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FACTORS AFFECTING FORMAL EDUCATION  
DECISIONS IN EXTENDED KIN FAMILIES OF THE IBOS  
OF NIGERIA  
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Comfort Chisara Nwabara

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FACTORS AFFECTING FORMAL EDUCATION  
DECISIONS IN EXTENDED KIN FAMILIES OF THE IBOS  
OF NIGERIA

By

Comfort Chisara Nwabara

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## ABSTRACT

### FACTORS AFFECTING FORMAL EDUCATION DECISIONS IN EXTENDED KIN FAMILIES OF THE IBOS OF NIGERIA

By

Comfort Chisara Nwabara

This study was designed to investigate factors affecting education decisions of children in rural Ibo extended kin families of Nigeria.

Data were collected from sixty wives, mostly first wives, and from sixty children fifteen years of age or older. All subjects were from polygamous families resident in Imo and Anambra States of Nigeria. The extended kin children ranged from five to forty with a median of forty children per family.

Four specific objectives investigated were:

1. To explore factors that either facilitate or hinder formal education of kin family children.
2. To explore the role played by sex and age in educational decision making.
3. To explore relationships between availability and nonavailability of perceived resources and formal education of kin children.
4. To investigate the role played by kin members in decision making regarding the formal education of children in extended kin families.



Factors that either enhanced or hindered formal education of children were measured by wives' proclaimed wishes for their families, for their children, and by their perceived family resources. A relationship was found to exist between resources a family had and number of kin children that went to secondary and higher education. The level of secondary or higher education attained by kin children was dependent on availability of family resources or resourceful kin, and number of children competing for higher formal education at a given time.

Children respondents viewed sex as a variable having minimal or no effect on family's choice of a child selected for secondary or higher education. Wives on the other hand expressed preferences of sons over daughters when resources were inadequate in meeting educational needs of all children eligible for secondary or higher education. Husbands' preferences were measured by wives' projected responses in family situations. Husbands were projected as preferring educating boys over girls. They were also found to initiate and participate more in extended kin family decisions than females. However, women played an active role in educational decisions probably because they involved tapping resources from every available source to meet the educational costs of kin children. Age of a child was found to play less significant role in a family's preference of a child to educate in secondary or higher education than the sex of the child.

Wives' educational aspirations for their children were attained if there were resourceful kin willing to take responsibility for the educational expenses. The less resourceful sub-kin families engaged actively in "kin peddling" which was defined as an art of seeking help

from the kin group. Economic interdependency was found to be a socially accepted and approved kin family practice and was engaged in actively by the less resourceful kin members. There was however, more involvement on the part of the consanguineal than the affinal kin. Needs were considered by the whole extended kin unit rather than by sub-family groups.

Human rather than economic resources were families' actual assets which tended to compound the effect already imposed by limited resources. Wives' perceived resources were nontransferable assets which only met the bare necessities of life. Money with which to exchange services such as the education of kin children was inadequate and hard to obtain.

Differences were found between wives' and children's patterns of help solicitation for educational costs. Wives were more likely to seek help from the consanguineal and affinal kin, while children were specific in their search for educational assistance. Children were more apt than wives to solicit help from outside agencies.

Analysis of the data led to implications for devising a better and effective measure of what constitutes family resources of the Ibos and the extent to which resources are applied to meeting families' needs. The study revealed the impoverished nature of the family level of existence in rural Ibo extended kin families, and calls for governmental intervention to assist in the responsibility of educating children at all levels of schooling.

Dedicated to my late parents  
whose memories inspired me to  
complete this study and whose  
faith in me continue to guide  
all my undertakings.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Background of The Study

Every society is changing and traditional values are also changing. Gone are the days when most families were satisfied only with basic socialization and non-formal education for their children. Today, formal education is considered by many disciplines, societies, and families as an investment in human capital that has the capacity of increasing human resources. Investment in education, health, and career related knowledge and skills are investments in human capital because they relate to the future monetary income potential of a person or family, (Becker 1964).

Cultures vary in their emphasis on intellectual skills; some value it for what it is worth, others view it as a virtue in its own right as well as a way of upward mobility for the individual or the family as a whole. In many cultures the educated person is respected and meets with approval from his or her reference group. Education is a means to help the individual and kin group realize aspirations for a better quality of life; education is the hope of a brighter tomorrow for the family.

The history of education in Nigeria reflects stages from total resistance to ambivalence and curiosity about the worth of education to the current stage of total acceptance. A quest for intellectual liberalism in Nigeria has its own established heirarchy of values.

Nigerian families aspire to educate their children because to them education is a long term investment with a future pay off. However, the great importance attached to education in Nigeria has generated problems for families who value education but lack the means to achieve it. Among the many factors that have contributed to advancing education to a high level of acceptability is its transforming power. Smythe and Smythe (1960) described education as a vehicle for students of peasant origin to become medical doctors, university lecturers, and government ministers. To many families, education has come to be regarded as a means for emancipating the entire family from the level of abject impoverishment to a higher qualitative level of subsistence existence.

Since the inception of Western education into Nigeria, families have borne solely the expenses of educating their children. Education, however, costs money and makes an inroad into family resources. It continues to command the highest priority in many families' goals and management plans. The number of a family's children who are sent to school initially illustrates the family's value for education, but that number diminishes as costs of education rise in the higher school grades.

The extended family system is an important social unit in Nigeria which influences many aspects of life. A number of common family relationship value patterns emerge from the Nigerian traditional family, such as respect for age, a high value set on having children, sharply separated roles for the sexes, bride wealth payments and polygamy (Damachi 1972). Ties, obligations, reciprocity, and distinctions defined in terms of kinship carry much weight in Nigeria. Kin relationship is bound by common ancestry which forms the principal basis for the organization of social life, family living, values, and decision

making. As a unit, kin members are related, and in turn are linked to other social and economic groups by mutual accessibility and sharing of cultural resources, and by participation in a web of information flows necessary for a sanctioned maintenance. The multiplicity of linkages in the extended family kinship far exceeds that in smaller nuclear systems. Kinship in the modern world has been usefully conceptualized as a system of reciprocal exchange among relatives (Blood 1970). However, the true nature of a kinship structure can only be understood and properly analyzed within its cultural boundaries, norms, values, and mores. Each culture exercises its peculiar customs and is spirited by its social climate, thus differences exist from group to group, family to family, and from culture to culture.

Traditionally Africans regard the gift of children as one of the most sublime gifts to man. A woman without an offspring was a woman without joy in life. A couple with children was a couple with immense respect. (Okafor, 1974). Nigerian rural villages are characterized by relative stability and the unchanged traditional values for having many children. The practice of polygamy and the rootedness of the extended family system tend to spread family resources too thin for meeting the needs of its competing members. This problem of limited resources is compounded not only by family size, but by the cohesiveness formed by the expanding extended relatives. Do these rural traditional families have adequate resources to assure the education of their many children? How do they manage their resources? How are decisions made in extended family systems? What constitutes the basis for prioritizing family needs and goals? Decision making is a basic activity of the family concerned with integrating values, goals, standards, and resources

resources in such a fashion that action results (Paolucci et al 1977). Families make all kinds of decisions in life, i.e. what schools children should attend, educational level they attain, what professions they choose, who and when to marry. Values are viewed as a motivating variable in decision making. The decisions families make help form a pattern of living that affects the quality of life; they are basically concerned with how family members operate and attempt to control their everyday activities. The main focus of decision making is to leave less to chance and to attempt to control. Decision making is not identical with routine behavior or other habitual impulses that are non-intellectual. Each decision made is unique but has some relationship with previous and future decisions. A family's ability to decide effectively lends order and provides meaning and survival to its members. Wise decision making imbues the family with management capabilities of controlling resources for the good of its members.

The use of available resources to meet the specified needs and goals of the family has been well documented in research. Since resources are not always in abundance or available, prudent management of resources, especially when they are scanty, is a competence needed by a home manager. Resources can be human resources such as values, skills, talents, information, or they can be nonhuman resources such as money and material goods. A family's "resourcefulness" in management is its ability to delineate and recognize what resources they have, and how to usefully apply them in making decisions (Baker 1970). Resource availability or cultivation of resources enhances the family's efforts in management and decision making. A family can only make use of what is available within its immediate reach, and becomes thwarted when no resources are foreseen.

### Statement of The Problem

Families make plans and decisions in their everyday living on the effective use of resources to meet the needs of the family. Decisions families make in regard to the education of their children have great impact on society. The level of education influences the human resource capability of the society. It is important, therefore, to understand the factors affecting formal education decisions. The specific focus of this study will be to identify the factors affecting formal education decisions in Ibo extended kin families of Imo and Anambra States of Nigeria. The factors involved in making decisions about the attainment of higher formal education will be investigated in extended Ibo kin families.

### Objectives

The overall objective for this study will be to describe the nature of educational decision making and the factors involved in the attainment of higher formal education of children in extended kin family systems.

The specific objectives are:

1. To explore those factors that either facilitate or hinder the formal education of these children.
2. To explore the role played by such variables as age and sex, in educational decision making.
3. To explore relationships between availability and non-availability of perceived resources and the formal education of children in extended kin family systems.
4. To investigate the role played by kin members in decision making regarding the education of children in the extended kin systems.





### Major Assumptions

1. The traditional kinship family has many children but limited resources to provide them with adequate formal education.
2. There are limited resources to tap in the outside social environment; consequently, kin members tap resources within the kin social boundaries.
3. The kin group is basically a decision making group whose limited knowledge and level of existence limit its educational decision making power.
4. Family educational goals range from the immediate to the ultimate, and are not always attained.
5. Family members' projections in hypothetical situations are indicative of their decision making patterns.

### Definitions of Terms

1. KINSHIP: A social relationship based on family extendedness as culturally defined. The culture determines which family relationships are considered significant, what rights and obligations of specific types of related persons are, and what form of organization exists among related persons (Theodorson and Theodorson 1969).
2. EXTENDED KIN FAMILY: A cluster of people whose relationship is stipulated by law or consent in terms of marriage and descent. It includes three or more generations.
  - a. The kin family includes affinal (kin by marriage) and consanguineal (kin by blood) relationships.
  - b. The extended kin refers to the macro-scale families and relatives who share residential proximity and are recognized as a social unit.

3. FORMAL EDUCATION: Education acquired through school attendance.
  - a. Elementary education: attendance or completion of elementary schooling.
  - b. Secondary education: attendance or completion of schooling beyond elementary grades and attainment of a high school certificate.
  - c. Higher education: attendance or completion of education beyond secondary level.
4. EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS: The desired levels of formal education as indicated by subjects.
5. RESOURCES: What the family has or can create or solicit to achieve its goals.
  - a. Human resources such as people, time, talent, interest, motivation, information.
  - b. Nonhuman resources such as material goods, money, lands, cash crops, costly possessions.
6. DECISION MAKING: A social phenomenal process involving:
  - a. Recognition of a problem for decision, i.e. awareness of the need or desire for formal education at secondary and higher educational levels.
  - b. Recognition of available resources: awareness of available human and nonhuman resources.
  - c. Formulation and consideration of courses of action: feasible alternatives open and considered by the family for solving family problems.
  - d. Selection and implementation of a course of action: verbalized intentions of educating children at secondary or higher education levels.

7. CHILDREN:

- a. Family's children: All children born to parents, uncles, older brothers, cousins living in a shared residence.
- b. School age children: All children of school age as determined by their parents of all three formal education levels.

8. FAMILY'S GOALS AND WISHES: aspirations and wants as expressed by family members.

Conceptual Framework For Viewing Factors Affecting Choice

Because families and/or systems do not exist in isolation but occupy an environmental niche in the broader environment, the ecological frame of reference will constitute the overall framework for this study. An ecological perspective is one of viewing organisms and environment in interaction, (Paolucci et al 1977). On a micro level, the child and/or biological parents are surrounded by the social environment of kin, uncles, cousins and grandparents and other relatives. The ongoing interactions between the family members with their immediate environment and the effects arising from these interactions are the focus of the ecosystem perspective. The family system is interrelated with other systems in the environment, forming linkages through boundary sharing. As a result of the boundary sharing and the interrelatedness, the environment affects the family system, and in the same token the family system affects the environment. According to Churchman (1968) not only is the environment something that is outside the system's control, but it is also something that determines in part how the system performs.

Environments are of three main types: (1) the natural environment, (2) the human constructed environment, and (3) the human behavioral environment (Bubolz et al 1977). The natural environment is the nature-formed environment consisting of the atmospheric elements, the natural resources, and the geographical elements over all of which humans have little or no control. The human constructed environments are man-made environments. These are environments that have been altered or created by human beings, (Bubolz et al 1977). These environments include roads, homes, clothing, and the many results of special hybridism of species of plants and animals, and other human manipulated products originating from nature. The human behavioral environment could be an individual or a group of individuals who share some common affinity to each other, and share goals, culture, and other amenities. The family system is a human envired unit in constant relationship with the natural, human constructed, and other human environments.

Environments influence the values, goals, aspirations, and the type of choices the individual or family makes. The extended kin family constitutes a small scale human environment that regulates the actions of others and to a large extent determines the field of choice, i.e. all of the alternatives that are available to people in making decisions. Cultural imperatives, and cultural perception patterns also influence the field of choice, i.e. the alternatives perceived by the decision maker. The decision maker's field of choice could be limited, narrowed or inhibited because of lack of knowledge and education to see or cultivate other alternatives. Education and knowledge open the doorway to a multitude of alternatives and expand the field of choice. One's field of choice screens out other alternatives, either because

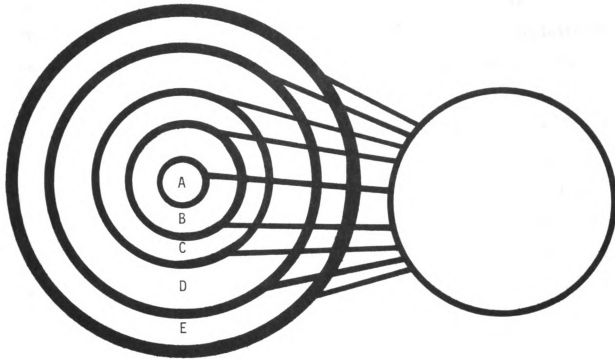
there are no resources to meet those other alternatives, or because resources are limited.

Family environment may be restricting or flexible and consequently can have a bearing on the decision maker's alternatives. The problem of how much freedom is at the disposal of a given family and how much a family can handle was addressed by Paolucci et al (1977). "When families are presented with too many options they become immobilized, they become 'stimulus bound.' Some families suffer from option glut. There appear to be too many options. Others have too few options and relatively no choices open to them." (p.12)

According to Gross and Crandall (1963), several factors underly the managerial process and determine how resources will be used to meet families' needs. These factors include the stage of the family life cycle, size and composition of the family, standard of living, size of family's income and residence.

In the Nigerian Ibo extended kin family culture, the identification of the factors affecting use of resources differ to some degree from that which obtains in the United States. The cumulative effect of extended kin children on resources, compounded with the many adults who in all probability out-number the adults that could be resident in any one family in the United States exerts a great effect on the use of family resources. There is also a great difference in types of resources available to the Ibo rural extended kin family, the resources include farmlands and products, relatives and children. In short, their actual available resources are mainly in terms of human resources. From a money standpoint, resources available to the family are almost nonexistent, but socially, the Ibo extended kin family is rich with

Figure 1 Environmental Factors Affecting Choice



Y = ALTERNATIVES  
PRESENT

EDUCATION CHOICE

The alternatives available are present in the many environments. Some are within the social environments A,B,C, and D while others are within the boundaries of the natural environment E.

- Y..... Total field of the extended kin family.
- A..... All grown up children in the extended kin who have some sources of income, and can help support other children in school.
- B..... Biological parents of kin children.
- C..... Consanguineal kin i.e. uncles, cousins, aunts, grandparents of paternal descent.
- D..... Affinal kin i.e. uncles, aunts, grandparents and other relatives of maternal descent.
- E..... The natural environment i.e. farmlands, streams and other elements in the natural environment.

