to three hours.

The interviewer encountered some resistance to her taking notes while interviewing. This seemed to be a throw-back to experience with census takers. To overcome this, the interviewer took along a local primary teacher. This was a man well-known in the compound, sometimes, in fact, a relative of the people being interviewed. When the school teacher was with her, the women accepted the interviewer writing things down as they answered her questions.

After the data were written up, they were checked for completeness by a sociologist at the University. In some cases, the interviewer was asked to explain a response or re-interview a respondent.

The completed schedules were returned to the researcher in the United States. At that point, they were reviewed, and some clarification made by mail. However, the arrival of the interviewer in the United States in the summer of 1962

helped considerably. At that time, each of the schedules was reviewed by the researcher with the interviewer, to clarify any possible misinterpretations.

In the collection of data, one must recognize bias both for the interviewer and the researcher.

The interviewer has stated that she would not have believed the way people of her own tribe lived, if she had merely been told about it, rather than observed it, during the course of the field work. This points up the differences between people of the same tribe. So it may well be that the interviewer, in phrasing the question in the local dialect, used the frame of reference of her own tribal group, which was different from that of the group being studied.

Differences in local dialects must also be acknowledged. The interviewer had considerable fluency in the local dialect, but it must be assumed that she could make mistakes.

The interviewer's frame of reference as regards home-making activities, particularly in managerial activities, cannot be assumed to be identical with that of the researcher. Her background in domestic science, as taught in England, is more skill oriented, and less concerned with the processes of management.

There is, certainly, room for misunderstanding in what the interviewer assumed the researcher knew, and her frame of reference in interpreting it. However, the sincerity of the interviewer's actions and of her desire to pursue this study correctly, were evident, and cross checking has given no evidence of bias by intent.

Similarly, the researcher, a member of a technological western culture, must struggle with the built-in biases of her own cultural background. Both in designing the instrument, and interpreting the resultant data, there must be a continual effort to overcome interpreting the data solely in light of one's own value system, which is very different from the value system existent in the culture being studied. That this is never totally achieved must be acknowledged.

Analysis of Data

Analysis of the data has been made descriptively. This has been occasionally supplemented by recently published research findings, and by further clarifying discussions with the interviewer.

CHAPTER IV

DESCRIPTION OF RESPONDENTS

All of the households where interviews were done for this study are located within a five mile radius of the University of Nigeria at Nsukka, Nigeria. (See map in Appendix III) Nsukka is a rural village, in the Eastern Region of Nigeria, forty-three miles north of Enugu, the capitol city of the region.

The study included thirty-two compounds. A compound is that house, or group of houses, belonging to a family, and considered 'home.' Within this compound, several households could be included. A household included a senior wife, married to one husband, other wives and children of that husband and extended family group members. Three of the study compounds were within the village of Nsukka. The rest were in the countryside.

The immediate family within the compounds were chosen for the study to meet the following criteria:

1. Wives in the compound were known to be receptive to the interviewer. In this culture, women are unlikely to talk with strangers. For this reason,

most of the women interviewed had had some contact with the interviewer, in informal classes or meetings.

2. The wives were resident in the compound where they were interviewed.
3. Both monogamous and polygynous compounds were included. Where the interview was done in a polygynous compound, the senior, or first wife was interviewed.

Household Composition

As illustrated in Table 1, eighteen of the families were monogamous at the time of the interview. That is, the husband, head of the household, had one wife. Nine of these families were nuclear families; the household included the husband, one wife and the children. In one monogamous household, the wife was dead, and the household was composed of the widower husband and his daughter. In the other eight households, some members of the extended family also lived with them at the time the interviewing was done.

Fourteen of the families were polygynous at the time of the interview. That is, the husband, head of the household, had two or more wives living in the compound with him. In ten families there were two wives, in one family there were

Table 1.--Type, Number and Composition of Family.

Family type	Number of Families	Number of Wives	Number of Children	Husband's Mother	Other Relative
monogamous, nuclear	10	9[1]	30	0	0
monogamous, extended	8	8	33	2	36[2]
polygynous, not extended	7	16	43	0	0
polygynous, extended	7	19	53	3	33[2]
Total	32	52	159	5	69

[1]One wife dead, husband widower.

[2]Additional extended family members present in compound, i.e., other relatives, number not noted in data.

three wives, and in three families there were four wives. Seven of these polygynous families also had members of the extended family living with them.

The number of family members within the compound ranged from two, a widower and his daughter, to approximately one hundred in a compound where the head of the household lived with four wives and nine children, and also his mother, his four brothers, their wives and children. However, in twenty-one of the compounds, the family size was nine members or less.

A total of 159 children were living with these families at the time of the interviews. Average number of children was about three per wife, except in the case of the monogamous extended family, where it was four per wife. Nine children, the largest number reported for a single wife, belonged to one monogamous extended kin family.

Family Mobility

Twenty-three of the families had lived in their compound all their lives. Twelve of these were monogamous, and six of the monogamous families were nuclear. The remaining eleven families were polygynous.

Four families had lived on the present site less than three years. Three of these families were monogamous, the

remaining one was polygynous. In the three monogamous families, the husband had a high level of education. These three monogamous, mobile families had a salaried income, as did six of the non-mobile families.

Table 2 illustrates that the larger the family size, the less likely it is to have moved. Some of the mobility within the study may have been caused by the development of the University with the resulting shift of some population to clear the land.

It must be acknowledged, also, that because of a University policy to hire the local Nsukka people whenever possible, most people claimed Nsukka as their home, whether or not it actually was, in order not to jeopardize their opportunities for employment.

Socio-Economic Level

Several items were used as indicators of the socio-economic level of the respondents. These included: (1) education of the adults; (2) husband's income base; (3) cash income of other family members; (4) number of wives; (5) housing type, and (6) title-taking.

Table 2.--Mobility, according to family type.

Family type	All their lives	In present location, three or less years	Fifteen or more years, but not all their lives	Total
monogamous, nuclear	7	1	2	10
monogamous, extended	5	2	1	8
polygynous, not extended	5	1	1	7
polygynous, extended	6	0	1	7
Total	23	4	5	32

Education -- Data on education levels were obtained from thirty-one families. In twenty-five of the families, neither the husband nor his wife could read or write. Twelve of these were polygynous families, and thirteen were monogamous families.

In the six families where the husband could read and write, the wife could also. There was only one polygynous family in this group; the husband and both wives could read and write.

Among the literate monogamous families, one husband held a school certificate, another a teacher's certificate. No wife had gone to school beyond Standard Six (equivalent to junior high level in the United States).

In this group, educated men married women who also had some education. The level of education for all was quite low. (Table 3) While complete data were not collected, at least fifty of the children in the compounds were in school at the time of the interview.

Husband's income base -- In nine families, the husband had a job which paid regular wages. In twenty-three of the families, all or part of the income was from farm crops, subsistance agriculture. Six supplemented this income by other activities: wine-tapping, hunting, selling gun powder,

Table 3.--Education, according to family type.

Family Type	No formal education				Formal education				Total	
	Do not read or write		Can read and write		Completed std. 3 -6		School or tch.cert.			
	H.	S.W.	H.	S.W.	H.	S.W.	H.	S.W.	H.	S.W.
monogamous, nuclear	9	8	0	0	0	1	1	0	10	9
monogamous, extended	4	4	2	1	1	3	1	0	8	8
polygynous, not extended	6	6	1	1	0	0	0	0	7	7
polygynous, extended	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6
Total	25	24	3	2	1	4	2	0	31	30

H - Husband

S. W. - Senior Wife

trading in domestic animals or household articles at the markets.

Cash income of other family members -- In twenty-three of the families, the women also listed income sources. Support by children was indicated indirectly in several of the interviews.

Number of wives -- In Nigeria, socio-economic level may also be indicated by the number of wives; in three of the compounds the family head had four wives. Fourteen households included two or more wives.

However, the eighteen monogamous households may not be considered to be of a lower income level by this criterion; since religious belief has considerable effect on whether or not a man is monogamous. We may conclude, however, that of the fourteen polygynous households, three (each with four wives) were more wealthy.

Housing type -- Housing is also indicative of socio-economic level. Six compounds included houses built of cement block walls, with zinc roofs, the most expensive housing in the area. Nineteen compounds included only houses made with mud walls and thatched roofs, the least expensive type of house for that area. The other seven families had some houses in their compounds that were not

mud and thatch, but were less expensive to construct than the cement and zinc.

Title-taking -- Title-taking in this area of Nigeria is an indication of wealth,[1] rather than family inheritance. While there is no question in the study specific to the identification of title holders; the surname used does indicate that one member of the study (a household head with four wives) is holder of a title, and acts as spokesman of his village.

Summary

The members of this study are, for the most part, non-mobile, from a range of family types and sizes. The majority are illiterate, dependent on subsistence agriculture for their livelihood. The wives supplement the family income with petty trading.

In the polygynous families, most men can afford fewer, rather than more, wives. Most of the housing is of the simplest type.

A range of socio-economic levels is represented. Among the traditional families the lower level is represented by those monogamous families who cannot afford to be polygynous. These families live in simple houses, survive on simple diets.

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[1] P.Ottenberg, The Position of Women, 215.

Table 4.--Economic indicators, according to family type.

Family type	Income: husband earned wages	Income: subsistence agriculture, supplemented with other income	Income: subsistence agriculture only	Income: wives listed supplemental income	No. of families
monogamous, nuclear	2	2	6	7	10
monogamous, extended	4	1	3	3	8
polygynous	1	3	3	7	7
polygynous, extended	2	0	5	5	7
Total	9	6	17	22	32

In this study, the highest socio-economic level of the traditional families is that of the title-holder, who is spokesman of his village. The family lives in a large compound. There are four wives, and fourteen living children in the compound. The houses are all of mud wall construction, with thatched roofs. There is no sewing machine, no iron, no clock. All the adults are illiterate, but three children - boys - are attending primary school. They have lived in this compound always. Farming is the only income source. Each wife has her own income from petty market trading. The women work in the farm. Their diet is of traditional, high-starch food, such as pounded foo-foo and soup or stewed yam.

Traditional families are of a higher socio-economic level when they have a cement-walled or metal-roofed house for the husband, and their children attend school though the parents are illiterate.

Against this traditional pattern, a new criterion for judging socio-economic level is emerging. That includes the literate, salaried, more mobile families. These families may not farm, and therefore their position in the community cannot be judged by the amount of land they work. They may be young, and do not have the 'elder spokesman' role in the community. They may live in apartment-type houses, rather

than the traditional compound. They may be, or aspire to be, polygynous, but they may, for religious or other reasons, have rejected polygyny and remain married to one wife only. These people do enjoy various degrees of prestige, status and wealth, in a pattern superimposed on, and often in conflict with, the traditional pattern. They can relate to the world of technology and urbanization through their abilities and skills.

There is, then, in contrast to the polygynous spokesman of the village, another member of high socio-economic level in this sample. This family lives in an apartment compound with eight other families. They moved there two years ago from another Ibo city. Both the husband and wife are educated. The family group - monogamous - includes four children and two servants. The homemaker uses an iron, a clock, a sewing machine. They do no gardening, but purchase all their foodstuffs at the market. The husband is salaried, the wife does no market trading or other income-producing work. They enjoy a radio, gramophone, newspapers, books and magazines. They eat a varied diet, the children have assigned tasks, the husband saves money in a bank. In Nsukka, this is the emerging high socio-economic level family.

CHAPTER V

RESOURCES

In attempting to observe homemaking activities in a different culture, there are many unknowns, and the ways of discovering them are uncharted. In relating whatever could be learned in Nigeria to what was already known about homemaking activities in the United States, a connection had to be made with current knowledge in this country. In doing this, the description of resources given by Gross and Crandall seemed to be a guide to the specifics of what was used, and an opening to how the resources were used, the activities. Gross and Crandall state:

> ...resources of the family are used to achieve the family's goals, and that the decisions made in management determine how these resources will be used.[1]

> Resources are similar in that they are all limited, their use is interrelated, and one may,within limits, be substituted for another.[2]

An attempt was made, in this study to get some inventory of the resources available to the housewives of Nsukka. These are described on the following pages.

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[1]Gross and Crandall, 82.

[2]Gross and Crandall, 92.

Resources of the respondents were assessed, and activities which involved use or allocation of the resources were noted. In analysis of the data, resources of two general classes were studied. These were work capacity and situational resources.

Work Capacity

Work capacity includes individual abilities, skills and physical energy. It can be measured by work out-put or by time spent in a given activity. This resource, a part of every individual in the compound, was the most available.

Physical stamina -- Physical stamina, for walking to the farm, to market, for water, for firewood, was a major resource, in every family. With the exception of obtaining water, this study did not determine actual distances walked, or hours of the day spent in each activity. Distances from water have been noted, and the major markets are noted on the maps. (Appendix III) From this, it might be inferred that physical stamina is a primary resource of the Nigerian homemakers in this study.

Skills and abilities -- Special skills or abilities of some homemakers expand their alternatives. Six of the women are weavers. Using cotton grown on their farm land, they

weave cloth which can be sold at market. After the cotton is grown, the females of the household (women and children), spin it into thread.* It is woven on a bamboo loom. This cloth, used mainly as wrappers, is sold at the local market. It may also be woven on special order, or for a weaving middle-man, who distributes it over a wide area of Nigeria.

Four of the women process palm kernels. This gives them a supply of palm oil for their own cooking use, and provides a surplus to be sold at the marketplace. Palm kernels grow in a large cluster at the top of a palm tree, as a coconut does in a coconut palm. When the cluster of palm kernels is cut down, the individual kernels are cut off the center core. These are reddish, brown and yellow, and about the size of a large walnut. The kernels are crushed, or allowed to partially decompose. Then the pulp is extracted and boiled. The oil, a stiff grease of an orange-red color, is skimmed off. The work of extracting and preparing palm oil is a woman's activity.

Two of the women add to their income by sewing. Nineteen of the women said they did not know how to sew.

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*It was noted that some of the woven fabrics were dyed, and also contained imported threads. The market place had indigo pots, and it is assumed that imported threads and dyeing service were purchased by some of the weavers.

Two of the women keep chickens, and trade eggs at market. No mention was made by these women of selling chickens at the market. However, chickens provide a part of food for the family, and serve as a sacrifice to the traditional gods.

Twenty-nine of the women spent time raising farm crops as a source of family food. Two of the women mentioned selling farm crops at the market as a source of money income.

Thirteen others noted income from trading at the local markets. This is an indication that they rely on their ability as gardners if they are trading on foodstuffs, or their business acumen if they are retailing items purchased at wholesale prices. These findings are similar to those noted by Phoebe Ottenberg when she describes the trading pattern of Ibo women:

> ...a woman usually begins trading with the slender margin of her agricultural surplus ...only by patient toil and saving does she acquire sufficient trading capital to buy goods wholesale to sell retail.[1]
>
> ...not only does it (trading) represent a means of acquiring economic independence, and possibly wealth - both of which are highly valued by the Ibo - but also market day is a welcome break from the toil and monotony of farming and household tasks.[2]

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[1] P.Ottenberg, The Position of Women, 208.

[2] Ibid., 209.

> ...as in the case of farming, the factors of physical strength and personal ambition are important to a woman trader's success.... success or failure of market trade may depend on other factors. One is the trader's choice of commodity and the markets at which she will buy and sell.[1]

Education -- Of the six wives with education, only one earns some income by trading at the market. The other five wives note no income of their own. All six of these women are married to men who are also educated and on salaried jobs, so perhaps there is not a need to rely on one's own abilities to supplement income, as the uneducated wives without formal education do.

Children -- Children are another source of work capacity that must be considered in the daily round of living. The extra legs mean less walking for the wife. Seventeen of the families indicated that the children have specific tasks to do. The other families mentioned that the children were expected to help with whatever the mother needed. The tasks most often listed were fetching water, fetching firewood, caring for goats, washing dishes and sweeping the compound. Older children also helped with the farming, and in some cases supplemented family money income with their own earnings.

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[1] Ibid., 210.

Since there were 169 children in these thirty-two families, the work capacity of the children is a resource not to be overlooked.

Servants -- Servants were mentioned as additional sources of work capacity by three families. One family had a nurse-maid for the baby, and a male servant (cook-steward). The other two families had a male servant who helped with the water and wood fetching, laundry and cooking.

Situational Resources

Situational resources are those that are available in the environment. They include natural resources, such as water, wood, foodstuffs. They also include those material resources that may be purchased and used in achieving goals, i.e., house, cooking utensils. As noted, resources are substitutable, and if natural resources are not available, manufactured products can, in some instances, be used in their place.

In a subsistence agricultural economy, reliance is chiefly on the resources provided by the natural environment, such as land for growing crops, water, and firewood. In Nigeria these have been of great concern to the homemaker, but not to the exclusion of the resources of the marketplace. As noted earlier, they are natural traders, so a great

variety of situational resources are available, and considerable individuality is indicated in their use.

Some selected situational resources available to the homemaker have been identified in this study.

Water -- Nigeria has two seasons, a rainy and a dry season. During the rainy season, water is plentiful in compound cisterns or dry wells, in the taps from storage tanks and in the streams. But as the months of the dry season pass, the water supply of the compound diminishes. Both use and evaporation contribute to this process. The tap water may be available only in limited quantities, and the streams dry up. Water is a scarce resource. Few satisfactory alternate resources have been discovered.

When there is an adequate water supply, it is used freely for household purposes which include drinking, washing clothes and utensils, cooking and bathing.

The source of water, then, may come from one or more sources. Of the thirty-two families studied, twenty-one homes used water from the village tap, five used stream water, two used spring or well water. Source of water for the other families was not noted. Most compounds have a shallow well or cistern area where they collect water during the rainy season. Many also have an area in their compound

where many clay pots are set into the ground to store water. These areas are noted on the diagrams in Appendix II.

In all cases, water was carried to the compound. The shortest distance was 10 yards for one family. However, twelve families carried their water three miles or further, and twenty-three of the families carried water one mile or further.

Water is carried - on the head - from the source to the compound in pails, tin cans, leather sacks, clay pots and calabashes (local gourds). It is stored in the compound in metal drums or large clay pots.

Garden or farm -- The growing season follows the rain cycle. At the time of the interviewing, the growing season had just begun. Two families in this study did not do any gardening or farming. All others had some land growing crops. For seventeen families, it was their source of cash income, as well as their own food supply. The others depended on it for some of their own food, at least. The crops most frequently mentioned being grown were yam, cocoyam, maize (corn), cassava, and green vegetables. Yam, cocoyam, and cassava are root crops. They are a starchy food and a staple of the local diet. Since it was the beginning of the growing season, most of the families (21) were eating greens from

their gardens. Most other food eaten at that time was purchased at the market, but yam, maize, cassava, cocoyam,melon, pepper, oil corn and beans were grown at home and used by some of the wives in preparing meals the day of the interview.

Most compounds have trees growing in them which supplement the diet and the income when they are bearing fruit. These include palm oil, coconut palm, banana, orange, grapefruit,papaya, cashew nut, kola nut, plum, plantain, mangoes and avacado pears.

No specific data concerning the land holding system were collected in this study. However, the literature indicates that the land holding system in the Nsukka area is very complicated. Some may grow their crops in the compound yard, or adjoining farm, but most walk to their farms located away from their residence. Trees belonging to one family may grow on land belonging to another. Actually, ownership title to land belongs to the sub-tribal family, not any individual. Ottenberg notes:

> Her (the wife's)rights to the use of farm land are obtained through her husband, since her crops, with the exception of cassava, are grown on the edges of and between the mounds in which the husband's yams are planted. Cassava is either planted in yam heaps after the yams are harvested or grown in separate plots devoted to that crop alone. The amount of farm land a woman may use during a given season is largely a function of

> her husband's standing in relation to landholding groups with which he is associated and his personal initiative in dealing with them.[1]

Compound -- An Ibo compound usually consists of a number of houses. See diagrams in Appendix II. In a polygynous household there is a house for the husband, a separate house for each wife and her children, and a separate kitchen for each wife. A monogamous household may also follow this pattern. There are many cultural beliefs, as well as climatic reasons, for the separation of the husband's house from that of the wives. The smaller houses are easier to construct. If one were to draw an analogy between a western house and a compound, each separate house of the compound is a room of the house. The difference is that there is sunshine, blue sky, or rain between the rooms of the houses. As described in the next chapter, the compound is considered the unit, and the ground between the houses is treated as a part of the total house; it is swept and cared for as in a house.

The compound area is usually surrounded by a fence or hedge. Within the area there may be other buildings, such as goat houses, storage barns, an enclosure for bathing and a toilet pit.

The compound may also include one or more juju shrines,

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[1] P.Ottenberg, The Position of Women, 208.

or "earthen gods." These are symbols of the local animistic religion, and are protective for the owner. They often take the form of a pile of broken clay pots, or a heap of earth with a stick in it.

Most of the families lived in compounds that followed the typical pattern just described. However, four variations to this typical pattern were noted by the interviewer. These variations were described as:

> He has a big concrete house with about eight rooms. It had a zinc roof. The wives have a room each in the big building. There is a four room kitchen behind the building. (Four wives in this family.)
>
> This is a big house with five rooms. Each wife has a room in the house and an open, half mud wall kitchen behind the big house. (Two wives in this family.)
>
> One big house of eight rooms, one kitchen and fenced bathroom, all in open place. (Family of eight, one wife lives here.)
>
> There are three buildings, the big house which has about twelve rooms, the side building which has about six rooms, and the building behind the big house which has three kitchens, two bathrooms, and a toilet. About three families share a kitchen, there is no fence. (Monogamous family of six, shares compound with eight other families, and occupy two rooms in the big building.)

