CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Gender has always been a topic of anthropological investigation, but the 1970s brought about a critical rethinking of assumptions about gender, spurred in part by the women movement and in part by the entrance of large numbers of women into academic careers (Paul, 2014). This rethinking opened up new conceptual pathways for considering not only the relationships between sex and gender, kinship and procreation, men's work and women's work, and public and private spheres but also the significance of gender to language, primatology, archaeology, religion, and cosmology.

At first, many studies of gender focused primarily on women since they had been underrepresented in the anthropological literature, but the result was that gender came to stand for women (Paul, 2014). A fundamental question in these early studies was how and why women were subordinated in patriarchal social systems. Soon, however, the awareness that gender stand for men too, sparked a much deeper analysis of the ways in which definitions of gender were mutually constructed. Rather than assuming that gender is naturally given, therefore universal, based on an extension of animal mating behaviour, new studies demonstrated that, just as different societies produce a variety of religious, kinship, and economic systems, they also vary in terms of gender systems.

Upton (2012) notes that gender, is a key concept in the discipline of anthropology. Upton recognizes the different definitions of sex and gender, seeing sex, as grounded in perceived biological differences and gender, as the cultural constructions observed, performed, and understood in any given society, often based on those perceived biological differences.

Drawing from Ann Oakley who Marshall (1998) is believed to have introduced the term gender to sociology; sex refers to the biological division into male and female, while gender refers to the parallel and socially unequal division into femininity and masculinity. "Unequal

division" raises a question of hasty generalization, considering time, spatial and relativistic construction of the term. However, worthy to note here, is the abstraction that gender draws attention to the socially constructed aspects of differences between women and men. Nevertheless, these aspects of differences could not have been feasible, outside biological differences.

Marshal (1998) sees the term gender as being extended to refer not only to individual identity and to personality, but also at the symbolic level, to cultural ideas and stereotypes of masculinity and femininity and, at the structural level, to the sexual division of labour in institutions and organizations. At the symbolic level, the evolutionary potential of modern human to create and use symbols facilitated gender construction. Nevertheless, anthropologist like (Park, 2000) believes that understanding the roles of gender in society, are central to understanding culture. Anthropologists are interested in cultural variation among different types of women and the effect that gender relationships have on society (Park, 2000). This implies that cultural relativism is central in their discussion of gender.

As socio-cultural beliefs are important component of gender system, then the local social relational context will be an important arena where these beliefs are played out. Again, the argument of Ridgway (2011) reflects the idea of gender as spatial phenomenon, as space, place, and gender are interrelated.

Park (2000) states that from studies by cultural anthropologists we acquire data about the incredible ranges of variation in gender identity and gender roles among the world's cultures. The variable factors include such things as the roles of each gender category in economic activities, differences in political and other decision-making power and influence, and expected norms of behavior. The economic activities as a variable factor in gender identity and gender roles from the foregoing are the facts that every society produces, distributes and consumes goods and services. Every society therefore has an economy, a system of managing

these processes. Its people also display certain economic behaviors – certain motivations and choices in the production, distribution, and consumption of those goods and services.

According to Kottak (2010) gender relations are the specific subset of social relations uniting women and men as social groups in a particular community, including how power – and access to control over resources – is distributed between the sexes. Gender relations intersect with all other influences on social relations – age, ethnicity, race, religion, etc. – to determine the position and identity of people in a social group. Since gender relations are a social construct, they can be transformed over time to become more equitable.

Ridgeway (2011) points out that like other systems of inequality and differences such as race and class, gender relations are defined by social beliefs, which differentiate the characteristics of men and women and the distribution of the resources at the macro level. In this sense, cultural beliefs are important as they relate to national gender ideologies.

Ezeh (2015) notes that gender relation is not the same in every society. He cites much ethnography to show that the Igbo of Nigeria had a well-structured egalitarian gender relation before European contact. What preoccupies women in western societies has long been achieved among this group. However, Ezeh (2015) concedes that the current state of agitation of patriarchal domination is an offshoot of western contact and colonization.

Amadiume (1997:84), in a study among the Nnobi reports that there was a basic ideology of gender as an organizational principle in the economy, social classification, and Nnobi culture. The ideology of gender had its basis in the binary opposition between the *mkpuke,* the female mother-focused matricentric unit and the *obi*, the male-focused ancestral house. In Nnobi social structure, the *mkpuke* is the smallest kinship unit and the smallest production unit. It is a good example of where the structure of the production unit determines the consumption unit, for it eats what it produces. It produces for self-consumption; it is an

autonomous household-based unit. In addition, this relation of production has an ideological base in female gendered motherhood ideology of *umunne* or *ibenne,* which has a wider political implication (Amadiume, 1997: 84).

After examining numerous ethnographies on Africa, Amadiume (1997:84) reports that in Igbo, the status for the role of head of family is genderless. This means that man or woman can be *di,* husband, or *dibuno,* family head. There is consequently the practice of woman-to-woman marriage, which is not only an Igbo practice but widespread in varying African societies.

Amadiume (1997:85) asks:

> What then is the history of marriage in Africa? We do not know, for the European assumption has been that men have always controlled the movement of women. The facts associated with a matriarchal paradigm would suggest something totally different. However, euro-centrism has not permitted any thinking, or research along these lines.

Summarizing the points raised above, gender is formed by human groups in specific contexts. Over a long period, from generation to generation, gender ideologies and gender practices are constructed within specific societies. Societies expect women and men to behave and act in different ways. In this sense, gendered role relations are spatial practices, which vary through different geographical scales. These variations in gendered role relations depend on existing sets of social relations, which in turn are based on previous restructuring of institutions, economic activities, and policies in the society in question. It is against this background that the researcher intends to study gender in economic relations among the Nrobo of Southeastern Nigeria.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

This study therefore, arises from the ongoing debates about the roles played by men and women in the society. These debates are structured in ways that portray women as being subordinated by men. That, men extend dominance in every domain: socially, economically, politically, and even academically. For example, in 1984, Margaret Conkey and Janet Spector published a critique of archaeology as androcentric. In their view, archaeologists were perpetuating male-centered stereotypes of past lives, portraying men as active and powerful, while women were cast consistently as passive and powerless. In fact, women were often invisible altogether in archaeological accounts, as were children (Sharer & Ashmore, 2013).

Androcentrism was evident in ways as diverse as the terminology used in cultural anthropology and archaeology writing, the assumptions made about who did what in the past, and the value placed on studying activities attributed to men compared to those done by women. Cultural anthropologists and other scholars were already examining more closely the variation in women roles worldwide, decrying androcentrism and misrepresentation of women lives (Sharer & Ashmore, 2013).

This is even worse outside academics. At every level of gender relation, women cry out on top of their voice that men dominate, control resources, and suppress them. This has prompted series of feminist movements aimed at addressing the plight of women that began in industrial West. The implication is that the plight of women in industrial societies may differ from that of nonindustrial societies. This is even made worse because women in some societies where men are crying out for help have joined this movement.

These gender inequity scholars (Ezeh, 2010), like armchair evolutionists (cultural) that conclude about the rest of human species practices using Western culture as evolutionary start point, without field-sourced evidence, are fraught with Euro-centric generalizations. The West

becomes the yardstick through which other cultures are seen. He puts this succinctly, "gender inequity is one of the areas where many writers generalize for the entire human species conditions that are in many cases localized to particular groups". He conceded that the Euro-American cultures were unfair to the women folk up until the recent past. However, he argued that this could not be the case with many other cultures.

For instance, gender relations among the Igbo of Nigeria attracted attention of professional ethnographers following British colonization of Nigeria. Leith-Ross (1965) narrates that the equality of the sexes is so marked in 'Ibo-land' [*sic*]. Lugard, the first colonial Governor-General of Nigeria, in a foreword to Leith-Ross's book stated that the power that women wielded in traditional Igbo society was remarkable. Leith-Ross actually expressed fear that the Igbo contact with the European practices through colonization and Christianity was bound to affect the autochthonous Igbo gender relations adversely. Amadiume (1997) suspects, that the entire Igbo were once matriarchal at the level of power relations. McCall (2000) recalls that among the Ohafia, women wielded enormous power and can achieve whatsoever they want through hard work. Agbasiere (2001) also narrates how women are unavoidably present in Igbo life and thought. Furthermore, Equiano (as cited in Ezeh, 2015) recounts that those activities into which contemporary Western societies have just begun admitting women were already open to Igbo women of his days. He states that with regard to participation in war, the Igbo women are warriors, and march out boldly to fight along with men.

Nsugbe (1974), states that Forde and Jones have described the Igbo as a single people, because of the broad similarities of their culture. However, he argues that to stress these cultural similarities might lead one to underestimate the differences, which a close study of the main groupings of the 'Ibo' [*sic*] discloses. When therefore the 'Ibo' are discussed, based on

these groupings, such differences as those of dialect and social institutions become much more significant.

Floyd (1969), in his geographical review of Eastern Nigerian has identified Nrobo as a part of Nsukka culture division. However, the study did not explore gender roles in the subsistence strategies of the Nrobo. Moreover, Nrobo deserves a close ethnographic study to compare with other Igbo groups.

From the foregoing, it became important to know the type of economic activities prevalent among the Nrobo. What roles do females, and males, play in these economic activities? Have the subsistence strategies of the Nrobo aided gender polarity or otherwise? What factors are responsible for such polarity or otherwise? In what ways, if any, had the autochthonous gender and economic relations of the Nrobo changed? In short, what is the state of gender and economic relations among the Nrobo after contact? Sequel to the foregoing, there seems to be knowledge gap in ethnographic literature on gender and economic relations among the Nrobo. It became, therefore, ethnographically wise to investigate gender in economic relations among the Nrobo of Southeastern Nigeria.

1.3 Research Questions

The following research questions are derived from the aforementioned problems to guide the study:

1. What are the subsistence strategies of the Nrobo?
2. What are the gendered role patterns of economic relations of the Nrobo?
3. What are the gendered gaps in economic relations of the Nrobo?
4. In what ways, have the traditional gender and economic relations of the Nrobo changed?

5. What are the factors responsible, if any, for changes in gender and economic relation among the Nrobo?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study is to examine ethnographically, gender in economic relations of the Nrobo of Southeastern Nigeria. Specifically, the study is designed to investigate the following:

1. The subsistence strategies of the Nrobo.
2. The gendered patterns of economic relations among the Nrobo.
3. The gendered gaps in economic relations among the Nrobo.
4. The ways in which the traditional gender and economic relations of the Nrobo have changed.
5. The factors responsible for changes, if any, in gender and economic relations, among the Nrobo.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study has both theoretical and practical significance. Theoretically, the findings of this study add to the body of existing knowledge on gender and autochthonous economic relations of the Nrobo in particular, and the Igbo in general. This study also adds to the body of ethnographies on gender, and economic anthropology. This study further helps scholars in this field to develop new relativistic view of gender and economic relations among the Nrobo.

Practically, the finding of ethnography of this kind is beneficial to every facet of society. This study exposes the structure of gender and economic relations of the Nrobo. And

as such the government, research, and development institutes, NGOs, and policy makers can acquire insight that may assist in the formulation of polices that would improve the Nrobo.

1.6 Definition of Terms

This section aims at conceptualizing the terms and variables used in this study. To do this, the researcher defines the terms and variables as applicable to this study.

Autochthonous: This describes beliefs, customs, or ways of life that are strictly indigenous to the Nrobo.

Economic Relations: The sum of the social interaction that people must enter into, in order to survive, to produce, and reproduce their means of life. This is strictly, as it pertains to men and women.

Ethnography: This concept is applied here in two basic senses, first, as a method and second, as a product. As a method, it is the professional study of the organization, practices and prohibitions, that are of a human group, usually although not exclusively, by living among them, and as far as possible, interacting with them in all they do in every social domain, for the purpose of understanding these, so as to write a descriptive and explanatory account, of such a group. As a product, it refers to an account of a group produced through the above process.

Gender: In this study, gender can be understood to be referring to the cultural assumptions and practices that govern the social construction of men, women and their social relations.

Gendered Gap: This describes the perceived inequalities observed or as articulated by each gender category.

Gendered Roles: These are tasks and activities a culture assigns to males and females.

Gendered Role Pattern: This describes the regular and repeated gendered activities among the Nrobo.

Sex: The concept of sex here refers to natural or essential properties of an individual as male or female that derive from biological characteristics of the body such as hormones, genitals and the reproductive syste

Subsistence Strategies: This is all the adaptive productive activities adopted by the Nrobo.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, an attempt is made to review available materials that are relevant to the study. In doing so, this section is divided into four sub-sections namely: review of theoretical literature, review of empirical literature, review of theories, and theoretical framework.

2.1 Review of Theoretical Literature

This section looks at the conceptual issues surrounding gender. To achieve this, the concepts of economic anthropology, mode of economic exchange, gender, and gender and economic relations, are reviewed.

2.1.1 Anthropology of Economic Relations

Economic anthropology studies how human societies provide the material goods and services that make life possible. In the course of material provisioning and during the realization of final consumption, people relate to each other in ways that convey power and meaning (Kottak, 2008; Park, 2000).

In their own view Haviland, Prins, Walrath, and McBride (2008), defined economic anthropology as the systematic study of the economies of traditional small-scale societies. They believed that the degree to which something is necessary for life has long been debated and differences between one society and another have environmental, historical, and cultural reasons; but some wants must be inescapably satisfied, otherwise death ensues. Therefore, there is a physical limit to relativism regarding material means of livelihood. On the other hand, nonmaterial goods such as the goodwill of deceased ancestors might be conceived as essential for the reproduction of a society. Most nonmaterial needs, however, have some material expression, such as food sacrifices during ancestor worship or wealth exchange during mortuary ceremonies. The domain of economic anthropology covers the recurring interaction

of individuals, within and between social groups and with the wider environment, to providing material goods and services necessary for social reproduction.

According to Gudeman (2001) economic anthropology studies industrial life as well as ethnographic situations, because comparable processes in securing and managing valued things are found everywhere. But economy, which revolves about making, holding, using, sharing, exchanging, and accumulating valued objects and services, includes more than standard market theory suggests. Anthropology plays a special role in broadening our understanding of material life, for the less-recognized processes are displayed with special clarity in the situations ethnographers study.

Traditionally, economic processes have been divided into production, distribution and circulation, and consumption. These analytical categories respond to observable social interaction in all societies, although the categories themselves are a product of scholarly western tradition. People, however, engage in social relations that can be described as economic and which can be analyzed as participating simultaneously in the production, distribution, and consumption categories (Kottak, 2008; Park, 2000).

Economic anthropology originally focused on the economic life of primitive peoples (Herskovits, 1965) where many of the elements present in the Western economy (such as money, a market system) were absent. Direct observation of non-capitalist societies through ethnographic fieldwork produced impressive and contextually rich information on economic activities worldwide. The way in which anthropologists reacted to the confrontation of this diversity, and how they coped with it in theoretical terms, generated most debates within economic anthropology.

2.1.2 Modes of Economic Exchange

The concept of economic exchange refers to the allocation of goods between different individuals or groups, while the concept of circulation refers to the movement of goods. These processes mediate between the 'production' and 'consumption' moments of an economy. They also reproduce, differentiated categories of people concerning the access of resources in general which makes them central aspects of social reproduction.

Economic anthropology has developed a typology of forms of distribution that was proposed originally by Polanyi (1957). Distribution was for Polanyi the element that provided continuity and structure to economic processes. Through a comparative method, he concluded that three main forms of distribution were used to integrate the economy: reciprocity, redistribution, and exchange. This typology expressed institutional arrangements not so much the form of particular transactions.

The concept of reciprocity had an early start in Mauss' (1923/2002) essay on the 'Gift.' The essay was based mainly on available ethnographic descriptions of the Potlatch and in Malinowski's (1922) description of the Kula ceremonial exchange. For Mauss, the 'gift' was an entirely different form of transaction from market exchange. The sustained relationship between persons and things was essential to the 'gift' value. Conversely, market exchange was based on the total disjunction between autonomous objects and individual agents. Mauss (1923/2002) describes the 'gift' as a movement related to three obligations of a social and moral character: to give, to receive, and to return. Further developed by Sahlins (1972) who related reciprocal transactions to the social distance between the persons involved, reciprocity has become a useful concept in economic anthropology. Weiner (1992) has described how, by entering or remaining out of circulation, objects could create and regenerate social relations.