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human resources. Thus the number of kin members, the natural and social environment are the operating factors determining the use of resources in Ibo extended kin families. These factors are conceptualized in a simplified ecosystem framework. Figure 1 represents and describes the framework.

The choices are enhanced by the degree of the abundance of alternatives in the environment from which they are derived, or they can be inhibited by the degree of the impoverishment of the surrounding environment. Facilitating factors are derived from a rich environment whereas inhibiting factors are embodied in a poor environment. The nature of the environment determines the alternatives, and the choices that are available or unavailable.

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature pertaining to some universal notions of kinship family systems, formal education in Nigeria, and decision making constitute the three areas reviewed.

#### The Kinship Family System

The family has been defined as a cluster of people whose relationship is stipulated by law in terms of marriage and descent, and whose precise membership varies according to the circumstance (Farber 1973). Property rights of family members posit a propelling force in organization of the system. The family also assumes an existing network of relatives who have some claims on each other, and the extensiveness of this claim can only be determined by intensive observation and analysis of the ongoing relationships. Fortes (1963) claims that a closer look at primitive people has radically altered our judgment of their family organization and has aided in our understanding of our own. According to him:

They vary in their constitution, but are always precisely structured institutions, embracing the primary loyalty and life activity of their larger membership and enduring from generation to generation. The exact prescription of relationships among members gives each individual a significantly defined connection to a wide circle of his kin. To the individual member, the family's property is the source of livelihood, its ancestors are his gods, its elders his government, and its young people his defense and support in old age (p. 24).

In the past, a stable kin system existed in many cultures. Technology, urbanization, and high mobility may alter the stability and interaction of kin systems. However, some research has revealed that kinship continues in spite of separation and urbanization. A major concept which has focused the attention of family researchers is the effect of migration on the interaction network of the kin system. According to Moge (1976) interaction frequency with kinsfolk is important beyond the boundaries of the domestic group. Kinship has meaning for the system's inheritance of descent which affects the name and the life chances of each new birth. Kinship, the sequence of names, rights, and obligations among generations of relatives, was one of the first universal principles of human societies to be recognized (Engels, 1884; Maine, 1861; McLennan, 1865; Murdock, 1949; Parsons 1943).

Reiss (1962) found geographical distance between kin members an important variable in understanding kin interaction. Blood (1970) postulated that geographical proximity stimulated greater kin influence. He did say, however, that barriers caused by distance were greatly reduced by modern means of communication, letter writing, photography, tape recording, and long distance telephone. Vatuk (1972), and Ramu (1972) independently found that in India rural kin dispersion did not hinder contact with kin even when they could not meet frequently, and that occupational mobility emancipated subjects from life long indentured labor. However, traditional values persisted even though they were slightly modified. Visits, correspondence, and mutual aid reaffirmed the mutual kinship loyalties despite geographic and occupational mobility.

An investigation of people in the city of Lagos, Nigeria by Aldous (1965) showed that even though they lived in the city, traditional patterns were maintained. Individuals continued to feel strong obligations to give economic assistance to relatives while maintaining ties, and the customary residential unit remained the lineage. Her conclusion was that West African cities showed the continued existence of the extended family.

Extended family systems emphasize blood ties over marital bonds. Ties are established through marriage and descent which create for individuals a reservoir of relatives from whom they can anticipate certain kinds of conduct associated with family or kinship in the society which they live. The extent and nature of these claims vary from one society to another (Farber 1973).

Various authors have suggested important functions that must be met for society to continue to exist. Bennett, and Tumin, (1952) conceptualized them as "functional requisites of societal survival and continuity." Murdock (1949) called them "social structure," Levy (1952) "functional requisites;" and Winch (1963) "basic societal functions." Winch (1963) listed five basic societal functions: (1) replacement for dying members of the society, (2) provision and distribution of goods and services for the support of the society, (3) provision for accomodating conflicts and maintaining order, internally and externally, (4) training of human replacements to become participating members of the society, and (5) procedures for dealing with emotional crises, for harmonizing the goals of the individuals with the values of society for maintaining a sense of purpose (pp. 7-17). These are universal functions and each has assigned to it a core

relationship emanating from roles assigned in the carrying out of these functions. In most cultures the family is the basic reproductive group for replacement of society's members. The kin system assigns social roles and oversees their being carried out. The kin system plays a key role in carrying out these basic functions.

The many advantages derived from the ties of kinship have been acclaimed by several researchers and writers. Nye and Berardo (1975) asserted that the consanguineous family system ensures continuity over generations by linking parental families with new families of orientation. Kinship is also viewed as a more effective structure of maintaining family traditions and for transferring holdings intact from one generation to another. In a kin system, children are exposed to a large network of relationships. Blood (1970) asserts that kinship interaction in the modern world is usefully conceptualized as a system of reciprocal exchange among relatives. He explained further that the currency of exchange includes money and goods and services that are noncontractual in nature. The terms of repayment (if any) are extended over an extraordinary period of time, and repayment is often indirect. Blood ties and the close boundaries shared make it possible for all these advantages to be enjoyed by kin members.

High technological advances have been said to disrupt and weaken the linkages of kinship ties, resulting in a stronger emphasis on the nuclear family. Among the sociologists who viewed the American family as characteristically nuclear and isolated were Zimmerman (1947); Wirth, (1951); and Parsons, (1949). Other researchers have conclusively shown that, contrary to Parsons' (1943) view of the structural isolation

of American families, social isolation of the nuclear family from kin has not occurred, (Klatsky, 1972; Rosenberg and Anspach, 1973).

Researchers have since refuted the concept of isolation claiming that American families were participating actively in a kin network; Dotson (1941), Greer (1958), Litwak (1960) and Sussman (1965).

Mogey (1976) stated that many studies show interaction between members of a kinship group as continuing in all societies, and that the contacts made include advice, psychological support of family identities, financial help, and assistance with childrearing and household tasks. These are not only regular affairs but effective guarantees of emergency aid. Mogey (1970) made the following observations about kinship in the United States:

Kinship continues to be a meaningful set of social exchanges in U.S. and other complex rapidly changing societies because it is functional for individuals engaged in marital and parental relations. Having a kindred enables them to achieve their goals in education, careers, and their psychological needs for continuity, and emotional support. (p. 104).

While many similarities can be deduced from a cross-culture perspective on the topic of extended kinship systems, caution should be exercised in generalizing across cultures. In this regard Farber (1973) states:

Societies make use of biological kinship in different ways. In some societies, categories of kinship may be applied in ways which sustain a highly differentiated system of stratification, in others, the organization or kinship relations may be oriented toward integrating family units on a basis of equality. This difference in utilization of kinship as a resource will influence norms pertaining to marriage between people from different segments of society, the kinds of socialization practices adopted, matters of guardianship and household management patterns of inheritance, and the relationship between familial and other institutions in the society. (pp. 4-5).

Piaget (1974) and Swanson (1974) made two major distinctions about family factionalism and communalism. Factionalism implies a situation in which special interest groups are vying for superiority over other groups for access to power, wealth, or some property, (Farber 1975). The aim is stratification of society. Because Factionalism in kinship organization involves pulling inward or engaging the obligation and or loyalty of members, this type of organization is called centripetal. Communalism implies a situation in which special interests are subordinated to common concerns. Under conditions of communalism, major forces exist to minimize property--based familial ties and expel family members outward. Consequently, kinship associated with communalism is called centrifugal. Farber (1975) views the centripetal - centrifugal typology as derived from an economic perspective. Persons, according to him, are viewed as kin property units, and physical property is regarded as an extension of its owner.

#### Formal Education in Nigeria

Prior to the inception of Western Education, Nigeria had a traditionally designed form of education geared mainly to socialize, train its offspring for a life trade and prepare them adequately for assuming status roles in the smooth running of their society. Most education took place in informal settings of the home and in settings where the trades were conveniently taught and practically demonstrated. Education, in the form it then was, had high priority in the growing and maturing years of the child. That priority has not slipped with the advent of Western education. Quite the contrary,

it has assumed more importance, and the attainment of western formal education has come to be the dream of all parents, the educated and uneducated alike.

Among the many crucial roles played by the family is the key role of generating informal learning for its children. It also plays the crucial role in preparing for and motivating its members to participate in increasing number, and at more and more advanced levels of formal education, thus supplying the society with an increasingly more sophisticated labor force to meet demands of change and modernization as well as enabling individuals to obtain the highest level of development possible within their value system (Paolucci et al 1976).

The family is viewed as a cohesive and consistent decision making unit which allocates the time of different family members in combination with purchased articles in order to produce desired commodities. According to Moock (1974), one such desired commodity is the raising of children.

In fact the basic human desire to raise one's children helps to explain the ubiquity of the institution of marriage in different societies throughout the world. Progeny are valued for psychic income (utility) that they can be expected to yield over many years. As such they have been called "consumer durables." In poorer societies especially, children are valued as well for their productive services in the home, in the family fields, and for the money income that, it is hoped, they will earn and remit to their parents. As such children qualify as "producer durables"(Becker 1968 pp. 5-25).



Levine (1974) observed that African parents frequently expect the child to contribute labor to the domestic productive unit, to give respect to elders, and when mature to support aging parents. He hypothesized that in populations with relatively scarce resources for subsistence, parents would have as their overriding conscious concern the child's capacity for future economic self maintenance, (broadly defined), particularly after his survival is assured and childrearing customs will reflect this priority.

Nigerian parents attach much importance to the education of their children. The restlessness of many African countries to achieve independence, and the many coups that continue to plague African countries after independence have not quite brought stability to society and to families.

Most Africans naturally are more anxious for freedom than for anything else, but they have many problems which even independence does not solve. Independence does not make poor people rich, illiterate people literate, hungry people well fed, or sick people well, nor does it insure good government. Real progress depends on solving a whole range of difficult problems, whether economic, social or political, of which gaining independence is one. (Batten 1947)

Batten proposed a need for everyone to become literate in order to understand the many changes that are taking place, and to participate in controlling their country's destiny.

A comprehensive analysis of the function of education in Nigeria can be done on two main levels: (1) the micro level, and (2) the macro level. On the micro level the value of education is defined on the basis and in terms of the beneficial functions it extends to the individual and his family. On the macro level educational values are assessed from effects on society.

One major element in deciding on the educating of children is to look at the effects of education on the overall efficiency of the nation, and the personal achievement and satisfaction of the educated. Education has come to be judged by its pragmatic rather than by its self-fulfillment means. The quest for intellectual liberalism elicits a number of opportunities for the kinship family. It impacts more on the family's prestige and becomes an instrument for upward mobility of the family system. Not only does it yield interest in the future, but it emancipates members who otherwise would have remained illiterate.

A family's insistence on and disposition to educate its children is indicative of awareness of the long term effects on the child and the family. Nigerian education has brought about a rapid change which is producing a succession of elites with different criteria of achievement and sets of values. Membership into the enviable minority elite status of the country is currently and primarily determined by education. Entry into the governmental and educational bureaucracies in which the majority of the educated find employment, is relatively open to those with the essential academic qualifications (Lloyd 1966). The "traditionally oriented elite" (Plotnicov 1970) are primarily oriented toward their own ethnic communities and cultures, maintaining a conservative outlook and maintaining the traditional system. Entry into the traditional elite is controlled and closed and in some areas inherited. Entrance to the modern elite is open, with education as the prerequisite. Families and individuals consequently value education for its equalizing attribute. Damachi (1972) conceived the new elite as a variable group of people consisting of at least all who

completed upper secondary school (eleven or twelve years of formal education). Those in the lower levels of the elite group were the clerks, and teachers in the lower secondary schools; in the upper elites are professionals and top ranking government figures or the most powerful traditional rulers.

The modern elite, Plotnicov (1970) claimed, had borrowed from the Europeans their model of emulation, and most were urban dwellers. Some aspirational influence is exerted on children of peasant origin through knowledge acquired from formal education, and through contacts with city elites who visit their villages of origin. The peasant children aspire to rise to the same level of modern elitism. Their aspirations are shared by their parents, but the achievement of their dreams can only be guaranteed by cooperation of kin resources.

Upward mobility, therefore, requires an individualistic attitude and this may be difficult to implement without seriously offending relatives and kinsfolk who, for example, if they had partly paid for the man's education will expect a return with each substantial increase in his income. Their demand may take the form of the partial support of a yet younger relative while at school; or for monetary assistance when they themselves are in need (Little and Price 1973 pp. 185-205).

Reciprocity in kind or in currency seems to be the hidden agreement between the kin investors and the recipients of formal education on the micro level in Nigeria. This practice is highly demonstrative of the relatedness in an ecosystem.

The Ibos of Nigeria have been accurately documented as investing much in the education of their children. A competitive overtone has pervaded education of people in different parts of tribes of Nigeria. Often collective investors have aided in the education of individuals or

invested in community schools for the education of their tribes.

Concerning collective investors, Smythe and Smythe (1960) wrote:

Tribal unions yield extensive influence and power, and the larger ones have played a significant role in the spread of education, they offer scholarship aid to young people, and some even operate schools. Several members of the Nigerian Houses of Assembly, and some who have risen to other relatively high positions, especially in the Eastern region, owe their training in British and American universities to tribal union financing (p. 30).

A West African report stated the aim of education as enabling the child to grow to the full statue of man, sound in mind and body, (Makulu 1971). Education in Nigeria is now seen as a tool for equipping the individual with the necessary skills to become useful for oneself and the community. Many African authors view education as an instrument of change. Nkrumah (1970) claimed the middle class in developing countries was created by the educational and administrative system introduced under colonialism. A nation's progress has been measured by economists by the GNP in the past. Harbison (1973) attempted to include the active development of human potentialities through education, both formal and nonformal, health, nutrition, wage and salary as indicators of a nation's growth. He sees education in the broader context of the incentive structure of society. He analyzed formal educational systems within five problem areas, namely: (1) outputs of the system (particularly with reference to the job market), (2) access to educational opportunity - increasingly a world-wide concern, (3) orientation of the various levels of schooling, (4) allocation of financial resources, and (5) organizational and human resources. In his book, Harbison devoted great attention to "nonformal education" outside the regular classroom because according to his thinking, formal education is limited in developing countries.

On a macro level, education is viewed from a societal perspective. Vivian (1965) believed the problem of education is so important and so urgent that he proposed that the new nations of Africa could not be free and democratic until their people had much more and better education. He also warned that the African nations could not become richer countries with higher standards of living while half of their children had little or no education.

A UNESCO report on higher education in Africa (1963) made the following recommendations for African Universities:

The African University must assume the basic functions and responsibilities that attach to a university, to teach and impart knowledge as an end itself and for the education for society to seek to discover the truth which for centuries have defied the genius of man, to disseminate its findings to all so that mankind generally and the African in particular may shed the shackles of ignorance and want, and the world may be a better place in which to live. (pp. 17-19).

Attempts of countries of the world to advance their technology, human resources and be represented in the many events of the world are demonstrated through the importance education assumes in those countries. Scholarships, educational loans, and some level of free education all are indicative of a nation's full awareness of the importance of and the need for education.

Nigeria, as other African nations, shared the guiding principle of education as a means to an end and not an end in itself. Education was and still is needed for immediate induction into society and for preparation for adulthood. Social responsibility, job orientation, political participation, and spiritual and moral values are the aims of education in Nigeria and other countries of the world. In this context Ikejiani, (1964) commending education as a future investment

in Nigeria, wrote:

Investment in education in Nigeria should be a life issue, because it is an investment for the future, because the national security, economic and technological growth and the whole strength of Nigeria entirely depend on this investment. As an "underdeveloped country" our growth in this all important direction is virtually dependent on the availability of highly trained men and women who will not only utilize the results of modern technology tools for national advancement, but devote the results of this research to the development of the nation. (p. 224)

A comprehensive and meaningful evaluation of a given education must be done in terms of its effectiveness in meeting the needs of society at a given time in life. Nigerian education or traditional African education must be judged not by extraneous consideration or some foreign yardstick, but by its performance within a given social context (Fafunwa 1974). Thus it may be conclusively asserted that education in Nigeria serves the dual purpose of improving the plight of the individual and his or her family on a micro level, and the development of the country on the macro scale.