The latter type of housing arrangement was used by three families in this study.

Composition of houses -- In twenty-two of the compounds, all the houses were built with mud walls. The mud of the

Nsukka area makes a sturdy, lasting house. Four compounds had at least one house with walls of mud, with cement plaster over it. Six compounds had one house or more built with cement block walls.

Twenty of the compounds had houses with thatched roofs. The thatch may be of savannah grass - a local long grass, or of the palm tree branches, cut and dried. Ten compounds had houses with zinc roofs, and two compounds had houses with iron sheet roofs. In most compounds, if there were one large house of cement block and zinc, all the out buildings or other smaller houses would be built of the local mud, with thatched roofs. In ten of the compounds, no house had windows. In twenty-one of the compounds, at least the large house had windows. A window is an opening in the wall. In no case would it have glass or screen in it. Similarly, the door of a house would often be a door-way, an opening through which you enter the house, but it could not be closed.

Source of light -- No house in this study had electricity. One compound was located near the power line, but was not yet connected. The power lines were brought from Enugu to Nsukka when the university was built in 1960. Before that, there were no electric power lines for thirty or forty miles from Nsukka.

There is little variation in the length of the day, due to the nearness of the equator. Usually daylight hours are approximately seven a.m. until seven p.m.

Many materials were used to supplement the sun as a source of light. There was a range of cost involved in them, and many homes had several types of lamps. The types were:

(1) 'orere' - the local lamp, and least expensive, is a torch stick, soaked in palm oil. Only two families mentioned this as a source of light.

(2) 'ochanja' - a palm oil lamp, is made by filling a can with palm oil, and inserting a wick. This is also called a bush lamp. Twenty-two of the families mentioned using these.

(3) kerosene lamp - imported, and burning kerosene rather than local palm oil, was used by fourteen of the families.

Cooking utensils -- The compounds had a variety of cooking utensils. Cooking pots were usually clay, twenty-nine families mentioned these, or metal. While the metal was usually heavy iron, they also had some aluminum or tin pots. Most of the cooking is done in the large pot, suspended on a tripod over an open fire. Five women mentioned a grinding stone as a utensil used, and twenty-two of them mentioned the

the mortar and pestle. This is a large mortar, about two feet high, and a pestle about four feet high, used in pounding yam or cassava for "foo-foo." Twenty-five of the families also mentioned the utensils used for cooking and eating: large cooking spoons and carving knives, forks, knives and spoons, plates, cups and glasses for eating were mentioned. Local materials were used for some of the utensils such as small calabashes for spoons, and wooden carved cooking spoons. Knives were also made locally from metal. However, imported table ware, and enameled kitchen ware were available at the markets.

Time pieces -- Seventeen of the families did have a clock in their compound. However, they mentioned various other methods used for telling time. The remaining fifteen families relied on the local means of telling time completely. These included looking at the sun, looking at the shadows, the cock-crow, the church and the school bell. The opening of flowers on some of the local bushes are also used as a time guide. One respondent said:

> The wives check clock closely when it was their turn to care for husbands, so they would have 'chop' ready when he got home from work. In the fields, the 'nsansa' plant has a flower that opens at one o'clock and women watch it and know when to hurry home for mealtime.

Ironing facilities -- Twelve families did not have an iron, but six of these mentioned folding their clothes, and storing them under the pillow on their bed. Four also mentioned dampening their clothes in the dew to straighten them. In some families, the costume worn may be a wrapper of a straight piece of cloth, which would not require much ironing.

Sixteen families did have an iron. This was not electric, of course, but called a box iron. It is made of metal, with a large base in which hot coals are inserted to heat the iron.

Markets -- In addition to the garden or farm produce, all the families do some purchasing at the local markets. The markets listed where purchasing had been done the week of the interview were Oye Orba, Edem Ani, Ibagwa and Nsukka. The Ibo week is a four day week, and the country markets are open once a week, on a rotating basis, so each day there is a market open. The Nuskka market is a larger village market, and is open twice a week, or every other day.

No attempt was made to ascertain the range of goods available at the markets, but the respondents were asked what they had purchased at the market that day, and this does give an idea of the range of things available, and used by

the wives in this study. These include eggs, sweet potato, yam, corn, cocoyam, crayfish, green vegetables, ground nut, meat, fish, salt, cassava, rice, beans, onions, peppers, bread-fruit, ground pea, and garri (cassava meal).

Two of the families do not have gardens, and purchase all their food in the market.

Mass media -- It could be assumed that outside sources of information expanded the knowledge of family members and affected the utilization of the work capacity resource; however no empirical data were sought to support this assumption. Availability of outside sources of information in the compound was noted. Nineteen of the thirty-two families had no radio, newspapers, magazines or books in their compounds. Nine families did have radios. Five received the newspapers regularly, six others received the newspaper occasionally. Eleven families had books within their compound; seven had magazines available occasionally, only one family received magazines on a regular basis. It was noted that the reading materials were primarily for the children who were in school.

A comparison of the resources used by the polygynous and monogamous households would indicate little distinguishable difference in pattern. In housing, there were six polygynous

compounds with cement or cement and mud-walled houses, as compared to four monogamous homes with the same. Eight polygynous compounds have houses with metal roofs, while four monogamous houses have metal roofs. Conversely, fourteen monogamous compounds have only mud wall houses with thatch roofs, while only eight of the polygynous compounds had only mud buildings. Only three polygynous compounds had no houses with windows, while seven of the monogamous compounds had windowless houses. So, it could be concluded that the polygynous compounds often spent more money on their houses - the husband's house, at least.

Six of the monogamous compounds had ju-ju shrines and three of the polygynous compounds had them.

Material resources were about evenly divided between the two groups. The greatest difference appeared in the areas of wives engaged in market trade. In ten of the polygynous compounds the senior wife supplemented her income by market trading, while only three of the monogamous wives did. There were more monogamous wives involved in home activities for additional income, such as weaving. The need to be at home if she were the only wife may be a factor, and the age of the wife might also be a contributing factor.

In summary, resources available to the homemakers in this study were analyzed from the standpoint of the two main classes: their own or family member's abilities and skills, and the natural and material resources available.

Most of the wives were dependent on their own work capacity to supply food and clothing for the family, and for money income. Children were a large potential human resource, but used more systematically by about half the group than the other half.

Of selected resources studied, water was a scarce natural resource at some times of the year, and it was used in a great variety of ways. Garden or farm land was used by all but two of the thirty-two families. There was a wide range of foods that are being grown on the land. The actual amount of land available for farming may be a scarce resource.

The compound or physical setting of the home did not follow a standard pattern; there was a variation in the lay-out of the compound in all thirty-two of the households. Most of them were built of local mud, with thatched roofs. Some few were built of blocks with metal roofs. In one-third of the compounds, no house had windows, and none had electricity.

The markets were used for a wide range of purchases. Most material resources for simple homemaking were available.

About half the homemakers had clocks and irons, and used a variety of kinds of cooking and eating utensils. Only about one-third of the group had access to any outside sources of information, the mass media. There appeared to be no striking variation in the resources available and used by the polygynous household, as compared to the monogamous household.

CHAPTER VI

HOMEMAKING ACTIVITIES

Analysis of the homemaking activities of these thirty-two homemakers is an attempt to see how the resources described in the previous chapter were utilized.

It has been noted that the assessment of resources is only a first step in understanding their role in management. Their interdependence and interrelatedness are also of prime importance.[1] These are complex factors to discover. An analysis of activities is but the beginning of attaining this kind of understanding.

However, it is a crucial beginning, for one must know what is done before going on to why. Gross and Crandall state,

> Perhaps the most significant similarity among resources is that their use determines the kind of life an individual or family has, for no goal can be achieved without the employment of resources.[2]

The analysis of activities is an attempt to understand what resources were employed.

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[1] Beatrice Paolucci and Carol B. O'Brien, "Resources: The Tools of Management." Forecast (March 1960), p.58.

[2] Gross and Crandall, 92.

Daily routine -- The senior wife in each family was asked to describe her daily routine. Twenty-one of them responded. In a family with three wives and extended family members, the senior wife said,

> Get up in the morning, instruct the daughter-in-law, the other children to sweep everywhere - kitchens, rooms and compound. Cook breakfast, go to the market or farm, eat whatever she carried to the farm for lunch or whatever she can buy from the market. Come back in the evening or late afternoon, have a bath and dinner and rest. The rest of the wives live on their own and manage their household and the routine is not very different from mine. But for the fact they fetch their wood and water and do their own washing, while my daughter-in-law and the servant help me with mine.

The following is the description of a day by the only wife in a nuclear family of five:

> She got up in the morning, told one of her children to go to the stream and let one girl spend her time in sweeping the compound and rooms. She will engage in preparing palm produce, her children will go to school. When the children return from school their mother could have prepared something for them to eat. After finishing their meal some children will go to the stream while some may go for firewood, or do any other thing at home. Their mother and the other children cook the supper, when they finish that they all eat, have baths and go to bed.

In another nuclear family of five, the mother describes her day in this way:

> Rises at six a.m. in the morning and tells the daughters to sweep the compound and rooms. Other boys have to fetch water and by seven they settle down to have their breakfast. The children may go

> to farm or they may go to school. Then she will be busy weaving if she did not go to the market or to the farm. By two p.m. the person at home cooks, and the family get together and have their noon meal. After that they will start doing home business if there is any. Towards evening they will start night supper and after that they bathe, sit around before going to bed if the children do not want to learn.

The senior wife in the chief's household gave this resume of her daily activities:

> Fetches water in the morning if there is none, cooks breakfast, goes to the farm and collects some stuffs for sale or for meal. Goes to the market. Comes back in the evening and cooks the dinner, bathes the children for bedtime, if there is enough water.

These descriptions indicate some organizing of the day's activities. Many of the women who responded, however, saw their day much more simply, and more routinely, as for example:

> One wife. Starts with sweeping, weeding in the farm, prepares meal, goes to mearket if on our market day, and finally prepares the evening meal.

> Or, "Start with sweeping the compound, weeding in the farm, washing and feeding the children. Preparing afternoon meal, resting and minor domestic works and finally the preparation of the evening meal. The other wife also sweeps, weeds, cooks, feeds children and prepares meals.

These indicate a sameness and an ordering of similar activities, that is, fetching water, preparing food, washing clothes, caring for children.

A further analysis of some of the homemaking activities serves to emphasize individual differences that at the same time depict the over-all pattern of activity.

Water -- Many of the responses above indicate the concern all homemakers had with the water supply. Distance and use of water have already been discussed, but additional variations in the way this scarce resource was used is noted.

When asked how often they carried water, fourteen of the women replied that they carried water whenever needed. The other fourteen who replied to this question gave a specific answer. One carried water three times a day; the supply was more than three miles distance from her compound. That is a six mile trip for a head-load of water three times a day, or eighteen miles each day spent carrying water. Eleven of the wives carried water twice a day, and the distance ranged from one-quarter of a mile to three miles daily. Eight wives carried water twice daily for distances of three miles (to the water), or more. Added to the exhaustion of the length of the walk, and the heat of the day, and the weight of the load,was the frustration of getting to the water tap, and finding no water coming out. Sometimes they find a long line, and must wait their turn.

Laundry -- Laundry is often done near the tap or stream. Many of the wives prefer to do laundry at the tap or stream if there is not a supply of water at the compound.

Fifteen of the women indicated that they did laundry at home if there was adequate water, or at the stream or tap if water was scarce. One woman did all her laundry at the stream, and twelve women always did their laundry at the tap. There are few streams in the immediate area of Nsukka, and this pattern would in all probability be different near a large stream of water.

Food -- Data were collected concerning cooking practices. All food was prepared in the separate kitchen houses of the wives. Each wife has her own kitchen and usually does the cooking. In nine families, the children also help with food preparation and three families had servants who helped with the cooking.

While most food was boiled, stewed or roasted, they also used the processes of baking, frying and steaming to prepare food. Only two of the wives mentioned baking as a way of food preparation. This is usually done by putting a layer of sand in the bottom of the heavy iron pot, and then putting a lid and hot coals over the top of the pot. Roasting is usually done in the coals, or buried in the hot sand.

Two wives said they prepared food whenever it was needed. Eighteen indicated that they cook three meals a day, and twenty-eight cooked lunch and supper. However, their outline of daily tasks seems to indicate that breakfast was often left-overs from the night before, warmed up, and lunch might also be that, or something eaten at the farm or market.

Seven of the wives indicated no regular meal time, although some of them did say they ate three times a day. One family fed the children four times a day. The times at which they ate varied according to the circumstance, but for most of the families, it was usually about seven a.m., two p.m., and eight-thirty p.m.

One woman said they ate anything they could find. On the day they were interviewed, five families had only two meals, rather than three. It is interesting to note that what constitutes a meal is whatever was cooked. Fruit would be available in most compounds, and one might assume it was eaten, but it was not listed as part of the meal.

An analysis of the food prepared shows considerable variation both in foods used for meals by different women, and in the variety of the menu within one compound. At the extremes, one listed yam for breakfast, corn for lunch and yam for supper. Another listed garri with vegetable soup

for breakfast, boiled yams for lunch, and stewed beans for supper. The base of each meal was the starchy food: pounded foo-foo, corn, beans, garri, cassava, boiled yams, bean pudding, cocoyam, ground pea, stewed breadfruit, rice. This was often served with a soup, which may have greens or other vegetables in it, and fish or meat in it.

For the purposes of analysis, the menus given for the previous day were classified in the following way:

Class A - starch only, or less than 2 meals that day.

Class B - two different menus prepared during the day.

Class C - three different menus prepared during the day.

Fourteen of the families had Class A meals. Four had Class B, thirteen had Class C. Only one household with Group C meals included meat or fish.

Eight of the families using Class A foods were monogamous, six were polygynous. Seven of the families using Class B were monogamous, six were polygynous. Family type did not seem to have any effect on quality of food eaten.

The one family with the Class C meals which included meat was a nuclear, monogamous family, without education, who depended on their farm for income.

It may be concluded that given similar resources, there is a wide variety in type and quantity of food that

might be prepared within the compound.

Child Care -- In the realm of child care, twenty-six of the wives said children were care all day long, except if they were napping. Three said children took most time during the morning and three said they took most care at night. They did not indicate that seasons of the year had any effect on when children needed most care. Thirteen responded that children took more of their mother's time when they were under one year; eight that from first to third years took most of her time; six that first to second year care was most time consuming; and three that the years one to five were most time consuming for the mother. (Table 5) Here again, given the same situation, the mothers react with some variation. While some said care of children took the most time during the first year of life, a few more than half the mothers saw the toddling pre-school years as most time consuming.

Similarly, when children can be most helpful is not affected by the time of year, nor the time of day. Seventeen of the mothers said the years six to twelve were a child's most helpful. Three named the years when children were seven to thirteen; ten when children were ten years old as the most helpful years. One mother thought children most helpful from three years old to ten, and one from eight years old on.

Table 5.--Attitude toward child care, according to family type

Family Type	No Answer	Children take most time				Children most helpful			Total
		under 1 year	1-3 years	1-2 years	1-5 years	6-12 years	7-13 years	10 yrs. on	
monogamous, nuclear	2	4	1	2	1	5	2	1	10
monogamous, extended	1	5	1	0	1	4	0	3	8
polygynous	0	1	4	2	0	3	1	3	7
polygynous, extended	0	3	2	1	1	6	0	1	7
Total	3	13	8	5	3	18	3	8	32

In the area of helpfulness, fifteen of the families did not give the children specific family tasks, and seventeen of the families did. Those tasks included sweeping, washing dishes, fetching water and wood, cutting grass for goats, care of goats, looking after pigs, cleaning compound, running errands. Many other families indicated the children were expected to do whatever their mother asked them to do, although they did not have any assigned tasks. At the same time, some mothers responded that their children were too young to be expected to help, but in some cases the children were as old as those in other compounds who did have specific tasks. (Table 6)

Discipline -- In eleven of the families, the father was the disciplinarian. In seven families, both parents handled discipline. In thirteen of the compounds, any adult would act as disciplinarian of the children, if the need arose. (Table 6)

Savings -- Arrangements for family savings were investigated. (Table 7) Ten families had no family saving arrangements. Twelve families had savings in the bank. Five families saved money at home. Four families used animals as their savings (investment), and sold them when they needed money. In two families, savings were in the form of

Table 6.--Attitude toward child care, according to family type.

Family Type	Children have specific tasks	Children have no specific tasks	Discipline			Total
			father	both parents	any adults	
monogamous, nuclear	6	4	3	7	0	10
monogamous, extended	5	3	4	1	2	8
polygynous	2	5	3	2	2	7
polygynous, extended	4	3	1	0	6	7
Total	17	15	11	10	10	32

Table 7.--Savings arrangements, according to family type.

Family Type	No. of families	No savings arrangement	Bank	Money saved at home	Savings in contri-butions	Invested in animals, crops
monogamous, nuclear	10	3	4	1	0	2
monogamous, extended	8	1	6	1	0	0
polygynous	7	3	1	2	0	1
polygynous, extended /1	7	3	1	1	2	2
Total /1	32	10	12	5	2	5

/1 - Two families in this group each reported two types of savings.

contributions to a local collector, who divided them yearly, after deducting his share for the service. This system, used widely at one time, is currently in some disfavor, as the collectors have not always been trustworthy, and the government has attempted to control this savings method to keep people from being cheated. Two families store their crops as savings, and sell them when money is needed. One stores palm oil in drums, and sells it when money is needed.

In twenty-six of the families, the husband controls the family money. In two families the husband and wife jointly control the money. In one family, the son, who is educated, controls the family money.

In the case of the wife's income, only one wife said she controlled her own money. The five others who discussed it said it was their money, but the husband could demand it. (Table 8)

Changes in tasks -- In a further effort to get at how resources were used, the wives were asked to compare their daily tasks of today with those of the years when they were young and to suggest what had made this difference.

Apparently, the question did not make too much sense to them; or perhaps there really was not any change to note. Ten of the twenty-three wives who responded answered in this

Table 8.--Control of money, according to family type.

Family Type	No answer	Husband controls	Husband controls can demand wife's	Husband and wife	Husband his, wife hers,	Son	Total
monogamous, nuclear	1	7	1	1	0	0	10
monogamous, extended	1	6	0	1	0	0	8
polygynous	0	4	3	0	0	0	7
polygynous, extended	1	3	1	0	1	1	7
Total	3	20	5	2	1	1	32

way:

"One wife and tasks remain the same."

or "There are two wives and their tasks remain the same."

Some, however, did feel there were changes over the years, such as,

> When a young wife comes home for the first time, she lives with the first wife until her own kitchen is built and she starts running her own house like the others.
>
> There is not much difference in this case. Of course, the arrival of three children, with a fourth on the way has created more work for the housewife.
>
> The children are all grown up now, and I spend all my time in weaving and preparing palm produce.
>
> Tasks have been the same, but since all children are all grown up now, I spend most of my time in the markets and farms.
>
> The tap is very near, and we go for water very often.
>
> Fetching water, cooking and marketing is now done with the help of the children.
>
> No change, only that I have more to do now with four kids in the house.
>
> Tasks have been all the same, but since all children are heading to secondary school, and very helpful, there is an increase in their income from weaving and farm work.

Compound changes -- Wives were questioned about changes in the compound over the years they had lived there. Four of the wives said no changes had taken place since they came to live in the compound. Most frequently mentioned (fifteen

times) were the additional plantings of trees for income crops of fruits, nuts, or palm oil.

Also, frequently mentioned was the re-thatching of roofs of their houses, and rubbing the walls. This process, of putting a fresh coat of thin mud on the walls is done, as a new coat of paint, when needed. Other responses were:

> Some houses, because of insufficient care, drooped their heads into ruin. Some economic plants like kola nuts and oil palms were planted.
>
> Many houses have been put up, and many pushed down. Some economic plants around the compound.
>
> They have got children, so getting water is easier than before because children do help now. They are planning to build a zinc house. Hoping to plant more economic plants.
>
> One more kitchen was built when the second wife was married. Some economic plants like orange, palm tree, pears have been planted.
>
> The E.C.N. has just put in electric wires, but there is no light yet.
>
> Five buildings have been put up, and there is a plan to widen the compound.
>
> Their houses were built about sixteen years ago, and it is rotationally rebuilt in three to four years time. They rub walls when necessary.
>
> Fences have been made newly, and the sitting room has been re-roofed of recent. Houses have been the same as from time immemorial.

Aspirations -- An attempt was made to establish the level of management within the family, by noting resources used and the goals of the family, as they might be indicated by expressed aspirations.

The wives were questioned about the level of education they hoped their children would achieve. One wife responded, "As long as there is brains and life." Another said, "Girls through Standard Three, then look for husbands." Many qualified their aspirations with: "If we can afford it."

For three wives, that was the level of their aspiration: as high as they could afford. Eight aspired for their children to go through Standard Six (about eighth grade). Ten hoped their children would go up to college level. Eight hoped their children could go through the university. All the wives with education hoped for their children to go to college level, or through the university. (Table 9)

Of those without education, some were satisfied to aspire to Standard Six, but others hoped their children could get through the university. Since the university was a physical, visual reality, it may seem much more possible to them now than a few years earlier.

Wives were also questioned as to mobility. Two of the families were planning to move to new houses in the area.

Table 9.--Aspirations for children's education, according to family type.