Her work opens the concept beyond the give-return movement originally associated with reciprocity.

There are three degrees of reciprocity: *generalized, balanced,* and *negative* (Sahlins, as cited in Kottak, 2010). Generalized reciprocity, the purest form of reciprocity, is characteristic of exchanges between closely related people. In balanced reciprocity, social distance increases, as does the need to reciprocate. In negative reciprocity, social distance is greatest and reciprocation is most calculated. This range, from generalized to negative, is called the reciprocity continuum.

With generalized reciprocity, someone gives to another person and expects nothing immediate in return. Such exchanges are not primarily economic transactions but expressions of personal relationships. Most parents don't keep accounts of every penny they spend on their children. They merely hope their children will respect their culture's customs involving obligations to parents.

Balanced reciprocity applies to exchanges between people who are more distantly related than are members of the same band or household. In a horticultural society, for example, a man presents a gift to someone in another village. The recipient may be a cousin, a trading partner, or a brother's fictive kinsman. The giver expects something in return. This may not come immediately, but the social relationship will be strained if there is no reciprocation.

Exchanges in nonindustrial societies also may illustrate negative reciprocity, mainly in dealing with people on the fringes of or outside their social systems. To people who live in a world of close personal relations, exchanges with outsiders are full of ambiguity and distrust. Exchange is one way of establishing friendly relations, but when trade begins, the relationship is still tentative. Often the initial exchange is close to being purely economic; people want to

get something back immediately. Just as in market economies, but without using money, they try to get the best possible immediate return for their investment.

Generalized reciprocity and balanced reciprocity are based on trust and a social tie. Negative reciprocity involves the attempt to get something for as little as possible, even if it means being cagey or deceitful or cheating.

The concept of redistribution as an institutionalized process refers to centralized polities that concentrate goods through tribute or taxation systems and reassign them later between groups, individuals, and specific domains. Ethnographic examples range from 'Bigman' systems to strongly centralized state polities (Weiner, 1992).

In Polanyi's typology described above, exchange, as an institutionalized process, relates to societies that integrate the economy through the market system. However, multiple forms of transaction can be called 'exchange,' be it the routes of trade partners crossing Asian, African market places, or the elaborate systems of ceremonial exchange in Nrobo. Exchange raises two fundamental problems of transactions: first, comparison between the items exchanged and, second, non-simultaneity of the agents' needs. Comparison is the central question of value. Things exchanged always are valued, but how this valuation proceeds, is very different from one society to the next. Generally, for a transaction to take place there must be some measure of value that enables the agents to reach equivalence acceptable to all. When some sort of standard item is used as a measure of value, we may speak of money, although some other functions that generally are associated with money, such as serving as a medium of exchange, may be lacking. Often, the process of reaching equivalences of value takes place during exchange such as in bargaining practices; while in other cases, a central authority sets up a fixed rate of exchange. Yet in other cases, as the model of the market system pretends, value is reached automatically through the free circulation of all commodities subject to the

constraints of supply and demand. Classical economists tried to find a universal measure of value in work: the energy spent in producing the commodities exchanged was seen as their only common element.

Most societies have various spheres of circulation where different measures of value apply. In Bohannan's (1959) example of the Tiv's (Nigeria) multi-centred economy, he describes how different goods circulate in distinct spheres, each of which is marked with different moral values relating to subsistence, prestige, and alliances, and conversion from one sphere to another, while possible, always is sanctioned morally. The idea that various measures of value might simultaneously be at work in a society has proved very fruitful. Increasingly, anthropologists are paying attention to the circulation of goods among different individuals, social groups, or polities along chains of transactions. This perspective integrates the variation of meaning attached to goods or processes together with its material causes and consequences (Appadurai, 1986).

2.1.3 Gender

Barker (2004) notes that gender refers to the cultural assumptions and practices that govern social construction of men, women, and their social relations. The concept gains much of its force through a contrast with a conception of sex as the biological formation of the body. This implies that femininity and masculinity as indicators of gender are the outcomes of the cultural regulation of behaviours that are regarded as socially appropriate to a given sex. Given that gender is held to be constructs of culture rather than nature, therefore it is always a matter of how men and women are represented.

Barker (2004) states that a good deal of feminist writing has sought to challenge what they take to be essentialism and biological determinism through the conceptual division between a biological sex and culturally constructed gender. It is subsequently argued that no

fundamental sex differences exist and that those that are apparent are insignificant in relation to arguments for social equality. Rather, it is the social, cultural, and political discourses and practices of gender that are held to lie at the root of women's subordination.

Archer and Lloyd (2002) note the potentially confusing issue of terminology. They believe Greek Sophists first used the term gender in the fifth century BC to describe the threefold classification of the names of things as masculine, feminine, and neuter. The category 'neuter' describes the third category as 'neither'. Archer and Lloyd (2002) explain that gender in older dictionaries, was only used as equivalent to sex in jocular manner, but has now entirely replaced sex in politically correct speech, except when sexuality is meant (as in the sex act). Thus, when one asks whether a person is a man or woman, it is now customary to use gender rather than sex. Many psychologists habitually use the term gender differences rather than sex differences.

The purpose of this change of usage, they note was to emphasize that distinctions between men and women arose largely from cultural rather than biological sources, which might be implied by the term sex differences. Gender was seen as the cultural part of what is to be a man or a woman. Words such as womanly or manly and masculine or feminine were viewed as not being connected with a person's biological sex, but as describing culturally variable characteristics.

However, there is reason to maintain a distinction between the term sex and gender. Following Eagly (1995), sex refers to the binary categories male and female, and gender to the attributes associated to a greater or lesser extent with the two sexes, that is, masculine and feminine features rather than male and female. This usage, which has been adopted by a number of influential researchers in the area (Halpern & LaMay, 2000), enables us to distinguish reasonably clearly between sex differences (differences between the categories

male and female), and gender roles and stereotypes (characteristics generally associated with one or the other category).

Kottak (2008) defines gender as the cultural construction of sexual differences. He argues that because anthropology is holistic and appraises diversity, anthropologists are in a unique position to comment on nature (biological predispositions) and nurture (environment) as determinants of human behaviour. He sees the questions about nature and nurture as emerging in the discussion of human sex-gender roles and sexuality. Men and women differ genetically. Women have two X chromosomes, and men have an X and a Y. The chromosomal difference is expressed in hormonal physiological differences. Humans are sexually dimorphic. Sexual dimorphism refers to differences in male and female biology, besides the contrasts in breasts and genitals (Kottak, 2008; Park, 2000). Kottak (2008) sees this sexual dimorphism as having effects on the way men and women act, and are treated in different societies. He notes that anthropologists have discovered both similarities and differences in the roles of men and women in different cultures.

Upton (2012) notes that gender, is a key concept in the discipline of anthropology. He notes the different definitions of sex and gender, seeing sex, as grounded in perceived biological differences and gender, as the cultural constructions observed, performed, and understood in any given society. This is often based on those perceived biological differences.

Macionis (2007) sees gender as the personal traits and social positions that members of a society attach to being female or male. He notes that gender operates as a dimension of social organization, shaping how we interact with others and how we think about ourselves. He also believes that gender involves hierarchy, ranking men, and women differently in terms of power, wealth, and other resources.

Tischler (2007) notes, that sociology makes an important distinction between sex and gender. Sex refers to the physical and biological differences between men and women. In general, sex differences are made evident by physical distinctions in anatomical, chromosomal, hormonal, and physiological characteristics. At birth, the differences are most evident in the male and female genitalia.

Distinguishing gender from sex, he emphasizes that we need to learn how to be a man or a woman. Tischler (2007) therefore sees gender as the social, psychological, and cultural attributes of masculinity and femininity that are based on the previous biological distinctions. Gender pertains to the socially learned patterns of behaviour and the psychological or emotional expressions of attitudes that distinguish males from females. Ideas about masculinity and femininity are culturally derived, and patterning the ways in which males and females are treated from birth onwards. Gender is an important factor in shaping people's self-images, and social identities.

Giddens, Duneier and Appelbaum (2003) note that scholars are divided about the degree to which inborn biological characteristics have an enduring impact on our gender identities as feminine or masculine and the social roles on those identities. They agree that the debate is really, one about how much learning there is. No one any longer suppose that our behaviour is instinctive in the sense in which the sexual activities of many lower animals are seen. However, some scholars allow more prominence than others to social influences in analyzing gender differences.

Giddens *et al* (2003) differentiate between sex and gender. They use sex to refer to physical differences of the body. On the other hand, gender relates to psychological, social, and cultural differences between males and females. They argue that the distinction between sex and gender is fundamental, since many differences between males and females are not

biological in origin. This implies that at least, there are natural classificatory approaches, which presupposes cultural classification, into a social man or a social woman.

From the foregoing, it seems apt to say that the debates have been the sources of gender. The question is, why the debate on the sources of gender? The world itself is classificatory in nature and classificatory in social. The advocates of cultural or natural sources of gender have accepted, with or without questions, in one way or the other, the biblical Adam as distinct from biblical Eve, and classificatory approach of Carolus Linnaeus (Kottak, 2008) into vertebrate and invertebrate. They have also framed or accepted without question, classification into 'First World,' 'Second World,' 'Third World,' etc. Different relationships exist within and between these categories. Another question is, is classification into 'First World,' 'Second World,' and 'Third World,' cultural or natural? If the former, why do we debate much on gender differences which at least is supported by nature, given the XX and XY chromosomal differences?

2.1.4 Gender and Economic Relations

Cook (2007) notes that gender relations refer to complex, culturally and historically specific social systems that organize and regulate interactions between women and men, as well as their relative social value. Gender relations simultaneously encompass ideas, practices, representations, and identities that pertain to gender. For example, dominant ideas about gender throughout much of the world value those things associated with men and masculinity rather than with women and femininity, which produces gender hierarchies, a ranking of men's and women's social worth. She notes that feminist research shows that these gendered ideas, practices, and identities are not determined biologically as a direct result of anatomical characteristics such as hormones, chromosomes, and sex organs. Rather, masculinity and femininity, the central components of gender relations, are social constructions, products of every social interaction that are linked in complex ways to the material reality of gendered

bodies. Because gender is often misunderstood as being the study of women and femininity only, strictly, gender relations focus on the relationships between masculinity, the valuation of women and men and their relative access to, and control of resources.

As a social system, gender relations are a central organizing principle of society that govern, in part, processes of production, and reproduction, consumption, and the distribution of resources (Cook, 2007). Gender relations, do not operate in isolation but are influenced and shaped by other systems that organize social interactions, between groups of people, including the economy. Feminists examine the ways in which a gendered society is created by studying how gender relations structure key social institutions (divisions of labour, health, education, family, work, and the media). Consequently, there is the need to keep in mind that gender is a property of all social institutions and of society more generally, as much as it is a feature of an individual's identity, embodiment, and daily behaviour.

Michelle Rosaldo (as cited in Lamphere, 2007) states that although there is a great deal of cross-cultural variability in men and women's roles there is a pervasive, universal asymmetry between the sexes. She notes that the striking and surprising thing is the fact that male, as opposed to female activities are always recognized as predominantly important, and cultural systems give authority and value to the roles and activities of men. What needs to say here, however, is her generalization. Although she might mean well for her empathy on her fellow women, her generalization is only a conjecture. She might have selected the societies she wished to compare while leaving the rest. The meanings these societies she selected attach to these gender roles need a careful and exhaustive investigation to unravel the emic connotation of such divisions.

Michelle Rosaldo (as cited in Lamphere, 2007) emphasizes that not only were there differential evaluations of women activities, but everywhere men have some authority over women. That they have culturally legitimated right to women subordination and compliance.

Rosaldo's generalization may fail to test generated by ethnographic evidence. For example, McCall (2000) demonstrates that Ohafia is a matrilineal society and women are in control. There may also be a society where the value of men is reduced to mere agents of impregnation. On the other hand, the case of absolute matriarchy may be found elsewhere. Even in some patriarchal societies, men are object of ridicule (Green, 1964).

2.2 Review of Empirical Literature

This section looks at the economic activities among the world's cultures, gender patterns of economic relations among the world cultures, gender gap in economic relations among the world cultures, changes in gender and economic relations of the world cultures, and causes of changes in gender and economic relations among the world cultures. These world's cultures include foraging societies, horticultural societies, agricultural societies, intensive agricultural societies, and industrial societies.

2.2.1 Economic Activities among the World's Cultures

This section looks at economic activities among societies known to anthropologists. These societies include foraging societies, horticultural societies, non-intensive agricultural societies, intensive agricultural societies, and industrial societies.

Foraging societies are small, loosely organized groups of people that tend to be politically autonomous and function with minimal leadership (Kottak, 2008). People in most foraging societies live in monogamous, nuclear households. Family size is limited among foragers because of requirement not to exceed the carrying capacities of local environments.

The small size of foraging communities, resulting from natural constraints, is associated with a lack of structured leadership. These groups generally are loosely organized as bands. The major economic activities of the foraging societies are hunting and gathering: hunting of wide range of animals and gathering of different varieties of plants (Ember, Ember & Peregrine, 2007; Kottak, 2008; Haviland *et al*, 2008)

Here, horticultural society is used to refer to societies with a wide range of economic modes and political organizations. They include groups whose subsistence is based on foraging, farming, horticulture, and/or pastoralism (Schultz, Lavend & Dods, 2009).

Non-intensive agricultural societies are characterized by systems of social stratification. Social relations among individuals and kinship groups are not founded on egalitarian principles but on hierarchical ranking of people. The degree of segmentation and strength of hierarchy vary cross-culturally. The mode of subsistence is based on mixture of foraging, farming, horticulture, and/or pastoralism (Ember *et al*, 2007; Haviland *et al*, 2008; Schultz *et al*, 2009).

Among the intensive agricultural or archaic states, many forms of social stratification characterize state societies. They typically consist of several classes or castes that are differentiated in terms of access to economic resources, social prestige, and political power.

Classes are fundamentally different from stratified rankings such as exist in non-intensive agricultural societies. The mode of subsistence is based on mixture of foraging, farming, horticulture, and/or pastoralism but more remarkable is intensive agriculture (Ember *et al* 2007, Haviland *et al*, 2008).

In Europe and the United States, during the late eighteenth century, innovations in productive modes began a process that transformed agricultural societies into industrial societies. Dublin (1977) reports that in the United States, industrial production began about

the turn of the nineteenth century, but it did not organize all aspects of economic life at that time. Many independent farmers continued to obtain their subsistence primarily from the crops they grew and the animals they tended. Farming households fulfilled most of their material needs directly, although some commodities had to be purchased. Money to buy goods was gained through sale of surplus crops, animal products, or crafts made in the home. However, industrial state is marked by pastoralism, intensive agriculture, but more remarkable is industrial productions (Schultz *et al,* 2009; Ember *et al,* 2007; Haviland *et al,* 2008).

2.2.2 Gender Patterns of Economic Relations among the World's Cultures

This section looks at gender patterns of economic relations among societies known to anthropologists. These societies include foraging societies, horticultural societies, non-intensive agricultural societies, intensive agricultural societies, and industrial societies.

2.2.2.1 Foraging Societies

This section looks at some studies on foraging societies. In doing this, the !Kung of Southern Africa and the Inuit of the North American Arctic are compared.

Lee (1984/2003) reports that among the !Kung, subsistence activities are allocated by gender division of labour, although assignment of tasks is not rigid. In general, women collect natural vegetation, including more than 100 edible varieties of plants, roots, fruits, and nuts. In all, vegetable foods account for approximately 70 per cent of the !Kung diet. Mongogo nuts are among the most prized foods and are available year round from trees growing near waterholes. According to Lee's calculations, based on extensive observation of subsistence activities, !Kung women spend 12 to 13 hours per week foraging.

Lee (1984/2003) reports that, men also engage in gathering wild foods, although their allocation of time and energy to this endeavour is much less than that of women. Men provide

approximately 20 per cent of gathered foods. Lee states that men's primary subsistence task is hunting and estimates that the !Kung spend 21 to 22 hours per week in subsistence activities.

Unlike the environment in which the !Kung live, the Arctic regions of Canada and the United States present inhabitants with enormous difficulties. Resources are scarce and weather conditions often make subsistence activities hazardous (Damas, 1984). Because of environmental and resource constraints, settlements are small.