### Decision Making

Family decision making has engaged the focus of many researchers of the family. It has been defined by authors from different disciplines in various ways. Each definer reflects his or her field and or institution and the situation or problem requiring a decision. For the administrator decision making may be a pattern of interactions between individuals through which the social mechanisms that sustain effective collective activity are developed and maintained (Gore, 1964). An organization manager may define decision making as an affirmative or negative intellectual assertion or judgment among alternative means

to achieve some ends (Morell, 1969). In the home management area, decision making has been defined as the selecting of one action from a number of courses of action, or the choosing of no action, (Gross, Crandall and Knoll, 1973). Deacon and Firebaugh (1975) define decision making as a resolution of alternatives that can be assessed at any point in the management process of the system. A more inclusive definition has been made by Paolucci et al (1977): decision making involves (1) the recognition of the need for decision, (2) identifying and weighing acceptable alternatives, and (3) selecting or mediating an alternative and facilitating its action (p. 93).

The need for decision making is defined by a family member or members when there is an impingement felt in their stable existence, and when a necessary change is evident. Words, symbols, gestures and messages are clarifying means often utilized to define the impingement or the problem. Problems needing decision reflect current issues and problems facing the family system.

According to Paolucci et al (1977) decision making is a process of reducing dissonance between the family and its environment as well as between and among family members. The process begins with the desire for change and terminates with a solution which commits family members to selecting a course of action and implementing that action. Alternatives exist in a decision or a decision is not possible. An alternative is a culmination of goals and objectives plus resources allocated to meeting those goals.

The content area of decision making may be shared by family members. Paolucci and Hogan (1973) considered the family as a critical decision making unit at a time of crisis. The family is linked to the

environment through flows of energy which must be processed or transferred by family members before the energy leaves the system as an output to the environment. Hannlon (1969) expounded on the concept of energy flows and information flows in an ecosystem. He described man as an open system through which the energy resources and influences of the environment are transformed and in turn transform man in the process. Deacon and Firebaugh (1975) said that families are continuously interacting with their physical environments and with other systems, including the economic, political, and social-cultural systems. Dechert (1965) describes environment as a set of conditions and properties that are not a part of the system but are still able to influence it. Although there are boundaries separating the family systems from other systems or elements in the environment, the boundaries between the systems are barriers to be overcome in system exchange, (Deacon and Firebaugh 1975).

In the family network, information entering the family is transmitted among family members and the responses or decisions made are information outputs back into the environment. Kinds of decisions made are influenced by the processing which includes analyzing, interpreting and evaluating information. Open families are receptive to each other's needs which often are transmitted through the medium of interaction, and the meanings inferred from the interactions. According to Paolucci et al (1977) family members become involved in making decisions based on information or messages that are both intellectual, and emotional. Personality factors, information processing abilities, the importance attached to the information received, and the general family environment and



situation at the time information is transmitted and received, all affect the processing and decision making.

Situations generate decisions, and problems for decision making have been categorized in many ways. Paolucci (1966) categorized decision making into two broad areas. She wrote:

The kinds of decision motivated by normal conflicts in the family can be grouped into two broad categories: social and economic. Social decisions are made when there is a conflict in values, goals, or duties (roles) among family members or between those held by other social groups, the school or the neighborhood. Economic decisions are evoked when the goals of the home members compete for scarce resources. For example, both money and physical capacity are limited resources on which many conflicting demands are made, pointing up the need of economic decisions (p. 339).

Resources of the family are used to achieve family goals, and the decisions made determine how resources will be used (Gross and Crandall 1954). Resources are classified in many ways including human and nonhuman resources. Gross and Crandall define the human resources as those which are inherent in a person, and the nonhuman resources as material goods, money and community facilities. The importance of recognizing what constitutes the family's resources, and how best to cultivate and manage all kinds of resources have been well documented in the literature. Recognition of the limitedness of resources enhances the decision maker's plans and managerial skills.

Brim et al (1962) described three important states of nature under which decisions are made: (1) competitive state of nature, (2) cooperative state of nature, and (3) neutral state of nature. In the competitive state he claimed, the individual or group lacks control over the outcomes of the decision not because of chance, but because of others with conflicting interests. Competition arises

because the two individuals or groups are striving for the same goal which only one can achieve. The competitiveness of the situation inhibits rather than enhances family decision making. The same goal is sought by individuals or groups in the cooperative state of nature. Free communication and coordination characterize the family in the cooperative state of nature. Coordination is defined as the process of informing each participant of the planned behavior of others (Simon 1957). In the neutral state of nature, the decision maker is faced by neither of the above two states.

The role of values in decision making has engaged much attention in recent times. Because values are linked with and between family members, the society and the individual's values influence decision making. Kluckhohn (1962) defines values as a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of an action. The desirable is what is felt or thought proper to want or wish, and reflects the oughts and shoulds of the group. According to Linton (1954), a value is anything capable of influencing the individual's decisions in choice situations or going one step back, and as a necessary preliminary to such influence, anything capable of producing an emotional response.

Nickel et al (1976) see choice making within the family as occurring in society and in a given cultural and historic period. Value patterns of the social group bring pressures on the individual that cannot be avoided. They claim that people in a given culture

tend to hold similar basic values that become criteria for choice even though the importance placed on specific values may vary. Paolucci et al (1977) said that values held by family members play an integral part in shaping family decision. According to Rescher (1969) values generate both commitment and self inhibition, imposing feelings of obligation and helping individuals determine what they ought to do, and how they should behave. Values are, therefore, considered as ultimately interrelated with decision making and are components of directive actions that guide families in their attainment of goals.

Nichols et al (1971) said that because of their presumed relationship to the evaluation of possible courses of action in the decision making process values are relatively stable, affecting elements of behavior... they presumed that knowledge in this area could assist in predicting decisions, identifying potential or actual areas of conflict to be dealt with in decision making, or identifying the motivation underlying family managerial activity, (pp. 91-97).

Ketchum (1962) and Dyer (1962) attempted independently to identify the values expressed by homemakers in their daily decision making. Dyer tested three types of instruments for ranking values. One of the techniques she tested, projective stories, is widely used in family studies. Most studies that have addressed themselves to similar investigations have used projective type techniques with the subjects. Projective stories, and incomplete stories are among the techniques used in identifying family values and how they operate in their decision making. Studies conducted in the sixties,

Nesbit (1966); Tipton (1969); and Price (1968); found some differences in values by age, education, and socioeconomic class of subjects.

Levy (1963) conceptualized peoples' jurisdiction over their decision making on a continuum. In the act of decision making, people are faced with taking a philosophical position ranging from fate to total control over their lives. In cultures where family environments are highly limiting, countries that are low energy driven, and where life is at a subsistence level, the families options are highly limited, few or nonexistent. Families in such cultures would be toward the fate end of the continuum.

Diesing's (1962) decision making structure incorporates and encompasses all the processes at work in decision making. According to him:

A decision making structure is composed in the first place of discussion relationships - talking and listening, asking questions and answering them, suggesting course of action and accepting them. These relationships are combined in a set of roles which, in a settled group, get recognized and assigned to individuals... A decision making structure is composed second, of a set of beliefs and values, more or less held in common by participating members. These define the kind of ideas that can be seriously considered during discussion and decision... Values determine the goals that are acceptable within the group, the possible desires, needs, external pressures, obligations and so forth, that can be considered in selecting a goal or goals, and the ranking of goals, desires, needs, and obligations... Beliefs and values, in short determine the general content and order of the universe in which discussion and decision takes place, while the roles define the participants and their manner of participation... A third component of decision making structure is the commitment already accepted by a group, and the course of action in which it is already engaged. All decisions have to be made in an actual context of actions and commitment resulting from previous decisions (p. 171).

### Summary

The literature reviewed shows a high value for education among Nigerian families. Family educational goals and commitments are regarded by many African writers as crucial decision making problems facing extended kin systems that value having many children. Various writers point to the futuristic value of education for the individual, his family, and society as a whole. Resources that are actually available to attain educational goals pose great problems for rural Nigerian families with limited resources. Families operating within the framework of kin system differ in their interactional as well as decision making patterns in various family situations. Help, communication, and interactional patterns of a given family are highly reflective of the family's values, cultural sanctions, and the family environment at a given point in time. Decisions pertaining to formal education of children in extended kin systems embody cultural dimensions that can only be interpreted within the culture under investigation.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

This chapter is divided into three main parts: (1) selection and description of the sample, (2) description of the instrument, and (3) data analysis procedures.

#### Selection and Description of the Sample

The Ibos of Nigeria are a diversified people whose ways of life are as different as their dialectical attributes. In order to ensure a broad representation of the Ibos, geographical boundaries have to be crossed, and tribal difference encountered. Two main States which a majority of the Ibos inhabit, Anambra and Imo States, constituted the areas from which samples for this study were derived. The creation of the Two States was a measure devised by the ruling army regime to ensure better government. Figure 2 is a map showing the location of the areas from which the samples were drawn.

Nigeria is located on the West Coast of Africa. Its southern border is on the Atlantic Ocean. The Ibos are concentrated in Imo and Anambra States in the eastern part of Nigeria.



### Anambra State

Over one half of the sample was derived from the surrounding villages of the town of Nsukka in Anambra State. Nsukka has shown remarkable growth and change since the founding of the University of Nigeria in the town in 1960. The rate of migration into the town fairly matches the growth of the University. People of the surrounding villages are in the main subsistence farmers who live in mud homes with thatched roofs. The homes are situated in the natural environment of green vegetation. Very close to, and often surrounding their homes, are portions of their farm lands, the sole means of their survival and income. The crops planted in the farming lands look straggly and less green than the untampered vegetation in the nearby bushes. The farm soils look reddish and porous probably because of the continuous farming and no time allowed for replenishment of what the heavy rains have washed away. Moreover, Nsukka being further away from the ocean experiences less rainfall than other farm lands closer to the ocean. People in the area often suffer from a scarcity of water.

Fairly motorable roads from Nsukka town lead into sections of the villages. From these, little bush paths lead to the homes. The natural vegetation often camouflages the homes making them almost invisible upon entry into the villages. Depending on the time of the day a stranger visits some of the villages, and especially on the market day in operation, the sudden awareness of homes in the natural green vegetation, and of people busy with various activity amidst laughter, can be overwhelming. The homes are very close together and people know each other well. The presence of the University in the



main town seems to have transformed the lives of the villagers, motivating families to aspire to higher education for their children.

### Imo State

The sample from this State was heavily derived from the villages of Umuahia town which was for many years the government seat for the then Owerri Province in the Eastern Region of Nigeria. The location of a government secondary school of a reputable nature which has graduated many of the country's politicians, doctors, lawyers, and political leaders, accords the town great recognition. Also within the outskirts of the main town is a government owned experimental agriculture farm which over the years has attracted foreign government experts to the vicinity. The main town is prominent in its own right because it has one of the best hospitals in the nation. Umuahia town is populated by many migrants from all over the country. Motorable roads lead into the villages facilitating high mobility and quick access to families for the study. Inhabiting the villages are not only the rural farmers but some civil servants and business people who have utilized their income to build homes in the rural villages. The civil servants and business people live in their modern zinc or asbestos roofed houses, and drive to work each day from the villages. In the main, most of the farmers live in thatched roofed houses. Most families interviewed for this study were subsistence farmers who depend mainly on their farm products for their income and survival. Some are experiencing a growing motivation to educate their children so they can step into the

enviable positions of civil servants or business persons. In Imo State, a few families from Owerri villages were also interviewed. See Table 1 for a summary of villages from which respondents were drawn.

Table 1  
Summary of Villages From Which Respondents Were Drawn

State and Towns	Villages	Number of Families
ANAMBRA STATE		
Nsukka Town	Eha Alimonu	3
	Ihie Akpu	3
	Isienu	5
	Nru	4
	Obukpa	12
	Odobido	5
	Owere Ezeoba	1
IMO STATE		
Umuahia Town	Agbala	1
	Mgboko	2
	Umuezereola	7
	Umuohuru	8
	Umuosu	4
	Umuyota	2
Owerri Town	Umuayalu	3
TOTAL		60

Families who indicated they were traders and business people by occupation were also farmers during the farming months of the year. During periods when farming did not occupy their time, these families engaged in "petty trading" i.e. obtaining the products of their trade from distant villages where they are less expensive and retailing the products to others in their own villages.

### Sample Selection

Sixty polygamous extended families in the Ibo speaking States of Anambra and Imo were selected to participate in the study. The number of families selected from each village was dependent upon the size of the village. More families were selected from larger villages, and less from smaller villages. However, any non-polygamous family was excluded. Families in the villages were scattered. The first contacted family in each village was the family that lived nearest to the motorable road to the village. If it met the criterion of polygamy it was included in the study. If the family was not polygamous, the next polygamous family closest in distance was contacted. Every fourth family closest in distance to the previously contacted family was then contacted. If they met the criteria of polygamy they were included.

### Selection Criteria for Adult Respondents

1. Only polygamous type families were selected and only those with three or more wives to a husband qualified. This criterion was to ensure having families of a large enough size to study the effect of number on family resources.

2. Families chosen for the study were to be residents beyond a five mile radius from the main towns and cities. This was done to try to avoid selecting families who had had excessive contact with residents in the main cities. Even though this precaution was taken, it was evident that there was much interaction between the villagers and the migrants in the main towns. In some cases city people lived in the villages and drove to work each day.

3. The families included in the study had at least two children in secondary schools to help parents identify with family situations that were part of the questionnaire.

4. Except when delegated by the first wife or by the household head, only first wives were interviewed. See Table 2 for a summary of positions of wives who participated in the interview. Sixty wives and sixty children 15 years of age or older constituted the number for the study.

Table 2  
Summary of Wives' Position in the Family

Ranking of Wives	Number of Subjects	Percentage
First wife	47	78.3
Second wife	9	15.0
Third wife	3	5.0
Other	1	1.7
Total	60	100.00

N = 60

#### Selection Criteria for Children

One child 15 years of age or older was interviewed from each of the families included in the study. The objectives were to interview children already in secondary schools, those who had already completed secondary school education, those about to enter secondary school. Of the 60 children interviewed, 36 were boys and 24 were girls. In some instances secondary school dropouts were interviewed for the

study. Table 3 summarizes data related to the children in families that were investigated.

Table 3  
Summary of Children in Families  
as Reported by Adult Respondents

	Number of Respondents Reporting	Mean Number	Variance	Range
Children in Families	60	13.88	40.81	5-40
Children of Respondents	58	4.81	4.26	1-10
Children of Families in school	60	5.81	12.99	1-12

Table 4 is a summary of the frequency of number of children in the families studied.