Family Type	No Answer	As high as can afford	Through Standard Six	Up to college level	Through the university	Total
monogamous, nuclear	2	1	2	4	1	10
monogamous, extended	0	0	3	2	3	8
polygynous	1	1	1	3	1	7
polygynous, extended	1	1	1	1	3	7
Total	4	3	7	10	8	32

One wife, whose husband had recently been transferred to Nuskka, recognized that another transfer was always a possibility, and that they might move again. Twenty-seven families stated that they were not planning to move away from their present compound.

Unless resources are first inventoried, it is hard to identify planning, but some small attempt was made.

The interviewer, who had some limited knowledge of planning as used in the home management field, was asked to note evidence of planning.

In seven families, she noted no evidence of planning.

Responses such as "we eat whenever we're hungry," or "we get water whenever we need it," or "we eat whatever there is," substantiate this observation.

Most of the planning done in the other households was of a very elementary level. Fifteen wives said they did laundry whenever needed; two wives had a certain day, Saturday, set aside for laundry. More than half these women gave an estimate of the time the laundry took; it ranged from thirty minutes to three or four hours. One qualified her statement by saying it usually took two hours, or more if the child disturbed her.

Two families had savings plans. There was also evidence of other forms of planning for future security as evidenced by savings arrangements made. (Table 7)

Five families had a specific time set aside (once a week or once a month) when the husband gave the wife money for food. These were all monogamous families.

Five families had a routine of fetching wood twice a week. These were also monogamous families.

Eleven families had specific jobs delegated to family members. All but two of these were monogamous.

Fourteen of the women indicated they planned their work around the market days. This procedure was about evenly divided between monogamous and polygynous families.

This study did not include data on gathering wood, farm work, or market activities mentioned by the homemakers as part of their daily round of activities.

Summary -- There was some variation among the homemakers in their activities. Beyond the variation in available resources is the variation on how these resources were used.

One can perceive an organization of the constant activities, such as food preparation, child care, and water gathering, around the weekly or seasonal routines such as market day and farm work.

There is evidence in some families that a rather complex system exists, in which the homemaker recognizes her responsibilities and works toward their accomplishment by planning and organizing the total work force.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Conclusions

The first objective of this study was to identify selected resources available to selected homemakers in Nsukka, Nigeria. Most homemakers were dependent on their own work capacity to supply food and clothing for the family and for money income. Water was a scarce natural resource, not available in any of the compounds during the dry season. A wide range of foods were grown on the garden land by the homemakers.

The compound, or physical setting, of the home did not follow a standard pattern. Most of the houses were built of local mud, with thatched roofs. None of them had electricity, about one-third of them did not have windows.

The markets were used for a wide range of purchases. Most material resources for simple homemaking were available. About half the homemakers had clocks and irons, and used a variety of kinds of cooking and eating utensils. Only about one-third of the group had access to mass media, an outside source of information.

There appeared to be no striking variation in the resources available and used by the polygynous household as compared to the monogamous household.

While these selected resources were identified, it should be noted that there may be additional resources used by homemakers. Beyond mere identification, it is believed that resources can be measured by the observation-interview technique.

The second objective was to identify homemaking activities existing in these families. The homemaker's description of her daily activities gave one a sense of the organization of the constant activities, such as food preparation, child care, and water gathering. These pivoted around the weekly or seasonal routines such as market day and farm work.

Meals prepared the day before the interview utilized a wide variety of foods, some perhaps more nutritious than others. Some homemakers served three different meals, while others ate what was available. The variation in meals did not appear to be related to family type.

Evidence of planning and saving were cited in some families. Banks were used by the monogamous families for their savings more than by the polygynous families.

Information about most managerial activities is limited in this study, and more would be necessary before the composite of managerial activities could be ascertained.

Some particular needs in this area should be noted. Information about the source of firewood, distance walked, time spent gathering it is needed. Also, what is available to substitute as firewood is scarce. Similar information is needed about the farm, its location, and the seasonal rhythm of farm work.

Each family responded with some way they had of telling time, indicating some sense of time as we know it. This makes it possible to include specific time use information in a further study. Time then becomes a common point around which use of resources in the households can be compared cross-culturally.

It is noted that some of the educated wives did not supplement the family income with market trading or other outside activities. However, no attempt was made in this study to estimate the effect of education on homemaking skills and abilities.

Many questions in the interview were exploratory, included to see if they were meaningful to the Nigerian homemaker. It can be concluded that the questions on child care did not

provoke differentiation in attitudes among the homemakers. Perhaps there is none, but one could assume that there might be, and the questions used were not meaningful to them.

Similarly, the question of control of money needs to be reinforced by other questions when interviewing. Other literature indicates women may have more control over the use of money than they admitted in this study. With the given information from this study, it might be possible to work out some indirect probing to get to these attitudes.

It seems possible to generalize that where the question was specific, i.e., 'what did you eat yesterday?', it was possible to obtain reliable and meaningful information. When, however, the question was very broad and open, it was not possible to find a range of responses that would indicate a variable pattern.

The third objective of this study was to investigate the managerial role of the senior wife in a polygynous compound. This was done indirectly. Several of the senior wives reflected on the period of training a new wife would spend with her. It was in this rather indirect way that the habits, goals and values of the family were transmitted to the newcomer in the compound. Following this, the traditional Ibo democracy gave each woman an opportunity for individuality,

even within the same family. It may well be that a more direct managerial role may be held by the senior wife in another tribal group in Nigeria.

As observed by Simon Ottenberg, the variety of cultural forms underlying the similar broad pattern of Ibo culture[1] are evident throughout this study. Phoebe Ottenberg writes that the component groups of Ibo speak differing dialects and show considerable cultural variation.[2] Within the range of managerial activities, this study has confirmed this observation.

Implications

The implications of this study for the field of home management are that the concepts of resource assessment and allocation to achieve goals seem to be somewhat verified across cultures. Before one can say that resources are in fact assessed and allocated for achievement of goals more precise data concerning goals are needed. In this study, goals were inferred from specific aspiration statements.

It is evident from this study that it is possible to gather specific information through direct questioning.

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[1] S. Ottenberg, Ibo Receptivity, 140.

[2] P. Ottenberg, The Position of Women, 205.

The acquirement of more information through skilled interviewing is needed for better understanding of the managerial role. Detailed observation of all family members, assessment of time spent for given activities, and the interaction between family members is possible and needed. It appears possible for a researcher in a Nigerian compound to record activities chronologically, note what is spent, what is eaten, what is sold, how children are guided in learning family tasks.

This study gives some insight into these areas, and indicates the need for further research illuminating the problems of family life, thus making possible solutions to those problems. To date, anthropological studies have not included specific data from which change in resources and activities could be measured. This study does provide some specific information which can be used as a base for comparison in later studies.

Hypotheses generated by this study which could be empirically tested in further research are: (1) within a polygynous compound, the senior wife sets the managerial pattern for the other wives; (2) within a given polygynous compound, wives manage similarly; (3) each wife in a polygynous family manages her own household; (4) in a polygynous household, the husband manages his own earnings

and distributes a part of them to each wife; (5) the daily work activities are shared by the husband and wife in monogamous households more frequently than in polygynous households; (6) the children are assigned specific household tasks more frequently in the monogamous households than in the polygynous households.

It is hoped that this study will be the first small sand in a growing dune of knowledge about the family and household in Eastern Nigeria.

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APPENDIX I

PRELIMINARY INTERVIEW OUTLINE

1. Description of area
    a. number of homes
    b. family composition within homes

2. Description of particular house and family
    a. what persons regularly sleep here -- age,sex,etc.?
       what persons regularly eat here -- age,sex,etc.?

    b. how many persons living here have had schooling?
       who how many yrs. where

       how much schooling do you expect your children to get?
       identify possible place of attending school

    c. mobility pattern
       how long have you lived here
       where before, etc.
       are you planning to move? where? why?

    d. occupation income patterns
       what does husband do - regular income,
       barter income
           wife do
           children

3. Description of home and its facilities (pictures if possible)
    a. describe rooms -- what takes place there
       walls
       floors
       roofs

b. facilities
   for lighting
   for cooking
   for baking
   for dishwashing
   sewing
   child care
   laundry
   ironing
   keeping time
   sleeping
   eating
   radio, etc.
   religion

c. Have there been any changes in house facilities since you first came?
   what when why

   Will there be any changes? When Why

4. Home activities (to get at managing)

a. describe a typical day -- from when you arise
b. observe a typical day
c. what will you do tomorrow?
   how will you see that these get done.

d. what tasks must be done each day?
   who does them?
   why?

e. food preparation
   what is prepared
   where
   how
   when
   by whom
   what is done with what isn't eaten

f. eating
   regular times
   when where everyone

g. food source
   where did it come from
   if something could be purchased that she makes
      would she purchase it?

h. clothes and textiles
   laundrying facilities
   ironing
   sewing

i. clothes for special people -- babies, occasions

j. cleaning -- sweeping, etc.

k. child care

l. animal care (chickens)

5. Change observed

a. tasks done in home today different from when
   you were a child?

   what
   how different

   tasks be different for your daughter when she is
   your age?

   what
   how different

b. tasks which take less time today than took
   a year ago

   which why

   what could change a day?
   marketing
   illness
   celebrations
   births

c. when do children take most time?
   most helpful?

d. when are children grown up?

   what home tasks do they then take?

Descriptive interview schedule of home in Nsukka area

1. Name

2. Location how far from campus -

which direction -

3. Family composition:
include all members within compound, identify relationships as much as possible.

4. Description of compound:
include number of houses, other outbuildings, compound fence, etc.

5. Description of houses and facilities:
   (a) composition of walls, roof, floor

   are there windows?

   electricity?

   (b) facilities for:

   light

   cooking (include utensils you can observe being used)

6. Water supply (how far to get it, often do they go, what do they store in it, what do they use it for)

7. Do they have

radio		
gramophone		
records for gramophone		
newspaper	occasionally	regularly
magazines	occasionally	regularly

8. Education:
   (a) include some brief estimate of adults schooling and ability, i.e., can they read and/or write (for each adult in compound)

   (b) Each child's present school level:

   (c) If possible, include how far the mother hopes each child will go in school.

9. Mobility pattern:

   (a) How long have you lived here?

   (b) Where did you live before?

   (c) Why did you move here?

   (d) Are you planning to move?

       where

       why

10. Occupation income:

   (a) Does husband have "regular" job

       Work for wages sometimes

       Income only from farm crops

       (a) what crops

       (b) what are principal sources of wife's income (list each wife)

       (c) other information re income

11. Describe any changes that may have been done to the compound while they have been there - what they are, why they did it. Also any they might be planning to do - and when. Include all aspects - houses, furnishings, plantings, etc.

12. Describe what tasks done by wives are different now from when they were young. What has made the difference? (i.e., new water tap might take less time for getting water, etc.)

13. Food preparation

(a) what is prepared

(b) where

(c) how

(d) when

(e) by whom

14. Food source

(a) what is grown at home that is used today

(b) what is purchased (c) from where

15. At what hours did they eat meals that day

16. What did they eat at each meal (list separately)

17. Have Senior wife describe a typical day for her - from morning until bedtime at night. Include some of what other wives in compound do, if possible.

18. Child care -

(a) When does this homemaker feel children take the most time?

Age of child

Time of year

Time of day

(b) When are children most helpful

Age of child

Time of year

Time of day

(c) Do children have specific family tasks?

(d) How is discipline of children handled in this family?

19. (a) Are there any arrangements for family saving?

(b) What are they

(c) If possible, what is the method of money division (i.e.) senior wife controls, husband controls, etc.

20. (a) Do you see evidence of planning and managing in this family?

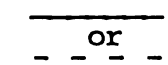
(b) If so, what

APPENDIX II

Compound Diagrams

Key:

 water pots, either of clay or metal (oil drums).

 fence.

no line around compound means no fence.

 garden or farm, without specific crops designated.

k kitchen

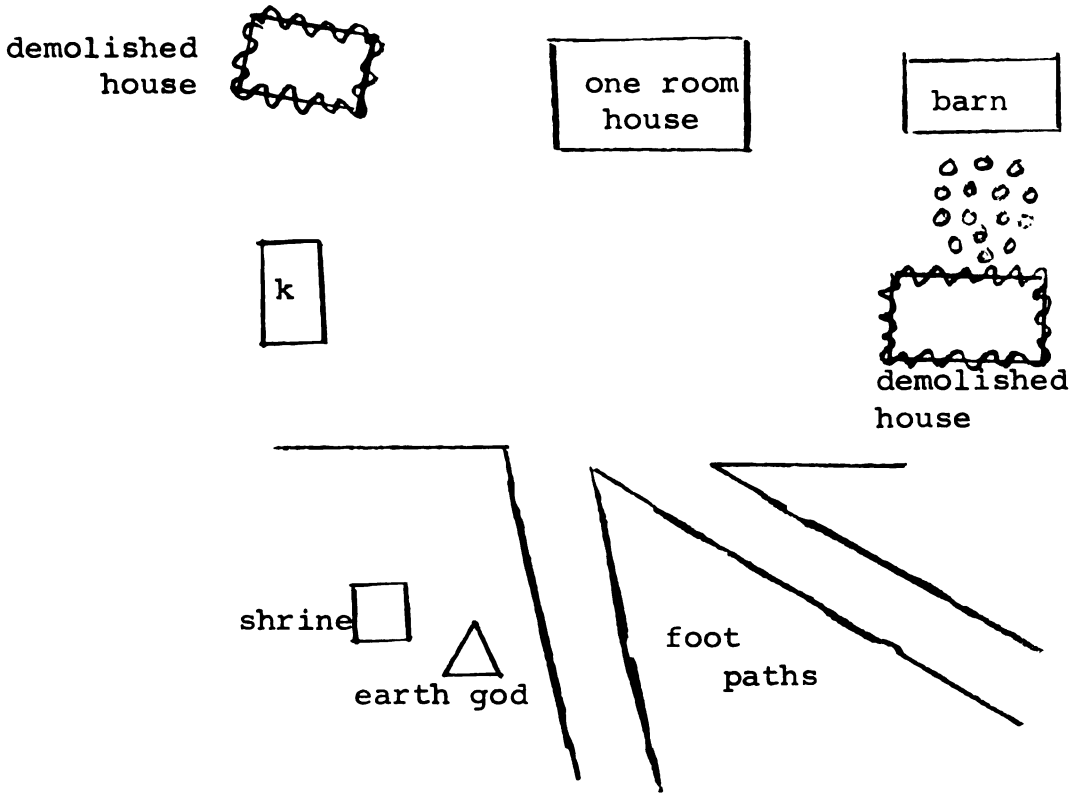
The compound diagrams are grouped by family types: monogamous, nuclear; monogamous, extended; polygynous; and polygynous, extended. These diagrams are not in proportion to each other, or even within themselves. They are, rather, sketches of the various components of a compound, and their spatial relationship to each other.

The diagrams are not consistent in detail presented. Some of the diagrams have most details of the compound, while others are less complete, and include only the major buildings.

In some cases, a specific crop is shown growing in the compound area. Others list 'kitchen garden,' usually a wife has her own garden for vegetables; 'farm' means the ground in which all the compound members may have crops growing.

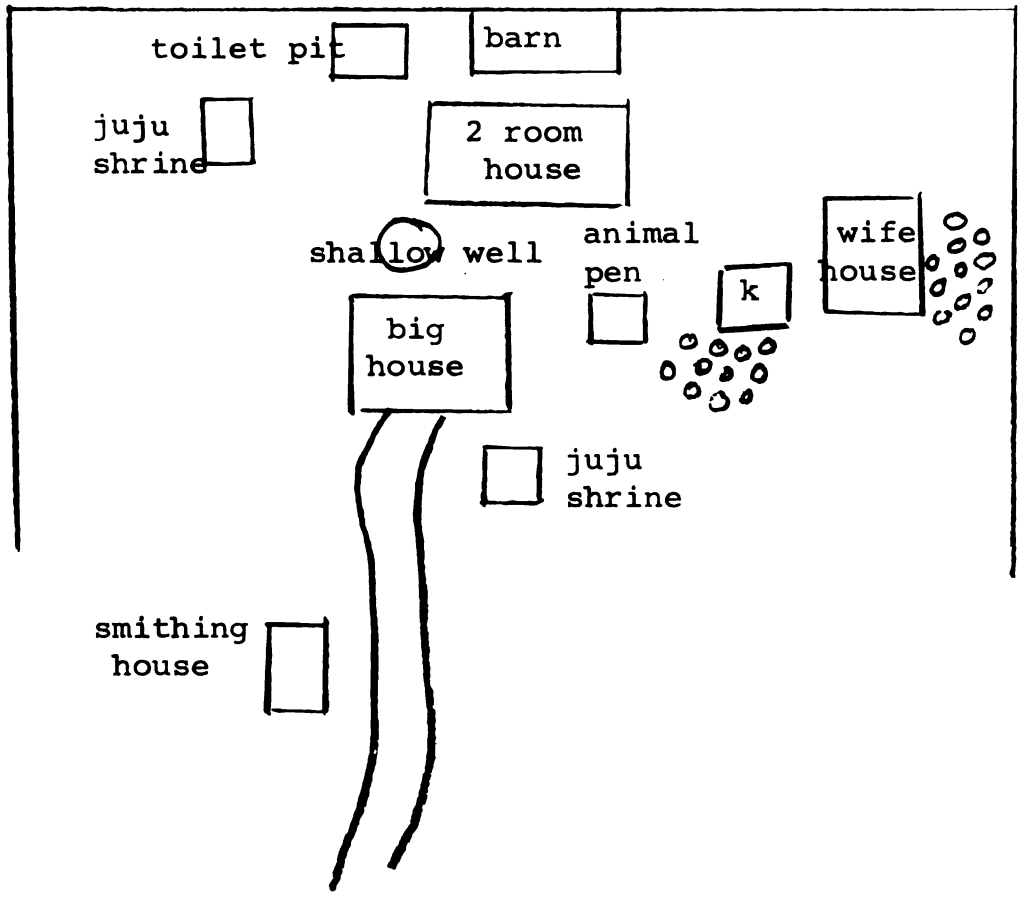
The 'bath' is usually an area enclosed, but open-roofed where family members bathe. The toilet area may be a pit latrine in a building connected to the kitchen, or in a separate enclosed area of the compound. If no area is shown on the diagram, it may be assumed that the 'bush,' the area outside the compounds is used for a latrine.

Monogamous, nuclear



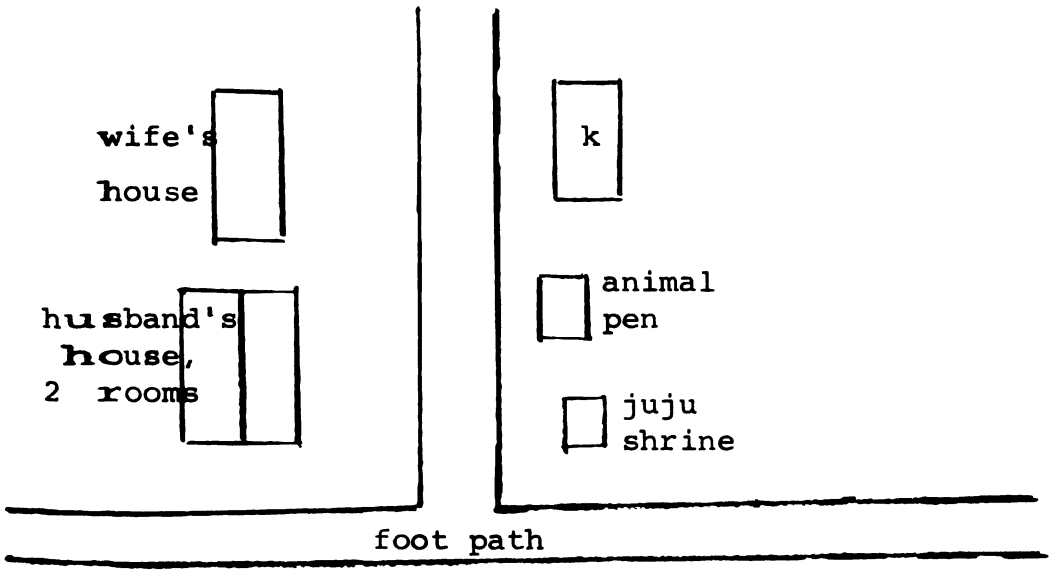
The buildings were all built with mud walls, thatched roofs and no windows. The family includes a husband and a grown daughter. The wife is deceased.