In general, men are responsible for hunting and fishing, and women engage in food preparation and gathering available foods, such as berries, algae, and birds' eggs. Women are also responsible for childcare and for sewing, including making clothing, boots, boat covers, and containers. Cooperative labour of men and women occurs in inland communities during caribou drives. Women and men, also do fishing. Among coastal groups, women often engage in hunting, fishing, and catching birds near their settlements (d'Anglure, 1984; Damas, 1984; Ember *et al*, 2007; Haviland *et al*, 2008; Schultz *et al*, 2009). In some communities, each individual makes the tools, and utensils that she or he uses, where as in others, men are the primary producers of equipment.

It is the report of (d'Anglure, 1984) that among some Arctic peoples, daughters may be trained by their fathers to become hunters. If a father especially prefers his daughter or if he has no son, a daughter may accompany her father on hunting expeditions and learn all the requisite skills. There is also emphasis on the collective labour among men in coastal communities.

2.2.2.2 Horticultural Societies

This section looks at some studies on horticultural societies. In doing this, the Navajo of South-western North America, the Nuer of Sudan, the Luo of Kenya, the Iroquois of North-

eastern North America, the Jivaro of Peru, and the Igbo of South-eastern Nigeria, are selected for comparison.

Kluckhon and Leighton (1962) record that among the Navajo; control of land was vested in matrilineal clans that allocated their territory to extended family units, or outfits, as they have been called. Sheepherding combined with horticulture is of economic importance. Both men and women individually owned sheep. They note that in the context of Navajo economic pursuits, gender constructs essentially validate the equality and autonomy of women and men. Although a gender-based division of labour was idealized, actual behaviour was little constrained by it. Both men and women worked in farming and sheepherding. Women usually performed domestic tasks, but men engaged in food preparation when necessary. Childcare, too, was primarily a concern for women, but men also attended to their children's needs and gave them a great deal of emotional support.

Besides, among the Navajo, both women and men are independent owners of sheep and retain their distinctive control regardless of age or marital status. Even though accumulation of wealth and rank according to wealth became important components in the Navajo social order, gender was never a segmenting factor in the system.

Among the Nuer, Evans-Pritchard (1951) records that subsistence modes combine cattle herding and horticulture. However, despite the substantial contribution of grains to their diet, Nuer ideology stresses the dependence of people on their cattle. Cattle are an important source of food for the Nuer. An economic division of labour rigidly allocates tasks to men and women among the Nuer. Cattle herding is the job of men and boys who have undergone ritual initiation into adulthood, usually at about age 15. In addition, man's productive roles include fishing and hunting. Women, girls, and uninitiated boys are not allowed to take cattle to grazing lands. Instead, they are responsible for milking the animals, a task performed twice a

day. Women also tend gardens, principally growing millet, and maize, just as they are responsible for childcare and domestic tasks (Evan-Pritchard, 1951; Ember *et al*, 2007; Haviland *et al*, 2008; Schultz *et al*, 2009).

Luo subsistence was based on a mixture of cattle herding and farming, although, like the Nuer, cattle pastoralism dominated their activities and their ideology. Okeyo (1980) records that land for farming and grazing, was held by kinship groups organized into patrilineages. Lineages allocated land for use to men within the group. Men then allotted land–use rights to their wives and sons. Therefore, men received land rights by membership in patrilineages while women obtained land through marriage. However, once a woman received land for use, she controlled the production and distribution of crops resulting from her labour.

Iroquoian economies were based on horticulture, centred on production of maize, beans, and squash. When new fields were needed, men prepared them for planting. Women performed all other farming work, including planting and tending crops. Women also did most of the harvesting, although men occasionally helped in this activity. In addition, women gathered wild foods, including a wide assortment of fruits, nuts, and roots. Finally, they were responsible for domestic tasks and childcare. Men's subsistence roles included hunting and fishing to supplement the basic plant diet, and trading with other native peoples for animal skins (Lafitau, 1974; Abler, 2004).

Among the Jivaro, Meggers (1971) recounts that, women contributed substantially to their households. They are responsible for planting, tending, and harvesting crops, notably manioc, sweet potatoes, and squash. These products supply most of the Jivaro's subsistence needs, although they are supplemented by fish and animal meat provided by men.

Jivaro women also control and perform garden rituals that must be enacted to ensure a good crop. Women are believed to have a special relationship with plants. Jivaro culture thus,

endows women with a critical role linking subsistence to the supernatural realm. Women are significantly responsible not only for ensuring success in their own productive activities, but their ritual knowledge is also necessary for men's success in hunting (Meggers, 1971; Ember *et al*, 2007; Schultz *et al*, 2009).

Ottenberg (1968) records that as other Igbo; Afikpo subsistence is based on horticulture. Tasks are strongly demarcated according to gender. Men plant yams, considered the staple crop. Rice, a recently introduced product, is the only plant grown by both men and women; women plant and harvest all other crops, including manioc, cocoyam, maize, and okra. Even when work has a collective focus, tasks are demarcated according to gender. For example, men harvest yams, but women and children carry the yams to the household yam barn.

Other subsistence and household activities in Afikpo, are likewise allocated according to gender. Men make bamboo frames for Afikpo houses; women collect and carry mud for house walls. Men obtain fish from nearby rivers; women fish in ponds and streams. Men put on the frames; women smooth it when dry. Gender differentiation extends to crafts: women are potters; men make mats (Ottenberg, 1968). In addition to their direct farming activities, women are responsible for processing crops once harvested, preparing meals, carrying loads, and caring for children.

Green (1964) records that among the Umueke Agbaja Igbo, subsistence strategy was based on farming and market exchange. Land for farming was held by kinship groups organized into patrilineages. Lineages allocated land for use to men within the group. Men then allotted land–use rights to their wives and sons. Therefore, men received land rights by membership in patrilineages while women obtained land through marriage. However, once a woman received land for use, she controlled the production and distribution of crops resulting from her labour.

Umueke Agbaja subsistence strategy was based on agriculture. When new fields were needed, men prepared them for planting. Women performed all other farming work, including planting and tending crops. Women also did most of the harvesting of crops, except yam, although men occasionally helped in this activity. In addition, women gathered wild foods, including a wide assortment of fruits, nuts, and roots. Finally, both men and women were responsible for domestic tasks and childcare. Men's subsistence roles included hunting and fishing to supplement the basic plant diet, and trading with other native peoples for farm produce.

2.2.2.3 Non-intensive Agricultural Societies

This section looks at some studies on non-intensive agricultural societies. In doing this, the Haida and Tlingit of the Canadian Pacific Coast and the Kpelle of Liberia are reviewed in this section.

Among the Haida and Tlingit, men and women both had productive economic roles. Men fished and hunted and women gathered plant and marine resources. Women had important decision-making rights in economic distribution within the households and in intergroup trade. They participated with men in planning and hosting family and ceremonial potlatches, which validated and increased the status of their kin groups. Blackman (1982) reports among the Haida and Tlingit, that both men and women benefited from potlatches in numerous ways. They receive gifts as guests and could function as hosts. Many types of potlatches were given by either gender category.

On another development, Kpelle economy is based on farming, providing both food for subsistence and surplus sold for cash income. Rice is the most important crop, although a wide variety of other foods is grown, including manioc, yams, okra, bananas, citrus fruits, and peanuts. Some phases of farming are joint activities of men and women and others are gender-

linked. Men cut down tree in fields in preparation for planting. Then women and men clear the fields of undergrowth. Men and women engage in farming, although the crops produced are distinct. Men are responsible for producing rice; supplies of other foods are in the women's domain and are obtained by their labour (Gibbs, 1965; Schultz *et al*, 2009; Ember *et al*, 2007; Haviland *et al*, 2008).

2.2.2.4 Intensive Agricultural Societies

This section looks at some studies on intensive agricultural societies. In doing this, India and China are reviewed in this section.

Jacobson (1974) records that among the rural villagers of India (most people in India reside in rural villages), economic tasks are allocated according to gender. Men are primarily responsible for supplying their families with food, either produced through their own labour on their farmland or purchased with money received for paid employment. Farmers employ a variety of farming techniques, including fertilizers, irrigation, and use of ploughs drawn by bullocks. Surpluses for sale in local markets are desirable, as they provide income to enhance a household's standard of living.

However, women's work consists mainly of food preparation, childcare, and other domestic tasks. Women in many areas of India also participate in food production, especially in regions where rice is cultivated. There they engage in weeding and harvesting of the crops. In other areas, women aid in harvesting grains such as wheat and millet and a variety of vegetables and fruits. In areas where women engage in agricultural work, their status appear to be higher than among groups where women do little or no direct productive labour. This pattern is consistent with that found elsewhere in band, non-state, and chiefdom societies.

According to gender-assigned tasks, Diamond (1975) reports among the Chinese that men were primarily responsible for agricultural production. They prepared fields, planted, and harvested crops. Women's work was usually confined to domestic household tasks, including food preparation, household maintenance, and childcare. When additional labour was required for farm work at harvest time, women, especially among poor families, helped in the fields. Women in prosperous households were restricted to domestic labour and in fact were ideally restricted to the physical confines of the home. Indeed, the Chinese word for wife, *neiran,* literally means 'inside person' (Croll, 1982; Schultz *et al,* 2009; Ember *et al,* 2007). Croll (1982) records that women's participation in rural work tends to be greater in those areas where agricultural production is intense, as in regions producing cotton, tea, and rice. Women also participated fully in direct production where other kinds of occupations, such as rural industries or construction work, are available for men.

2.2.2.5 Industrial Societies

This section looks at some studies on industrial societies. In doing this, the United States is reviewed in this section. In Europe and the United States, during the late eighteenth century, innovations in productive modes began a process that transformed agricultural societies into industrial nations. Dublin (1977) reports that in the United States, industrial production began about the turn of the nineteenth century, but it did not organize all aspects of economic life at that time. Many independent farmers continued to obtain their subsistence primarily from the crops they grew and the animals they tended. Farming households fulfilled most of their material needs directly, although some commodities had to be purchased. Money to buy goods was gained through sale of surplus crops, animal products, or crafts made in the home.

During the early nineteenth century, the independence and self-sufficiency of families were gradually eroded by growing needs to purchase commodities. At the same time, transformations of production in manufacturing resulted in owner's need to hire workers for the burgeoning industrial sector. These two processes coalesced in the development of industrial production (Dubling, 1977; Ember *et al,* 2007; Haviland *et al,* 2008; Schultz *et al,* 2009).

Dublin (1977) records, that one of the first industries to develop in the United States was that of textiles. The conditions of employment in the textile mills were in many ways consistent with social norms of propriety and decency recognized as legitimate for young women from respectable families. Mill life was compatible with the social context of the time in that the patriarchal relations obtaining within households were reproduced in the mills. Men were owners and supervisors, controlling the organization of production, and young women laboured as necessary but as subordinate workers. In a sense, women's participation at the workplace was similar to their participation at home under the authority of their fathers.

Although living working conditions were acceptable, considering the standards of the era, most of the young women who worked in the mills did so out of dire economic necessity. Dublin (1977) recounts that this situation did not last as conditions of work and living in the mills changed dramatically in a short period. Due to competitions from European imports, textile manufacturers began to reduce the costs of their operations in Massachusetts. They lowered the wages paid for work, ceased providing living quarters for workers, and demanded longer hours of work or in other ways sped up production. This led to protests and strikes, but in response, many women were fired. They had become expendable because of a new source of labourers, namely, the growing number of poor immigrant women and men who flocked to the United States in hopes of escaping poverty in Europe. Because immigrants' living and

working conditions were even worse in their native lands than in the mills, they eagerly took the jobs abandoned in protest by Americans.

Bose (1987) explains that among poor families, the American ideals could not be maintained. Both men and women had to earn incomes in order to sustain their households. Many married women remained at home and earned money through such sources as factory outwork, sale of foods or crafts produced at home, or providing room and board for lodgers. In addition to home-based income, many women obtained money through paid employment. By the end of the nineteenth century, manufacturing and industrial development had expanded considerably. By 1900, the rates of women's participation in labour force increased (Ember *et al,* 2007; Haviland *et al,* 2008; Schultz *et al,* 2009). Although rates of employment of married women remained low, large numbers of single, widowed, and divorced women were wage earners.

2.2.3 Gendered Gap in Economic Relations among the World's Cultures

This section looks at gender gap in economic relations among societies known to anthropologists. These societies include foraging societies, horticultural societies, non-intensive agricultural societies, intensive agricultural societies, and industrial societies.

It is often claimed that women do most of the world's work and this may be true, but there is in fact little evidence for this claim (Baden & Goetz, 1998). The actual amounts of work done overall, and the proportions carried out by men and women respectively may vary enormously (Benería, 1982). However, it is indisputable that the received models of thinking about work and material flows often obscured women's work and its importance.

There is a further issue here: what is named and counted as work within the society? Just as women's work inside the home was frequently not counted as real work in Western

capitalist systems, so what is counted locally as work may also intersect with indigenous gender categories to exclude certain kinds of activities. In most societies, a division of labour is legitimated and reinforced by ideological and cultural constructs, and gender divisions form a significant part of such divisions: sexual divisions of labour are frequently based on naturalised ideas of such work (Narotzky, 1997: 30). It is not surprising that unremunerated 'women's work' in many societies, such as the work of caring for children, family members and housework, is not counted in contemporary national statistics.

Feminist anthropologists have argued forcefully that the sexual division of labour is not about the technical division of who does what; rather, it is about how such divisions develop and change, and about the power to control the products of labour. Particular concerns have centred on the question of the links between the sexual division of labour and gender inequalities (Harris, 1984). Does a sexual division of labour in itself imply social inequality, or can there be a division of labour that is organised along gender lines but involves relationships of complementarities rather than inequality? The consensus seems to be that a complementary division of labour might have been theoretically possible in gathering and hunting societies where they existed, although few such societies are extant today and few anthropologists have made such claims about equality for specific societies. Beyond small, and dwindling, numbers of gatherers and hunters, however, a sexual division of labour can be understood to be mostly embedded in other dimensions of social inequality.

These insights have been useful to archaeologists trying to reconstruct the history of economic activities in the widest sense. While extrapolating to the past is always problematic, the documentation of contemporary gatherers' and hunters' actual food-gathering practices suggested that the image of 'man the hunter' (Lee & DeVore, 1968) both past and present, has been misleading. Women's gathering and trapping of small game, for example, has been shown

to contribute significant amounts of calories in many gathering and hunting societies observed by anthropologists over the years (Sahlins, 1972; Lee, 1979; Harris, 1984; Hill & Hurtado, 1996).

A number of pioneering studies of women's economic activities have been particularly influential. The economist Ester Boserup's *Woman's role in economic development* (1989), and anthropologist Jack Goody's *Production and reproduction* (1976), contrasted African and Asian systems of rural production to explore the links between the importance of women's labour for subsistence, technologies of production, and property holding and types of marriage and kinship systems. Both ultimately saw the motors of change in technologies of production, rather than in relations of production. Boserup, very problematically, argued for integrating women into development, whereas her critics would respond that women were already fully integrated, but overlooked. Claude Meillassoux's *Maidens, meal and money* (1981) concentrated on the relations of reproduction within what he calls the 'domestic agricultural community'. Drawing on West African examples where residence is with the husband (patrilocal, virilocal) and young men are dependent on their fathers for access to resources, he argued that such relations of reproduction play an important part in reproducing economic systems. He saw lineage elders' control of women's (and young men's) labour as key in reproducing society. Some anthropologists were enthusiastic about this, seeing it as a way to bring gender firmly into discussions of the development and reproduction of economic systems. Nevertheless, critics felt that he conflated biological and social reproduction, and ignored domestic labour (Edholm, Harris & Young, 1977; Harris & Young, 1981; Moore, 1988). Ethnographic studies of the sexual division of labour have helped us to see the wide variations in such divisions, and the ways in which a society may have an 'official' version of its sexual division of labour, while in fact presenting very different patterns in practice. Thus in rural Malaysia, Stivens (1996) found that actual productive practices among smallholding villagers

did not follow ideologies of men's and women's work very strictly, varying with demographic, ecological and economic conditions. Villagers said, for example, that hoeing the rice fields, and tapping rubber was men's work and planting was women's work, yet mixed sex groups could be observed in most activities. In this case, in the 1970s and 1980s, it could be suggested that the supposedly fixed sexual division of labour was breaking down under the strains of a declining village economy heading into oblivion as industrialisation and out-migration grew apace (Stivens, 1996). However, it is also possible that practices were always more flexible than ideology suggested.