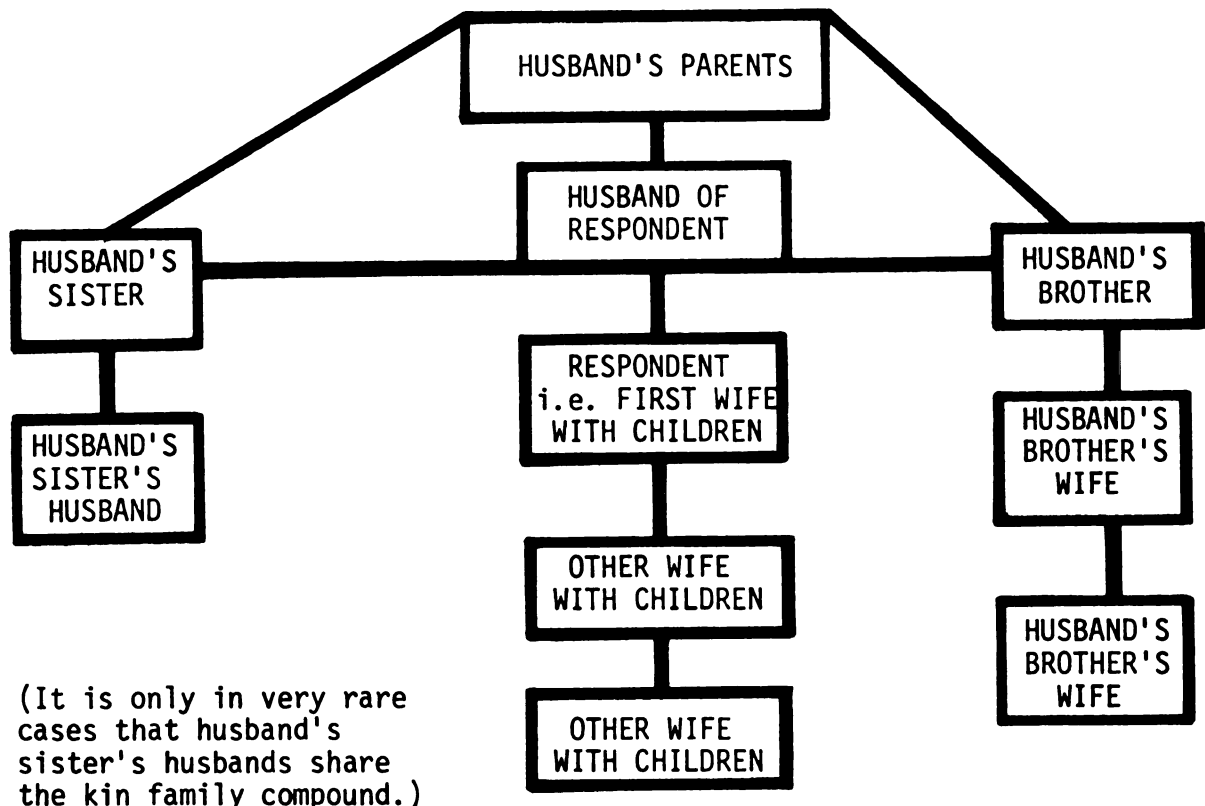
Table 4  
Frequencies of Number of Children in The Families

No.	Freq.	Per.	No.	Freq.	Per.	No.	Freq.	Per.
4	1	1.7	12	4	6.7	20	2	3.3
6	1	1.7	13	3	5.0	21	1	1.7
7	4	6.7	14	4	6.7	23	1	1.7
8	3	5.0	15	4	6.7	25	2	3.3
9	5	8.3	16	3	5.0	30	3	5.0
10	7	11.7	17	6	10.0	45	1	1.7
11	2	3.3	18	3	5.0	Total	60	100%

### Kin Family Structure

Since this research is focused on extended kinship systems, most families included were sub-kin system families who shared compounds with the larger extended kin system. They were recognized as social units by their society and culture. A compound is a collection of polygamous families and sub-kin families who may have a common descent. Many sub-kin families make a compound, and many compounds make a village. Members of the kinship system were defined by the number one wife or her appointee when listing the people living in the family compound. Figure 3 illustrates the kin family structure in a village compound.

Figure 3. Kin Family Structure in Village Compound



The respondent's husband may have more than one brother or sister. The younger brothers and sisters may still be living with their parents. Other residents in the compound may be boarders, renters or friends who are not blood relations of the family. The extended kin family system environment makes for high family interaction or team work.

The kinship system included the following members: husbands and their wives, husband's brothers and their wives, husband's parents, husband's sisters and their husbands, children and others who may be living in the kinship compound. Table 5 is a summary of cases of family members' distribution in the study.

Table 5  
Family Members Living in The Compound

Family Members Living in the Compound	No.	Percentage
Husbands	54	90
Other Wives	54	90
Children	60	100
Husband's Parent	28	46.7
Husband's Brothers	46	76.7
Their Wives	39	65.0
Husband's Sisters	25	41.7
Their Husbands	10	16.7
Others	14	23.3

N = 60  
Data from wives only

### Description of the Instrument and Interview

Two sets of questionnaires were developed for the study. One was a parent questionnaire with 22 questions and three family situations. The other was a children's questionnaire with 27 questions and three family situations. See appendix A for copies of the questionnaires. The questionnaires were administered in personal interviews conducted during the months of June, July and August, 1976 (some were recorded).

### Pretest

A pretest was conducted using ten Nigerian students studying in Michigan Universities. While most of their responses were projections of what they believed would be representative of their families, their participation was most valuable in deleting, adding, and improving the study instrument. It was a useful means of clarifying the objective of the study and assessing the workability of the whole project. A second pretest was carried out during the two-week intensive student interviewing preparation period. At the second pretest, minor changes were necessary in the questionnaire. The changes were not in the content but mainly in the translation of the questionnaire into the vernacular. Local popular names were substituted for the original ones used in the family situations.

### Parents' Questionnaire and Interviews

The first part of the parents' questionnaire consisted of eleven questions specifically designed to collect demographic data. The second part, questions 12 through 21, was designed to secure information pertaining to perceived family resources, family values or



expressed family values, and family decision making. The third part posed three family situations, i.e. short stories which were narrated to the respondents. Responses were tape recorded. All interviews took about two hours on the average. Often more time was expended on the family situations.

#### Children's Questionnaire and Interviews

The first part of the children's questionnaire was designed to collect demographic data (questions 1 through 15). Questions sixteen through twenty seven were designed to elicit information regarding initiators, participators, and final decision maker(s) in family decision making situations. These situations were either narrated to the subjects or read to them. Their responses were tape recorded. The subjects from Anambra State were either interviewed in their homes, or at the University where they volunteered to come. Their openness and willingness to come to the University was due in part to the fact that they enjoyed the free ride to the University, or because they wanted to learn more about the study and the interviewing team. Some of the subjects referred the interviewing team to other families with secondary school age students. The children's time interviewing went faster than the parents' mainly because the children could understand English and situations were read in English and not interpreted, as was the case with the parents. Moreover, the use of English eliminated the problem of dialectical differences between the researcher and the respondents. Some education, although limited in some cases, enhanced children's comprehension of the questions. The children's interviewing took about one hour on the average.

### The Interviewing Team

Four University of Nigeria undergraduate students and the researcher composed the interviewing team. The students were referred to the researcher by a professor at the University. Two of the students were from Nsukka and served also as informants who helped locate villages and families, and also assisted in the interpretation of the questions into the vernacular. The other two students had participated in interviewing in other studies done by University professors. The team underwent a two week intensive interviewing preparation prior to the actual interviews. The researcher demonstrated interviewing techniques to the students who took turns interviewing each other. Detailed discussions, evaluation and general research skills constituted part of the intensive preparation. Ways of making erroneous interpretations were discussed and clarified for the team. They also practiced the operation of cassette tape recorders used for the study. In the second week of intensive preparation, the student team went into nearby villages to practice interviewing skills. The students worked in pairs to ensure consensual validity. Further discussions followed where the team critically evaluated each other and their own interviewing styles. In this second discussion, proper ways of introducing the study to families, and a way of building quick rapport with the respondents as well as how to handle refusals to participate constituted part of the training. Interviewing was carried out only with families who were willing to participate in the study. The interviewers worked at the tempo of the respondents, and no families were coerced to participate. The hired interviewing team played a significant role in the whole study particularly in the

children's interviewing. Respondents not only identified with the team, but were also motivated to participate because of them. The researcher experienced much ease in her interviews with the wives partly because she was a woman and partly because of her age. The wives very readily identified with her and were very open in their reactions to her questions. She encountered no refusals in all her interviews.

### Transportation

The researcher rented a Peugeot 405 for use in conveying the interviewing team into or close to the villages. The car was often parked in a central location while the team made the rest of the journey on foot. More walking was experienced in the Nsukka villages than in the Umuahia villages where most of the roads into the villages were motorable.

### Tape-Recorded Responses

Answers to the family situations were tape recorded. Tape recording of the responses proved to be a very useful technique for it gave many of the respondents a new experience and helped create interest in the interview. The recordings also provided more complete information as well as helped relax the respondents who enjoyed listening to their own voices. At the end of each day, tape responses were transcribed for clustering answers to the family situations in a scoring table. In this regard, the valuable assistance rendered by the informants can never be overestimated. They interpreted the difficult dialects especially in the Nsukka area. See appendix 2 for the scoring tables for the family situations.

### Data Analysis Procedures

Statistical analysis of the data was done at Central Michigan University. Frequency distributions of the data were used to describe the respondents and the variables studied. Table 6 summarizes the data analysis procedures.

Table 6  
Data Analysis Procedures

Purpose of Analysis	Data	Methods of Analysis
Description of extended families.	Demographic data Wives' responses	Frequency distribution with descriptive statistics using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) on UNIVAC 1106, Multi-Processing Systems. <sup>1</sup>
Description of extended families.	Demographic data Children's responses.	Frequency distribution with descriptive statistics was done using SPSS on UNIVAC 1106, Multi-Processing system.
Description of extended kin family systems' children.	Demographic data Wives' responses	Frequency distribution with descriptive statistics using SPSS on UNIVAC 1106, Multi-Processing system.
Description of children in extended families and also birth order positions.	Demographic data Wives' responses	Frequency distribution with descriptive statistics using SPSS on UNIVAC 1106, Multi-Processing system.
Description of decision initiators and participants of extended kin families.	Wives' and Children responses	Frequency distribution with descriptive statistics using SPSS on UNIVAC 1106, Multi-Processing system.

Table 6 continued

Purpose of Analysis	Data	Methods of Analysis
Description of perceived family resources and adequacy and inadequacy of the resources.	Wives' responses	Frequency distribution with descriptive statistics using SPSS on UNIVAC 1106, Multi-Processing system.
Description of personal and family wishes.	Wives' responses	Frequency distribution with descriptive statistics using SPSS on UNIVAC 1106, Multi-Processing system. Comparison of wishes hand tabulation.
Description of plans of extended families for their children.	Wives' and Children's responses.	Frequency distribution with descriptive statistics using SPSS on UNIVAC 1106, Multi-Processing system.
Projected responses to family situations.	Wives' and Children's responses.	Frequency distribution with descriptive statistics using SPSS on UNIVAC 1106, Multi-Processing system. Comparison of responses, hand tabulation.
Factors considered in Educational decisions.	Wives' and Children's responses.	Frequency distribution with descriptive statistics using SPSS on UNIVAC 1106, Multi-Processing system. Comparison of variables, hand tabulated.
Effect of sex and age on family's choice of a child for secondary or higher education.	Wives' and Children's responses.	Frequency distribution with descriptive statistics using SPSS on UNIVAC 1106, Multi-Processing system. Comparison of the responses, hand tabulated.
Relationship between educational aspirations and resource solicitation.	Wives' and Children's responses to family situations.	Frequency distribution with descriptive statistics using SPSS on UNIVAC 1106, Multi-Processing system.

<sup>1</sup>Nie, Norman H.; Hull, C. Hadlai; Jenkins, Jean G.; Steinbrenner, Karin; and Bent, Dale H.; Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, New York, 1975.

### Limitations

1. The Ibos are widely dispersed in both Imo and Anambra States, heavy expenses would have been incurred in attempting to reach all Ibo towns in the two States. Hence data for this study were drawn from rural villages of only three towns in the two States, with most of the data from two towns.

2. Information was obtained only from wives and children of the Ibo extended kin families. More valid and representative information would have been solicited if equal numbers of men and women had been included in the study. A heavy reliance on first wives as respondents may have also affected the results of this study.

3. The short time expended on this research did not offer the opportunity to the researcher to investigate in great detail all the factors affecting the formal education of the Ibo extended kin children, nor was there adequate funding to meet the necessary expenses required for a more detailed study.

4. There was no attempt made on the researcher's part to control any effects or biases other members of the interviewing team may have had on the respondents. However, the researcher was confident that her two week intensive interviewing preparation was sufficient to reduce biases.

5. Some unsolicited information was given by relatives who listened during the interviews. Their responses were used in some cases especially where their presence inhibited the respondents from giving further information.

6. Five children other than those attending secondary school were used to respond to the children's questionnaire. These were older children of the kin families, and this happened at the initial part of the study when secondary schools were still in session and student respondents were unavailable.

7. Although several questions in the English questionnaire implied that one response was expected (most), the respondents gave multiple responses to many questions. Each response was tabulated as a separate reply, therefore many tables contain more than 60 responses.

## CHAPTER IV

### FINDINGS

This chapter is divided into two major parts, the first reports the findings from the interviews with the wives and children regarding the nature of decision making in Ibo extended kinship family systems in relation to the formal education of children. The second part examines and discusses relationships between factors involved in educational decisions and level of formal education aspired or attained.

#### Wives and Children's Responses Regarding Formal Education Decision Making in Ibo Extended Kin Families

##### Decision Making Reported by Wives

Table 7 is a summary of family members participating in family decision making as reported by wives. The results show that male participation exceeds female. Eighty-seven percent of the wives reported that husbands participated, and 50 percent reported that husband's brothers also participated in family decisions. Older children and wives were reported having the same amount of participation in 35 percent of the cases. Other persons reported as being involved in family decisions were: family friends in difficult decisions, the oldest and respected man in the village, and sometimes school teachers.



Table 7  
Participation in Family Decision Making Reported by Wives

Family Members	No.	Percentage
Husbands	52	87
Husband's brother	30	50
Older children	21	35
Wives	21	35
Husband's parents	9	15
Husband's brothers' wives	3	5
Husband's Sisters	1	2
Other	17	28

Note: Number of respondents = 60

Total is greater than 60 because more than one response was possible.

Table 8 presents data on the initiators and participants in educational decisions in the extended families. Eighty-seven percent of the wives reported that their husbands initiated educational decisions in their families, and 32 percent said older children did, while 27 percent said their husbands' brothers initiated the decisions. Husbands' sisters and their husbands were reported as having very minimal participation and initiative in any form of family decisions. Older children initiated educational decisions more often than wives did.

Participation in specific decisions regarding formal education of children seems to be both similar to and different from participation in general family decisions. High percentage of the wives reported that

husbands participated in both kinds of decisions. However, forty three percent of the wives said they participated in education decisions in their families compared to 35 percent in family decisions. Older children were also reported more often as participating in education decisions compared to general family decisions.

On the whole husbands initiated and participated in educational decisions far more frequently than other kin members. Husbands' brothers were the next most frequent kin involved; they participated twice as often as they initiated. Wives also reported they participated two times as much as they initiated. Wives and older children were similar in their participation in educational decision making.

Table 8  
Family Members' Initiation and Participation in  
Educational Decisions as Reported by Wives

Kin Members	Initiators		Participants	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percent
Husbands	52	87	50	83
Older Children	19	32	25	42
Husband's brothers	16	27	32	53
Wives	13	22	26	43
Husband's parents	2	3	0	0
Husband's brothers' wives	0	0	2	3
Husband's sisters	0	0	0	0
Their husbands	0	0	0	0
Other	3	5	6	10

Note: Number of Respondents = 60. Total is greater than 60 because more than one response was possible.

### Resources Perceived By Wives

Table 9 summarizes perceived family resources reported by wives. Ninety-three percent of the wives reported having farmlands as their resources while 78 percent indicated farm products as their resources. Thirty-three percent perceived relatives as resources, 32 percent perceived children, and 22 percent perceived working children, all of which reflected their perception of human resources.

Table 9  
Resources Perceived by Wives in Extended Kin Families

Resources	No.	Percent
Farmlands	56	93
Farm-products	47	78
Relatives	20	33
Children	19	32
Working Children	13	22
Wives	8	13
Wealthy in-laws	4	7
Other	8	13

Note: Number of respondents = 60

Total is greater than 60 because more than one response was possible.

Table 10 summarizes the wives' claims of the adequacy and inadequacy of their perceived resources. Ninety-two percent of the wives said their resources were not adequate in meeting the needs of the family. Most said they did not have the bare necessities of life.

Table 10  
Perceived Adequacy or Inadequacy of Family Resources

Resources	No.	Percent
Adequate	5	8
Inadequate	55	92
Total	60	100

#### Expressed Wishes of Wives

Wives were asked: What is the greatest thing you want most in life? Table 11 summarizes these wishes. Ninety three percent of the wives said they wanted relatives, and 85 percent indicated they wanted children. However, children may have been also included in relatives. Seventy-seven percent said they wanted good health and 57 percent indicated they wanted children's education. Other wishes reported by 40 percent of the wives included peace in the kin family, progress of the family like other families, and having more money to meet daily needs of the family.