Monogamous, nuclear



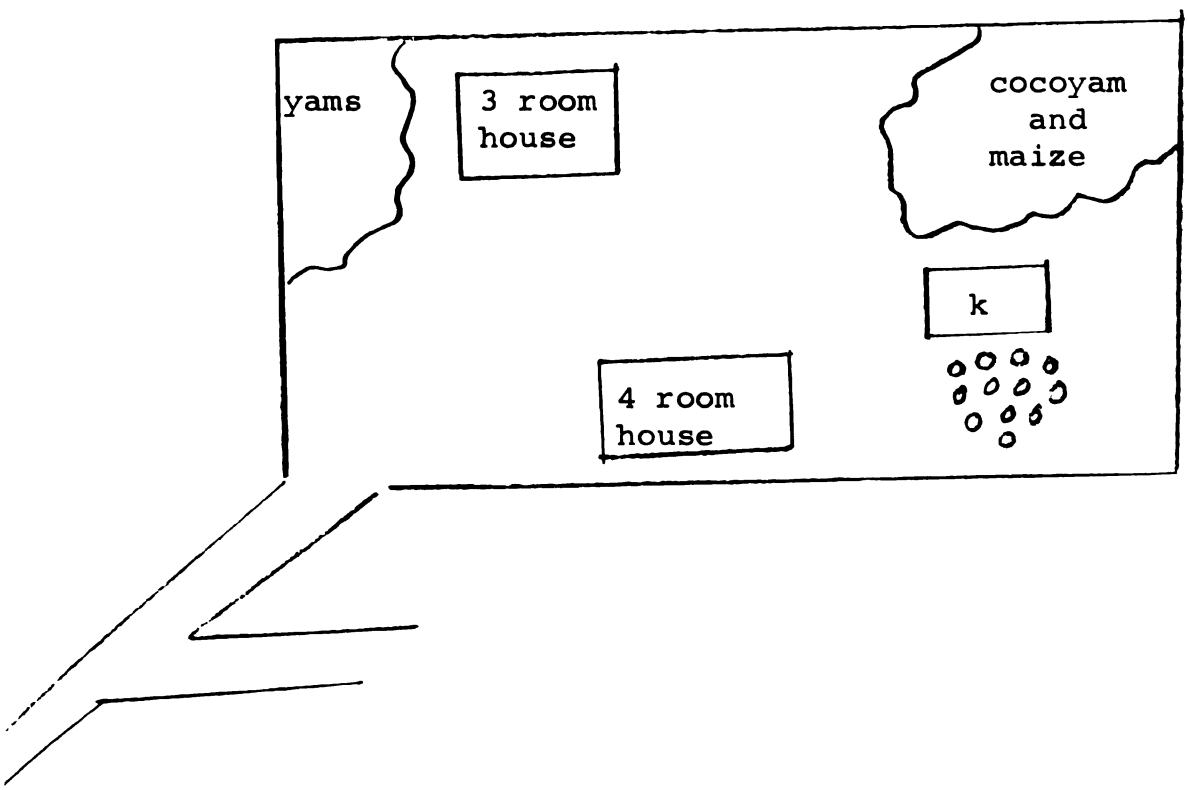
All buildings on this compound are built of mud, with thatched roofs, and no windows. The family living here includes a husband, one wife, and one child.

Monogamous, nuclear



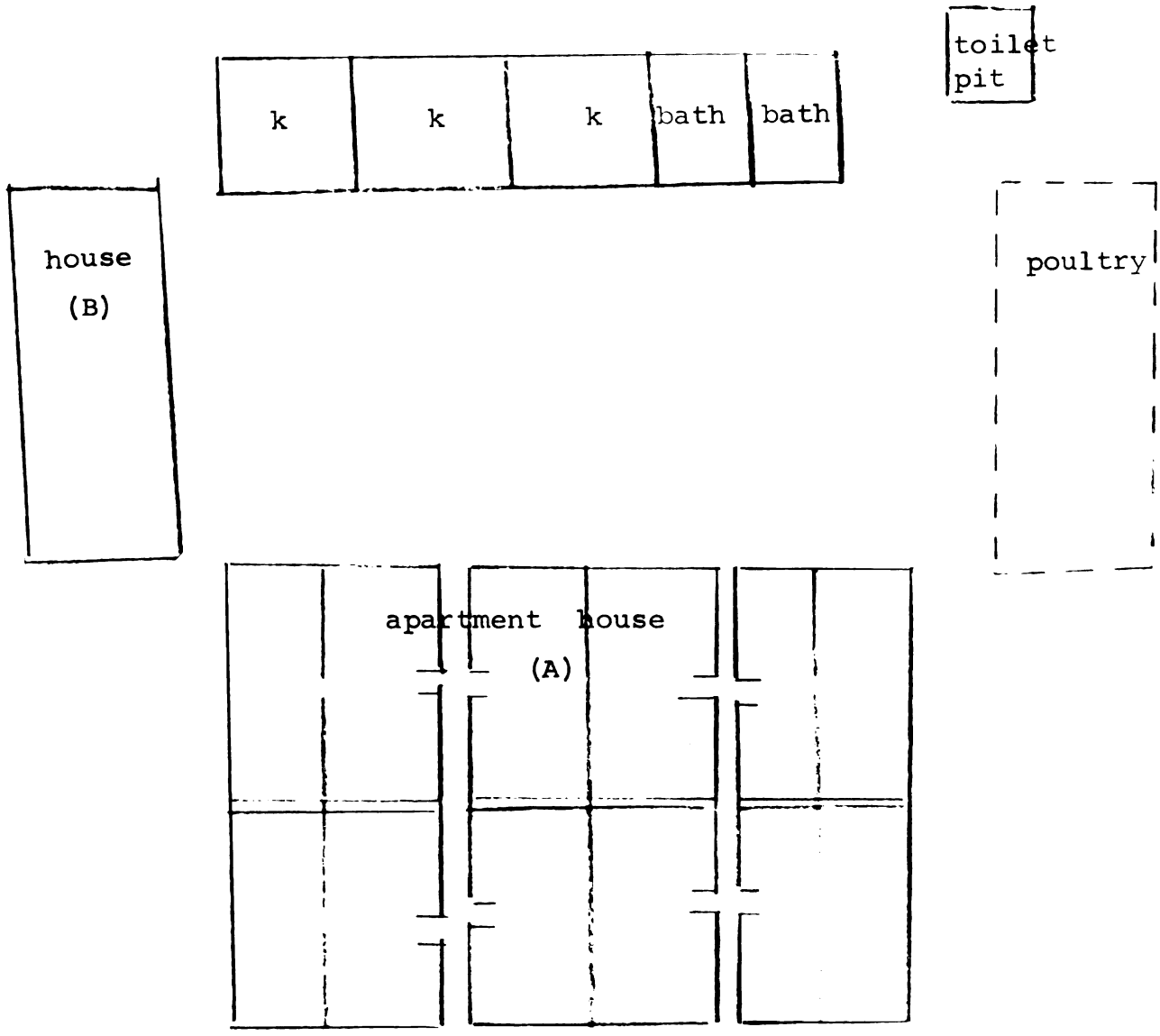
All buildings are built with mud, with thatched roofs and no windows. The family living in this compound includes the husband, his wife and their daughter.

Monogamous, nuclear



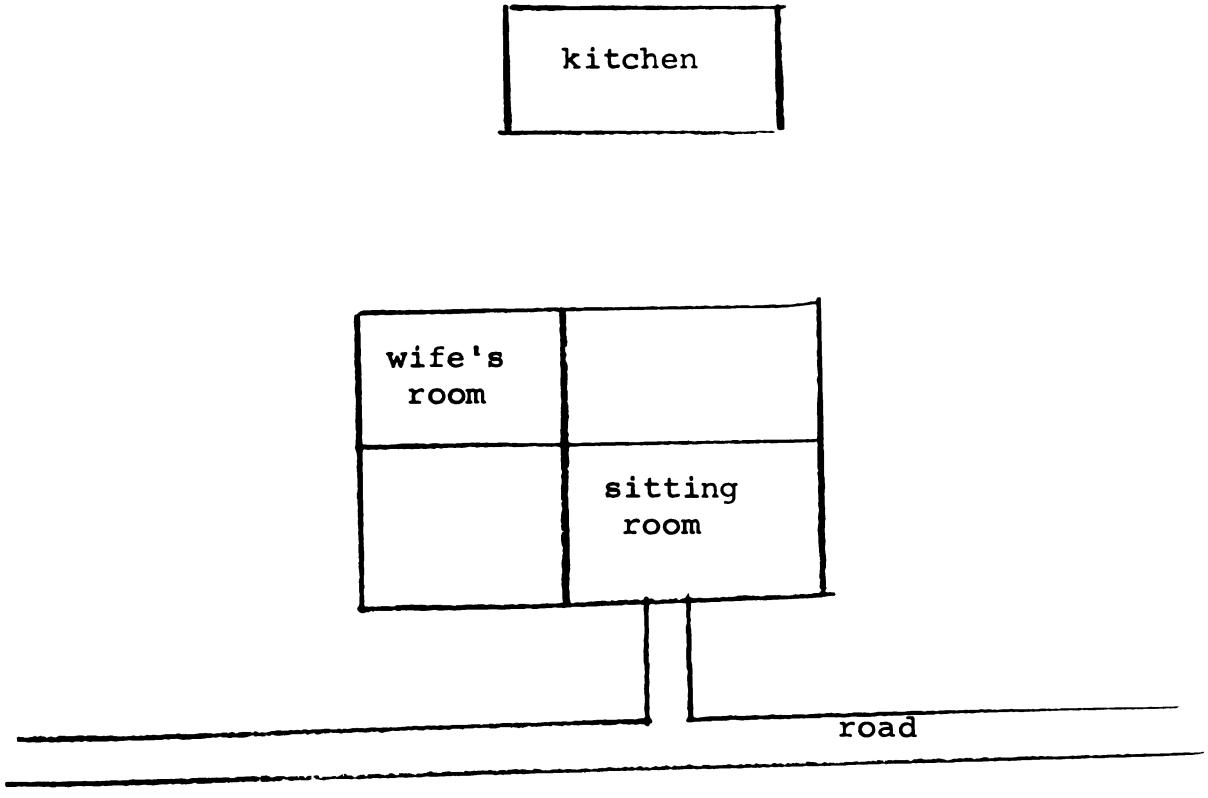
The buildings are all made with mud walls, with thatched roofs. The large houses have windows. The family in this compound includes the husband, his wife and their three children.

Monogamous, nuclear



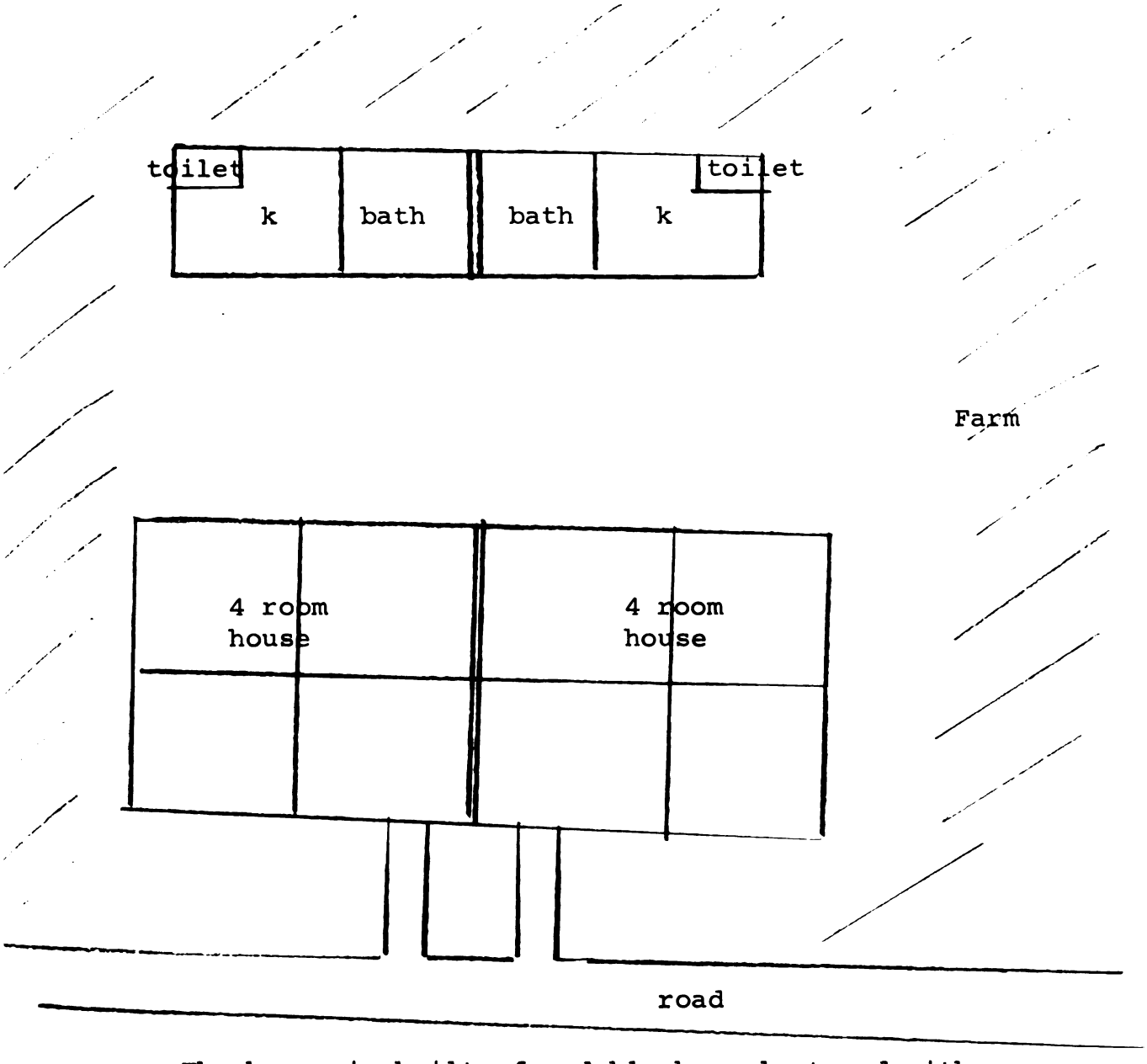
These buildings are concrete, with a zinc roof, and windows. There are nine families in this compound, also boys without wives live in building B. Building A is an apartment house. The family in this study, living in a two-room apartment, includes a husband, wife, four children, and two servants.

Monogamous, nuclear



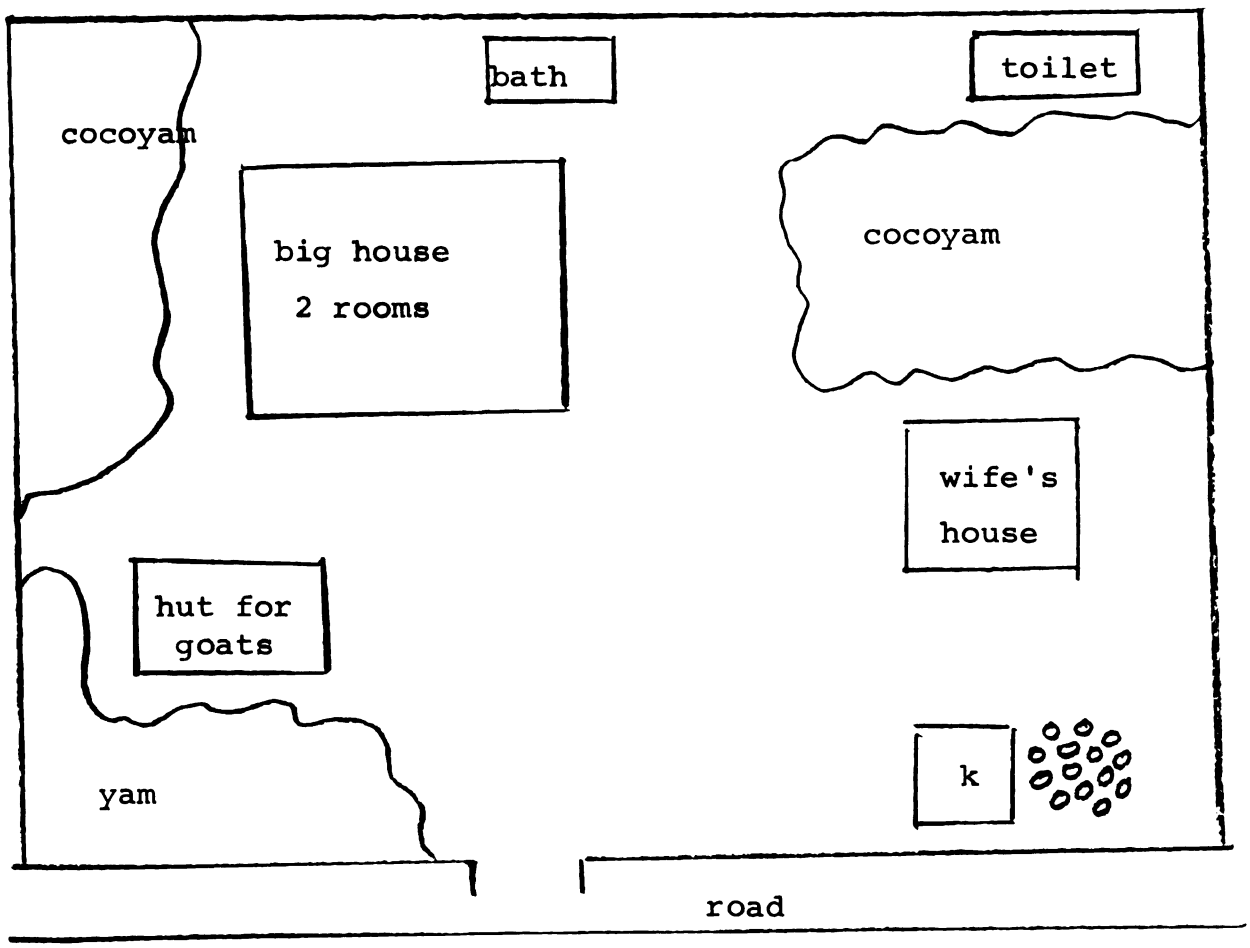
All buildings are built with mud walls and thatched roofs. The house has windows. The family living here consists of one husband, one wife, and seven children.

Monogamous, nuclear



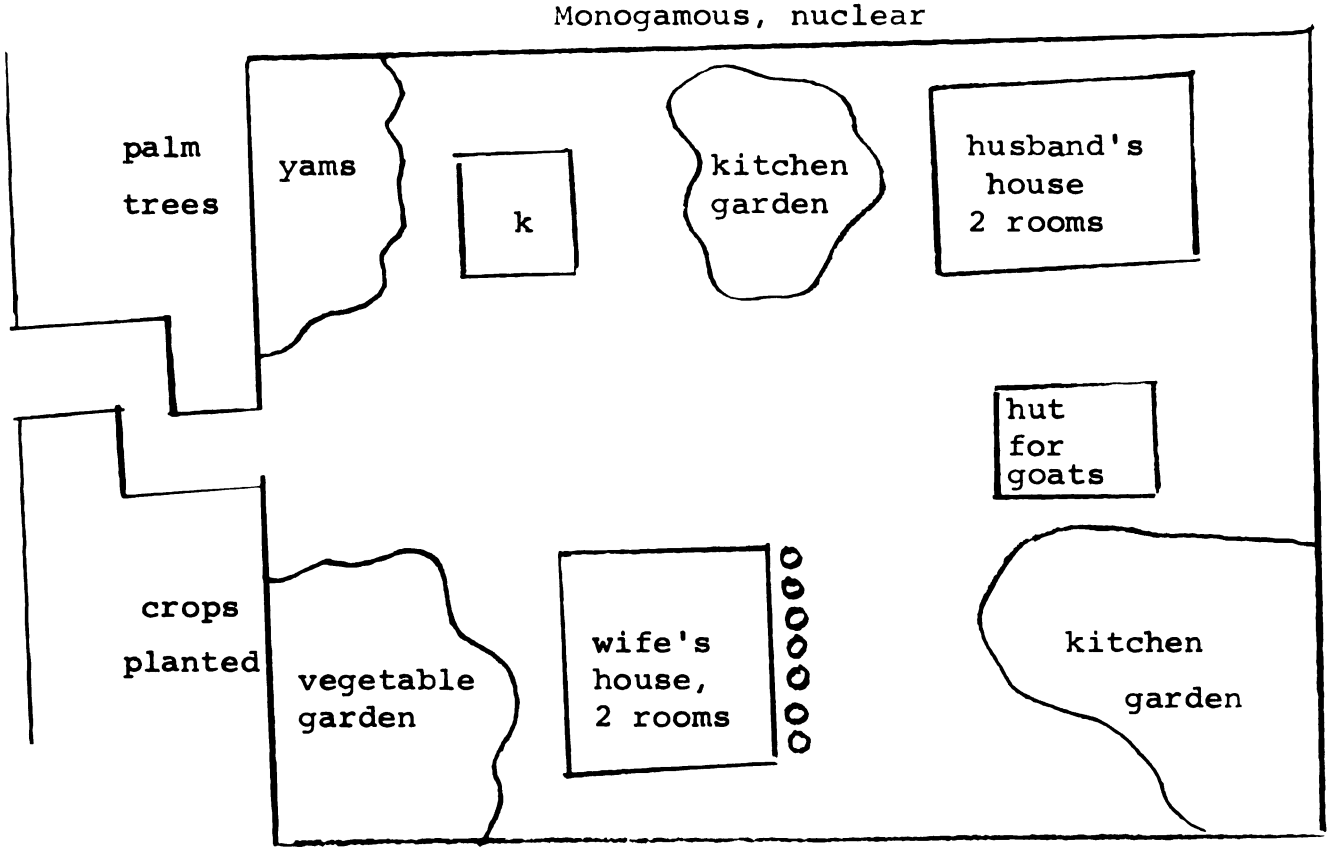
The house is built of mud blocks, plastered with cement. It has a zinc roof and windows. Both the house and the kitchen are divided in two for two families. The family living in one side of the house consists of a husband, a wife and three children. One maid also lives there.