2.2.3.1 Foraging Societies

This section looks at some studies on foraging societies. In doing this, the !Kung of Southern Africa and the Inuit of the North American Arctic are compared.

The !Kung, a san-speaking people of Botswana and Namibia, provide an example of a foraging band society, where equality between women and men is manifested in many cultural practices and beliefs. Disparities between women and men in time allotted to foods collecting are equalized by differences in other kinds of labour, as women are more often engaged in food preparation and other household duties. Although men expended more time and energy in subsistence work than women did, (Lee, 1984/2003), their contribution to total caloric intake is less. Women's greater productivity despite less time-expended results from the fact that men's success rate in hunting is appreciably lower than women's success rate in food collecting.

Lee (1984/2003) reports that both men and women of !Kung have equal rights. This equality manifests on sexual behaviour before, during, and outside marriage. Lee notes that another lack of evidence of male dominance is that physical violence against women in the

form of wife beating and rape is rare. The latter in fact is often reported to be entirely absent. The former, though it occurs occasionally, is socially condemned.

The !Kung culture of equality is supported by subsistence activities of women and men, both of whom make vital contributions to their households. Although their economic roles are normatively different, there is actual flexibility in an individual's behaviour. The constellation of behaviours and attitudes that !Kung culture prefer, supports equality and autonomy for its members, regardless of gender or of any other principle of social categorization (Lee, 1984/2003).

It is the report (d'Anglure, 1984) that male dominance among Arctic peoples is tempered by several practices. First, though residence pattern tends to favour patrilineal bonds, couples typically begin married life residing with the wife's kin. They may remain there until several children are born and the marriage is assumed stable. Second, attitudes toward premarital sexual activities are equally permissive concerning girls and boys. Although there is some pressure for an unwed to marry her child's father, it is not intense. Third, flexibility in subsistence activities also lessens tendencies for male dominance because it publicly recognizes the fact that tasks can be performed equally well by either women or men. Women's participation in hunting and fishing demonstrates their productive contributions to their households. Fourth, decision making tends to involve people who are directly concerned in the focal activity. Men make decisions regarding their tasks and women do likewise. Although, men's opinion carries more weight, in decisions involving movement or settlements. Final factor is that absence of warfare in Arctic communities may mitigate male dominance. In sum, Arctic cultures manifest tendencies toward male dominance, but they also contain support for egalitarian gender relations (d'Anglure, 1984).

2.2.3.2 Horticultural Societies

This section looks at some studies on horticultural societies. In doing this, the Navajo of South-western North America, the Nuer of Sudan, the Luo of Kenya, the Iroquois of North-eastern North America, the Jivaro of Peru, and the Igbo of South-eastern Nigeria, are selected for comparison.

Witherspoon (1975), reports that the underlying egalitarian nature of Navajo society remained strong despite the economic and political changes of the nineteenth century. Gender roles were differentiated in some endeavours, but overlap was also characteristic of actual behaviour. Balance between women and men were enacted on a daily basis in the work people performed and in the quality of their social interactions. Although egalitarian gender relations among the Navajo have continued to persist, recent economic transformations have altered productive roles and contributions of women and men to their households. Household composition itself has changed in many areas of the Navajo nation (Witherspoon, 1975).

Evans-Pritchard (1951) explains that male dominance among the Nuer is demonstrated in attitudes and behaviours that give greater social value to men than to women. Men and women's relationship to cattle is a significant reflection of ideological value accorded to the gender categories. In the context of Nuer subsistence, women's work with the cattle is directly productive because they are responsible for milking the cows. Nevertheless, it is men who are symbolically linked to cattle and who perform the socially prestigious work associated with their care and survival. In addition, men are the owners of cattle; they make decisions concerning their use and distribution; they employ cattle in exchanges for marriage, payment of debts, and on ceremonial occasions.

Okeyo (1980) records that land for farming and grazing, was held by kinship groups organized into patrilineages. Lineages allocated land for use to men within the group. Besides,

the basic economic unit of husband and wife was essentially cooperative. Despite male control over kinship relations, preferences for patrilocal residence, and inheritance of land use rights through men, Luo women had some degree of independence and autonomy due to their substantial contribution to household subsistence and their control over distribution of crops. Their rights to land and the social recognition of their productive labour in supporting heirs to patrilineages gave women a more important social position than experienced by other pastoral peoples such as the Nuer (Okeyo, 1980).

Among the Iroquois, Lafitau (1974) records that in general, traditional norms sanctioned equality and autonomy of women and men. All people had rights to make decisions concerning their activities. No individual had rights to impose his or her will on others. The division of labour among Iroquoians, therefore, separated tasks of men and women. Each contributed resources and goods through their labour. Men and women in a household performed complementary task, all necessary for the functioning and survival of the group. Contributions of both women and men were highly valued. Men and women works, were socially recognized and rewarded (Lafitau, 1974; Abler, 2004).

Among the Jivaro, Meggers (1971) recounts that, women contributed substantially to their households. They are responsible for planting, tending, and harvesting crops, notably manioc, sweet potatoes, and squash. These products supply most of the Jivaro's subsistence needs, although they are supplemented by fish and animal meat provided by men.

Jivaro women also control and perform garden rituals that must be enacted to ensure a good crop. Women are believed to have a special relationship with plants. Jivaro culture thus, endows women with a critical role linking subsistence to the supernatural realm. Women are significantly responsible not only for ensuring success in their own productive activities, but their ritual knowledge is also necessary for men's success in hunting (Meggers, 1971).

Among the Igbo, an important feature of the economy is the reliance on market trades, conducted primarily by women. Women's control over local trade is a key to their ability to establish a high degree of independence and autonomy. Women sell farm produce and handicrafts in town and regional markets to others who buy goods for their own households or who buy for resale to local villagers. Some women are able to make sizeable profits in these exchanges. Through their control over market activities and the money they receive, trade women establish independence in their household. Data from Afikpo Igbo provides insights into relationships between trading activities and social status (Ottenberg, 1968).

Green (1964) records that among the Umueke, Agbaja Igbo, women wielded much power because of the role they play in the economic and family life. Among this group, women are the chief breadwinners. Although the men contribute, the women contribute the greater share of the normal family food, buying also other food items like salt with their money.

Women have many sources of income, which include selling kernels, trading on tobacco, and sometimes, sell of fowls. They also sell surplus farm produce to get money. Their role in the economy and household put them on advantage over men who admit normally that the women feed them. Based on this, women can deny men food to bring them to order when misbehaved. Most of the time, the caring of children is left for the men when women are out for market engagements. Green (1964) states, 'the fathers of the small children would often be found left in charge while the mother was at the market' (p.171).

Green (1964) records that even when the women kill the livestock of men found eating their crop, men would not take any court action because women will always win. The men believe that women own them and would always defend any killing. The only option is to take your killed livestock before the women eat it up. Green (1964) states that occasionally, men would use humour to complain of the women dominance. She says:

> The men would tell the women that they took unfair advantage of them when a male child was born by holding it upside down so that its head touched the ground or by putting a foot on its face to show their dominance (p. 176).

Unlike Iroquoian culture, which thoroughly supports gender equality in ideological and material forms, Igbo culture conveys mixed messages. Male dominance is verbalized and enacted through contrasting demeanours of men and women, and through some restrictions on women's participation. However, individual women are able to assert their independence through their critical control over economic exchange.

2.2.3.3 Non-intensive Agricultural Societies

This section looks at some studies on non-intensive agricultural societies. In doing this, the Haida and Tlingit of the Canadian Pacific Coast and the Kpelle of Liberia are reviewed in this section.

Non-intensive agricultural societies are characterized by systems of social stratification. Social relations among individuals and kinship groups are not founded on egalitarian principles but on hierarchical ranking of people. The degree of segmentation and strength of hierarchy vary cross-culturally.

Blackman (1982) reports among the Haida and Tlingit, that both men and women benefited from potlatches in numerous ways. They receive gifts as guests and could function as hosts. Many types of potlatches were given by either gender category. In addition, gender equality in the potlatch system was demonstrated by the fact that sons and daughters were equally recognized through feasts given by their parents. A son or daughter's birth, naming, puberty, marriage, and other accomplishments were celebrated publicly.

Even though Tlingit and Haida cultural constructs validated the equality of women and men, women are socialized to be somewhat deferential toward their husband. Wives were expected to respect their husbands in daily activities. Women owned property and had recognized rights to dispose of it as they chose. A woman's property remained her own after marriage and did not merge with that of her husband's. The principle of individual control of goods and houses worked against women, though, in the event of divorce or the death of husbands (Blackman, 1982; Ember *et al,* 2007; Haviland *et al,* 2008; Schultz *et al,* 2009).

Pacific coast cultures conveyed complex messages about women's and men's status and authority. In some domains, separation of tasks and rights were clearly demarcated. Subsistence activities were allocated according to gender; rights to inheritance of property were differentiated so that women inherited goods from their mothers and men inherited property and titles from their mother's brothers (MBs). However, egalitarian valuation of women and men was a prevailing principle and led to the essential independence and autonomy of both (Blackman, 1982). However, a turn to the Kpelle shows that gender constructs support the 'believe in the formal superiority of men over women' (Gibbs, 1965, p. 230). Nevertheless, examination of the roles and rights of women and men reveals that women make significant recognized contributions to their families and have both economic and social independence despite the public control exercised by men.

Gibbs (1965) reports that a couple farms on land allotted to men as heads of households within patrilineages. Land controlled by patrilineages is awarded to men as the last link in a chain of hierarchical jurisdiction because all Kpelle land is said to be owned by paramount chiefs, each of whom controls his own territory. Although men are the holders of land-use rights, women have a great deal of control over the produce of the land. They make decisions about which crops to grow and in what amount. In addition, women determine the planting of

other crops on acreage allotted to them by their husbands. 'They have complete control over the income from these individual posts' (p. 201).

In summary, variations in gender constructs are linked to participation in household economies and in community affairs. Among the Haida and Tlingit women had important decision-making rights in economic distribution within the households and in intergroup trade. They participated with men in planning and hosting family and ceremonial potlatches, which validated and increased the status of their kin groups. Women's equality and autonomy were therefore, manifested in critical spheres of social life. Among the Kpelle, ideological and religious precepts stress men's superiority, but women maintain some autonomy and rights to decision making because of their productive farming role and their control over other produce of their labour.

2.2.3.4 Intensive Agricultural Societies

This section looks at some studies on intensive agricultural societies. In doing this, India and China are reviewed in this section.

Turning to data concerning two highly stratified, complex agricultural states, India and China, ideological constructs supporting male dominance were intensified during historical periods of consolidation of state power. They remain very strong up to the modern era, and in fact, continue to varying degrees. Differences obtain among various groups, within these nations with respect to adherence to traditional gender constructs. Many differences are correlated with class, education, religious beliefs, and urban/rural dichotomies. Despite the unique circumstances of each society, traditional gender relations and attitudes toward women and men in India and China were quite similar.

Narain (1967) reports that male dominance and the resulting subordination of women have been accepted in India culture throughout its history spanning millennia. In the earliest documented historic era of India society, Vedic period, patriarchal constructs and practices were already instituted. Men dominated their households and communities and most women were excluded from arenas of productivity and value. However, women in Vedic society were not totally subordinated. Mothers had some authority in their families, and daughters were well treated by their parents. Although sons were preferred, girls were given the opportunity as boys for education and religious training. In fact, many chroniclers of India's Vedic history were women. In addition, some elite women were trained in military and administrative skills (Narain, 1967).

Traditional Chinese culture, like that of India, was intensely patriarchal. Patriarchal gender relations and the ideological constructs supporting and justifying them were developed through several millennia of Chinese history (Wolf, 1974). Wolf records that male dominance in China was manifested in numerous social, economic, political, and religious spheres. The social domain was organized through lineages and clans based on patrilineal descent.

Diamond (1975) reports that in the Chinese culture males were preferred. The economic division of labour contributed further justification for preference for sons. Indeed, the Chinese word for wife, *neiran*, literally means 'inside person' (Croll, 1982).

In summary, in India and China, intense patriarchal systems restricted women's rights in their household and communities. This system also trivialized women's contribution, and denied women access to political participation. Religious and philosophical ideologies were responsible for this subordination of women in these societies.

2.2.3.5 Industrial Societies

This section looks at some studies on industrial economies. In doing this, the United States is reviewed in this section. Hartmann (1979) reports that despite women's participation in the labour force, they remained marginalized by intersecting links between gender segregation in employment and unequal remuneration for work performed by women and men. Segregation between the genders entailed the assignment of different types of work to men and women. Some occupations were considered appropriate for women and others for men. For example, men undertook industrial jobs requiring operations of large machinery, whereas women were employed in so-called "light industries," such as those producing soaps, hats, and cigars.

These distinctions of work and responsibilities between men and women were generally not necessitated by physical abilities. They were arbitrary, artificial reflections of gender stereotypes that insisted on differentiation. However, the process did not merely attribute distinctions between the genders; it assigned men more valued roles than women and rewarded both accordingly. Another feature of economic relations contributing to women's marginalization and secondary status was that they generally received lower wages than did men, even when both performed the same job. In summary, despite gains in employment, women face discrimination in the work place. The gender gap in pay continues, as does occupational segregation. Patriarchal attitudes can still be found in familial and public life.

Data from all the societies point to the egalitarian gender relations in societies other than chiefdoms, agricultural and industrial states. The data show that gender relations in the industrial societies were offshoot of gender relations in chiefdoms and agricultural states. Although there was female subordination in chiefdoms and agricultural states, females exercised some level of autonomy than seen in the industrial state.

2.2.4 Changes and Causes of Changes in Gender and Economic Relations among the World's Cultures

This section looks at the changes and factors responsible for changes in gender and economic relations among societies known to anthropologists. These societies include foraging societies, horticultural societies, non-intensive agricultural societies, intensive agricultural societies, and industrial societies.

Modernization and globalization have been seen as the factors that cause changes in gender and economic relations among the world's cultures. Every other factor is subsumed under these. For example, modernization brings systematic, predictable changes in gender roles. The impact of modernization operates in two key phases: one, industrialization brings women into the paid workforce and dramatically induce migration in search for industrial works (Ember, Ember & Skoggard, 2004; Waldman, 2005). Women attain literacy and greater educational opportunities. Women are enfranchised and begin to participate in representative government. Two, the post-industrial phase brings a shift toward greater gender equality as women rise in management and the professions and gain political influence within elected and appointed bodies. Over half of the world has not yet entered this phase; only the more advanced industrial societies are currently moving on this trajectory (Inglehart & Pippa, 2003; Carrier, 2005; Hann & Hart, 2011).

According to Inglehart and Pippa (2003), an extensive literature in demography, sociology, anthropology, and social psychology has documented the familiar yet profound transformation of sex roles associated with the process of societal modernization. One, virtually all preindustrial societies emphasize childbearing and child rearing as the central goal for women and their most important function in life, along with tasks like food production and preparation at home; jobs in the paid workforce are predominately male. In post-industrial societies, gender roles have increasingly converged because of a structural revolution in the

paid labour force, in educational opportunities for women, and in the characteristics of modern families. Two, in most affluent countries, people are marrying later than in previous generations and having fewer children. Three a rapid increase in premarital cohabitation is challenging the once-privileged position held by marriage. More and more women, especially those who are married, have entered the paid labour force, creating the transition from male breadwinner to dual-earning families. Four, although the gender gap in rates of economic participation is narrowing, women's and men's roles in the labour force continue to differ. Women still have to juggle the demands of family responsibilities and market work, and they hold different jobs than men do, often with lower status and rewards. These social trends raise questions about long-established moral values and attitudes toward the family and gender roles that were once taken for granted. Traditional family values have by no means disappeared, but they appear to be under greater strain in postmodern societies.

2.3 Review of Theories

The theories reviewed here are functionalism, structuralism, conflict theory, feminist theories, poststructuralism, postmodernism and post feminism. These theories are reviewed as useful tools for understanding gender and economic relations.

2.3.1 Functionalism

Functionalism arose out of the acknowledged inadequacies of the evolutionary and diffusion theories in the explanation of human societies. It postponed the search of origins (through evolution and diffusion), and instead focuses on the role of culture traits and practices in contemporary societies. The proponents of this theory as used here are Emile Durkheim, Bronislaw Malinowski, and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown to mention but a few (Ezeh, 2010).