Table 11  
Personal Wishes Expressed by Wives

Wishes	No.	Percent
Relatives	54	93
Children	51	85
Good health	46	77
Education for children	34	57
Other	24	40

Note: Number of respondents = 60

Total is greater than 60 because more than one response was possible.

Wives were also asked what they wanted most for their families. Table 12 summarizes their expressed wishes for their families. Sixty-two percent indicated they wanted long life and 58 percent said they wanted good health for their families. Fifty-three percent indicated the wish for enough food to feed their children. Money as a desired resource was expressed by only 28 percent of the wives. Other wants expressed included more children and rich harvests.

Table 12  
Wives' Expressed Wishes for Their Families

Wishes	No.	Percent
Long life	37	62
Good health	35	58
Enough food	32	53
Better life	27	45
Money	17	28
Other	12	20

Note: Number of respondents = 60

Total is greater than 60 because more than one response was possible.

Wives wishes for their children are summarized in Table 13. Seventy-five percent of the wives said they wanted good education for their children and 55 percent said they wanted good health. Fifty-three percent of the wives said they desired a long life for their children and 43 percent wanted good paying jobs for their children. Other responses by wives included intelligence, passing in school, and respect for their elders.

Table 13

## Wives' Expressed Wishes For Their Children

Wishes	No.	Percent
Good education	45	75
Good health	33	55
Long life	32	53
Good paying jobs for children	26	43
Good husbands for daughters	10	17
Good wives for sons	7	11
Other	9	15

Note: Number of respondents = 60

Total is greater than 60 because more than one response was possible.

Wives' Plans For Their Children

The plans of wives for their children are presented in Table 14. Although 78 percent of the wives said they planned to educate their children forty-five percent of the wives said their children were in God's hands. The 17 percent who indicated they had no plans for their children, qualified their statement by saying that plans are helpless attempts that hardly materialize or that the Gods would be angered by making plans. Futuristic events, they claimed, should be resigned to a supreme being who is all knowing. Prayer, resignation, and fate thus characterized plans of 62 percent of the cases i.e., those who claimed their children were in God's hands or who said they had no plans.

Table 14  
Wives' Plans For Their Children

Plans	No.	Percent
Educate children	47	78
In God's hands	27	45
Good husbands for daughters	6	10
Good wives for sons	6	10
No plans	10	17

Note: Number of respondents = 60

Total is greater than 60 because more than one response was possible.

#### Wives' Preferences of Children to Educate

Table 15 is a summary of wives' responses to the question: If your sons and daughters want to go to school and you cannot pay for all their educational expenses, which of your children would you support? Seventy-eight percent of the wives chose educating their sons over educating their daughters. Only 17 percent of them stated they preferred to educate their daughters. Those who preferred daughters said they would take better care of them in their old age. Age ranked lower than daughters in their preferences, but intelligence ranked higher than daughters. Other preferences mentioned by the wives included the child who wants the education.

Table 15

## Wives' Preferences of Children to Educate

Preferred Children	No.	Percent
Sons	47	78
Most intelligent child	22	37
Daughters	10	17
Oldest child	6	10
Other	11	18

Note: Number of respondents = 60

Total is greater than 60 because more than one response was possible.

Wives' Projected Choices in Family Situations

Family Situation I Table 16 presents data on wives' projected reactions to the first family situation. The situation was:

Mazi Oji lives in Okwa village with his 3 wives and 5 children. He lives with 2 brothers who are well to do in the same compound. Four of Oji's children are in secondary school and with the rise in education cost and living, Oji is finding it very difficult to maintain his 4 children in high school and support his older family members. Some of Oji's inlaws are also well to do.

Wives were asked what they thought Oji should do, what they thought their husbands would do, and what they themselves would do. Eighty-three percent of the wives indicated that Oji should ask consanguineal kin to support the education of the children and 77 percent said he should appeal to affinal kin for help. Appeal to village friends was projected by 38 percent of the wives. Others from



whom Oji should request help included school teachers, and distant friends. The figures were virtually the same for the wives' projections of what their husbands would do in the situation and what they would do. The finding shows consanguineal kin as the most influential and the affinal kin as the second most influential kin mentioned. Village friends ranked next and nuclear family last.

Table 16

Wives' Projections for Oji, Husbands, and Self in Family Situation I

Sources of Help	Oji		Husbands		Self	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Consanguineal kin	50	83	51	85	50	83
Affinal kin	46	77	41	82	45	75
Village friends	23	38	22	37	24	40
Nuclear family	1	2	3	5	2	3
Other	16	27	15	25	16	27

Note: Number of respondents = 60

Total is greater than 60 because more than one response was possible.

Family Situation II Table 17 presents a summary of the wives' responses to situation II. The family situation presented was:

Obi has 3 wives and 15 children. Out of the 15 children 3 boys and 3 girls are in high school or about to be admitted into high school. Obi is rather poor and can only afford to support 3 of the 6 in high school.

Fifty percent of the wives indicated that Obi should consult kin about educating children. Forty-seven percent indicated sex of the child should be considered as a factor in choices made (sons were to be considered first). Seventy percent of the wives said, however, their husbands should seek help from other kin to solve the situation. When asked what they would do in a similar case, 90 percent of the wives said they would seek kin help, and 22 percent said they would seek other help. The other alternative most mentioned was selling or pledging their farmlands to a rich friend and using the money to educate their children.

Table 17

Wives' Projections for Oji, Husband, and Self in Family Situation II

Factors Considered	Oji		Husbands		Self	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Kin help	30	50	42	70	54	90
Sex	28	47	24	40	12	20
Ability	21	35	13	22	2	3
Age	16	27	4	7	3	5
Other	2	3	22	37	13	22

Note: Number of respondents = 60

Total is greater than 60 because more than one response was possible.

Family Situation III Table 18 summarizes wives' responses to the family situation III. This family situation was:

Awa has 3 wives and 15 children. His first son is in high school but is performing very poorly. Four of Awa's other children (2 boys and 2 girls) are also in high school or

about to get into high school. He can only comfortably support 3 children in high school.

In this situation the largest percentage of wives said the sex of the child was to be taken into account in deciding who gets secondary education. Fifty percent of the wives said Awa should send boys to school, 70 percent said their husbands would consider the boys in similar situations, and 78 percent said they would give preference to their sons. Use of kin members as source of help scored high. For Awa, 48 percent of the wives said he should seek help from his relatives. When asked what their husbands would do in a similar case, 90 percent of the wives said they would seek help from kin. The same percent said they (the wives) would ask their kin for help.

Table 18

Wives' Projections for Awa, Husband, and Self in Family Situation III

Factors Considered	Awa		Husband		Self	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Sex	30	50	54	90	54	90
Consult kin	29	48	42	70	47	78
Ability	14	23	1	2	0	0
Age	1	2	4	7	4	7
Other	25	42	22	37	38	65

Note: Number of respondents = 60

Total is greater than 60 because more than one response was possible.

### Decision Making Reported By Children

Table 19 summarizes family members' degree of participation in family decisions reported by children. In every day family decisions all of the sixty children said their fathers participated. Sixty-two percent of the children said their older brothers participated, and 55 percent said their uncles also participated. The children said that women i.e., wives, sisters, and aunts participated less than men in family decisions. Another member reported as participating sometimes was the village chief.

Table 19  
Participation in Family Decision Making Reported By Children

Family Members	No.	Percent
Father	60	100
Older brothers	37	62
Uncles	33	55
Mother	16	27
Father's wives	9	15
Sisters	9	15
Grand parents	6	10
Aunts	5	8
Other	6	10

Note: Number of respondents = 60

Total is greater than 60 because more than one response was possible.

Table 20 summarizes children's report of kin member participation and initiation in formal education decisions. Ninety-five percent of the children said their fathers participated in formal education decisions, 72 percent said their mothers participated. Mother's

participation in formal education decisions differed greatly from participation in general family decisions. Fifty-two percent of the children reported their older brothers participated. Uncles were reported as participating by 52 percent of the children. Father's wives and aunts were said to participate by 8 percent and 7 percent respectively. Eighty-three percent of the children indicated that their fathers initiated formal education decisions in their families. Thirty-seven percent said their uncles did. Mothers were reported to be the initiators of formal education decisions, by 25 percent of the children, while older siblings were reported as initiating decisions by 27 percent of the children.

Table 20

Participants and Initiators in Educational Decisions Reported by Children

Family Members	Participants		Initiators	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Father	57	95	50	83
Mother	43	72	15	25
Siblings	37	62	22	37
Uncle	31	52	16	27
Father's wives	5	8	2	3
Aunts	4	7	2	3
Other	2	3	5	8

Note: Number of respondents = 60

Total is greater than 60 because more than one response was possible

Table 21 summarizes children's responses to the question: Who decided whether or not you would go to secondary school? Eighty-seven percent of the children said their fathers decided they should attend secondary school, 30 percent said their mother made the decision. Thirty percent of the children reported their older siblings made that decision while 25 percent reported their uncles did. Aunts and other wives of the family were reported as having no input in the decision.

Table 21  
School Attendance Decision Makers Reported By Children

Kin Members	No.	Percent
Father	52	87
Mother	18	30
Working siblings	18	30
Uncle	15	25
Aunt	0	0
Wives	0	0
Other	5	8

Note: Number of respondents = 60

Total is greater than 60 because more than one response was possible.

#### Comparison of Wives' and Children's Reception of Educational Decision Making

Table 22 compares wife's and children's responses regarding educational decision making initiators in kin families. Wive's and children's responses correlated highly; for example, 87 percent of the wives and 83 percent of the children said the husbands/fathers took

the initiative. Both groups reported that wife/mother initiated decision making in about one fourth of the families. Wives and children differed most in their perception of brother-in-law/uncle as initiators. More children than wives perceived them as initiating education decisions.

Table 22

Education Decision Making Initiators Reported by Wives and Children

Family Members	Wives		Children	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Husband/Father	52	87	50	83
Older Children	19	32	16	27
Brother-in-law/Uncle	16	27	22	37
Wife/Mother	13	22	15	25 <sup>a</sup>
Grand parents	2	3	0	0
Other	3	5	5	8

a: Does not include father's other wives.

Note: Number = 60

Total is greater than 60 because more than one response was possible.

Table 23 compares wives' and children's responses to the question "Who participates in education decision making?" In some respects children's and wives' responses were quite similar with both perceiving the husbands/fathers as the most frequent participants. The main difference between wives and children was in the perception of wife/mother as participant in educational decision; nearly three fourths of the children saw their mothers as participants but less than one half of the wives reported that they participated. The fact that the wives reporting were not necessarily the mothers of the children

reporting may have accounted for some of this difference. Children and wives also differed in the perception of the amount of participation by older children or siblings. Children perceived them as participating more frequently.

Table 23  
Participation in Educational Decision Making  
Reported by Wives and Children

Family Members	Wives		Children	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Husband/Father	50	83	57	95
Brother-in-law/Uncle	32	53	31	52
Wife/Mother	26	43	43	72 <sup>a</sup>
Older Children/Brother	25	42	37	62
Sister-in-law/Aunts	0	0	4	7

a: Percent does not include father's other wives

Note: Number = 60

Total is greater than 60 because more than one response was possible.

### The Effect of Sex on Child's Education

Children's reports on the question, "Does or did the fact that you are a (girl or boy) favor or hinder your chances of being selected to go to secondary school?" are shown in table 24. Seventy-seven percent of the children said their sex favored their selection for secondary school education, while only 3 percent said it hindered their being selected. Twenty percent of the students claimed their sex had no effect on their chances of being selected to attend secondary school.



Table 24

Effect of Sex on the Education of Children - Reported by Children

Responses	No.	Percent
Favor	46	77
Hinder	2	3
No differences	12	20
Total	60	100

Table 25 is a frequency distribution by sex of children reporting of the effect of sex on their education. Thirty-six boys and 24 girls were interviewed and 80 percent of the 36 boys said their sex favored them while 54 percent of the 24 girls said their sex favored them. Thirteen percent of the 24 girls said their sex hindered or delayed their being sent to secondary school while no boy mentioned his sex as hindering his selection for secondary school education.

Thirty-three percent of the twenty-four girls said their sex made no difference in their selection while 11 percent of the thirty-six boys claimed the same. Of the four boys or 11 percent of the thirty-six boys who said sex made no difference in their selection two said the oldest child goes first. In general, boys saw their sex favoring them, more frequently than the girls did. While no boys saw their sex as hindering them, over ten percent of the girls saw that being female hindered them.

Table 25  
Effect of Sex on Education

Sex	Total Responses	Effect of Sex		
		Favor	Hinder	No Difference
Boys	36	32(88.8%)	0(0%)	4(11.1%)
Girls	24	13(54%)	3(12.5%)	8(33.3%)
Total	60	45(75%)	3(5%)	12(20%)

### Fee Payments

Table 26 is a summary of secondary education fee payments by kin members reported by children. Eighty-seven percent of the children reported their fathers paid their school fees while 28 percent claimed their older siblings paid. Seventeen percent said their mothers paid and the same percent said their uncles did. In-laws, wives and aunts were reported as having no impact on fee payments. In cases where the children indicated fee payment by kin members, 82 percent of those members paid the fees all the time while 18 percent said they paid some of the times. Other kin members helped pay when the payments were not followed up by the kin.

Table 26  
Secondary Education Fee Payment Reported By Children

Kin Members	No.	Percent
Father	52	87
Older sibling	17	28
Mother	10	17
Uncle	10	17
Aunt	1	2
In-laws	0	0
Father's wives	0	0
Other	2	3

Note: Number of respondents = 60

Total is greater than 60 because more than one response was possible.

### Children's Future Plans and Educational Goals

The children were asked about their future plans and educational goals. Table 27 summarizes their responses. When asked about their future plans, 55 percent of the children said they planned to continue their education, while 42 percent said they intended to work and save towards their higher education. Twenty-two percent of the children said they would get a job and help pay the expenses of the family. Seventy-percent of the children indicated their goal was to have university education, and 35 percent said they wanted to finish high school. Other responses elicited from the students included, getting married (girls) and lessening the pressure on the family, and waiting till they reach the time for any future decisions.

Table 27  
Children's Future Plans and Educational Goals

Future Plans and Goals	No.	Percent
Have university education	42	70
Continue education	33	55
Work and save toward higher education	25	42
Finish high school	21	35
Get job and pay expenses	13	22
Stay home and work	4	7
Go to trade school	2	3
Other	8	13

Note: Number of responses = 60

Total is greater than 60 because more than one  
response was possible.

#### Children's Educational Confidants

Children were asked "If you decide to continue your education, in a higher institution, who would you go to, to discuss your decision?" Table 28 shows children's confidants in their educational decisions. Ninety percent indicated they would discuss their decisions with their fathers, while 25 percent said they would with their mothers. Forty-five percent said they would discuss decisions with older siblings, and the same percent said they would with their uncles. Other persons mentioned were school teachers, influential members of the village, and a distant, rich family friend.

Table 28  
Children's Educational Confidants

Confidants	No.	Percent
Father	54	90
Uncle	27	45
Older working siblings	27	45
Mother	15	25
Aunt	4	7
Other	8	13

Note: Number of responses = 60

Total is greater than 60 because more than  
one response was possible.

#### Payments of Future Educational Expenses

The children were asked how they intended to pay their higher educational expenses or whom they expected to pay for them. Table 29 shows how they responded to this question. Fifty-eight percent of the children said they expected their fathers to pay, while 28 percent said their older working siblings would pay for their educational expenses. The highest proportion, 72 percent of the students said they would apply for government scholarships to meet their educational expenses.

Table 29

## Children's Expectations of Payment of Their Educational Expenses

Source of Payment	No.	Percent
Apply for scholarship	43	72
Father	35	58
Older siblings	17	28
Work awhile and save	17	28
Uncle	16	27
Mother	8	13
Borrow money	8	13
Aunt	3	5
Fathers' wives	0	0
Other	6	10

Note: Number of respondents = 60

Total is greater than 60 because more than one response was possible.