Monogamous, nuclear

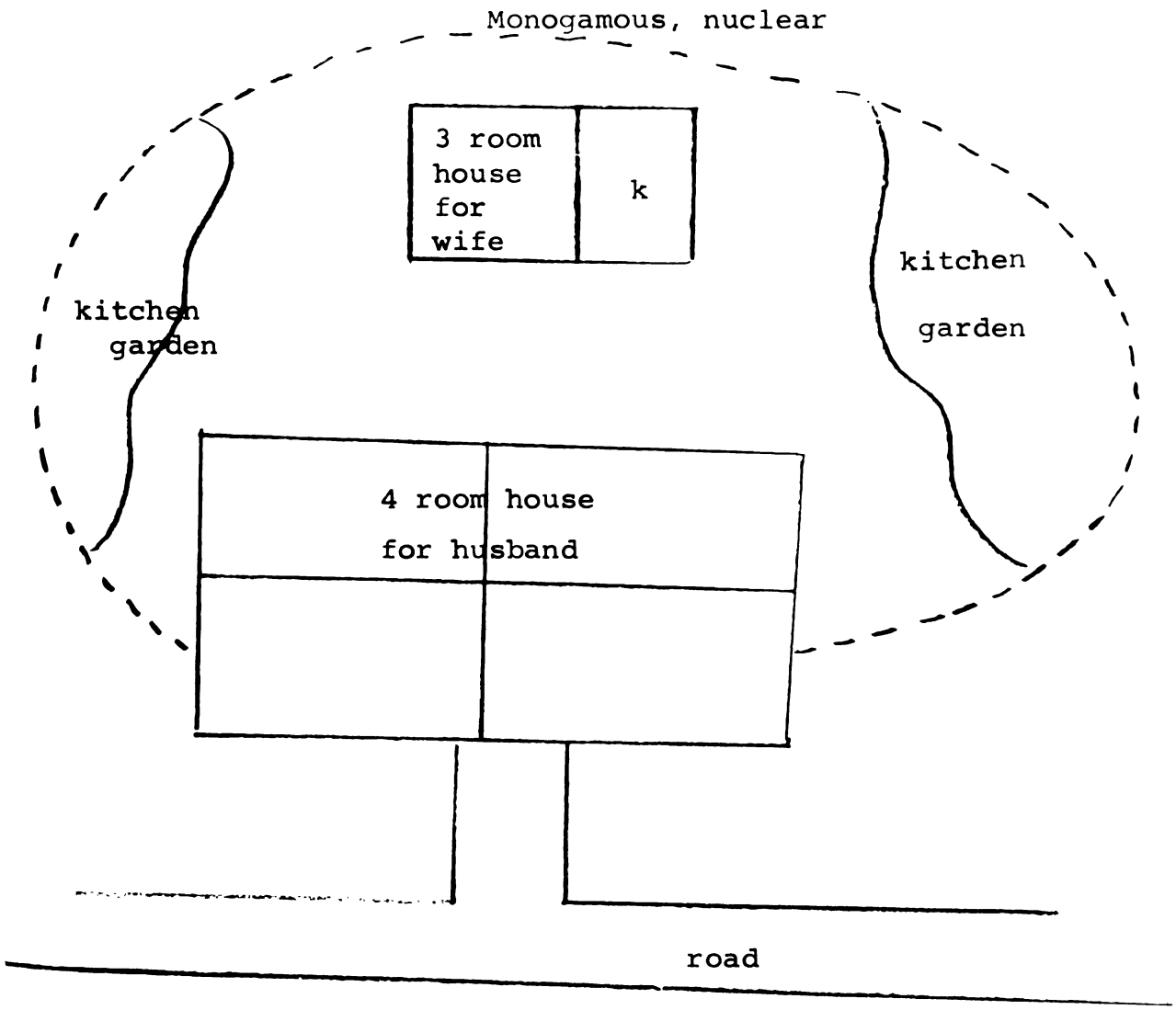


All buildings have mud walls, thatched roofs, and no windows. The family living in this compound include the husband, his wife, and their four children.

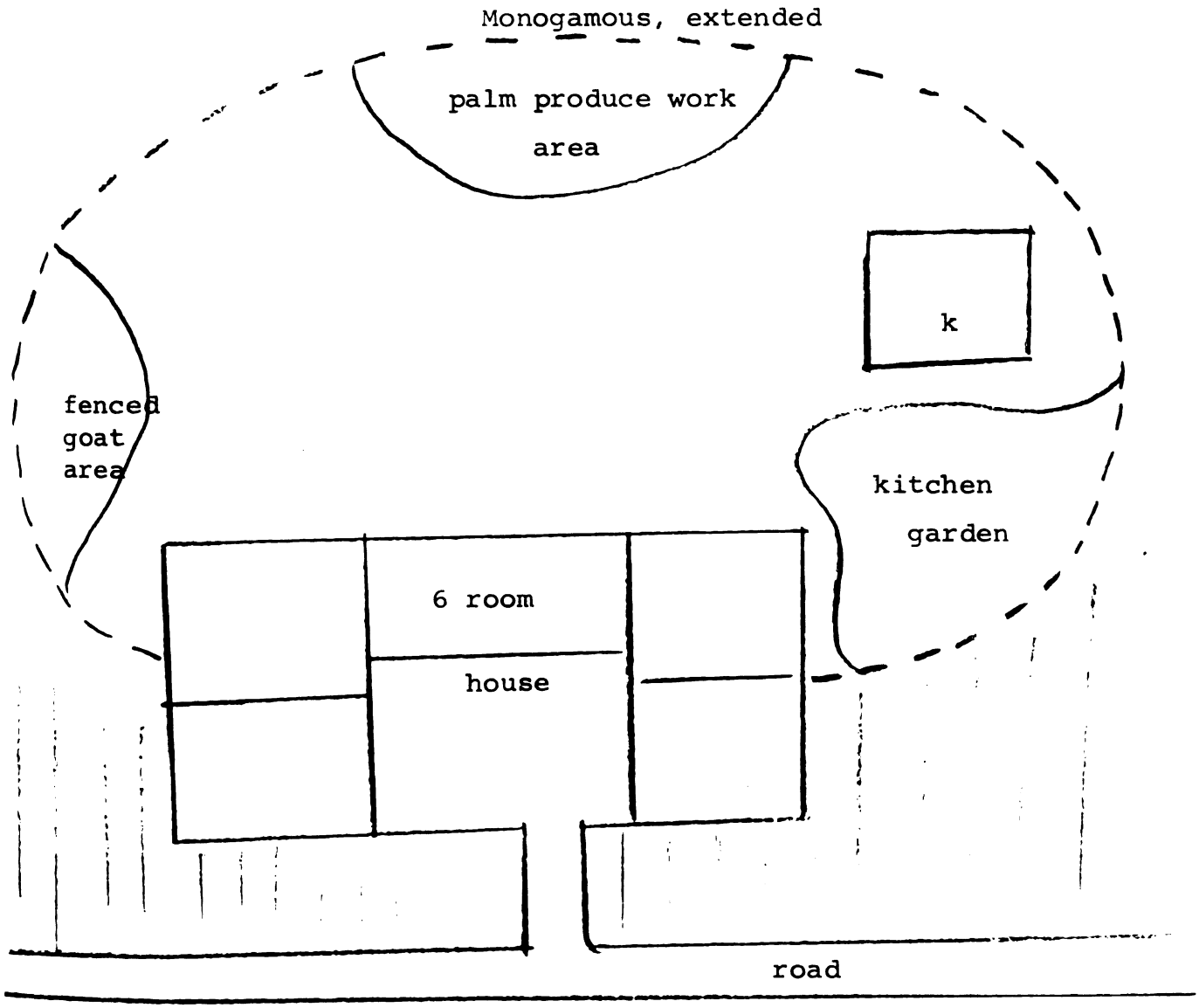
Monogamous, nuclear



All the buildings are built with mud walls and thatched roofs. There are no windows. The family living in this compound includes the husband, his wife, and three children.

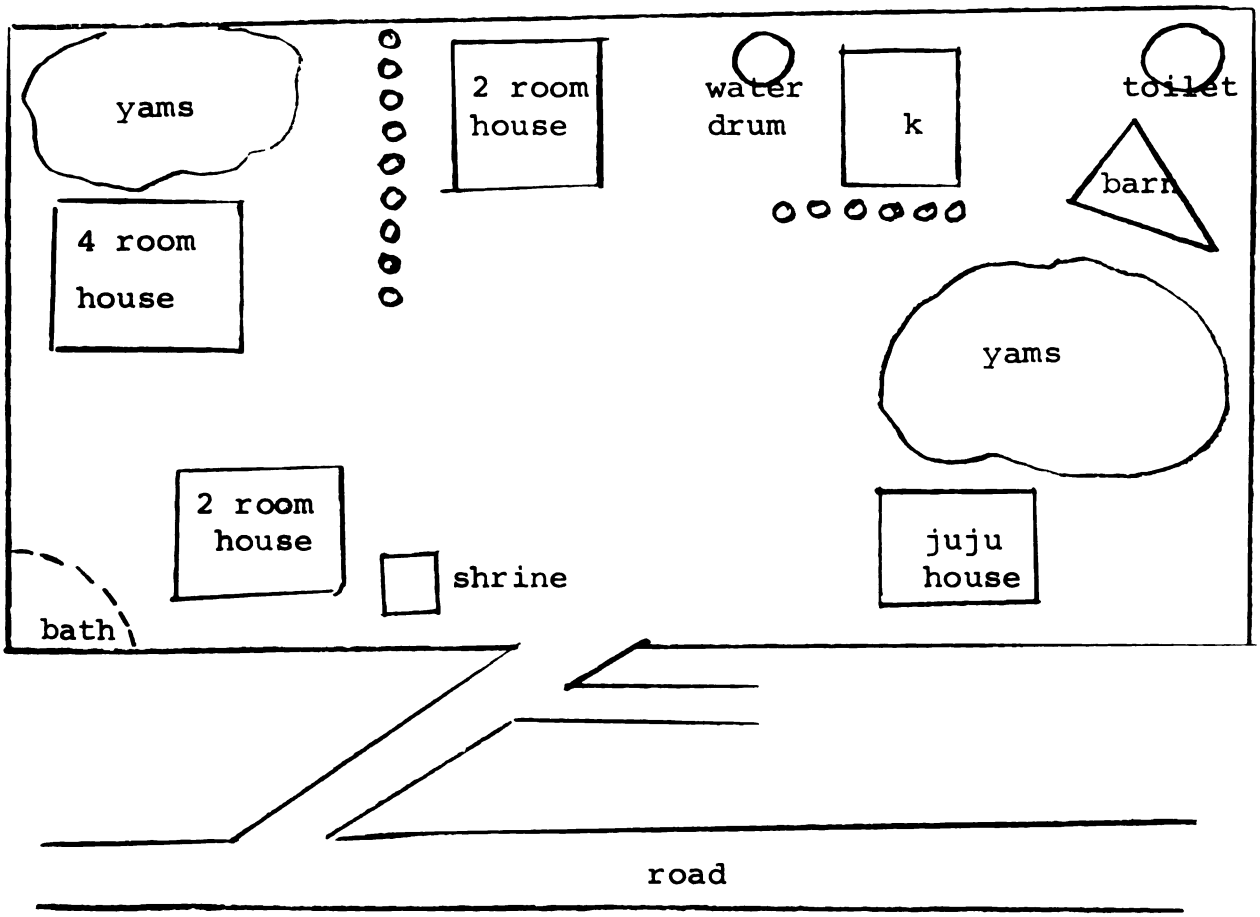


The buildings are made with mud walls and thatched roofs. They have windows. The wife's house has three rooms, with the kitchen attached. The family includes the husband, his wife, and their two children.

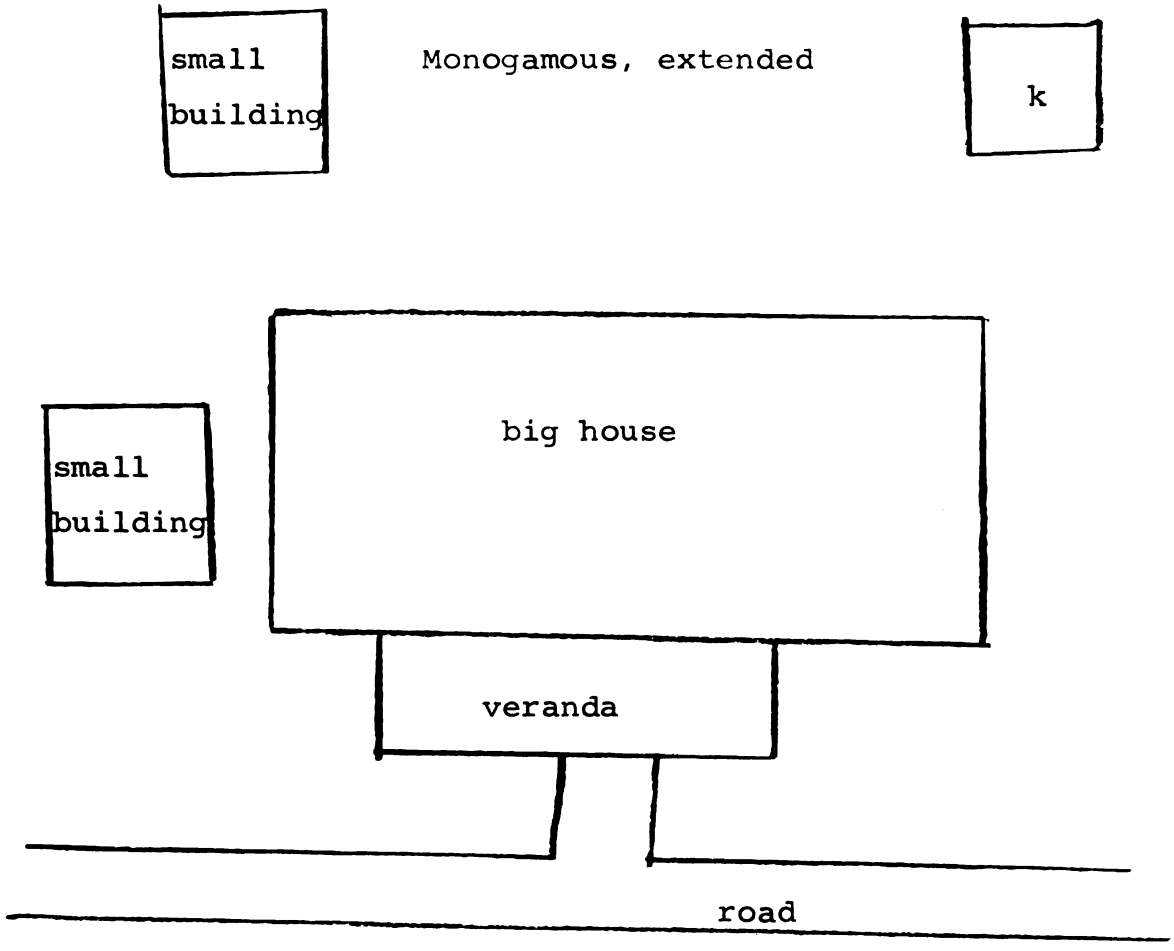


The large building is built with mud walls, a thatched roof, and has windows. The kitchen has a thatched roof, supported by posts, and no walls. The family living in this compound includes a husband, his wife, five children, a nephew, a niece, and a friend's son.

Monogamous, extended

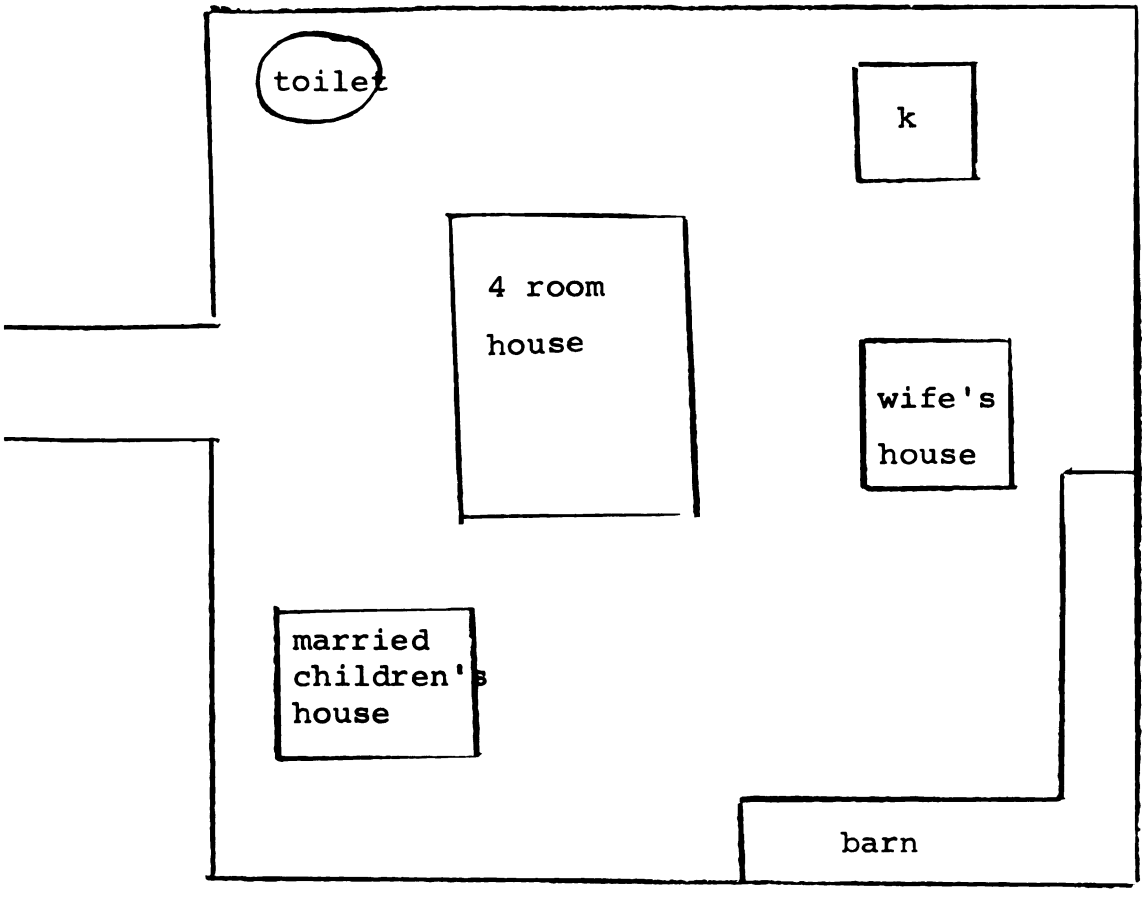


All the buildings have mud walls and thatched roofs. There are windows. The family in this compound includes the husband, one wife and four children. The eldest son is married, and his wife and child also live here.



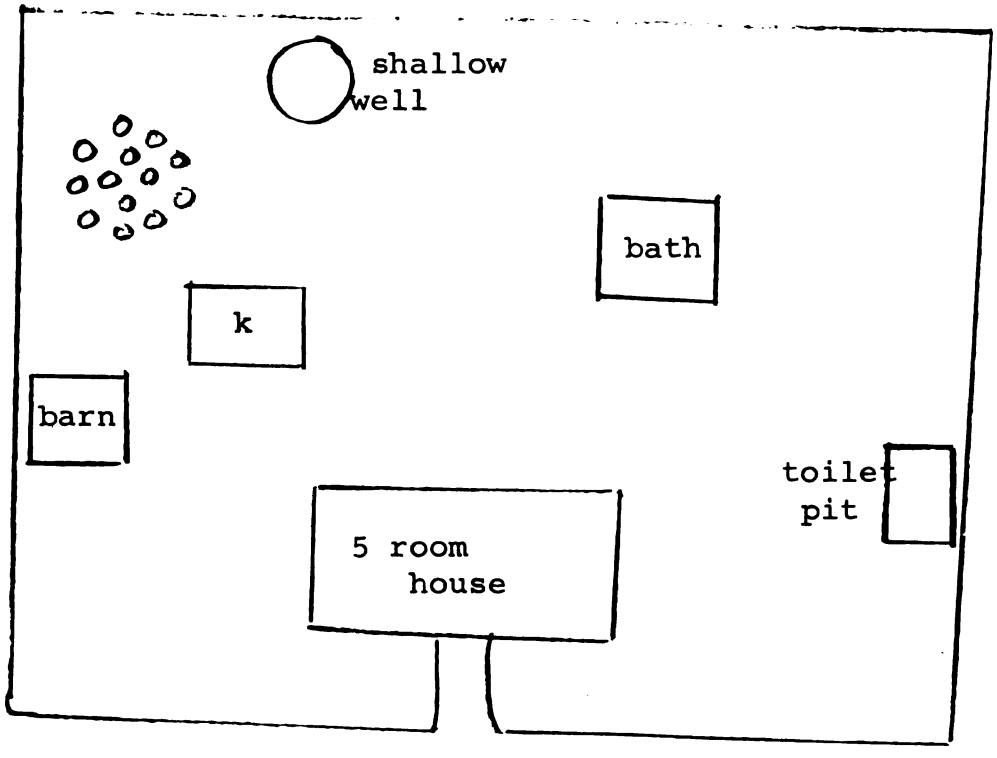
This big building is concrete, with a zinc roof. It has windows. Three families use this house, sharing things equally. The two small buildings are used for storage of possessions. The family in this study who resides in this house includes a husband, one wife, and four children.