Functionalists believe that society is made up of a system of interrelated parts that work together to maintain the smooth operation of society. Functionalists argue that it was quite useful to have men and women fulfil different roles in preindustrial societies. The society was more efficient when tasks and responsibilities were allocated to particular individuals who were socialized to fulfil specific roles.

The fact that the human infant is helpless, demands for someone to look after the child. It became logical that the mother is best fit to take care of the child having given birth to the child. Because the women needed to be at home to fulfil this obligation, it became necessary for them to prepare food, and other domestic works. However, to the male fell the duties of defence, hunting and herding. Because of this, the economic and other decisions fell on him (Tischler, 2011). This division of labour created a situation in which the female depended on the male for protection and food. Over the time, this pattern became natural and was thought to be tied to biological sex differences.

Talcott Parsons and Robert Bale (Tischler, 2011) apply functionalist theory to the modern family. They argue that the division of labour and role differentiation by sex are universal principles of family organization and are functional to the modern family. They believe that the family functions best when the father assumes the instrumental role, which focuses on relationship between the family and the outside world. While mother concentrates her energies on the expressive role, which focuses on relationship within the family and requires her to provide the love and emotional support needed to sustain the family. However, the people who need the woman out of the home for industrial cheap labour have criticized the functionalist position for its conservativeness. According to Tischler (2011), critics contend that industrial society can be quite flexible in assigning tasks to males and females.

2.3.2 Structuralism

In anthropology, structuralism is mainly associated with Claude Lévi-Strauss, a prolific and long-lived French anthropologist. Structuralism evolved overtime, from his early interest in the structure of kinship and marriage systems to later interest in the structure of human mind (Lévi-Strauss, 1967). Structure takes various forms in Lévi-Strauss's work. However, what is needful for our purpose is that he can be seen as extending Saussure's work on language to anthropological issues; example of these includes myths in primitive societies. Nevertheless, Lévi-Strauss also used structuralism more broadly to all forms of communication. Lévi-Strauss's major innovation was to reconceptualise a wide array of social phenomena as systems of communication, thereby making them amenable to structural analysis. For example, the exchange of spouses can be analysed in the same way as the exchange of word; both are social exchanges that can be studied with structural anthropology.

Lévi-Strauss's thinking can be illustrated with the example of the similarities between linguistic systems and kinship systems. First, terms used to describe kinship, like phonemes in language, are basic units of analysis to the structural anthropology. Second, neither the kinship terms nor the phonemes have meaning in themselves. Instead, both acquire meaning only when they are integral parts of a larger system. Lévi-Strauss like Saussure used a system of binary oppositions to support his analysis. Thus, the raw could only be understood by its binary, cooked. Third, Lévi-Strauss admitted that there is empirical variation from setting to setting in both phonemic and kinship systems, but even these variations can be traced to the operation of general, although implicit, laws.

Drawing from the foregoing, the terms used to describe gender, like phonemes in language, are basic unit of analysis to gender relations. Again, neither gender terms nor the phonemes have meaning in themselves. Instead, both acquire meaning only when they are

integral part of the economy. Finally, gender and economic relations vary from society to society, but these variations can be traced to the operation of general, although implicit laws. This reasoning is in line with linguistic turn. However, Lévi-Strauss argued that both phonemic systems and kinship systems are the products of the structures of the mind, which are not products of a conscious process.

2.3.3 Conflict Theory

The conflict theories come as a major critique against the assumptions of the functionalists. The major proponents of the conflict theory include Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Lewis Coser, and Ralf Dahrendorf to mention a few (Ezeh, 2010). According to conflict theory, males dominate females because of their superior power and control over key resources. A major consequence of this domination lies in the exploitation of women by men. By subordinating women, men gain greater economic, political, and social power. According to conflict theory, as long as the dominant groups benefits from the existing relation, it has little incentive to change it. The resulting inequalities are therefore perpetuated long after they might have served a functional purpose.

Conflict theorists believe that the main source of gender inequality is the economic inequality between men and women. Economic advantage leads to power and prestige. If men have, an economic advantage in society that advantage will produce a superior social position in both society and the family.

Friedrich Engels (Tischler, 2011) links gender inequalities to capitalism, contending that primitive, non-capitalistic, hunting-and-gathering societies without private property were egalitarian. As these societies developed capitalistic institutions of private property, power came to be concentrated in the hands of minority men, who used their power to subordinate women and to create political institutions that maintained their power. Engels also believes

that to free women from subordination and exploitation, society must abolish private property and other capitalistic institutions.

2.3.4 Feminist Theories

According to Ritzer and Stepnisky, (2014), the impetus for contemporary feminist theory begins in a deceptively simple question: "and what about the women?" Any attempt to generate an answer has always led to another question. Hence, "why is all this as it is?" the second, and the third, "And what about the differences among women?" The fourth question for all feminists is, "How can we change and improve the social world so as to make it a more just place for all people?" The fifth question is, "How and why does gender inequality persist in the modern world?" Any attempt to answer any of these questions has given rise to a different theoretical orientation inside the same orientation of feminism.

Gender difference is the answer to first question and has given birth to many theoretical orientations but only cultural feminism shall be reviewed. Others being sexual difference theories, and sociological theories. Cultural feminism rose against essentialist argument that gender difference is immutable and claims that women inferiority led to their subordination by men. First wave feminists reversed the argument by creating a theory of cultural feminism, which extols the positive aspects of feminine personality. Margaret Fuller, Jane Adams to mention only these, who are also proponents of the theory, argued that in the governing of the state, society needed such women's virtues as cooperation, caring, pacifism, and nonviolence in the settlement of conflicts (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2014).

It is even Carol Gilligan whose argument that, women operate out of a different method of moral reasoning than men, that is prominent in current contemporary literature of cultural feminism (Gilligan, 1982). Despite criticism, cultural feminism has a wide popular appeal

because it suggests that women's ways of being and knowing may be a healthier template for producing a just society than those of an androcentric culture.

The answer to the second question is seen in gender inequality which liberal feminism has set to explain. Friedan (1963) is notable among the liberal feminists. The major expression of gender inequality theory is liberal feminism, which argues that, women may claim equality with men based on an essential human capacity for reasoned moral agency. Further, that gender inequality is the result of a sexist patterning of the division of labour, and that gender equality can be produced by transforming the division of labour through the re-patterning of key institutions like law, work, family, education, and media. Contemporary liberal feminism has expanded to include a global feminism that confronts racism and works for the human rights of women.

Gender oppression is the answer to the third question and psychoanalytic feminism and radical feminism have offered explanation. However, radical feminism shall be reviewed. Radical feminism is based on two emotionally charged central beliefs: women are of absolute positive value as women, a belief asserted against what they claim to be the universal devaluing of women, and that women are everywhere oppressed – often violently – by the systems of patriarchy. Bunch (1987) and Rhodes (2005) are notable among the radical feminists. Radical feminists see in every institution and in society's most basic stratification arrangements systems of domination and subordination, the most fundamental of which is patriarchy. Central to this analysis is the image of patriarchy as violence practiced by men and by male-dominated organizations against women.

Radical feminists sought solution in the defeat of patriarchy. The defeat must begin with a basic reworking of women's consciousness so that each woman recognizes her own strength (Villalon, 2010). Furthermore, rejects patriarchal pressures to see herself as weak,

dependent and second-class (Blackstone, Uggen & McLaughlin, 2009); and work in unity with other women, regardless of differences among them, to establish a broad-based sisterhood of trust, support, appreciation, and mutual defence (Whitehead, 2007).

The fourth answer is rooted in structural oppression, which could be best explained, by socialist feminism and intersectionality theories. The socialist feminism is to be reviewed here. Hartmann (1979) is famous among socialist feminists. Socialist feminists argue, with Marxists, that the relations of capital, and therefore class relations, are pivotal for understanding women's oppression. However, they differed from Marxists in insisting that the oppressive relations between the sexes are not simply derivative of class. They argued that the interconnections between sex oppression and class exploitation had to be addressed. In other words, for socialist feminists, it was no longer enough to talk only about the women question and they did not assume that the basis for women's oppression would disappear automatically with the overthrow of capitalism. These feminists focused upon the ways in which the labour done by women in the household (domestic labour) helps to sustain the capitalist system. On both a daily and generational level, women contribute to the reproduction of labour power by having and rearing children and by looking after husbands between their working days in mines and factories. As a result, both capitalist and individual men benefit from the unpaid and personal services of women in the home (Hartmann, 1979; Hamilton, 2007). After feminists' analysis of the interconnections between the public sphere of capitalist and state relation and private sphere of the family, they challenge the issue of family-wage (Hamiltion, 2007). They see this as a deliberate calculation to push them away from the industries.

2.3.5 Postmodernism

Postmodernist theory assumes that people now live in post modernity, not modernity. This postmodern world is produced by the interplay of four major changes. First an expansive

stage in global capitalism, second the weakening of centralized state power, third the patterning of life by an increasingly powerful and penetrative technology that controls production and promotes consumerism, and fourth the development of liberationist social movements based not in class but in other forms of identity (nationality, religion, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, etc.). Foucault (1969), Lyotard (1984), and Derrida (1978) are prominent among the postmodernist theorists.

According to Ritzer & Stepnisky (2014) postmodernist theory has affected feminist theory in general in two important ways. First, it has radically challenged the central question of all feminist theory, "And what about the women?" by developing a philosophic argument about what the category "women" really means, an argument calculated to challenge the concept of gender. Second, postmodernism has provided feminist theory with "an oppositional epistemology," a strategy for questioning the claims to truth advanced by any given theory. This second option has been achieved most effectively through its creation of a rich and provocative language to be used in challenging the taken-for-granted assumptions that it argues were constituted by modernity. Judith Butler is prominent among postmodern feminist theorists, Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida being her models.

Postmodernists rejected the basic principle of modernist epistemology – that humans can, by the exercise of pure reason, arrive at a complete and objective knowledge of the world, a knowledge that is a representation of reality, "a mirror of nature". The postmodernists lost faith in grand narrative, fundamentalism, universalism, essentialism, and representation, championed by the modernists. Deconstruction becomes the ultimate solution.

A major substantive contribution of postmodernist theory to general feminist theory has been its questioning of the primary category of feminist theory: woman. Butler's 1990 "Gender Trouble" becomes classic in this. Butler questioned the concepts of woman and gender: and

whether there is, as popularly presumed, a coherent relation among sex, gender, and sexuality. In addition, she situated her argument directly in the political context of the women's movement, warning that the premature insistence on a stable subject of feminism, understood as a seamless category of women, inevitably generate multiple refusal to accept the category (Butler, 1990).

For Butler, the category woman arises out of the process that produces gender, a process she names performativity. Performativity has its origins in speech-act theory, where a performative is that discursive practice that brings into being or enacts that which it names and so marks the constitutive or productive power of discourse. Butler sees gender arising as people perform it in interaction with each other; by performing gender, they create it (Butler, 1990).

However, the feminist relation to postmodernism is not without problems. One of these is that feminists see postmodernism as exclusive in aspiration and therefore antithetical to the feminist project of inclusion. Second is the question of the innocence of the postmodernist challenge on feminism, and many others.

2.2.6 Poststructuralism

Poststructuralism, came from the translation and dissemination of the works of Michel Foucault, and Jacques Derrida in England, and America during the 1970s and 1980s. Poststructuralist theory recognizes the centrality of language and discourse. According to Foucault and Derrida, language and discourse are not transparent or neutral means for describing or analysing the social and biological world. Rather, they effectively construct, regulate, and control knowledge, social relations and institutions and indeed, such analytic and exegetic practices as scholarship and research (Foucault, 1969; Derrida, 1978).

Poststructuralist discourse theory examines how writing, texts and discourses are constructive phenomena, shaping the identity and practices of human subjects. Language, together with gesture and all the other symbols that convey meaning, make up fields of thought that are called discourses. Any discourse makes some thought possible and others less possible or impossible. Contemporary feminists have drawn from Michel Foucault who shows how discourses bring the true into existence (Hamilton, 2007).

Prevailing discourses also provide the possibilities and constraints for constructing our own identities that are not fixed, as in the expression "the real me", but rather are fragmented, changing, and contradictory. Using this kind of analysis, feminists argue that identities are not fixed, but rather are continually constructed in particular times and spaces. They are not unified, but rather are fragmented: in some circumstances, we feel ourselves to be strong and powerful, in others weak and fragile, in others perhaps creative, stupid, and determined and so on. If this is so, the argument goes, "how can we then talk about women and men as if these categories mean something we can all agree upon?" Our language helps create the sense that our identities are not only fixed, but also gender-determined. When feminists hold this language gap for scrutiny, they open the space for considerations of identities that are not bound by biological sex, race, age, sexuality, ethnicity, or any other category that we use to fix and freeze identities (Hamilton, 2007).

If we say that men are aggressive, we are comparing them directly and indirectly to those – women – who are not. In like manner, if men are rational, women are irrational; if men are independent, women are dependent. The point is not that men and women really are this way, although in particular times and places they may behave so, or they may be believed to be so.

2.3.7 Postfeminism

In her 1991 book, Backlash: The Undeclared War against American Women, Susan Faludi argues that the women's liberation movement has run into increased opposition. Politicians, business leaders, and advertisers, among others, have told women that they have won the war for women's rights, and now enjoy equality with men. Faludi (1991) denies that women have attained equality. She says that despite some narrowing in pay differentials between men and women, significant differences remain in both the USA and Britain. She upholds that the backlash is not a genuine attempt to improve the lives of women, but rather represents an attempt by men to reassert their dominance.

Faludi's (1991) backlash has been termed postfeminism in some circles. However, this term has also been applied to more theoretical developments that have had consequences for the women's movement. Under the influence of postmodernism, some women have begun to question the idea that there can ever be a single project to liberate women. This view argues that women are a highly diverse group and no one group of feminists can claim to speak for all women (Haralambos, Holborn, & Heald, 2004/2008).

Furthermore, any set of solutions to the general problems of gender inequality is unlikely to be suitable for all groups of women. Like postmodernists, postfeminists reject the idea of a single metanarrative, or big story, which claims to offer a single design for improving the world. This change has entailed a focus on the differences between women rather than the inequalities between men and women. As part of this shift, the usefulness of terms such as patriarchy and women has been questioned. Postfeminists argue that such terms are over-generalized and falsely assume that oppression is the same for all women and that all women are fundamentally the same.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

Among the theories reviewed, functionalism and feminist theory of gender inequality seem to be appropriate in the understanding of gender constructs. Functionalism sees gender in terms of function, which is needed for the overall survival and maintenance of society. Based on this, there is the need to divide these functions appropriately. The best way is the division of labour between the male and the female. Both male and female contribute to the overall functioning and maintenance of the society. This division of labour is needed, irrespective of the society, whether preindustrial, industrial, or post-industrial. The functions of each of the gender category are needed to keep the society.

From the feminist theories reviewed, the theory of gender inequality is adopted as one of the theoretical frameworks of this study. Four themes characterize feminist theorizing of gender inequality. Men and women are situated in society not only differently but also unequally. Women get less of the material resources, social status, power, and opportunities for self-actualization than do men who share their social location – be it a location based on class, race, occupation, ethnicity, religion, education, nationality or any intersection of these factors. This inequality results from the organization of society, for although individual human beings vary in their profile of potentials and traits, no significant pattern of natural variation distinguishes the sexes. All human beings are characterized by an intrinsic need for self-actualization and by a fundamental malleability that lets them adapt to the constraints or opportunities of their situations. To say that there is gender inequality is to claim that women are situationally less empowered than men are to realize the need they share with men for self-actualization. All inequality theorists assume that both women and men will respond easily to more egalitarian social structures and situations. Let us see how the ethnographic evidence gathered supports or refutes this assumption.

From the foregoing, the two theories give more insight on the gender issues. They are therefore chosen as the theoretical framework of this study. These theories are appropriate because this study aims at describing and explaining the structure of gender and economic relations among the Nrobo. The study aims to document the state of gender and economic relations from the point of view of the Nrobo.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

The present chapter gives a focus on the research methodology. This section describes the various methods adopted for this study and it starts from the study design down to method of data analysis.

3.1 Study Design

The qualitative research design was used in this study. This is the collection and analysis of virtually any information that is not numerical in nature (Okpoko & Ezeh, 2011). It is descriptive and narrative in nature. It relies on the ability of the researcher to give account, describe, or narrate events as they unfold.