Children's Responses to Family Situations I, II, & III

The children were presented with the following situations:

- I. Mark is about to enter secondary school or is already in secondary school but discovers that his parents are unable to pay his expenses in school due to many children whose needs are increasing. Besides, there are four other children in Mark's family who are already in secondary school, but Mark is determined to get secondary education.
- II. Joe is faced with the same situation as Mark above but he has 2 uncles (brothers of his father) and one uncle and one aunt, (siblings of his mother), all four relatives have very good senior service jobs and earn good pay.

III. Samuel is the seventh child in a family of 15 children.

His parents in no way can afford to meet his educational costs in secondary school as all but one of the older 7 siblings are in secondary school. Samuel does exceptionally well in school and has high motivation for higher education.

For each situation respondents were asked to project what the fictitious character should, can, and must do. They were also asked what they would do if they were the fictitious character.

Situation I Table 30 shows choices made by children in family situations which dealt with limited resources. In their projections for Mark, the fictitious character, 63 percent indicated that help be sought from consanguineal kin. Only 20 percent mentioned that Mark seek a scholarship. However, when the response related to themselves, 87 percent said they would seek government scholarships and 75 percent said they would seek consanguineal kin help. More children also said they would seek help from affinal kin than they projected for Mark.

Table 30

## Children's Projections for Mark and Self in Family Situation I

Source of Help	Mark		Self	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Consanguineal kin	38	63	45	75
Affinal kin	24	40	36	60
Seek scholarship	12	20	52	87
Older working sibs	10	17	7	12
Parents, nuclear family	7	12	17	28

Note: Number of responses = 60

Total is greater than 60 because more than one response was possible

Family Situation II In family situation II the change in the story to the effect that Joe, the fictitious character, has uncles and aunts who have senior service jobs and earn good pay brought about a change in the responses. The responses were more kin dependent.

Table 31 summarizes the projections of the children. When respondents were asked what they would do themselves, 83 percent, and 68 percent respectively said they would ask help from consanguineal and affinal kin. Eighty percent said they would seek scholarships, but only 7 percent projected this source of help for Joe.



Table 31

## Children's Projections for Joe and Self in Family Situation II

Source of Help	Joe		Self	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Consanguineal kin	45	75	50	83
Affinal kin	36	60	41	68
Parents nuclear family	11	18	6	10
Older working siblings	8	13	11	18
Seek scholarship	4	7	48	80

Note: Number of respondents = 60

Total is greater than 60 because more than one response was possible.

Family Situation III In family situation III the children's responses seem to indicate groping for help by Samuel, the fictitious character, in a large family of limited resources. Table 32 summarizes responses for this situation. Seeking kin help was mentioned by 60 percent of the children for Samuel, and seeking a scholarship by 42 percent. However, when asked what they would do in a similar situation, 97 percent said they would seek government scholarships, and 57 percent said they would ask people in the village. Asking village people was a form of seeking a local scholarship often awarded with a promissary note of reciprocating the service by training another villager.

Table 32

## Children's Projections for Samuel and Self in Family Situation III

Preferances	Samuel		Self	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Seek kin help	36	60	11	18
Seek scholarship	25	42	58	97
Stay home work	23	38	19	32
Meet mother's relatives	18	30	1	2
Ask villagers	2	3	34	57

Note: Number of responses = 60

Total is greater than 60 because more than one response was possible.

Summary of children's Responses to the Three Family Situations.

In general the children seemed to react to situations somewhat differently when they were directed to them than when projecting what the fictitious characters would do or should do. In all three family situations help of kin members was highly projected for the fictitious characters in the stories. When asked what they would do, more children said they would rely on seeking governmental scholarships. For example, in the first situation 87 percent of the children, in the second 80 percent, and in the third situation 97 percent said they would seek scholarships. However, this in no way minimized the heavy reliance on kin affiliation and dependency. In the first three situations kin were seen as major sources of help but in the third, nearly all of the children said they would seek a scholarship and nearly 60 percent said they would ask villagers to help. The fact that the fictitious character was an exceptionally good student

highly motivated for education appeared to influence their responses. It is also customary for the Ibo villagers to help educate an exceptionally good student.

Factors Involved in Educational Decisions  
and Level of Formal Education Aspired to or Attained

Values, Resources and Number of Children

The Ibos high value for having many children is reflected in the wives' responses to the question: "What do you want most in life?" Ninety-three percent said they wanted relatives, and 85 percent indicated they wanted children (Table 11). Relatives in the Ibo tradition include children. This traditional value is in keeping with their common saying and popular boys' name "Umunabuike" interpreted to mean, "He who has relatives has power." The kin social environment appears to be wanted more than the natural environment although life might be qualitatively better for all concerned if the natural or even the human built environment were adequately utilized. Among other values expressed by the wives were wishes for good health and long life for the kin relatives.

Significant resources perceived by the wives were farmlands and products, both of which were hardly adequate to support the family. A partial reason for the paucity of the farmlands is the persistent nature of farming engaged in by the farmers, and the lack of chemical or natural replenishment of the soil substances. Since most of the families included in this study were subsistence farmers, use of their farmland products to achieve their goals of educating their children would deny them the bare necessities of life.

Their low level of existence would further be intensified to a level that might be hazardous to their lives.

The wives' perceived real resources are the human resources who, in crises situations, are assigned by the norms of the kin and society to use whatever resources and resourcefulness at their disposal to meet the needs of family members. The farmlands and farm products that are available are committed resources utilized directly to support the life system of the family. If these committed resources were transferred to meet the costs of education, an important need, that of survival would be denied the family members and the family's value for long life and good health would be defeated.

Ninety-two percent of the respondents indicated they lacked adequate resources implying that although resources were perceived, they were not available to the degree required for meeting the needs of the family (Table 10). Only eight percent said they had adequate resources to meet their family needs. When questioned further, these respondents said that adequacy meant having enough food to feed their children. These findings indicate that as the number of children in the extended kin family who are in secondary or higher education increases, there is an educational need overload which may result in a decrease in the level of education attained by some of the children. At such times children compete for family resources. Both wives and the children indicated applying some selective devices for children who are to be educated. As was reported in the first part of the findings, wives listed use of other kin's resources, considering the sex of the child, and asking help from friends as methods of meeting the competing educational needs

of their children (Tables 16 and 17). Children, on the other hand, repointed working and saving for their future education, seeking government scholarships and peddling for kin help as methods of attaining higher education for themselves at a time of children's need overload (Table 27). An assumption could be made that the closer in age the children are, the fewer the number of children who can continue in secondary and higher education at a given time. This is so because educational fees increase with the grades; consequently children from the same family who are close in age would require increasing amounts of resources for their support as they advance in the grades. The impingement exerted by such high demand on family resources results in the reduction of either the number a family allows to continue in higher education or in the level of education attained by the children.

Seventy-eight percent of the wives said their plans for their children were to educate them, but when they were further questioned on how they intended doing that, some of them said their children's futures were in God's hands who would certainly provide for their needs (Table 14). The rapidity with which they abandoned their children's future to fate, and their total resignation to the powers of gods deny them the rationality to scrutinize their action or plans for the future. Another common traditional belief is, "God that gives always finds a way to provide." Such a philosophy, though irrational in face of the realities of the world today, provides the families with some satisfaction for their level of existence, and justifies for them their values for additions of new members to their families. Large numbers, as was pointed out earlier,

generate need overload, which results in competition for family resources. The family devises a selective or screening means to determine who gets secondary education. The screening arises as a result of the number competing for the family resources. Therefore the greater the number of children, competing for the family resources, the fewer the children who go to secondary education. Among the screening devices used by the family, sex, age, and intelligence are applied. These variables are discussed in detail in the next section.

A practice of heavy dependency of kin members (human resources) on each other results in drainage of these resources. However willing and obliging kin members are in rendering services to others of the kin group, the consistency and continuous nature with which the demands are made erode on kin resourcefulness and resources leaving them with little or nothing to meet other needs. Of the 77 percent of the wives who said they valued education for their children, and the 78 percent who said they had plans for the education of their children, most indicated they would seek kin help in the education of their children. Help and services are expected from the kin environment who in actual practice may not conceivably take on all the responsibilities that are compounded by number. Wives' expressed values for their children are more wishes than intentions that must be carried out. "Kin peddling" becomes a way of life with the extended kin families, enjoyed only by those whose needs are met, but crippling to those who are obligated to carry out these needs.

### Sex and Age

A shortage of resources triggers some screening or prioritizing of family children who would go to secondary or higher school. The screening or prioritizing is achieved mainly in two ways, the traditional or the modern way. In the traditional way, sex and age feature very prominently. Many of the wives favored education of sons over the education of their daughters (Table 15). Their rationale for this choice includes the following statements (made by them):

Daughters marry and start their own families.

Daughters nowadays get pregnant and may not finish school.

Family names are embedded in sons and not daughters.

Sons succeed their fathers and carry out the family tradition. When children were asked whether their sex favored or hindered their being chosen from the kin family to go to secondary school, 77 percent claimed their sex favored them, 20 percent said it made no difference, while only three percent claimed it hindered or delayed their being chosen for secondary education (Table 24). It should be remembered that 36 boys and 24 girls were interviewed for this study and only three of the 24 girls said their sex hindered or delayed their chances of being chosen for secondary education. This low number indicates that from the child's point of view, sex does not have much effect on a child's chances of attending secondary school.

The incongruency between children's and wives' claims on the effect of sex on the educability of the child cannot be overlooked. It is to be noted that wives, i.e. mothers, were reported by 72 percent of the children as participating in education decisions in extended kin families (Table 20). If they, in their capacity of

participation, showed preference for sons when family resources were limited, then indeed the sex of the child has some bearing on education.

Sex as a variable has more effect than age on parents' choice of their children for secondary or higher education. The responses indicated that sex was a more controlling factor than age and the child's ability to succeed. It may be that the law of descent which binds the kin and which is responsible for family inheritance, contributes much to kin's great traditional affinity for male preferences. However, a few of the respondents indicated the changing and mellowing of this tradition by education. To a few wives, education of daughters was more rewarding and launched on a long term basis than had been formerly believed. A highly educated daughter they claimed, maintained more meaningful and emotional attachment to the family even after she was married.

Only ten percent of the wives preferred age as a criterion for a child to be chosen for secondary and higher school education (Table 15). If indeed the responses derived from this study are the same in actual practice, a departure from the tradition, i.e. respect for age, is in evidence. But it should be noted that age for the wives may imply that the oldest child is a daughter, or is unable to benefit from higher education. Another observation that can be made involves the fact that in actual practice, older children are expected to relieve the family burden by engaging in jobs that help subsidize the family's income. Denial of a secondary or higher education for the older children and/or sacrifice of education by the older children themselves aid kin families in their screening practices.



It should be noted, however, that sacrificing the chances of younger children for the benefit of the older ones as a future investment is not an uncommon practice.

Another significant observation made relating to sex is the frequency with which kin males are involved in matters of family decisions and educational decisions. For example, husbands were reported as being more influential than wives in all matters relating to initiative, participation, and decisions. Mothers and uncles were more influential than aunts and other wives.

#### Solicitation of Resources for Formal Education and Educational Aspirations

Children's measure of high education aspirations was determined by responses they gave for their educational goals and their plans for achieving these goals (Table 27). Seventy percent of the children indicated their goal was to have university education while 35 percent said they wanted to finish high school. Only three percent said they wanted to go to a trade school which is the equivalent of vocational school in the United States. To achieve this goal, 55 percent of the children said they would continue on to the university as soon as they graduated from high school, and 42 percent said they may work to save towards higher education. The practicality of such claims must be questioned. In the first place, those who claimed they would go on to a university have to meet the admission requirements which include an entrance exam. Secondly, their families have to be well to do to finance university education.

When the children were asked how they planned to solicit funds for their education tuition, 72 percent said they would apply for a

scholarship from the government which is an outside agency from the family (Table 29). Fifty-eight percent claimed they would seek financial aid from their fathers who would either meet the demand or seek ways for getting help for their children. Twenty-eight percent of the children said they were depending on their older working siblings to help fund their higher educational expenses; 27 percent implied their uncles would meet this demand. From the responses elicited, children seem to solicit help wherever it was possible to meet their educational goals. They also exhibited a range of search for resources in the projections made in family situations. Table 33 compares responses elicited from family situation I with those from family situation II. In family situation I resources were highly limited, but in situation II some kin members had good paying jobs thus had adequate resources. Applying the interactional framework in this observation, interaction is initiated by kin children because of their high educational aspirations. Outside interaction is high when the children's reference group (kin members) have limited resources. Interaction with the reference group increases when resources can be solicited from the kin group.

Table 33  
 Children's Responses To Family Situation I  
 Where Resources Are Limited and Family Situation II  
 Where Some Kin Members Had Some Resources

Situations	Nuclear Family	Sources of Help			Seek Scholar- ships
		Consangui- neal Kin	Affinal Kin	Working Siblings	
I. Resources, Limited	17 (28%)	45 (75%)	36 (60%)	7 (2%)	52 (87%)
II. Kin Resources Available	6 (10%)	50 (83%)	41 (68%)	11 (18%)	48 (80%)

Note: Number of responses = 60. Total is greater than 60 because more than one response was possible. (Only children's responses to what they would do were compared.)

Children with high educational aspirations tend to seek help where they think they can get it. They also take the initiative to discuss their educational intentions with resourceful members of the kin family or those who can influence some actions.

Wives' wishes for their children's education did not appear to relate to any specific plans or actions on their part directed to achieving those plans, except in their high dependency on the resourceful kin who would make those plans happen. Every indication on their part to educate their children was a further instance of the high drain on the resourceful kin's willingness to oblige. When wives' attempts to solicit help for the education of their children is compared with the children's attempts, it becomes evident that children do apply to different sources to seek support for their education. Wives tended to channel their solicitations to kin members,

the traditionally approved way to the kin system. Children were more inclined to go to outside agencies to seek support. Table 34 is a comparison of sources named by wives and children for seeking help with educational expenses.

Table 34  
Comparison of Wives' and Children's Sources of Help Solicitation

Sources	Children		Wives	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Seek Scholarship	52	87%	2	3%
Consanguineal Kin	47	78%	50	83%
Affinal Kin	36	60%	45	75%
Nuclear Family	17	28%		
Older Working Children	7	12%		
Village Friends			24	40%
Other			16	27%

Note: Number of responses = 60

Total is greater than 60 because more than one response was possible.

### Discussion

According to Bertrand (1967), the element of power is made apparent in decision making. Action in a social system comes about when decisions are reached and action initiated by those in power positions because they wield authority or are able to influence others. Within the Ibo extended family systems, separation of initiators and participators of decisions from those who implement the decided plans is very much in evidence. The initiator or participant in a decision is not necessarily a very powerful member as attributed by Western

cultures' standards. He or she may be the kin family member with an insight into family needs. The powerful family member, i.e. the kin member who may or may not be directly affected by the problem needing decision and action, is a member delegated, or appealed to solve and carry out the decision because he or she is perceived by others in the kin as the most resourceful member. He is sought out by other kin members to apply his resources or resourcefulness to meet the needs of the group.

A distinction should be made in the way the Ibo kin members define resources and resourcefulness which may be different from the way Western cultures define it. Resources and resourcefulness for the Ibos are implied rather than demonstrated. They are acclaimed qualities seen in others rather than in themselves which they can tap without prior agreement with the resourceful member. Deacon and Firebaugh defined resourcefulness as commanding a status. The Ibos' measures of resourcefulness are (1) Sex, (2) Age, (3) Wealth, and (4) Education. All four measures were demonstrated in the responses given by the wives in the study. Decision initiators were seen as heavily drawn from the head households, i.e. husbands and their brothers. They were also older than the wives and children and had at least enough resources to be married. Wealth was equated with farmlands and products which, however, when reduced to actual cash values were seen as inadequate in meeting family needs of survival. A working member, is seen as resourceful, and is called upon by others who depend on his income for their needs. Although education was not sufficiently demonstrated as a strong measure of resourcefulness of the

kin members, a high value was placed on its power in bringing about change and improved status.

A few families with educated working children depended on them to meet the needs of their family. Getting an education was also seen by most of the responding wives and children as a pre-requisite to gaining status in the group, and becoming wealthy. Working at a job after education was seen by other members as making not only the educated member wealthy, but the whole family better off as the working member becomes the group's installed resourceful member.