Monogamous, extended



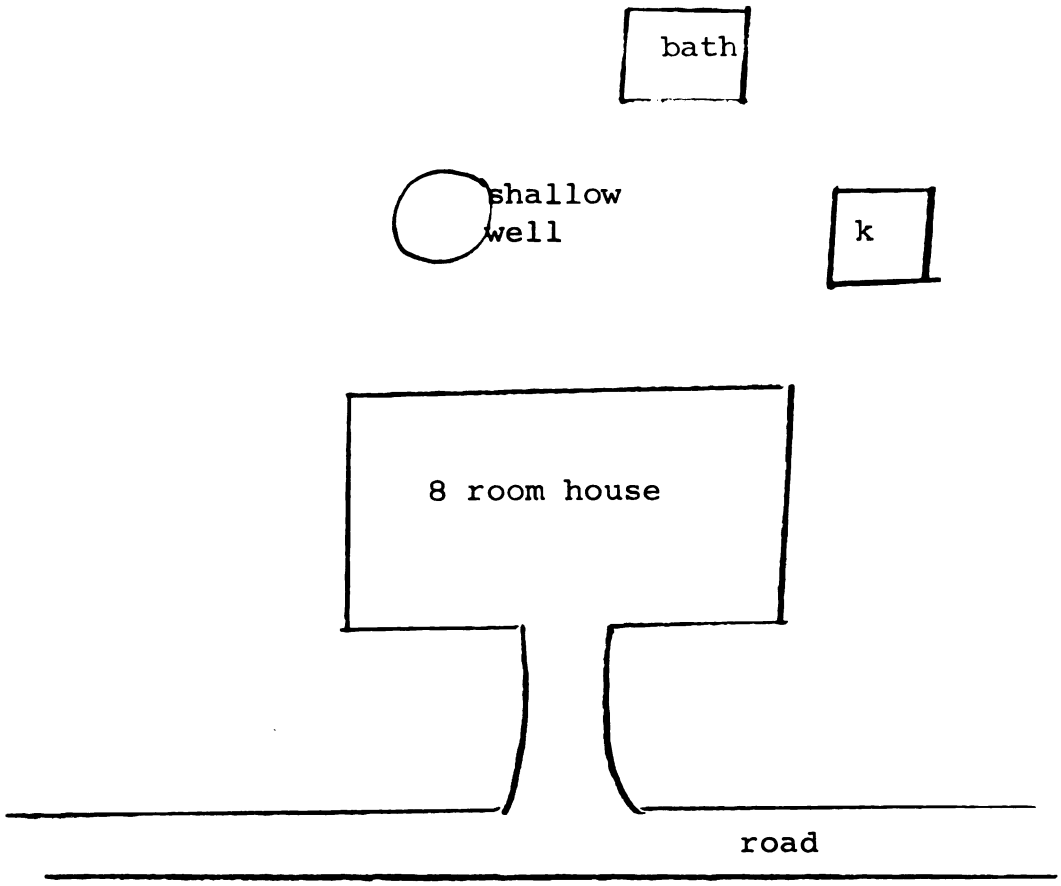
The walls of all the buildings are of mud, with thatched roofs. There are windows. The family in this compound includes a husband, wife, and nine children. The oldest child lives in the smaller house with his wife and two children.

Monogamous, extended



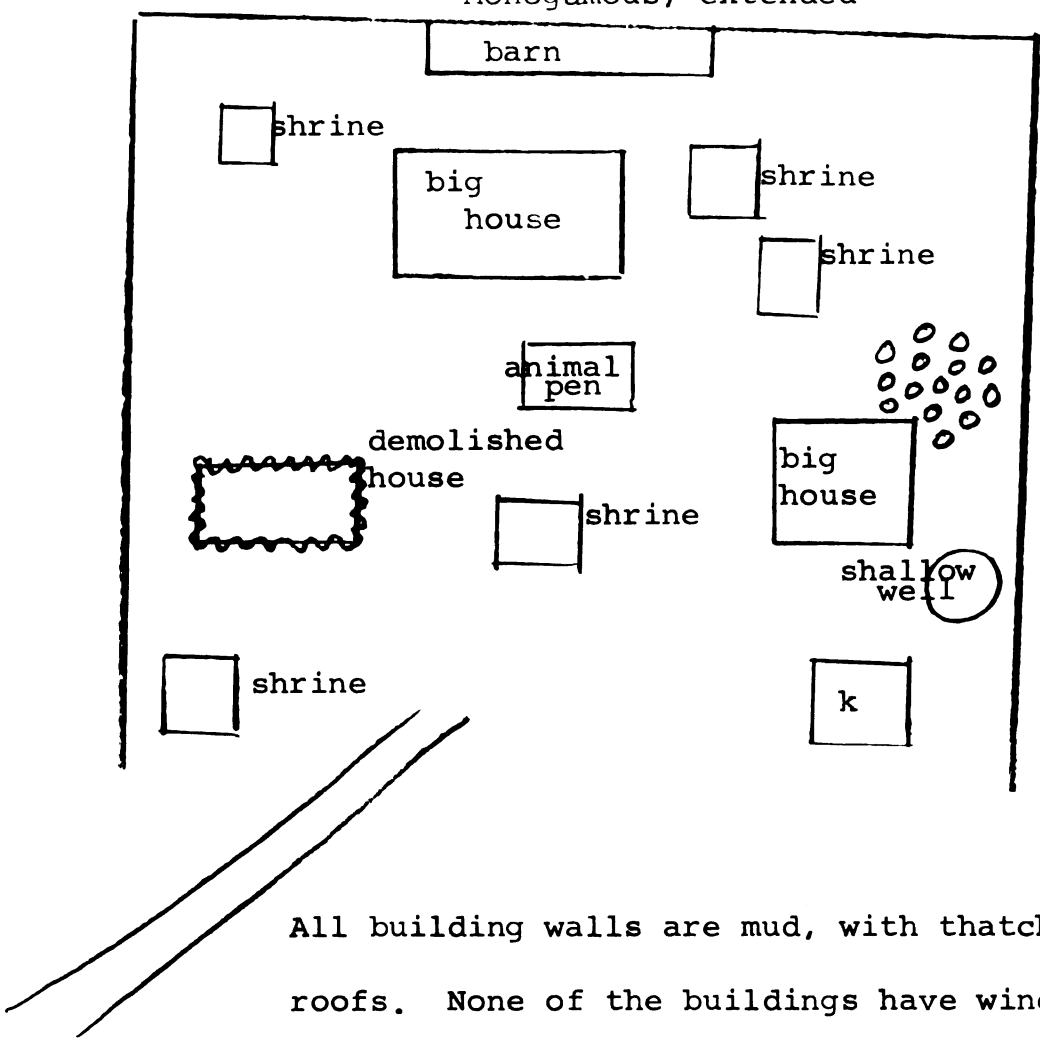
All building walls are mud, with thatched roofs. The big house has windows. The family in this compound includes husband, wife, three children, husband's mother, one brother and one nephew.

Monogamous, extended



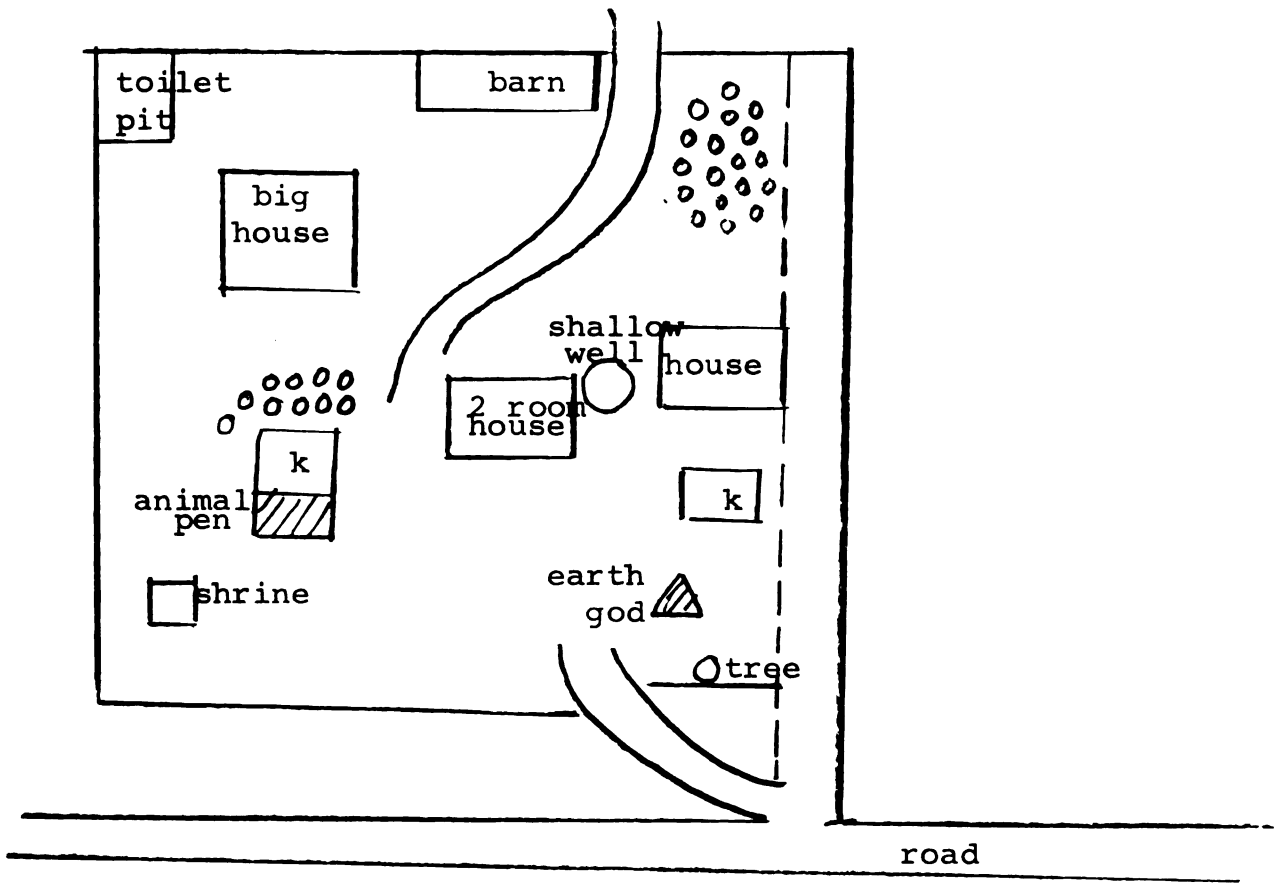
The walls of the house are mud, plastered with cement. The roof is of iron sheets. There are windows. The kitchen has mud walls, with thatched roof. The family in this compound includes husband, wife, three children, three cousins.

Monogamous, extended



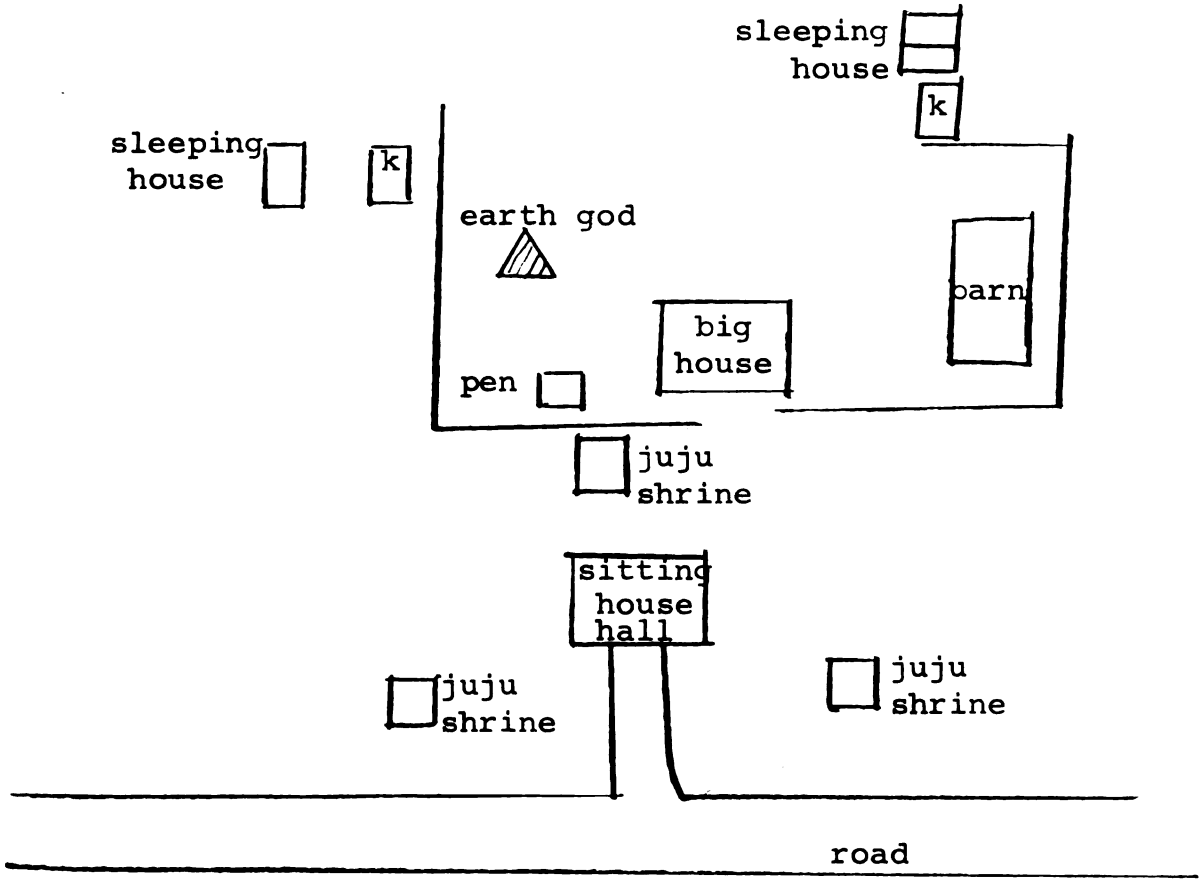
All building walls are mud, with thatched roofs. None of the buildings have windows. The family in this compound includes husband, wife, son's wife, and two grandsons.

Monogamous, extended

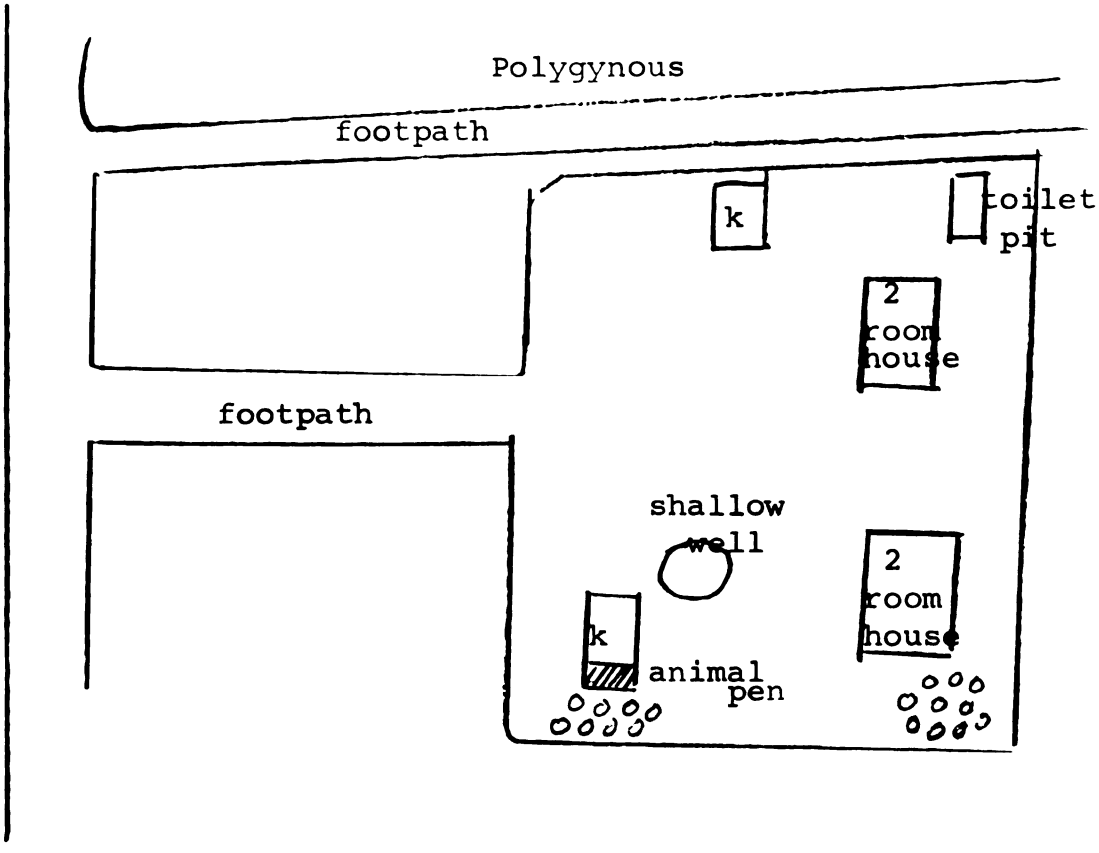


All building walls are mud, with thatched roofs. None of the buildings have windows. The family in this compound includes the husband, wife, three children, husband's mother, and husband's two brothers.

Polygynous

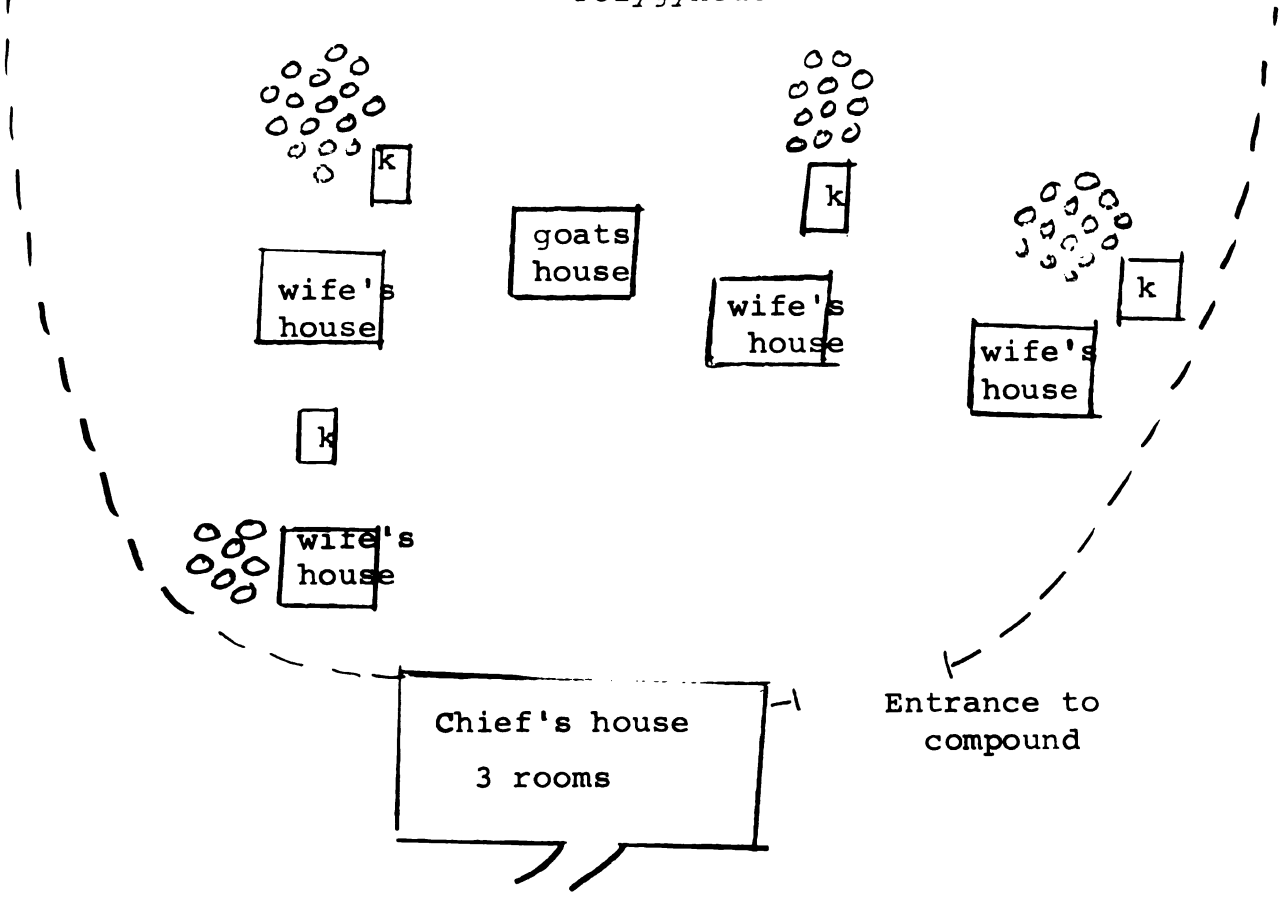


All buildings are built with mud walls, and roofs are thatched. There are no windows. The family living in the compound includes a husband, his two wives, and their children.