Ethnography, as a category of qualitative research design was used as the main data collection design in this study. Besides, the researcher used Focus Group Discussion (FGD) as a supplementary method. These choices were made because the study hoped to describe and explain gender and economic relations among the Nrobo.

3.2 Area of the Study

Nrobo, an Igbo group of Southeastern Nigeria formed the area of this study. Among the sub-communities that make up Nrobo, which is in Uzo Uwani L.G.A. of Enugu State are:

(a) Ajayigo

(b) Ofunu

(c) Okpara

(d) Owa

(e) Ugo

(f) Umuamuna

(g) Umudiesue

(h) Umuiya

(i) Umuoyo

Nrobo is located East of Abbi Community, North of Okpuje, South of Ugbene and West of Ozzi Edem. These four communities surround Nrobo. Nrobo was justifiable for this study because of its cultural uniformity amid contact. This implies that Nrobo Igbo still maintains parts of her indigenous values and ways of life.

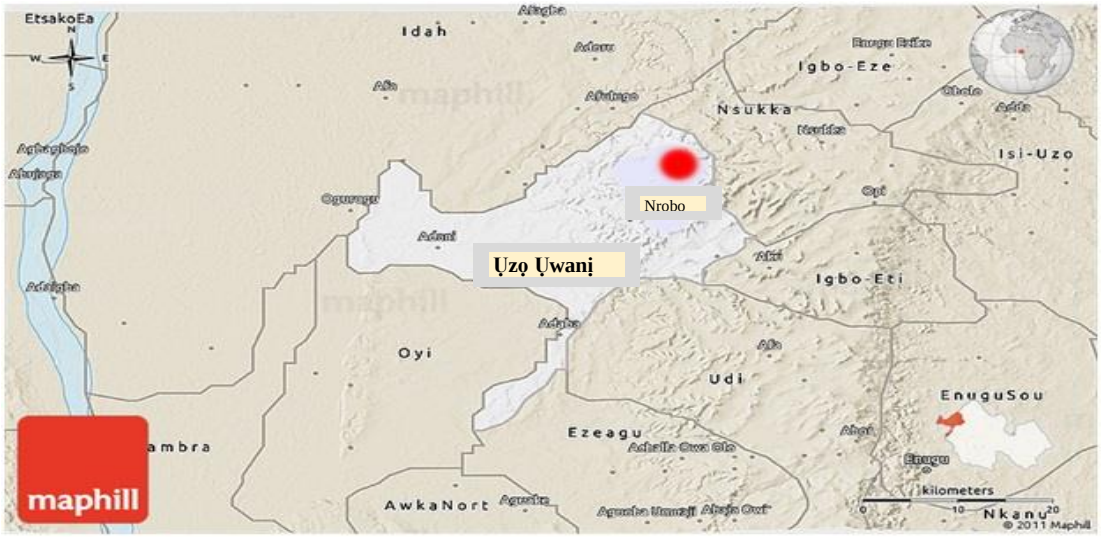

Figure 3.1: Map of Uzo-Uwani as sketched by Maphill and modified by me.

Figure 3.2: Map of Uzo-Uwani, located in the map of Enugu State as adopted from NDDOE Map Project – Enugu State Administrative Map.

3.3 Population of the Study

Study population means an aggregate of all cases that conform or possess some specific characteristics to be researched on (Pelto, 1970). The population need not be human beings only. Nevertheless, for this study, the population will be restricted to human beings only.

The latest population census in Nigeria is the 2006 population census. The researcher worked with the 2006 census, which gave Nrobo a total population of 7715, with a population projection of 9715 in 2016 (National Population Commission, 2007).

3.4 Scope of the Study

This ethnography is not an attempt at the holistic reproduction of Nrobo society as that of Malinowski's (1922) *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An account of native enterprise and adventure in the Archipelagos of Melanesian New Guinea* or McCall's (2000) *Dancing histories: Heuristic ethnography with the Ohafia Igbo.* Although anthropologists are interested in the whole context of human behaviour, it is impossible to study everything. Most ethnographers now enter the field with a specific problem to investigate, and they collect data relevant to that problem (Kottak, 2010).

This study singles out subsistence strategies of the Nrobo and tries to locate male and female roles in these economic activities. Every aspect of subsistence activities of the Nrobo is here, explained in relation to how both males and females contribute to the overall maintenance of the society. This study is therefore, a shift from holistic to problem-oriented ethnography.

3.5 Sample Size

A sample is a part of a larger population that is usually selected to be the representative of the population under study. Those included in the sample are chosen as a cross-section of the larger group. The use of sample saves the researcher time and money, since it reduces the number of individuals to be studied. If the sample is chosen carefully, it is possible to generalize from it: that is, to make statements about the completely relevant population based on the sample (Haralambos, Holborn & Heald, 2004; Haralambos, Holborn & Heald, 2008).

Samples for qualitative studies are generally much smaller than those used in quantitative studies. Ritchie, Lewis and Elam (2003) provide reasons for this. There is a point of diminishing return to a qualitative sample, that is, as the study goes on, more data does not necessarily lead to more information. That is, if a researcher remains faithful to the principles of qualitative research, sample size in the majority of qualitative studies should generally follow the concept of saturation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This is when the collection of new data does not shed any further light on the issue under investigation. Researchers in qualitative studies generally use saturation as a guiding principle during their data collection. This, is what Malinowski (1922) did among the Trobriand Islands, to mention just this.

However, for Focus Group Discussion (FGD), the sample size was 18. The sample was gender balanced. That was, nine women and nine men constituted the sample.

3.6 Sampling Techniques

Sampling is due and careful selection of a part to represent a whole. It is necessary in the research activities because it is usually impossible to cover the entire population of study. However, there was no controlled sampling as done in quantitative, in this study. Ethnographers do not systematically manipulate their subjects. Rather, they live in the study

community and form personal relationships with the study participants. Although the general principles of representativeness in the conventional techniques involved in probability sampling in social research are remembered in ethnography, controlled sampling techniques are normally inappropriate (Babbie, 2005). The researcher lived among the Nrobo as ethnography demands.

Nevertheless, for Focus Group Discussion (FGD), the sample was drawn purposively from men and women from 70 years and above. The participants were enlisted through personal contacts. The criteria for enlisting the participant were based on age, gender and consistency in the community.

3.7 Instruments of Data Collection

Participant observations, a backbone of ethnographic design, involving cultural consultant interview (CCI), in-depth interviews (IDI) and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) were used as the instruments of data collection. Those choices were made because the study hoped to describe and explain the structure of gender and economic relations among the Nrobo

Participant observation is an important tool in ethnography (Okpoko & Ezeh, 2011). Direct, first-hand observation of behaviour, including participant observation is used in this study. Gold as cited in Babbie (2005) equated participant observation to field research and discussed four different positions on a continuum of roles that field researchers may play in this regard: complete participant, participant-as-observer, observer-as-participant, and complete observer. Gold described the complete participant as follows:

> The true identity and purpose of the complete participant in field research are not known to those whom he observes. He interacts with them as naturally as possible in whatever areas of their living interest to him and is acceptable to him in situations in which he can play or learn to play requisite day-to-day roles successfully (pp. 242, 243).

The complete participant, in this sense, may be a genuine participant in what he or she is studying (for example, a participant in a campus demonstration) or may pretend to be a genuine participant. In any event, if you are acting as the complete participant you let people see you only as a participant, not as a researcher.

Because of the several considerations, ethical and scientific, the ethnographer frequently chooses a different role from that of complete participant. In gold's terminology as cited in Babbie (2005), you might choose the role of participant-as-observer. In this role, you would participate fully with the group under study, but you would make it clear that you were also undertaking research.

The observer-as-participant is one who identifies himself or herself as a researcher and interacts with participants in the social process but makes no pretence of actually being a participant. A good example of that would be a newspaper reporter who is learning about a social movement, for instance, the unionization of migrant farm workers.

The complete observer, at the other extreme, observes a social process without becoming part of it in any way. Quite possibly, the subjects of study might not realize they are being studied because of the researcher's unobtrusiveness. Sitting at a bus stop to observe jaywalking behaviour at a nearby intersection would be an example.

We have just outlined the typologies of participant observation. However, for the fact that the researcher is not a full member of Nrobo, it seems advisable ethnographically to choose the role of participant-as-observer for this study. Conversations with varying degrees of formality, from the daily chitchat that helps maintain rapport and provides knowledge about what is going on to prolonged interviews is used in the process of data collection.

3.8 Administration of the Instruments

This section looks at the administration of the instruments of data collection. To achieve this aim, this section is divided into three subsections namely: residence, participant observation, and Focus Group Discussion (FGD).

3.8.1 Residence

Ethnographers attempting a holistic study in an unfamiliar cultural setting spend 12 months or more. This enables them to gain acceptance into an unfamiliar group, study the language of the group and the seasonal activities of the group. However, pre-study visits to Nrobo showed that the group speaks Igbo with its dialectical variant. That implied mutual intelligibility between Nrobo dialect and mine. The researcher spent 12 months among the Nrobo despite mutual intelligibility. That time was enough, for extensive investigation into the subject under study.

3.8.1.1 Challenges of Taking up Residence

My first trip to Nrobo was quite challenging. I got the phone number of the person that would put me through some hitches when I arrive, from Awka. Nevertheless, prior to my trip, the contact failed. I became hopeless. I had called, on several occasions, the person who gave me the phone number but I could not get through either. Nevertheless, the trip was very important, so I proceeded.

At Barracks Junction, Nsukka, where I was to take off, was a 504 Peugeot wagon with only one person inside. That was 10.30 am already. There I stood hopeless and dejected. My hopelessness was because of the high price of ọ*kada* (commercial cyclist) fare, which was the only alternative transportation. Although there was no doubt that, the alternative became unequalled, as no other means could have been easier.

The fare negotiation for the *ọkada* was over. However, which village was I going to was a question from the bike man that struck my mind as my contact had failed already. Ọkpala was the only village name I knew, which I also mentioned to him, but I asked him which part of the place he knew well? To my surprise, he was a native of Ọwa Ọda, which was one of the villages that make up Nrobo that I was to investigate.

Then I asked him of the centre of Nrobo and he told me it was the Orie market square. We took off. Nevertheless, five minutes later, I found that the motorcyclist became suspicious of my trip. Because it was then clear that the cyclist would be useful, I opened up on my research interests, and how my contact, had failed me. After asking me some questions, he became a little bit open as the journey progressed.

Thirty-five minutes later, we arrived at Nrobo. While on the way, he was unable to respond to some of my remarks. He asked if I was leaving the village that same day. I affirmed. However, told him I would live in the village and that I would be happy if he would help me find a room apartment.

He took me round some villages. Moreover, when his suspicions were gradually reducing, he told me that he would find a room apartment for me but I was going to pass through some security tests, which included knowing me up to the place I came from and my purpose of coming to stay in the community. At last, he revealed himself as the secretary to the community security group – neighborhood watch.

My quest to be guided without bias of purposive selection of the village that I would stay led me to make use of simple random sampling to select a village. That choice of randomization came because I was informed of the cultural homogeneity of the community. The nine villages that made up Nrobo were given the equal chance of being selected and at last,

Ụmụịya was selected. Ụmụịya coincidentally became the village where the Orie market square situated.

I called the motorcyclist, who later became my research assistant to find how he could get a house for me at Ụmụịya. He responded on the positive and began to arrange for an apartment. He informed me of the prices of the apartments he had found and advised me to settle for the one at the price of ₦1000 per month because that one was good enough to protect me from impending winter cold.

I did not object to that. Therefore, I asked him of his bank account number to enable me send money for him to acquire the apartment. He did send and I paid in amount of money that covers 12 months' rent and his running cost. However, I became upset when in the beginning of June 2015 I could not reach him. I tried the much I could but to no avail. I decided to share that experience with my supervisor whose advice opened my eyes to many side of participant observation endeavour that demands careful approaches.

I finally decided to go and find how I could get another apartment. However, when I arrived at Nrobo, I saw him at the Orie market. I explained to him how I tried to get through him via cell phone, but he apologized, narrating how he lost his phone. He took me to the apartment he had rented. From there we went to the Igwe to inform him of my mission and to get permission from him. Luckily, we saw one of his wives who directed us to where we could find him. When we got there, we were told that he had gone home. We got to his home and waited patiently. After some times, he came in, and we exchanged greetings. When he settled, he called us in. My research assistant began the introduction and after the introduction, I brought out a bottle of wine that I had bought for this purpose and handed to my research assistant, who also handed it over to the Igwe. The Igwe acknowledged the receipt of the bottle of wine and assured me of my security throughout my stay. He also told me that I am now one

of them and assured me of his support any time. However, he admonished my research assistant to take me to the neighbourhood watch, to inform them. We affirmed and after some discussion, we left the palace.

We could not get to the chairperson of the neighbourhood until after four days. We also offered a bottle of wine that my research assistant had advised earlier on that I bought. The chairperson accepted the drink on behalf of the neighbourhood watch and assured me of fruitful stay.

I finally took up residence for my pilot study on June 20, 2015. However, I settled down fully on September 5, 2015. At the residence, the challenge of facilities became apparent; the most of it was the toilet facility. I approached the owner of the house on that basis but she told me that they normally defecate in the bush, as it was a normal practice. What next? I thought about many things but I could not help myself. However, I had to adjust myself to the reality on ground.

3.8.2 Participant Observation

The researcher used participant observation as the main instrument of data collection in this study. Because of ethical and scientific considerations, the researcher used participant-as-observer variant of participant observation in this study.

Various participant observation strategies, including conversation with varying degrees of formality, from the daily chitchat, which helps maintain rapport and provides knowledge about what is going on, to prolonged interviews, that were unstructured were used. Also, Ember *et al* (2007) state that the essential part of the participant-observation process is finding some knowledgeable persons that are willing to work with the ethnographer, to help interpret what the ethnographer observes and tell him/her about aspects of the culture that he/she may not

have chance to see or may not be entitled to see. These type of people are known as cultural consultants/informants. Fortunately, formal methods have been developed to help select the most knowledgeable informants. One of such methods is called 'cultural consensus model', which relies on the principle that those things that most informants agree on are probably cultural.

My fieldwork among the Nrobo began with a pilot study that began in June 2015. That period offered a very big opportunity because I was less busy with my duties at Paul University, as the second semester examinations have been concluded. Therefore, I took the opportunity to begin a preliminary study among the Nrobo. This lasted for two months, that is, from June 20th, 2015 to August 22nd 2015. However, I fully settled in the Community on September 5, 2015.

Because I was not given the full permission to leave my duties at Paul University Awka, my fieldwork was planned in a way that enabled me to leave for the field every Wednesday and return every Monday morning to continue with my duties. My fieldwork ended August 25, 2016.

During my fieldwork, I tried very hard to be abreast with all the events of interest to the research. For proper assistance, I decided to pick a research assistant from the community. The research assistant was the commercial motorcyclist. He was proper for the task because he had finished his OND program at the Institute of Management and Technology (IMT) Enugu. Therefore, with that level of education and proper guidance on what I needed, he was very enterprising.

Also with the help of my research assistant, cultural consultants knowledgeable in the area of data I was collecting, were selected. He introduced me to two elderly women and two elderly men. Then, I used cultural consensus model to select two, a man and woman, from the

four. The male consultant is 86 years old while the female consultant is 81 years old. I did that to ensure that the informants were gender-balanced.

Both my consultants and research assistant exhibited a high sense of commitment. I found them interesting and they were and still are the kind of people every one would want to work with. They were really sources of encouragement.

3.8.2.1 Challenges of Participant Observation

Once in the field, in the confusion of new sights and sounds, I clung to my notebook, which I had developed in it, series of questions. It represented order and system; collation and comparison. The notebook defined my progress; it rationalized and legitimized my presence, mixing up with the Nrobo. The notebook kept reminding me of my own values; my own logical categories and why I was there.

However, the facts I was trying to collect by asking questions tended to slide away. It had seemed an easy matter of question and answer, but the answer never came simply and directly, and sometimes never came at all, even after a long discussion of the topic. Lengthy digressions were the rule, and after my initial frustrations wore off, I began to see that the important information lay in those very digressions, and not the answers I was seeking. Important, I mean, in that, my overall purpose was to comprehend the people in their own terms and not in terms of how they answered my questions, or of how they fitted into any ready-made logical categories.