High dependency on the resources of a member or members by others was found to be a practice among the Ibo kin family systems. The practice of mutual reciprocity is perpetuated in such a way that the working members' resources are spread very thin for meeting the needs of the family. Perhaps smaller family size may reduce the impact of such a practice, but this was not the case in this study. A high density of human resources is valued by the Ibo kin family; number of persons rather than actual economic resources constituted the family's listed resources. This value may have played a significant role in the past when more hands were needed to cultivate the farms, and when a balance was reached by high mortality rates, and when informal education took place in the home environment. With the inception of formal education and lower mortality rates, a new picture exists. Families have not reduced birth rates to match the changes that are evident; consequently, there is a density of one type of resources (human resources), and a scarcity of the other (economic resources). It was evident from the results of the study that one resource was significantly affecting the other.

Kin related resources are involved in decision making whereby the decision makers delegated the responsibility of an action to another or others with resources to carry out the decision. Family needs are transferred to the member with the means. The resourceful kin member carries out the needs because of his kin and cultural obligations. The sub-family with a problem defines it in relation to others of the whole group more resourceful to handle and solve and control the problem. The kin social environment tends to be the reference element in the extended family decision making style, and action imposition is an accepted part of the decision making process.

A rather characteristic nature of the Ibo extended families was the promptness and the immediacy with which they attributed their state of life and every day needs and existence to a supreme being. Their complete trust to the power of their gods led to what may be considered their rather irrational philosophy of life. It also led to their resigning themselves to fate and not seeking ways of improving their lives. Praying to God, and waiting on God to show them a way to provide for their children constituted the wives' plans for their children's future. The children, on the other hand, though reliant on kin members' resources, sought help from an expanded field of choice. The rationality of their assessment of the situation was more in keeping with their needs and education, and they were willing to seek help outside family boundaries. Some were even willing to implement the actions themselves by working and saving towards their education. Education may have endowed them with such insight, which widened the scope of their field of choice as opposed to the wives' very narrow field and total dependency on the kin environment.

A difference was found among family decision makers and educational decision makers. Forty-three percent of the wives said they participated in educational decisions in their families compared to 35 percent who claimed they participated in family decisions. The increase in educational decisions may be due to the fact that they required mobilization of resources which could only be achieved by the inclusion of all resourceful members of the family which included wives. Wives may also be in a position to know where help could be obtained. Since husbands' sisters and their husbands may be faced with the same role in their own families, they were unable to be of any help to the families under investigation and consequently, they were reported as having very minimal initiative and participation of any form in family decisions. The paternal nature of the families and the law of descent may be contributory to this pattern. Husbands' parents were also not considered in educational decisions probably because they were lacking in knowledge that could influence education decisions. Their limited experiences in such matters were regarded by the wives as not useful alternatives in the field of choice.

A difference was found in wives' responses on the effect of sex of the child on his or her being selected for secondary school attendance and the children's responses. While 87 percent of the wives preferred boys' education over girls', 77 percent of the children said their sex favored them, 20 percent said it made no difference, and only three girls said it delayed their being sent to secondary school. This disparity needs clarification. Wives who preferred boys being educated over girls said daughters could be



trained by their husbands; some said daughters may get pregnant in the process of education, and others quoted the Ibos' law of descent. The children, on the other hand, saw themselves as being fully accepted by their parents especially since most of those interviewed were already in secondary school. A few of the girls said their school fees were paid by their prospective husbands who would marry them at the completion of their secondary school education. The exact manner in which the decision of whether a boy or girl goes to secondary school is made, needs to be determined in another study that addresses itself to that issue. Based on the wives' responses, it was clear that the sex of the child is taken into account especially when the children are so close together in age that many are ready for secondary education at the same time. Alternatives mentioned by wives at such times included marrying off the daughters and utilizing the bride price paid on their behalf for fee payments of the boys. Other alternatives were selling or pledging of farmlands to meet the family needs, i.e. fee payments. Older sons were in some instances encouraged to give up education and work to support the family. Appealing to the more resourceful members was part of the "kin peddling" practice engaged by the respondents. Where help comes from the villagers, often the villagers volunteer the help or give it because it is an established tradition. However, wives indicated they would ask help from villagers if help could not be obtained from the kin family; they would enlarge their field of choice.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

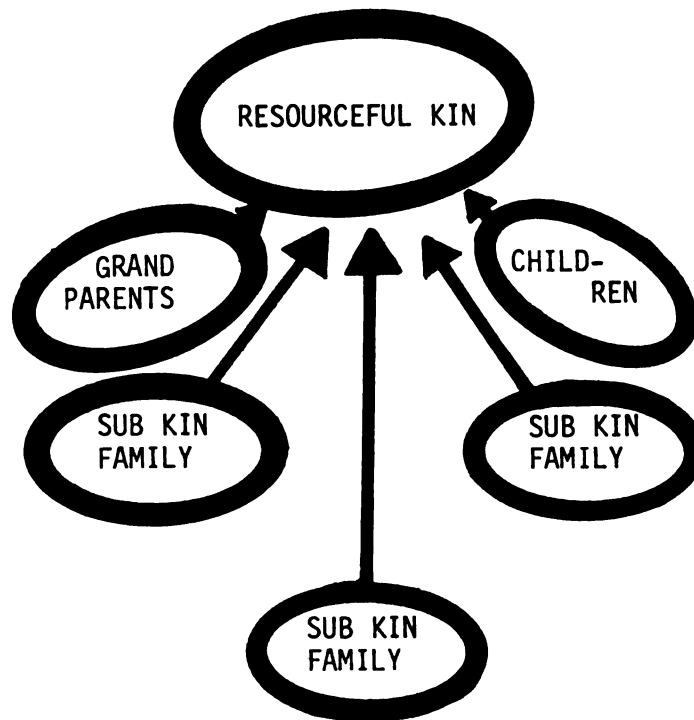
This chapter contains a summary of the findings presented in the preceding chapter, some conclusions drawn from the findings, and suggest implications for further study, policies, and programs,

#### Summary

Wives' perceived that resources were inadequate in meeting the educational needs of the family. Available family resources were the human resources which form the kin unit, and from whom the kin members obtain services and help for meeting their goals and needs. Kin members rather than money resources were perceived by the wives.

A kin member's willing involvement in applying his or her resources in solving the family's needs is a cultural universally sanctioned obligatory act among the Ibos. High kin dependency is a socially acceptable practice among the Ibos which consistently tends to drain the resources of the most resourceful members for the good of his or her kin dependents. Dependents in this study were not defined by age as is customary but by possession of resources. The less resourceful members are attracted towards the more resourceful ones. The pull is more in the direction of the kin members with resources rather than towards the powerful kin member, defined by age. See figure 4. Availability of kin with resource is a key factor affecting education choice.

Figure 4. Direction of Kin Resources Pull



While complete consensus was not found in wives' claims of the effect of the sex of the child on his or her chances of going to a secondary school and children's claim in family situations where there was a choice between the boys and girls, wives mostly claimed they would favor boys for secondary education, however some wives said daughters should be educated. Children on the other hand, regardless of sex, were found to claim their sex favored or had no effect on their selection for secondary school education.

It was found that most Ibo wives believed in, and resigned their future plans to God. Their complete belief in fate to control their future and meet their every day needs was seen to result in their feeling of euphoria or resignation. Consequently, plans for the future were not made, but situations were tackled as the needs arose.

Differences were found to exist between wives' and children's patterns of seeking help with educational expenses. Wives scouted for help in their consanguineal and affinal kin. They also sought help from village friends. The immediate rural environment constituted their help environment. Children on the other hand said they would seek out specific sources where financial aid could be obtained. Moreover, they were more apt to seek help from outside agencies. They perceived a larger help environment than the wives did.

### Conclusions

The following conclusions were drawn from the findings:

1. The Ibo extended kin family system is a cohesive social unit organized in a network of mutual relationships. The kin unit utilizes the most resourceful member or members to meet the needs of the many sub-family units constituting the larger kin unit.
2. The ability of the kin family to educate their children in secondary school is dependent on the resources that could be tapped from the kin family group, the exact resources that can be utilized for the education of children, and number of children ready for secondary education at a given time.
3. High kin dependency rather than individual effort pervades the extended kin family environment. "Kin Peddling," i.e. seeking help from the kin group is practiced.

4. When resources are limited and the number of extended kin family children ready for secondary education are competing, wives show preference of boys over girls. Children, on the other hand, consider their sex an uninhibiting factor in their selection by the family for secondary school education.
5. More males participated, initiated, and were more often called upon to meet the educational needs of the family than females. Daughters of the kin group and their husbands, as well as grandparents in the family were the least reported participants, initiators, and actors of educational decisions in the extended kin family.
6. An influencing factor on life in general among the Ibo extended kin families is the social environment which is densely populated by the kin members who reciprocate each other's services.

#### Implications for Further Study Policies and Programs

This study raised more questions than it answered. More investigation is necessary to determine the attitude and effect of high kin dependency on the resourceful members of the kin group. Such investigation should attempt to ascertain the effect of resource drainage on the immediate family of a member, ways of helping less resourceful relatives, and the ways family members are approached by other kin members.

Further investigation is necessary to determine the role of wives and mothers in the education of their children in secondary and higher institutions of learning. This study showed wives as being very active in seeking out help from their kin relatives for the

education of their children but the exact manner this is achieved was not specified. More needs to be known about the ways "kin peddling" is achieved, and how much success is gained from the practice. Information from husbands regarding their involvements in the education of their children needs to be explored.

In September 1976 the government of Nigeria introduced a free education policy for all levels of education from primary through university. Research should be done to find out how the new educational policy is affecting families in the rural villages, what effect such a financial lift has on the inter-relationships within the kinship group, and how many of the families' children are taking advantage of the policy. A comparative study needs to be done to determine the change in attitudes, if any, of the supporting resourceful kin members before and after this government policy. Furthermore, such studies should attempt to find out if the government's free education policy has improved the quality of education offered, and if it has increased the number of children going to school at the secondary school and higher education levels. In this regard, a study should be directed to finding the degree of decrease or increase of child servants in the entire country, how this relates to increased educational opportunities, and what salaries any remaining servants are demanding. The effect of any decrease of house servants on the home management of the family should be investigated also.

A measure should be devised to determine a family's economic and material resources, and the extent to which they are applied to meeting the needs of the family. For an example, a farm plot could be measured by the number of yam mounds it takes, and this may be multiplied

by equal or near equal number of farm plots owned by a family divided by family members in the kin group. Other items mentioned by the respondents as items that they could pledge could be measured by their market values.

Further studies need to be conducted at the family or individual household level to determine the relationship existing between the wives in many family situations. What are the relationships when children of one wife demands more than those of others? Attitudes of kin members need to be delineated in varying situations to truly determine the spirit of the kin family.

Most importantly there is need for the Nigerian government to re-educate its families to strive for quality of human life, and not merely quantity of human resources. Such a goal could be achieved if family planning is undertaken on a broad national scale, and a higher quality of life for individual family members demonstrated. The government should protect families from pledging or selling their farmlands which in all probability are the main source of their existence. Welfare policies and programs are needed to assist families at times of high economic needs so that families can continue to own their lands. Families need to become aware of the services of assistance available to them.

This study has shown that the education of the nation's children has been left very much to the individual family who strives to apply the very limited resources at its disposal to meet the competing needs of the extended kin families. Increased governmental support of the education of the human resources of the nation would not only alleviate the burden borne by the peasant families, but would ensure literacy

for the majority of its country. A literate society understands better the rules and policies of its country and can participate more fully in social and economic development. Governmental support of the education of children would release more resources for meeting the needs of the kin family. It would also relieve the more resourceful member of the kin group of his or her duties to others in the group, or at least part of the drainage would be alleviated. If this happens, economic interdependence as a basis for the traditional cohesiveness of the kin family may be lessened. It is hoped however, that psychological and social interdependence may be maintained so that the kin family can continue as a significant human environment and support system.



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APPENDIX A  
INSTRUMENTS  
PARENT QUESTIONNAIRE  
CHILDREN QUESTIONNAIRE

No. \_\_\_\_\_

## QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARENT: WIFE # ONE WHERE POSSIBLE

1. State \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Village \_\_\_\_\_
3. Village Head \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Family Name \_\_\_\_\_
5. Occupation \_\_\_\_\_ 6. Respondent's Name \_\_\_\_\_
7. Respondent's position in the family \_\_\_\_\_
8. Who are the members of this family?
  - a. Husband \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Other wives \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Children \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. Husband's parents \_\_\_\_\_
  - e. Husband's brothers \_\_\_\_\_
  - f. Their wives \_\_\_\_\_
  - g. Husband's sisters \_\_\_\_\_
  - h. Their husbands \_\_\_\_\_
  - i. Other, specify \_\_\_\_\_
9. How many children are there in this family? \_\_\_\_\_
10. How many children do you have? \_\_\_\_\_
11. Name and give the following information about the children in the family.  
Those in school \_\_\_\_\_

Name	Age	Sex	Elem.Gr.	Sec.Gr.	Univ.	Trade
1. _____						
2. _____						
3. _____						
4. _____						
5. _____						
6. _____						
7. _____						
8. _____						



9. \_\_\_\_\_  
10. \_\_\_\_\_  
11. \_\_\_\_\_  
12. \_\_\_\_\_

Those not in school \_\_\_\_\_

	Name	Age	Sex	Elem.Gr.	Sec.Gr.	Univ.	Trade
1.	_____						
2.	_____						
3.	_____						
4.	_____						
5.	_____						
6.	_____						
7.	_____						
8.	_____						
9.	_____						
10.	_____						
11.	_____						
12.	_____						

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

12. What resources do you perceive your family has? (Check off)
- a. Wives \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Children \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Relatives \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. Farm lands \_\_\_\_\_
  - e. Farm products \_\_\_\_\_
  - f. Wealthy inlaws \_\_\_\_\_
  - g. Working children \_\_\_\_\_
  - h. Other, Specify \_\_\_\_\_
13. Do you have enough resources to support your family?
- a. Yes \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. No \_\_\_\_\_
14. What is the greatest thing you want most in life?
- a. Wives \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Children \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Relatives \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. Good health \_\_\_\_\_
  - e. Education for my children \_\_\_\_\_
  - f. Other, Specify \_\_\_\_\_
15. What do you want most for your family?
- a. Money \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Enough food to feed them \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Good health \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. Long life \_\_\_\_\_
  - e. Better life \_\_\_\_\_
  - f. Other, Specify \_\_\_\_\_
16. What plans do you have for your children in the future?
- a. Educate them \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Daughters have good husbands \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Sons have good wives \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. They are in God's hands \_\_\_\_\_
  - e. Other, Specify \_\_\_\_\_

17. What do you want most for your children?
- a. Good education \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Daughters have good husbands \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Sons have good wives \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. Good health \_\_\_\_\_
  - e. Long life \_\_\_\_\_
  - f. Good paying jobs \_\_\_\_\_
  - g. Other, Specify \_\_\_\_\_
18. If your sons and daughters want to go to school and you cannot pay for their education, who would you ask to support their formal education?
- a. Your husband \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Parents \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Brothers or sisters \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. Inlaws \_\_\_\_\_
  - e. Working children \_\_\_\_\_
  - f. Pledge your land or property \_\_\_\_\_
  - g. Other, Specify \_\_\_\_\_
19. Who participates in matters needing decision making in the family?
- a. Husband \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Wives \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Children \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. Husband's parents \_\_\_\_\_
  - e. Husband's brothers \_\_\_\_\_
  - f. Their wives \_\_\_\_\_
  - g. Husband's sisters \_\_\_\_\_
  - h. Their husbands \_\_\_\_\_
  - i. Other, Specify \_\_\_\_\_
20. Who initiated or would initiate the decision about children's secondary education?
- a. Husband \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Wives \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Children \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. Husband's parents \_\_\_\_\_
  - e. Husband's brothers \_\_\_\_\_
  - f. Their wives \_\_\_\_\_

- g. Husband's sisters \_\_\_\_\_
  - h. Their husbands \_\_\_\_\_
  - i. Other, Specify \_\_\_\_\_
21. Who are participants in educational decisions?
- a. Husband \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Wives \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Children \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. Husband's brothers \_\_\_\_\_
  - e. Their wives \_\_\_\_\_
  - f. Husband's sisters \_\_\_\_\_
  - g. Their husbands \_\_\_\_\_
  - h. Other, Specify \_\_\_\_\_
22. If your sons and daughters want to go to school and you cannot pay for all their educational expenses, which of your children would you support?
- a. Sons \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Daughters \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. The oldest child \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. The most intelligent child \_\_\_\_\_
  - e. Other, Specify \_\_\_\_\_

FAMILY SITUATIONS

PROBLEM 1. Mazi Oji lives in Okwa village with his 3 wives and 5 children. He lives with 2 brothers who are well to do in the same compound. Four of Oji's children are in secondary school and with rise in education cost and living, Oji is finding it very difficult to maintain his 4 children in high school and support his other family members. Some of Oji's inlaws are also well to do.