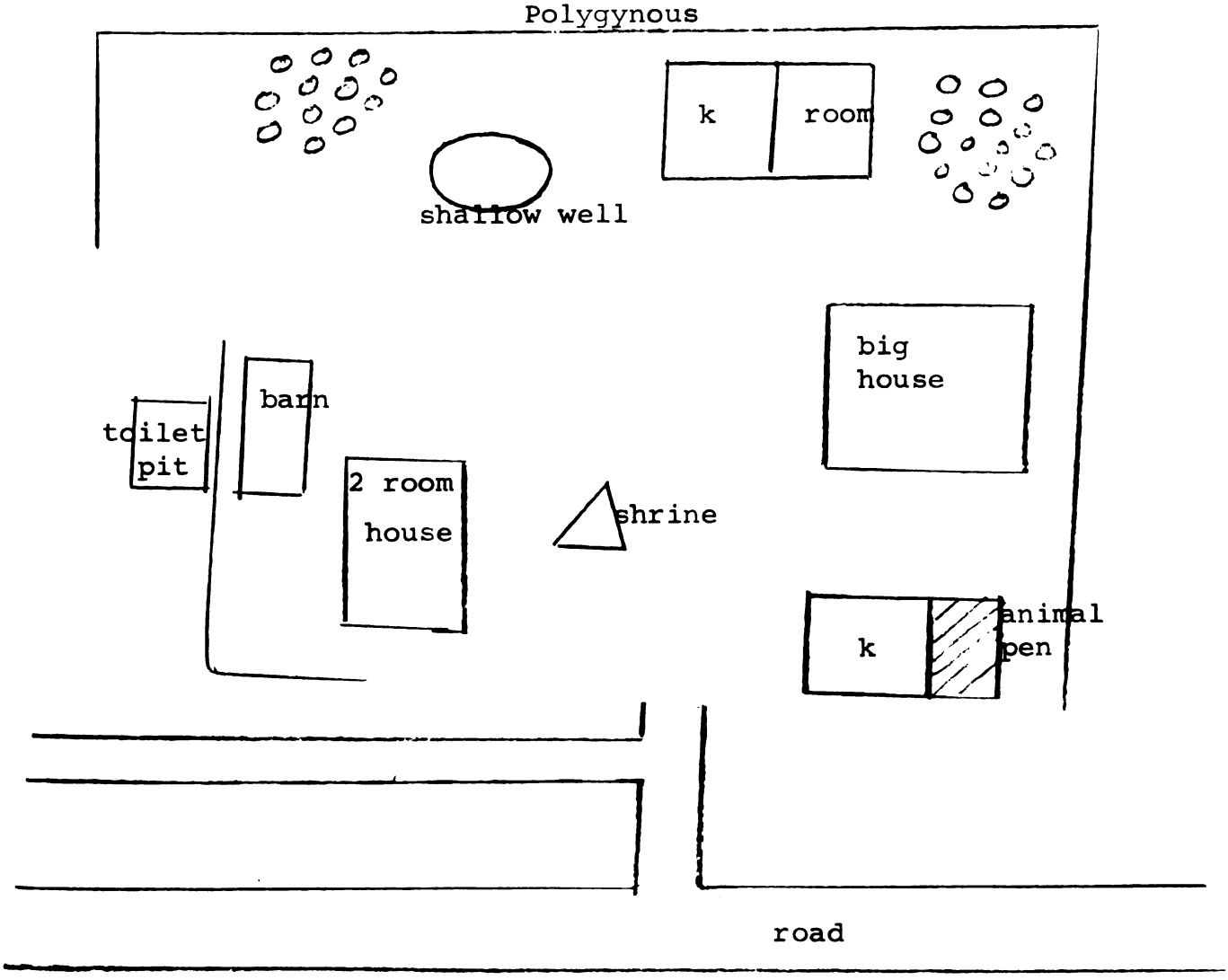
The buildings are all built of mud, with thatched roofs, and without windows. The family living in this compound includes a husband, two wives and two sons.

Polygynous



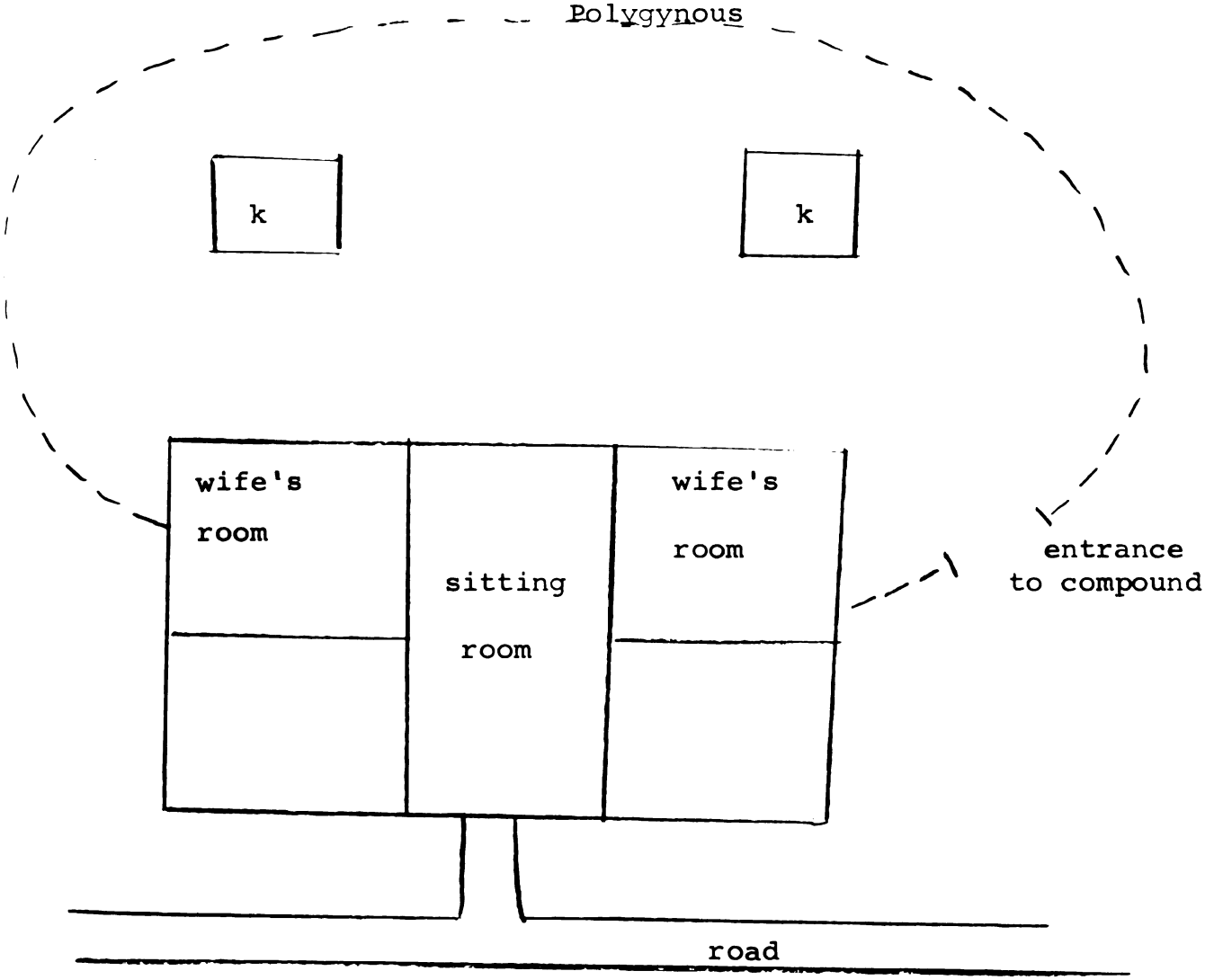
All the buildings in this compound are built with mud walls and thatched roofs. The houses have windows. The large house belongs to the husband, a chief and village spokesman. He has four wives, and they have fourteen children.

Polygynous

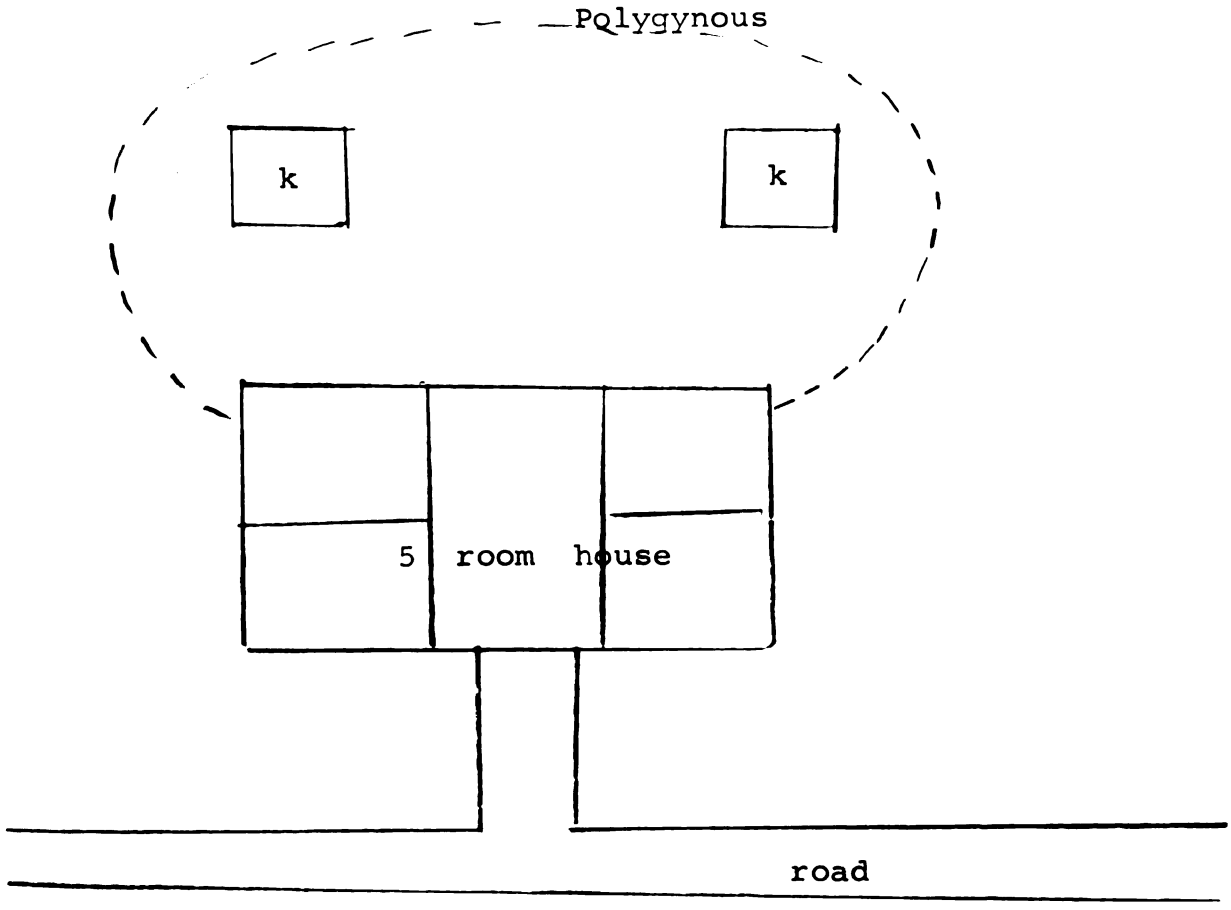


All the buildings have mud walls and thatched roofs. The houses have windows. There are two fenced areas, but they are not completely encircled by fence. The family in this compound includes a husband, two wives, four children and one adopted child.

Polygynous

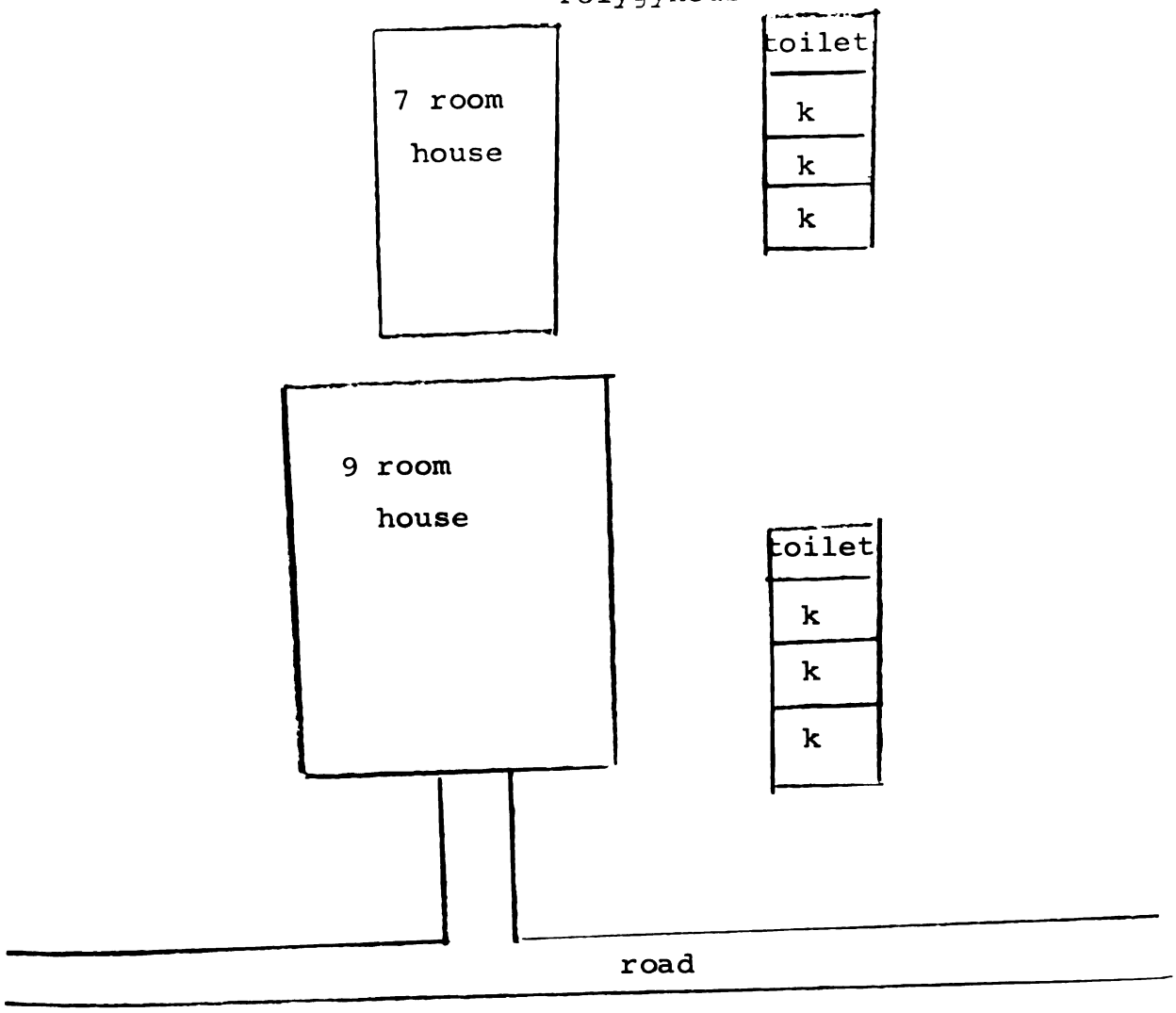


The house has mud walls, a zinc roof and windows. The kitchens are mud, with thatched roofs. The family in this compound includes a husband, two wives and nine children. Each wife has a room of her own in the large house.



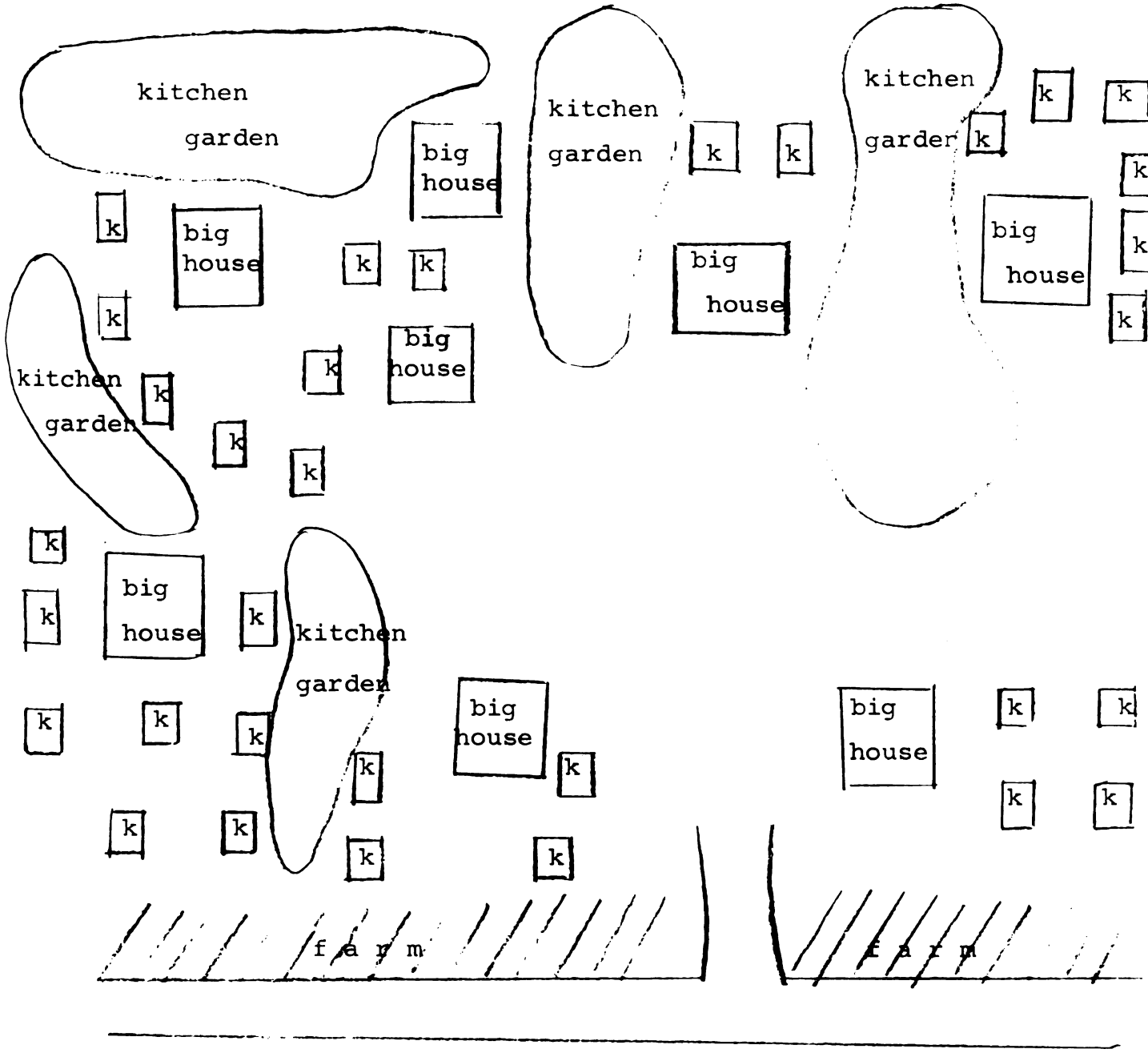
The house is built of mud block, plastered with cement, and has a zinc roof and windows. The kitchens have mud walls, and thatched roofs. The family in this compound includes a husband, two wives, and four children.

Polygynous



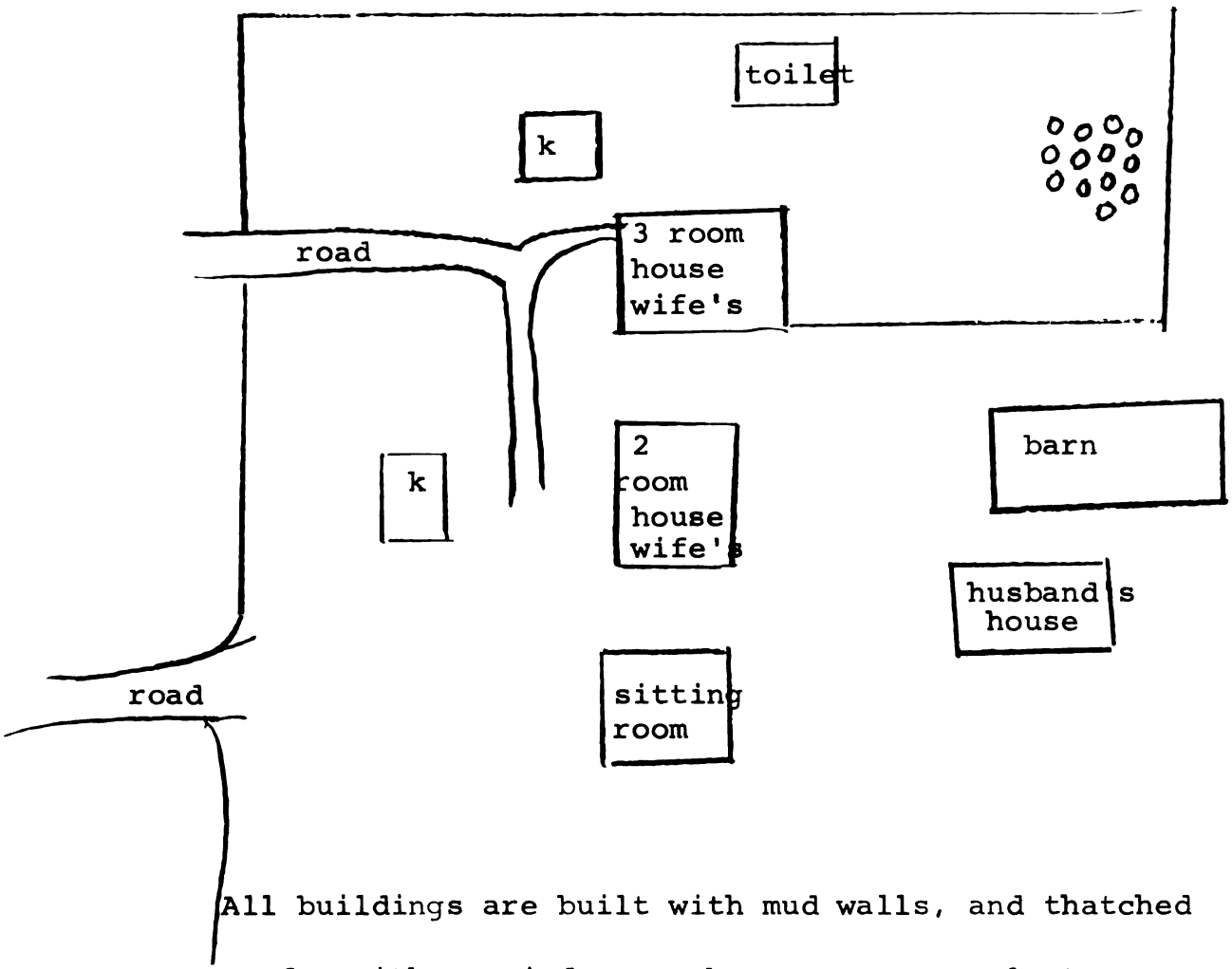
The buildings are built of cement block, with a zinc roof. There are windows in both large houses. There are three families living in this compound. One family, in the study, is composed of the husband, his two wives and five children.