In like manner, I found on the spot questioning very helpful as the past always revealed itself from such. For example, when my research assistant informed me that his uncle's wife gave birth, I decided to go with him to see them. After introductions, a woman there ridiculously asked him if he had given me pounded yam meal. However, he told her that since

I came, I had not eaten anything from his house. Then the woman instructed that he served me *okiri,* millet meal, and they all laughed. I decided to ask why they all laughed. The answer could not come but I asked my research assistant on our way back. He explained that it was a taboo to feed on millet because the first woman that made pot in Nrobo, Ugwunye Awoke, promised to make the biggest pot for the queen of the deity (Ohe) if she freed her from cooking millet and indeed her predicaments. She was freed and from that day until now, it is taboo to eat millet. Although my research assistant could not explain that because of his Christian faith disposition, it gave me the opportunity to include that to the themes of my investigation.

Also, the advice that better explanation is got at time of event occurrence was very helpful. For example, as I was resting one day around midday, I heard voices suggestive of wailing. At first, I lacked interest but my interest began when the shouting increased and I remembered the advice of Malinowski (1922), and indeed Okpoko and Ezeh (2011) that better explanation is always got at the time of event occurrence. I left my room immediately to know what was happening. Coincidentally I saw an old woman who was also going to the same place. Reaching there, we found something contrary that annoyed the woman. The woman was angry, not with me but the scenario that prompted the wailing.

A group of women who are married into one of the clans of Ụmụiya are preparing for *ishue ukpo*, an event that translate more or less of a feast of uniform clothing. They have bought the cloths – Hollandais wrapper. However, the present excitement is on the arrival of a cow to commemorate the ceremony. In short, it was the joy of the cow, which they contributed money to buy that culminated into what sounded like wailing.

The woman narrated to me how she had killed a cow ten years ago when she was taking a title and how she had bought several types of Hollandais wrappers years ago when they were still of good qualities, and that many of them were still in her box. As she was talking about

the title, *iyi eriri lọlọ*, she pointed at a string tied above her ankles that I noted. She gave instances of many individuals who had been killing cows for the clan on yearly bases and wondered why a group of women who contributed money to buy a cow would be making such wailing as if someone died. While the old woman was still narrating to me, a younger woman who probably, by her actions was one of them ridiculed the old woman for not being happy with them, that it was not easy to buy a cow. The point in all that was that it led me into the investigation of titles taken by both the men and the women, and how their economic opportunities have reflected such.

Another example was a scene that played out between a mad man and me. Around 3.00 pm that day, I proceeded to the Orie market where a man approached me aggressively and hit my chest with his hands for several times, with all seriousness. When I looked around, I sensed danger as everybody was in rather alert mode and immediately he left me and pursued a commercial motorcyclist with his passenger that was a woman. When he could not catch-up with the cyclist, he rushed another cyclist whose passenger was alighting. When he got to them, he hit the cyclist with the same force with which he hit my chest, but left the passenger.

I asked to know what was wrong with him and was told that, *'Ọ na-akwụ ịgirị,'* what rather could be translated, 'running mad'. When I tried to know why he was in that situation, a man told me that he caused what was happening to him. The man recounted that he (the mad man) impregnated a woman and sent her away. The woman as I understood had been staying with him for a long time without her bride price paid. He (the mad man) sent her away, married another one, and incurred the wrath of the land. That also facilitated more investigation of what the community treated as taboos.

Malinowski's (1922) advice on fieldwork included the famous pleas to learn the indigenous language. Such advice would have been inappropriate for my fieldwork. Granted,

Nrobo is in a different local government area from mine, we share the same Igbo language, apart from the dialectical variations. Unlike anthropologists abroad, fieldwork at home is not a matter of memorizing a new vocabulary; only slowly did I realize that I had to learn another Igbo vocabulary different from my own variant.

We are always reassuring ourselves (Ember, Ember & Peregrine, 2007; Schultz, Lavend & Dods, 2009) that anthropology highlights the contrast between cultures. These contrasts are rarely experienced within the same space and time as they are during fieldwork at the same ethnic group. Long-term fieldwork in my own ethnic group made explicit contrast with my customary life. The anthropologist abroad has a different relationship with society within which the group studied is embedded. He or she is usually a stranger to all contexts. By contrast, in my case, I was moving from a specific experience defined by out-group, into an in-group about whom I knew almost nothing, beyond the name.

Anthropologists abroad both today and in the past have had to work under the shadow of officials and their policies towards subordinate groups. My case was not the same. Anthropologists also have to negotiate for permits and visas. Similarly, I depended on some official consents before I took up residence. Moreover, that consent saved me. The episode below describes my experience. In addition, if I had no consent from the Igwe, who knows what could have been my fate.

3.8.2.2 The Market Square

What rather started like a joke became serious. It was around 1.30 pm when I proceeded to the Orie market. The Orie market is not only a market for buying and selling but also a theatre of social activities. At the market, I sat at the shade where palm milk sellers normally do their selling although they do this in the morning.

While at the shade, a masquerade saw me and proceeded in a rather aggressive manner as if it were to flog me. I did not make any move to leave there until the masquerade arrived. That was because I had been told the masquerade would not harm me in any case. It came, greeted me, and requested that I gave something. I pleaded not having anything but it insisted. I got ₦20 from my pocket and it collected, thanked me, and left.

The masquerade began to block and request money from motorcyclists returning from Eke Abbi. Then a man came into the place I was sitting and sat close to me. He showed disapproval to what the masquerades were doing, called one of them, and advised it to always leave people who could not give money. When the masquerade left, he turned to me and said, 'Nrobo never asked the masquerade to block or beat anybody' (translated).

Soon a woman came and asked the man if I was a youth corper but he denied knowing me either. The woman turned to me and asked and I denied being a youth corper. Then she asked again, 'Are you not the person asking for the stream two days ago?' I could not answer the question because I had lost track of when I asked her about stream. She started asking me why I was there and who I was staying with.

One after the other, three men joined and series of cross-examination began. I was not upset but was thinking a clever way out of what seemed to me an embarrassment. The woman narrated to them how I asked a lady named Regina, where the stream was located and her inability to direct me. Then it happened that I left through the route she came back from, and Regina was asking if she saw me. That was when I remembered that incident and I agreed I was the one.

I told them that I was a university student sent to the community for research. They asked what kind of research and I explained to them. They asked who brought me in the community and where I was staying and I answered duly.

Another man came in, asked one of them something, and advanced but they called him back and asked why he left when he saw them ask a stranger question. The man turned to me, asked who I was and I told him. When I saw more questions coming, I informed them that the Igwe knew my mission because I had visited him. They asked me when, and I told them. They asked if I had met the chairman of neighbourhood watch but I told them that I have not. They informed me that they were the members of the neighbourhood watch, and that I should make them know me. I told them that I had it in mind. They accepted and one of them told me that people like me brought good or bad to the community, but they were watching. The woman later empathized with me and told one of them that that were how the university students suffer but at the end of the day no work. They left one after the other.

I remember reading some publications that cautioned that the anthropologist's very presence in the field could itself change the ambiance and alter the very reality one seeks. Actually, apart from my initial periods of despondency, my experience, living among the Nrobo did not validate such an admonition. Very quickly, I found myself swept up in the daily village life. Despite my close identification with, and commitment to the Nrobo, I did not feel I had lost the detachment necessary for objective scholarship. Identification had led to empathy and sympathetic understanding; but hopefully, intellectual distance had largely been preserved. The greatest challenge had been to maintain my psychological equilibrium as a new identity, merging the newly acquired rural and the more familiar urban elements of my persona, had been shaped and formed.

3.8.3 Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

Focus Group Discussion (FGD), was used as a supplement to evaluate the data collected during the study. Okpoko and Ezeh (2011) state that there was no agreed number of participants or FGD sessions but all depended on the funding and research objectives.

Following that, the researcher conducted three group sessions of six participants each. The inclusion criteria for the participants is based on age and gender, as well as consistency of the participant in the community. The participants fell within the age ranges of 70 and 82 years, but were enlisted through personal contact following the criteria afore mention. First group was made up of three men and three women. The second group was made up of six men and the third group, six women. That choice was made because of funding and staffing. Besides, there was an FGD guide, structured in themes. However, open-ended questions were used to solicit information from the study participants during the sessions.

3.8.3.1 Challenges of Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

Conducting Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was a big challenge on its own. The first day of the conduct of the Focus Group Discussion was a flop because the participants never turned up except me, and my research assistant, the research assistant. The arranged day was on Sunday, and the scheduled time was 3.00 pm. We waited at the Owa Oda venue but at a stage, my research assistant suggested that we check them house to house to know why they had not appeared even when we took time to remind them previous day, and as such, all agreed that Sunday was a better day. At last, we could only get one of them who told us that she was not feeling fine. I sympathized with her and I pledged for another opportunity. When we got back to the venue, the father of my research assistant, who was supposed to be a participant was there, and of course, the venue was right behind his house. He asked me how I thought that the plan would work when I had not specified to them what they stood to get for offering their time. I explained to him how it was not proper to promise them of anything, as that would influence them. However, he insisted that if I wanted what I was doing to be a success, there was the need to make provisions for time compensation even in the form of refreshment. When

it became obvious that the success of the FGD was dependent on the compensation, I agreed with him to make provisions for drinks after the FGD session.

Surprisingly, he asked me whom I had invited, and I told him. He told me that he could not get to them then but promised to assemble them next Saturday, by 4:00 pm and that if I wanted he would assemble other two sessions on Sunday between 12:00 and 4:00 pm. That seemed a perfect arrangement to me and I really appreciated his kindness.

I came back to Awka on Monday morning to make other arrangements that would permit my absence from my work. On Wednesday, I went back to start the preparation. I met the man and he assured me he would not fail.

On Saturday, around 3:30 I was there with my research assistant fully prepared for the session. At last all came one after the other and we started by 4:15 pm. When the session was going on, I found out the women were not vocal. They were not as free as the men in responding to the questions. I later, contacted one of the women who told me that I should have arranged it separately. I related that to the father of my research assistant who told me that it was normal but could not explain why. However, he assured me the Sunday sessions would be arranged separately. We finished with refreshments and I thanked them for their time, and they pledged their support any time.

On Sunday, we got ready by 11:40 am. First session started by 12:08pm, and the second session, started by 3:15pm. We had the men first and the women after, although women turned up later according to the arrangement. All went successful at last. In addition, refreshment followed each session.

3.8.4 General Observations

Participant observation is interesting except for the many challenges that one encounters in the field, especially when one has to allocate time for different tasks at different places. For example, meeting up the demands of my work and doing this research was one of the biggest challenges that I have had. The other that is really the most is finance.

3.9 Methods of Data Analysis

The method of data analysis for this study is narrative and descriptive. This means that the researcher narrates and describes field experiences, explaining such with appropriate theoretical models, or generating new models as data demands. Besides, the reporting style allows for ethnographic presence. Photographs are used to enhance clarity and understanding of the text where and when necessary.

The analysis of participant observation together with unstructured in-depth interviews and key informant interviews began during the process of data collection. The researcher coded and grouped the data got after each fieldwork to prepare for further field activities. The data analysis followed the following steps. The first stage involved creating files and placing excerpts from the field notes into separate data files, and transcribing and translating interviews, ranging from daily chitchats to prolonged ones. These were later coded to develop social categories that reflect the characteristic features of gender and economic relations. At the second stage, the coded information was extracted and collated to ensure their proper understanding. The third stage involved the processing of collated information to align with the themes derived from the specific objectives of the study. The final stage was writing up the processed data.

In order to examine the validity and reliability of the research findings and of the researcher's interpretation of them, the researcher consulted always, those individuals who participated in the study. The cultural consultants also acted as judges, evaluating the major findings of this study. Furthermore, focus group discussion (FGD) sessions were conducted at the end of data collection to examine the validity and reliability of the data collected from other instruments.

The following procedures were followed for the analysis of the data got through focus group discussion (FGD). First, was the transcription and translation of the tapes for each group session. Second, listening to the tapes with the transcriptions in front to address the connotations of some comments. Third, giving codes to the transcriptions based on similarity and differences. Fourth, organizing the reports under themes derived from the study specific objectives. Fifth, comparing and contrasting one group session to another in terms of gender category, and finally aligning the result with that got from other instruments.

The reporting of this study is conducted in a way that allowed weaving of the data got from all the instruments into the narrative. However, where a detailed quotation is done, the source is always disclosed.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

This section presents the analysed data collected during the fieldwork. The reporting method for this type of inquiry is usually narrative and descriptive with a combination of emic, and thereafter, etic interpretation (Okpoko & Ezeh, 2011). This means that the researcher narrates and describes his or her experiences, explaining such with appropriate theoretical models, or generating new models as data demands. The researcher uses narrative and descriptive method of field report. To do this, the analysis follows themes derived from the specific objective.

4.1 Ethnography of the Nrobo

Nrobo is a patrilineal society, whose sub-communities trace their origin from diverse places. Some of the sub-communities lay claim of origin from Igala, yet others lay claim to have originated from other Igbo groups but only the Ugo regards themselves as the true inhabitant of the area.

Figure 4.1: Traditional Nrobo residence. Adopted from Floyd, B. (1969) *Eastern Nigeria: a geological review*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger Inc.

Figure 4.2: Modern Nrobo residence. Source: fieldwork, 2015.

Ancestral mediated veneration in relation to the divinity is by rule a religious practice here. Although most of the inhabitants claim to be Christians, they do not dispute the spiritual potency of Ohe deity. In short, Ohe, which derives from *òhē*, contagious, metaphorically represent disease, and is contagious indeed to anybody who defaults its laws according to the Nrobo. In most cases, the present of moulded pot at the compound of a defaulting person is a symbol of Ohe. Moreover, the person must go for reconciliation by conciliating it because the person has contacted a disease. Although there are other deities, Ohe serves as important agent of moral and social control.

Figure 4.3: Masked spirit of Nrobo. Source: fieldwork, 2015.

Figure 4.4: The Researcher with masked spirits of the Nrobo. Source: fieldwork, 2015.

Pre-contact marriage institution favoured polygyny, which was fostered equally by men and women; in some respects, the latter are the chief supporters of the system. Patrilocality is a residence rule and the Nrobo political structure is uncentralized

4.2 Subsistence Strategies of the Nrobo

Nrobo economy is based on subsistence agriculture combine with peasant trading. A network of local markets meeting on successive days of the week exists in and within walking distance of Nrobo. The network is part of the larger system of local markets spreading across Nsụkka culture area and other parts of Ụzọ-Ụwaniị, which are related to Nrobo by traditional bonds of affinity, friendship, and modern ties of trade.

The agricultural staples are root crops, the most important of which is *ji,* (yam), *Dioscorea rotundata* and *Dioscorea alata; ogodo*, (cassava) *Manihot esculenta;* and *nkasị* (cocoyams) *Colocasia esculenta* are secondary crops, which are heavily relied on during the season when yams are not available. In addition, there is the cultivation of *ọkpa,* (bambara groundnuts) *Vigna subterranean, ọkpapẹ,* (peanuts) *Arachis hypogaea* and *anyara,* (garden eggs) *Solanum aethiopicum.* Fishing and hunting are also part of the traditional economic activities of the Nrobo. Goat rearing and small scale poultry are not excluded from the economic activities of the Nrobo. Crafts in basket making, mask making, mortar making, blacksmithing, and clay pot moulding are also part of the indigenous subsistence activities of the Nrobo that are still in practice. Furthermore, palm-wine production and palm-oil production are also part of the traditional economic activities as are traditional birth attendants, medicine men and women, and diviners.

4.3 Gendered Patterns of Economic Relations of the Nrobo

Farming is the prestige occupation for both men and women. In agricultural production, men grow *ji* (yams) in varying species, prevalent of which are *Dioscorea rotundata* and *Dioscorea alata*, and *ọkpa, Vigna subterranean* (earthpea). Yam is seen as a prestige crop among the Nrobo. Yams are associated with various supernatural sanctions; they are symbols of human fertility, and they represent wealth in ceremonial activities. Nrobo women grow *ogodo* (manioc), but *nkasị, Colocasia esculenta* (cocoyams, taro), *azịzị, Zea mays* (maize) are grown by both men and women, and "small crops": gourds, groundnuts, squash, beans, and various leaf crops, are grown by women. However, livestock farming is not a gendered work.