- QUESTION 1. What should Oji do in his position?  
Why?
2. What else do you think he should do?  
Why?
  3. If Oji was your husband, what do you think he would do?  
Why?
  4. What would you do as a wife?

PROBLEM II. Obi has 3 wives and 15 children. Out of the 15 children 3 boys and 3 girls are in high school or about to be admitted into high school. Obi is rather poor and can only afford to support 3 of the 6 in high school.

- QUESTION 1. How does he decide who goes to high school?  
Why?
2. How else can he make the decision?  
Why?
  3. If your husband was in his shoes, how would he decide?  
Why?
  4. What would you do as a wife to help decide?

PROBLEM III. Awa has 3 wives and 15 children. His first son is in high school but is performing very poorly. Four of Awa's other children (2 boys and 2 girls) are also in high school or about to get into high school. He can only comfortably support 3 children in high school.

- QUESTION 1. What should Awa do?  
Why?
2. What must he do?  
Why?
  3. If your husband were in Awa's shoes, what would he do? Why?
  4. What would you do as a wife?  
Why?

No. \_\_\_\_\_

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHILDREN 15 YEARS OF AGE OR OLDER

1. State \_\_\_\_\_
2. Village \_\_\_\_\_
3. Village head \_\_\_\_\_
4. Family Name \_\_\_\_\_
5. Name \_\_\_\_\_
6. Sex \_\_\_\_\_
7. Age \_\_\_\_\_
8. Who are the members of this family?
  - a. Father \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Mother \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Brothers \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. Sisters \_\_\_\_\_
  - e. Uncles \_\_\_\_\_
  - f. Aunts \_\_\_\_\_
  - g. Grand parents \_\_\_\_\_
  - h. Other, specify \_\_\_\_\_
9. How many children are there in your family? \_\_\_\_\_
10. What is your position in the family? \_\_\_\_\_
11. Do you attend school at the present time? \_\_\_\_\_
  - a. yes
  - b. no

If NO go to question 14. If YES go to question 12 & 13; Skip No. 14.

12. What school do you attend? \_\_\_\_\_
13. In what class are you? \_\_\_\_\_
14. How much education did you have? \_\_\_\_\_
15. How often did you take the common entrance exam to secondary school?
  - a. Never \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Once \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Twice. \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. Three times \_\_\_\_\_
  - e. Other, specify \_\_\_\_\_

16. Who decided whether or not you would go to secondary school?

- a. Your father \_\_\_\_\_
- b. Your mother \_\_\_\_\_
- c. Your uncle \_\_\_\_\_
- d. Your aunt \_\_\_\_\_
- e. Older working sibling \_\_\_\_\_
- f. Your father's wife or wives \_\_\_\_\_
- g. Other, specify \_\_\_\_\_

17. Who pays or paid for your education?

- a. Father \_\_\_\_\_
- b. Mother \_\_\_\_\_
- c. Uncle \_\_\_\_\_
- d. Aunt \_\_\_\_\_
- e. Older Sib \_\_\_\_\_
- f. Inlaws \_\_\_\_\_
- g. Other, specify \_\_\_\_\_

18. How often are or were your fees paid for by your guardian?

- a. All the time \_\_\_\_\_
- b. Some times \_\_\_\_\_

19. If your answer is not all the time, who pays or paid for the other times?

- a. Father \_\_\_\_\_
- b. Mother \_\_\_\_\_
- c. Uncle \_\_\_\_\_
- d. Aunt \_\_\_\_\_
- e. Older sib \_\_\_\_\_
- f. Inlaws \_\_\_\_\_
- g. Other father's wives \_\_\_\_\_
- h. Other, specify \_\_\_\_\_

20. Who participates in matters needing decision making in your family?

- a. Father \_\_\_\_\_
- b. Mother \_\_\_\_\_
- c. Father's wives \_\_\_\_\_

- d. Brothers \_\_\_\_\_
- e. Sisters \_\_\_\_\_
- f. Uncles \_\_\_\_\_
- g. Aunts \_\_\_\_\_
- h. Grand parents \_\_\_\_\_
- i. Other, specify \_\_\_\_\_

21. Who initiated the decision about whether or not you went for secondary school?

- a. Father \_\_\_\_\_
- b. Mother \_\_\_\_\_
- c. Uncles \_\_\_\_\_
- d. Aunts \_\_\_\_\_
- e. Other father's wives \_\_\_\_\_
- f. Older children of the family \_\_\_\_\_
- g. Other, specify \_\_\_\_\_

22. Who are participants in educational decisions in your family?

- a. Father \_\_\_\_\_
- b. Mother \_\_\_\_\_
- c. Father's wives \_\_\_\_\_
- d. Brothers \_\_\_\_\_
- e. Sisters \_\_\_\_\_
- f. Uncles \_\_\_\_\_
- g. Aunts \_\_\_\_\_
- h. Grand parents \_\_\_\_\_
- i. Other, specify \_\_\_\_\_

23. Does or did the fact that you are a (girl, boy) favor or hinder your chances of being selected to go to secondary school?

- a. Favor \_\_\_\_\_
- b. Hinder \_\_\_\_\_

24. What do you intend to do in the future or when you leave secondary school?

- a. Stay home and work \_\_\_\_\_
- b. Get a job and pay expenses \_\_\_\_\_



- c. Work and save towards higher education \_\_\_\_\_
- d. Continue my education \_\_\_\_\_
- e. Other, specify \_\_\_\_\_

25. What is your educational goal?

- a. Finish secondary education \_\_\_\_\_
- b. Go to trade school \_\_\_\_\_
- c. Have University education \_\_\_\_\_
- d. Other, specify \_\_\_\_\_

26. If you decided to continue your education in a higher institution, who would you go to discuss your decision?

- a. Father \_\_\_\_\_
- b. Mother \_\_\_\_\_
- c. Uncle \_\_\_\_\_
- d. Aunt \_\_\_\_\_
- e. Father's wives \_\_\_\_\_
- f. Older working sibs \_\_\_\_\_
- g. Other, specify \_\_\_\_\_

27. If you decide to continue your education, who would you expect to pay your educational expenses?

- a. Father \_\_\_\_\_
- b. Mother \_\_\_\_\_
- c. Uncle \_\_\_\_\_
- d. Aunt \_\_\_\_\_
- e. Father's wives \_\_\_\_\_
- f. Older sibs \_\_\_\_\_
- g. Work awhile and save \_\_\_\_\_
- h. Borrow money \_\_\_\_\_
- i. Apply for government scholarship \_\_\_\_\_
- j. Other, specify \_\_\_\_\_

## FAMILY SITUATIONS FOR STUDENT

PROBLEM 1. Mark is about to enter secondary school or is already in secondary school but discovers that his parents are unable to pay his expenses in school due to many children whose needs are increasing. Besides, there are 4 other children in Mark's family who are already in secondary school, but Mark is determined to get secondary education.

QUESTIONS 1. What should Mark do?

Why?

2. What else can he do?

Why?

3. What must Mark do?

Why?

4. If you were in Mark's shoes, what would you do?

Why?

PROBLEM 11. Joe is faced with the same situation as Mark above but he has 2 uncles (brothers of his father) and one uncle and one aunt, (siblings of his mother), all four relatives have very good senior service jobs and earn good pay.

QUESTIONS 1. What should Joe do?

Why?

2. What else should he do?

Why?

3. What must he do?

Why?

4. If you were Joe, what would you do?

Why?

PROBLEM 111. Samuel is the seventh child in a family of 15 children. His parents in no way can afford to meet his educational costs in secondary school as all but one of the older 7 siblings are in secondary school. Samuel does exceptionally well in school and has high motivation for higher education.

QUESTIONS 1. What should Samuel do?

Why?

2. What else should he do?

Why?

3. What must he do?

Why?

4. If you were Samuel, what would you do?

Why?

APPENDIX B

SCORING TABLES FOR CLUSTERING  
ANSWERS TO FAMILY SITUATIONS  
I, II, & III FOR PARENTS

SCORING TABLES FOR CLUSTERING  
ANSWERS TO FAMILY SITUATIONS  
I, II, & III FOR CHILDREN

CLUSTER OF ANSWERS: FAMILY SITUATION I

QUESTIONS	Nuclear Family	Consanguines	Affinal Kins	Village Friends	Other	COMMENTS
1. What should Oji do in his position?	1	50	46	23	16	God must surely show them a way. Oji should approach his brothers and discuss the education of his children. Relatives are there to help each other. Surely one of his relatives must help.
Why?	2	83	77	38	27	
2. What else do you think he should do?	3	50	45	23	16	The whole family has the problem (kin) therefore Oji's children must get the education. He may try to borrow money, but what he cannot do is steal. Your relatives are the same, they constitute your family.
Why?	5	83	75	38	27	
3. If Oji were your husband what do you think he would do?	3	51	41	22	15	If other relatives who are rich have too many responsibilities, some of the family's farmlands can be sold to educate the children. Our oldest child may go to work to help us train his younger siblings. God will help my husband.
Why?	5	85	82	37	25	
4. What would you do as a wife?	2	50	45	24	16	I will go to my husband to do something about the education of our children. I will also go to my own relatives, I will even go to my village friends. God will provide for the education of our children.
Why?	3	83	75	40	27	

The first row in each column represent the total number of responses.  
The second row represent the percentages.  
Some of the respondents' comments are included.

## CLUSTERS OF ANSWERS: SITUATIONS II

QUESTIONS	Age based Decision	Decision by Sex	Decision by Ability	Consult Kins	Other	COMMENTS
1. How does Obi decide who goes to school?	16	28	21	30	2	Train the sons and take the daughters out of school. Males are more important because they succeed you when you die. Train both sexes, girls are equally as important as boys these days. Pray to your God and he will show you a way.
Why?	27	47	35	50	3	
2. How else can he make the decision?	3	18	13	30	25	Train the oldest and then he can train others. The daughters could marry and their husbands could finish educating them. God who gave them, must surely show you the way to train them. Leave all in God's hands.
Why?	5	30	22	50	42	
3. If your husband were in his shoes how would he make the decision?	4	24	13	22	42	Ask his relatives to help him. Find good husbands for our daughters and use the money to educate the sons. He would train a few of the children at a time, and when they are done they can help train others. The inlaws of his married daughters can help.
Why?	7	40	22	37	70	
4. What would you do as a wife to help?	3	12	2	13	54	We cannot steal, but we can borrow, so we can sell some of our property and educate our children. Train only the sons. Train some of the daughters too they take good care of you in your old age. Ask my friends to help.
Why?	5	20	3	22	90	

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The second row represents the percentages.  
Some of the respondents' comments are included.

CLUSTER OF ANSWERS: SITUATION III

QUESTIONS	Age Based Decision	Decision by Sex	Decision by Ability	Consult Kins	Other	COMMENTS
1. How would Awa decide who goes to school?	1	30	14	29	25	Your first son is very important, don't take him out of school. Train males not females, who get married anyway. Go to seek the help of other relatives. God who gave them to you must show you a way to provide for them.
Why?	2	50	23	48	42	
2. How else can he make the decision?	4	37	7	43	14	Train the boys and allow the girls to get married. Boys carry family names. Get daughters married off and use the bride price to train your sons.
Why?	7	62	12	72	23	
3. If your husband were in his shoes how would he make the decision?	4	42	1	54	22	My husband would train his sons because education today is very important. He would ask help from his relatives, inlaws and his friends, or anyone who can help. Borrow from any source, must not allow sons to be idle.
Why?	7	70	2	90	38	
4. What would you do as a wife to help him?	4	47	--	54	38	We train our sons because daughters get married, and some of them get pregnant these days. Try to train the first child who will help train the others. Agree with my husband to sell some of our things. Marry off our daughters, Males carry family names. Seek help of relatives.
Why?	7	78	--	90	63	

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CLUSTER OF ANSWERS  
FAMILY SITUATION I FOR STUDENT

QUESTIONS	Approach Parent to discuss the situation	Ask uncles or Aunts Consanguines	Ask Uncles or Aunts Affinal kin	Ask older sibs working	Seek Scholarship	COMMENTS
1. What should Mark do?	17	25	18	18	11	If he is determined, he must find a way. His uncles should help him. He should promise to pay them back, for if you are trained, you owe the family a debt of training others. He can wait for his turn.
Why?	28	42	30	30	18	
2. What else can he do?	2	44	27	6	9	He should approach his parents to discuss the matter. They would borrow money from others in the family. Usually money borrowed is paid in kind. The relatives are his own blood, they will help.
Why?	3	73	45	10	15	
3. What must Mark do?	1	28	44	7	17	He could go to his rich siblings and ask for help, or he can see if there are rich inlaws who would help him. There must be someone in the family who will help with his education. He can apply for scholarship.
Why?	2	47	73	12	28	
4. If you were Mark, what would you do?	17	45	36	7	52	I would ask my father to borrow money on my behalf and I pay it back in the future. I can ask for government scholarship. What I know is that I must do something to get an education. Or I can work and save money to go back to school.
Why?	28	75	60	12	87	

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CLUSTER OF ANSWERS  
FAMILY SITUATION II FOR STUDENT

QUESTIONS	Approach Parent to discuss situation	Ask Uncles or Aunts Consanguines	Ask Uncles or Aunts Affinal kin	Ask older sibs working	Seek scholarship	COMMENTS
1. What should Joe do?	25	43	33	8	0	Surely his rich uncles and aunts must help him. He could serve them so that they train him. Joe should have no problems getting help from his rich relatives.
Why?	42	72	55	13	0	
2. What else can he do?	6	38	35	14	3	He must go to his father who must approach his rich relatives to help train him, this way the family name would rise. His father may seek loan to train him. Apply for scholarship.
Why?	10	63	58	23	5	
3. What must Mark do?	1	40	53	2	10	He could wait for his older siblin to finish so that they can help educate him, but since his relatives are rich, they would help him.
Why?	2	67	83	3	17	
4. If you were Mark, what would you do?	6	41	50	11	48	I would ask any of my rich relatives to help and I reciprocate in the future. I can look for scholarship, or I can work for a while and save towards my education.
Why?	10	68	83	18	80	

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CLUSTER OF ANSWERS  
FAMILY SITUATIONS III FOR STUDENT

QUESTIONS	Seek Kin's Help	Stay Home and Work	Ask Mother's Relatives	Seek Scholarship	Ask Villagers	COMMENTS
1. What should Samuel do?	42	22	2	22	0	He needs the education, he must find the means. He should approach his father to find the means. His father should sell or pledge his land to train his children. Ask relatives on both sides of the family to help.
Why?	70	37	3	37	0	
2. What else can he do?	48	29	14	20	5	He should become a trader and earn money and save. He should play lottery. He cannot sacrifice his education. His father should consult his relatives.
Why?	80	48	23	33	8	
3. What must Mark do?	27	17	39	32	2	He should wait for his older brother to finish and train him. He could go beg from a well to do person to help him. He needs the education therefore he must do something about it. He should look for scholarship.
Why?	45	28	65	53	3	
4. If you were Mark, what would you do?	11	1	19	58	34	Seek scholarship. Ask anyone to help. Work for a while and save money.
Why?	18	2	32	97	57	

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