Polygynous, extended



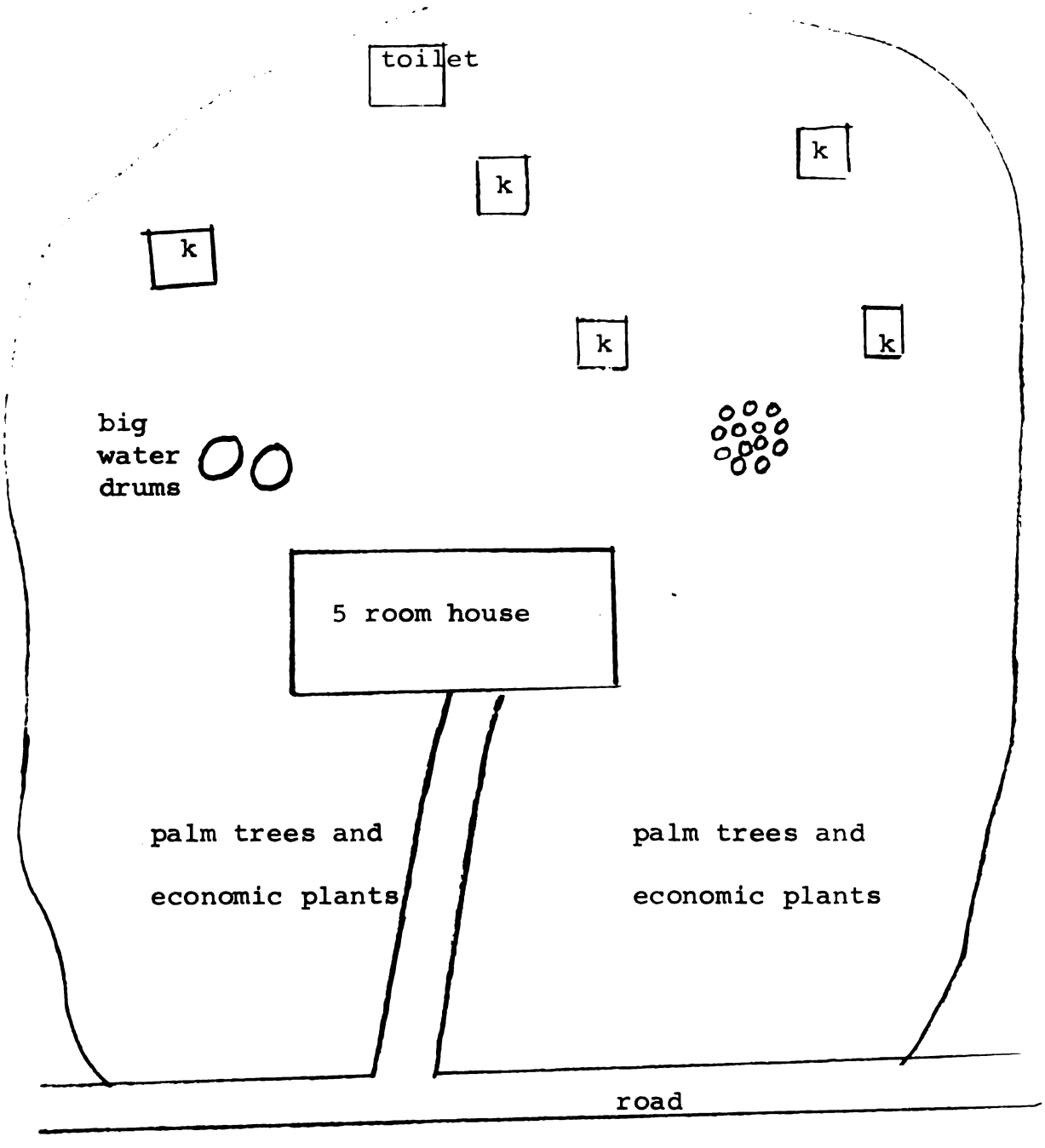
The large houses are built with concrete block, with zinc roofs and windows. The smaller houses are built with mud walls and thatched roofs, without windows. This is a very large compound, including approximately one hundred people. It includes the husband, his four wives and nine children. The husband's mother and four brothers also live here. Each brother has many wives and children, too.

Polygynous, extended



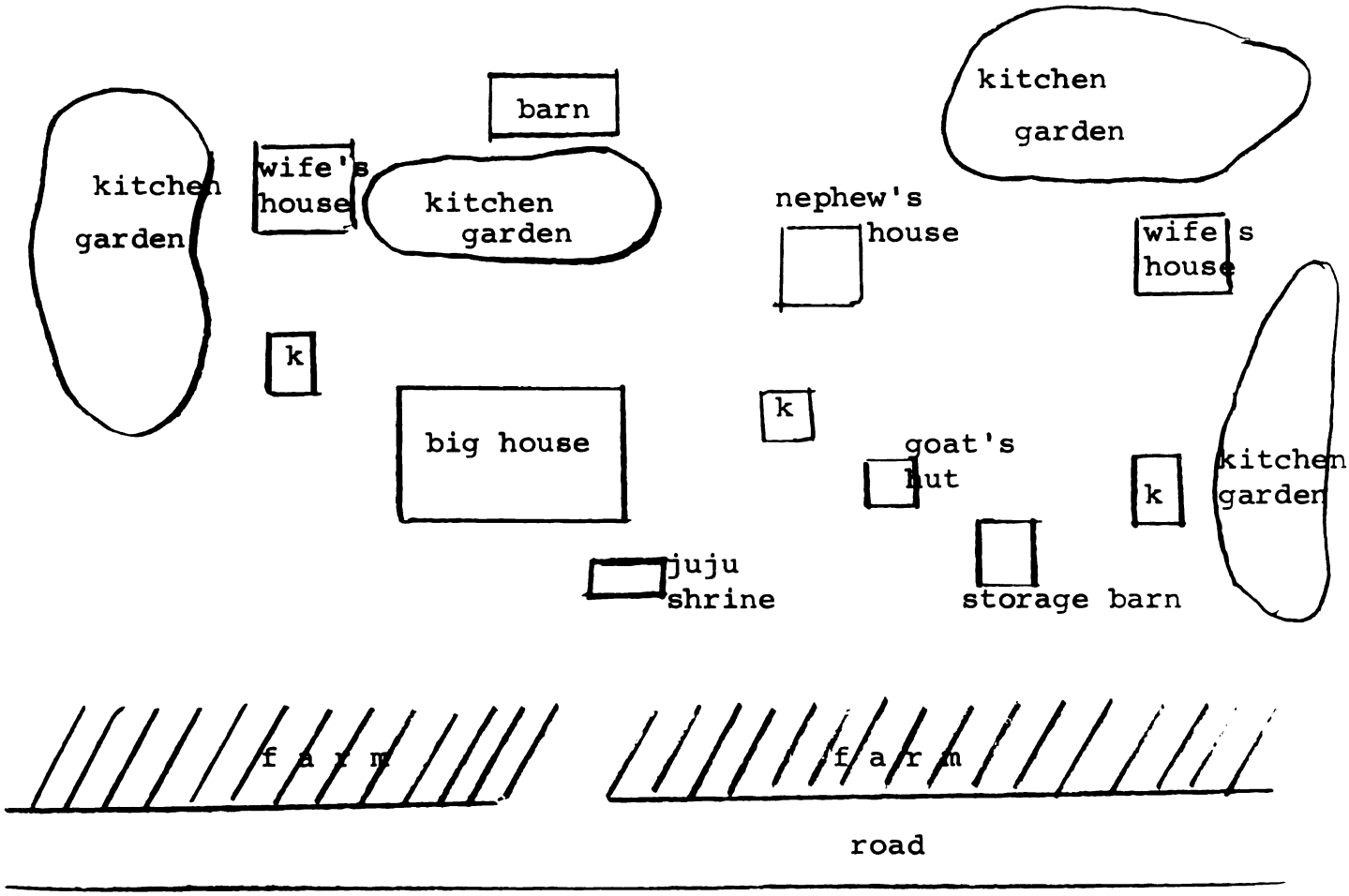
All buildings are built with mud walls, and thatched roofs, with no windows. There are many palm trees in the compound. The family living in this compound includes the husband, two wives, and eleven children. Two of the daughters are married and their husbands and children also live here.

Polygynous, extended



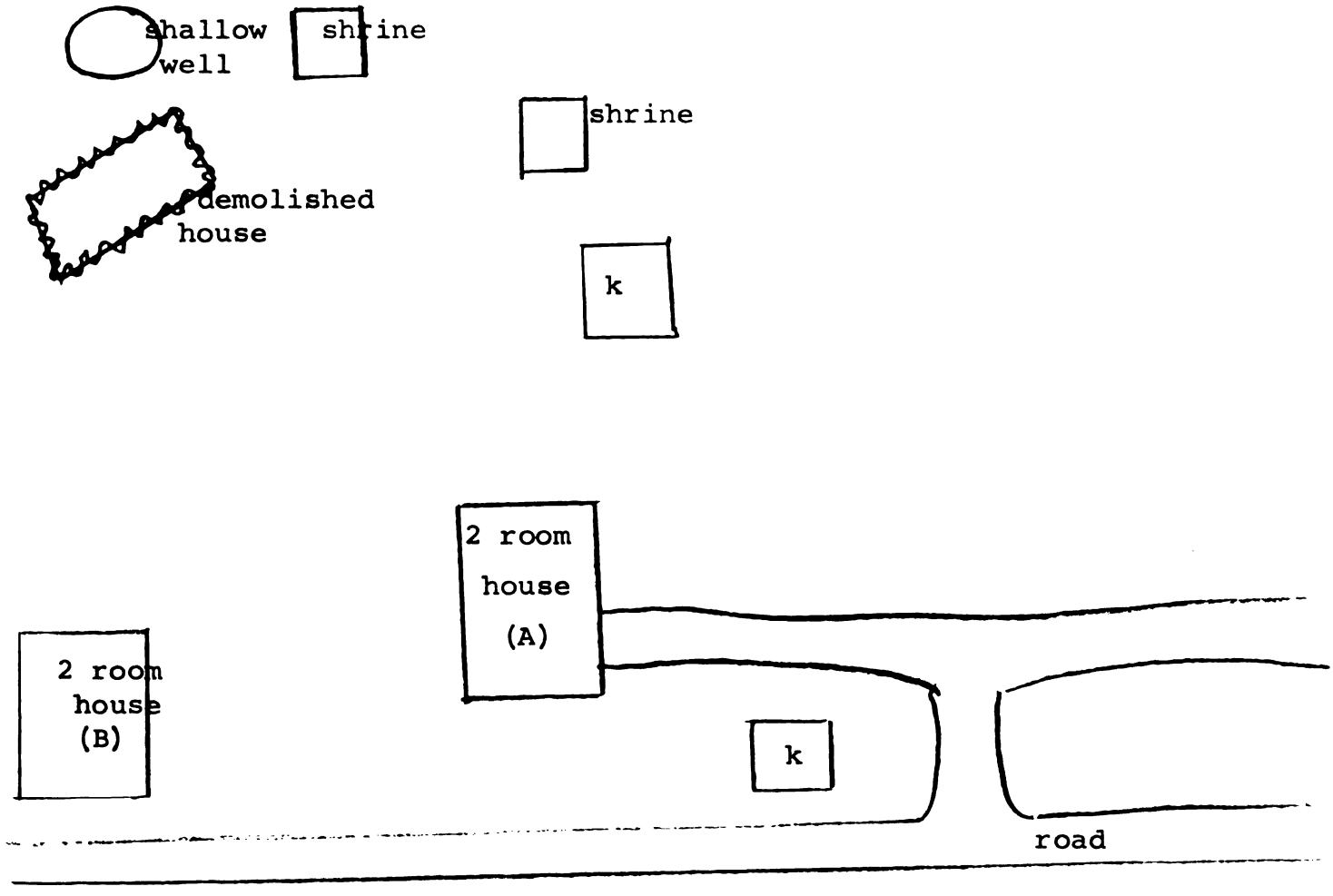
The big house is built of cement blocks, with a zinc roof and windows. The kitchens have mud walls and thatched roofs. The family living in this compound includes a husband, three wives, and eight children. One servant lives with them. One son is married and they have three children, and also live there.

Polygynous, extended



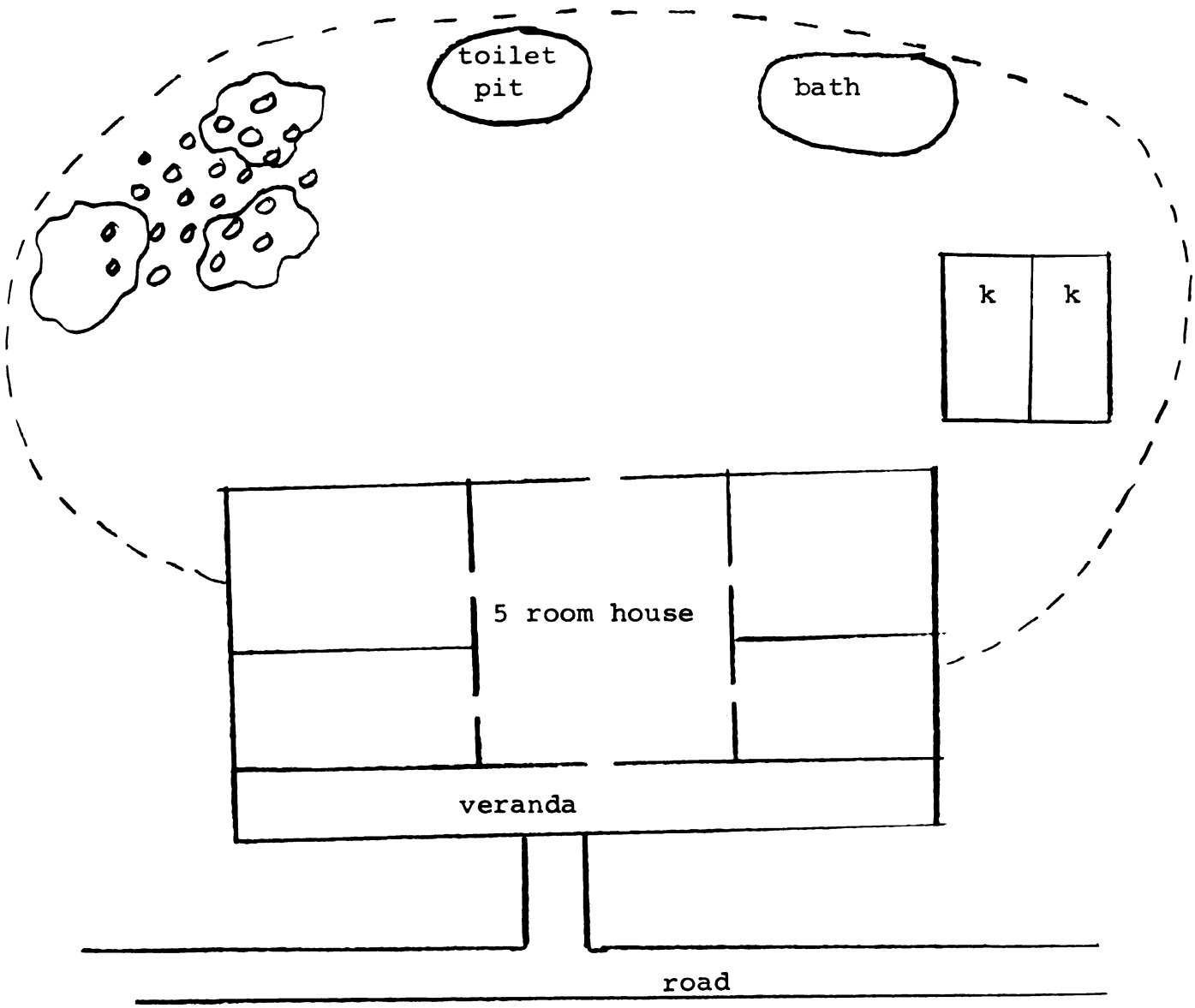
The buildings are made with mud walls and thatched roofs, the large house has windows. The family living in the compound includes a husband, two wives, eight children, a nephew, his wife and children.

Polygynous, extended



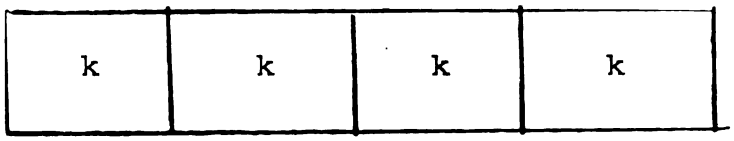
House (A) is built with mud walls, plastered with cement and roofed with iron sheets. It has windows. House (B) and other buildings are built with mud walls and thatched roofs. The family living in this compoung includes a husband, two wives, three children, the husband's mother, one sister of the husband, and one half-sister of the husband.

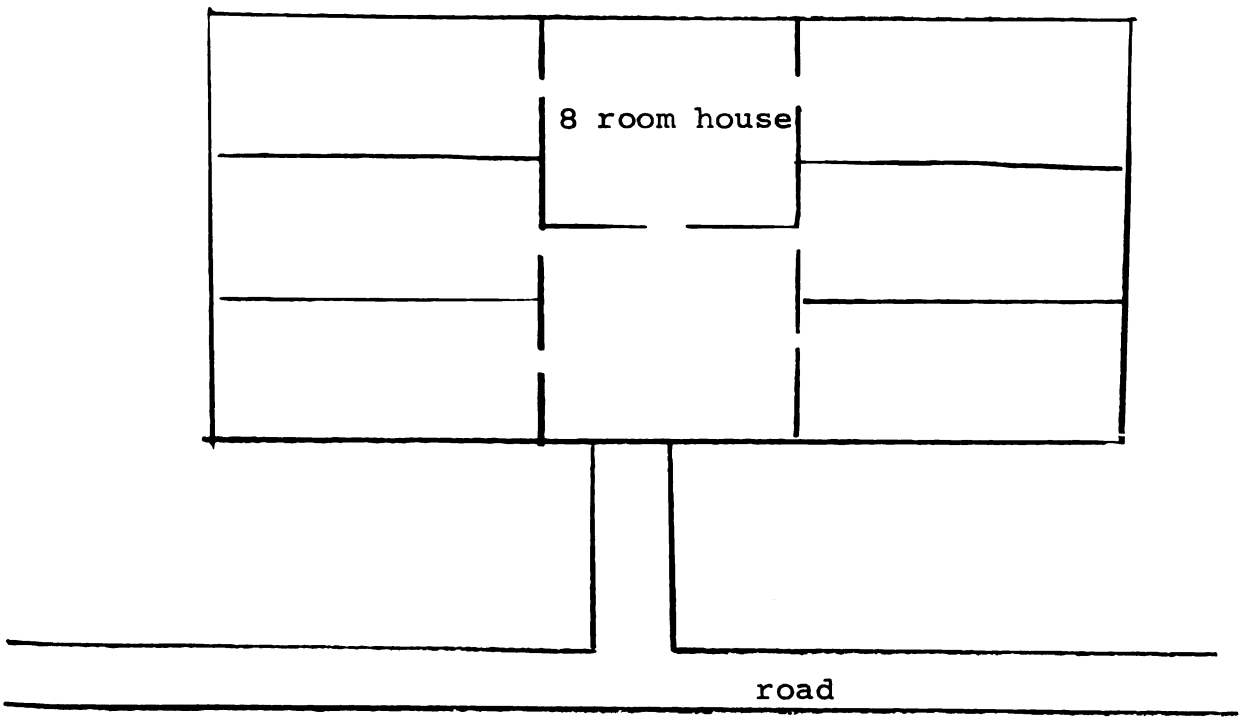
Polygynous, extended



The big building is made with mud walls, a zinc roof and windows. The kitchens are mud walls with thatched roofs. Cashew nut trees shade the water pots. The family living in this compound includes the husband, two wives, one child and a nephew.

Polygynous, extended





The house is built of concrete, with a zinc roof and windows. Each wife has her own room in the big house, and her own kitchen in the rear. The family in this compound includes a husband, four wives, and twenty-three children. Some of these children are not usually living at home. Three of the sons are now married, and their wives and children live with them in other houses on the land, not included in this diagram.