Farming has been identified as one of the predominant economic activities among Nrobo women. The four days of the Igbo week alternate between farm and market days, and almost all women both farm and buy and sell in the market. There is a considerable range of variation in both the scale of farming and the extent of market trade. Both depend on the amount of farm land available to a woman and on individual factors such as physical strength, skill in farming and trade, personal ambition, and childbirth. Her rights to the use of farm land are obtained through her husband, since her crops, with the exception of cassava, are grown on the edges of, and between the mounds, in which her husband's yams are planted. Cassava is either planted in yam heaps after the yams are harvested or grown in separate plots devoted to that crop alone. The amount of farm land a woman may use during a given season is largely a function of her husband's standing in relation to landholding groups with which he is associated and his personal initiative in dealing with them. A woman may farm more land than has been assigned to her by her husband if she can afford to rent it. Some husbands rent land for their wives' cassava crops, but they are not under obligation to do so.

Fishing and hunting are important source of income among few men of the villages. There are categories of hunters ranging from those who use local guns to those who use *ọkpaa*, a wooden stick with pointed sharp iron on one end of the stick, and ordinary stick. Hunting is done in groups and they go as long as the boundary between Enugu State and Kogi State. The hunted animals either are used for family feeding or are sold to women who cut in sizes and cook them for resale. It is ironical to say that, hunters sell to the women and still buy same from them.

In the case of fishing, the Nrobo has no river of its own. However, the men also go as long as Abbi to fish in the river marking the boundary between Enugu State and Kogi State. This River, Ẹshị Avụrụgẹ, belongs to Kogi State. However, fishing is always done in the rainy season when the water level is high.

Figure 4.5: Some cane rats hunted by Nrobo men. Source: fieldwork, 2015.

The palm-products processing is of minor importance, in contrast to many Igbo communities to the south and west. Men tapped palm-wine, while women processed palm-oil. However, those women whose husbands are in the position of *onyịshị ụmụnna* (clan heads), are always advantaged in palm oil processing since all the palm trees under the husband's control are taken care of by the wife. In the words of a widow, whose husband had been clan head before his death:

> *Mbẹ dị m anwụnẹgụ, nya nẹ-eri anyị. Ụkwụ ekwụ dụ nẹ anyị nwọnyi nile bụ nụ m nẹ-egbo. Nẹ nya bụnụ mbẹ mmanụ nri m nẹ-ẹvuje ashụa nẹ olie anyị ji eshi nri shịị. Mẹ kẹ di m nwụhụrụn n'ọga bụ nụ onye ọzọ.* [When my husband was alive, he was the head of the clan and was in charge of the clan land. I was in control of all the palm trees on the land. All the palm oil I take to the market and the one we use for cooking come from it. However, since my husband died all have changed. Another person has taken over]. Source: in-depth interview with a 78 yrs. woman at Umudesue, February 2016.

In addition, women pick and process *ụkpaa, Irvingia gabonensis*, popularly known as *ọgbọnọ* among the Igbo. Some married women who are not from Nrobo refer to this as *ibe ohoyi*.

Both men and women conduct local trade in markets in or near Nrobo. Men sell yams, meat, and various kinds of diffused goods; women sell their surplus farm crops, clay pots of their own manufacture, fresh and dried fish, poultry and eggs, salt, rice, cooked foods, and sometimes other goods such as kerosene or soap. Long distance trade in fish, and yams from the Nrobo area and other cities of eastern Nigeria is the exclusive province of men. Nrobo women are discouraged from engaging in this trade, except in pots, and the few who have attempted it have stopped after a short time. This seems to be associated with women lack of wealth for trading capital, the restrictions placed on their mobility by their household economic responsibilities, and controls exerted over them by the men of Nrobo.

Since it is not customary for a man to give his wife money with which to start trade, savings from the sale of agricultural surplus and perhaps from clay pots help some women to acquire sufficient trading capital to buy goods at wholesale that are resold in retails. traditionally, it is generally only the older women, largely freed from the duties of childbearing and child caring that are able to trade outside the Nrobo. Nevertheless, trade is of great importance in the eyes of Nrobo women. Not only does it represent a means of acquiring economic independence and possibly wealth, both of which are highly valued by the Nrobo but also because a market day is a welcome break from the toll and monotony of farming and household tasks.

Figure 4.6. Moulded clay pots being assembled at Orie for long-distance trade. Source: fieldwork, 2015.

Figures 4:7. Preparation for long-distance trade in processed cassava and other items. Source: fieldwork 2015.

Traditionally, many Nrobo women do not see themselves as full-time traders, able and ambitious women may increase their market profits by taking advantage of price differentials within the local market network. One central market known as *Orie*, which is operated every four days, serves all the Nrobo villages, while several people sell within the comfort of their

house all the other days of the week. In addition, there are numbers of central markets within neighboring communities and other smaller markets within a radius of ten or fifteen miles of Nrobo. In certain of the outlying ones, products such as yams, cassava, and clay pots cost more than in Nrobo, where prices tend to be slightly lower. In addition, this gives the Nrobo women the advantage of making profit.

Certain products, either grown on farms or purchased in a market, are processed for sale by Nrobo women. These include prepared foods, the most important of which are *garị* or *arịbọ* (cassava meal), *ọkpapẹ* (peanuts) grown or bought in bulk and roasted, rice bought wholesale in an area where it is plentiful and then sold locally, and tobacco bought in "ropes" and ground into snuff. In both these types of trade, the profit is obtained at the expense of considerable exertion: carrying loads long distances, processing the materials to be sold, or both.

Another method of making profit from market sales is the purchase of goods in quantity for resale in small amounts. *Akpọkọ,* (chili peppers) *Capsicum annuum, egushi,* (calabash seeds) *Lagenaria siceraria, ịshẹ* (dried crayfish) and *ịyịrịyị azụ* (small pieces of dried fish used in soup), are bought in large quantity, and resold by the English cigarette tin full—a fairly standard measure for Nigerian markets—or by the measure of the lid of the cigarette tin, as in the case of *ịyịrịyị azụ*. Such trade requires a greater initial outlay and is thus closed to women who do not have the resources to buy goods in quantity. Some women may be helped to undertake this type of trade by a husband or a male relative who is a professional trader, or several women may pool their resources to buy a sack of crayfish or iced fish.

As in the case of farming, the factors of physical strength and personal ambition are important to a female trader's success. Since the only practical means of travel between Nrobo and most of the neighboring markets is by foot and since goods are transported in head loads,

both these qualities are necessary to success. Though most Nrobo are accustomed to walking distances up to fifteen miles or more in a day, they live in hilly country, and some of the terrain is rugged, particularly that between Nrobo and Edem, Abbị or Ịbagwa Nkwọ, which seem to offer some of the better trading opportunities. Though opportunities for the acquisition of wealth are available, there is no short cut to success.

Success or failure of market trade may depend on other factors. One is the trader's choice of commodity and the markets at which she will buy and sell. Though the prevailing prices of the different goods in the various markets within walking distance of Nrobo are well known, an alert trader may take advantage of seasonal variations. For example, during the dry season when oranges are scarce, they sell for higher prices at surrounding markets, while at Nrobo they sell at lower prices. Another factor is the effectiveness of a trader's salesmanship and of her interpersonal relations in general. Since many people may be selling the same commodity in the same market at the same time and at the same price, personal ties such as friendship and membership in the same kinship, residence, or association group may also be important in a buyer's choice of which seller to patronize.

The Nrobo do not seem to have any other well-developed system of holding food products against period of scarcity except the clay pots and the barns. There is little doubt that women traders understand the advantages of such a practice, but they emphasize quick turnover of commodities bought and sold.

However, a number of Nrobo women sell cassava meal, clay pot, etc. at Nkwọ Ịbagwa, Eke Abbị, and Ahọ Edem, where the market for it is better than in Nrobo during the famine period. Nkwọ Ịbagwa, is a market situated at Ịbagwa-Aka community, in Igbo-Eze South Local Government Area and Ahọ Edem is a market in Edem community, in Nsukka Local Government Area, while Eke Abbị is a market in Abbị community in Ụzọ-Ụwanị Local

Government Area, all in Enugu state. All of these markets hold according to the Igbo market name given after them. For example, Nkwọ Ịbagwa, holds on *nkwọ* day, and so on. These markets are important because they are more open to contact than Orie Nrobo. One woman maintained that she went to Eke Abbị each market day during this period because she was 'hard up and must earn food money then' - '*m nwọnyị nẹ-eje n eke Abbị ashụa n'ile maka mkpa ego nẹ nri.'* [I go to Eke Abbi every market day because the need for money and food]. Though this may seem uneconomic, there are several reasons for it. First, the season at which the highest prices are obtainable for staple foods is also the season of greatest farming activity. Since frequent weeding of crops is necessary, and a woman must cultivate her own crops and also weed her husband's yams, the burden of heavy farm work, plus the necessity of walking as much as six or seven miles each way between village and farm, precludes active participation in market trade. Second, the rains make the road path between Nrobo and other neighbouring communities very difficult during this time.

Clay pot making is a third major economic activity of Nrobo women. Although the women are seen to be specialists in clay pot making, the clay used in making the pots is dug out by the men. The clay is bought in bags with the prices ranging from ₦200 to ₦500 per bag.

Figures 4.8: The researcher with clay-digger and women who are buying clay at Umuoyo Hill. Source: fieldwork 2015, photograph taken with the permission from the participants.

Before now, Nrobo women do not learn to make clay pots until after they marry, but thereafter the majority spend much time making pots during the dry season, when farming duties are relatively light. Motivation is almost wholly economic. One elderly woman, when asked why she made clay pots, replied, “So I will not die of hunger.” Another explained, “Hunger forces me to do so.” However, some younger women do not make clay pots, giving various reasons for this: having lived away from Nrobo during the time when they would ordinarily have learned to make them, failure in their attempts to learn pottery techniques, or the feeling that they can earn more from other activities.

Aside from the few clay pots that they keep for household use, women usually sell their best clay pots wholesale to long-distance traders. Some women sell their clay pots as soon as they are made, while others save some as a reserve fund for emergencies.

Figures 4.9: The researcher with a clay pot moulder: photo by my research assistant with the permission from the woman. Source: fieldwork 2015.

Division of labour is chiefly by gender. Responsibility for the support of the household is divided between husband and wife. It is expected that women have the responsibility of child bearing and rearing. It is common to hear women and men say, '*nwonyenye a nụgụ ejezị azụ* [woman does not go far],' *'hẹ nẹ ehe ụmụ ntịrị* [they take care of children].*'* The husband is supposed to provide sufficient yams for the needs of his wife and children during the period

when yams are plentiful, from September through January or February, and to give her meat or fish at the time of festivals. The wife is supposed to provide the staple root crops from approximately February to September and salt, palm oil, peppers, and other vegetable crops throughout the year. Within the polygynous family, the division of labour is according to the component elementary families; economic co-operation between wives of the same husband is minimal. Not only do husband and wife farm their crops separately, but also each owns the crops he/she produces. The wife's right to keep the profits from her own production and trade over and above her contribution to the maintenance of the household is of basic importance to the economic status of women generally. Though the Nrobo say that a husband may demand that his wife give him her market profits, this seldom occurs.

The economic activities of the few women who have been to school or have lived in the larger cities of Nigeria, while their husbands were employed there, tend to follow acculturated pattern more closely than those of Nrobo tradition. Since there is very strong resistance to the idea of schooling for girls in Nrobo until the early 1950s, most of these women are the daughters of men who worked in Nigerian cities. Though they speak of themselves as Nrobo, only four of the women interviewed have lived a substantial part of their lives there, and some have been there only on visits.

There is a little communication between the educated and uneducated women of Nrobo. Not only is there little similarity in their economic orientation, but the former are 'strangers' as far as social life and the religious system are concerned. Aside from the obvious fact that most women who have been to school lack training for intensive farming and clay pot making, the factors of prestige and practicality are operative in their economic activities. They reject clay pot making as being both wasteful of effort and socially inappropriate. These women are also

set off from most other Nrobo women by their acculturated style of life at home. There is little understanding or empathy between schooled and unschooled women in Nrobo.

Of the educated, married Nrobo women interviewed, all had Nrobo husbands with a similar education. Nrobo men who are educated have overwhelming preference for educated wives, who match up to their standard in every aspect, for the avoidance of embarrassment.

Blacksmithing, mortar making and masks making are exclusive craft for men. Blacksmithing and mortar making are hard jobs that demand more physical strength for success. As a result, few men are in these crafts. For instance, throughout my stay in the community I was able to interact with only one blacksmith, and one mortar maker. Apart from physical strength, both craft works require creative ability for success.

Mask making is also another exclusive craft for the men. This might be because the men controlled the supernatural sphere and masked spirits are said to be agents of the supernatural. Even though, I was not able to witness any person performing this craft, I was told that it is a seasonal craft.

Nrobo women also embark on dressmaking and mending of clothes by machine, and midwifery. Since a woman becomes a traditional birth attendant and herbalist, (medicine), only through a complex process of supernatural revelation, few women are thus employed. This occupation is more rewarding in prestige than in financial remuneration.

Medicine men (herbalists) are more pronounced in their pursuit of reward than women are. Like the women, the men also become herbalists and diviners through a complex process of spiritual revelation. Although some men may like to learn this practice, many of them have been unsuccessful.

Basket making is said to be a craft which everyone can venture in, irrespective of gendered categories. However, my stay in the community confirmed only few males, some of them very young, that are in this craft. As in the case of other crafts, creative ability is also very necessary for a person's success.

4.4 Gendered Gaps in Economic Relations of the Nrobo

Separation of the sexes, seems to be especially strict among the Nrobo where relations between men and women are characterized by strong male domination ideologically. In the words of many Nrobo women, '*Kẹ nwonyeke ahalẹ nẹ nya tụarụ nwonyenye* [male child is rated above female child]*.'* The ideal of the superiority of men over women is backed by control men have over land and the supernatural. This is explicit in the words of many Nrobo women, '*Hẹ lẹ eri anyị,* [men are in control of land].' *'Mẹ hẹ bụ nụ whụ oshekere ohe,' 'Nwonyenye a nụ nịgị abụ atama maa* [men are in control of the deities/spiritual].' Though Nrobo women, now have greater physical mobility and economic independence than they had in the days before acculturation, they are still more limited in these respects by restrictions imposed by childbearing and childrearing and other household chores. As they would always say, '*onye ji-ehenụ gụ ụmụntịrị*?' This translates literarily as 'who would look after the children for you?' '*Ị jeche gude wụha onye rụgụ dẹ ọrụ ụnọ?'* This translates as who would do the housework when you are not at home. However, men react differently. They believe that women have many sources of income.

Data from the focus group (FGDs) discussions validate the ideological subordination of women by men as majority of the male and female participants reacted positively to it in varying responses. However, all the male group members affirmed that women have many sources of income. Also, a majority of the female participants, felt that they are limited in a number of ways by their household duties than their male counterpart.

According to the Nrobo, before acculturation, women were in some measure, in a position of physical and economic dependence on their husbands. They could not go to farm alone. Women go to market in groups, for slave raiding and warfare between village groups made travel outside a person's own village perilous in the extreme, whereas men were not limited in this aspects.

Yam farming which is seen as a measure of wealth and prestige is the exclusive province of men. Women are deprived of this prestige marker, which are associated with various supernatural sanctions. Yam is seen as the symbol of human fertility and it represents wealth in ceremonial functions.

A man did not permit his wife to trade in the market for five years or more after marriage, and when she did start trading, she sold on his behalf for the first few years. He kept all the profit from the trade, feeding and clothing her in return. It was some years until he let to her begin trading for herself. Major limitations of women trade in pre-contact times were the narrow margin of economic surplus and the lack of a form of currency to be used in exchange. Since women trade consisted largely of the barter of surplus vegetable crops, it was difficult for a woman to amass wealth in a non-perishable form to be used at the most advantageous time.

A prestige economy involving second funerals in honour of deceased parents and membership in title societies, highly developed among men, is found to a lesser extent among women. The importance of titles and second funerals is reinforced by numerous social and religious sanctions, and though traditional values connected with these activities are in some cases being altered because of acculturation, the principles underlying the prestige economy of Nrobo have witnessed slight changes. There are several basic differences between men and women titles. The titles for men include Ozor, Ekezu, Onuoha, Ifumma, Ifuokeachukwu, Ikpe

etc while women titles include Lolo (otu), Ogbanya and Echi. Echi is the female parallel of ikpe which are rites of passage to mark entry into adulthood. Although ikpe is still practiced, echi is no longer in practice now.

4.5 Changes in the Traditional Gender and Economic Relations of the Nrobo

According to the Nrobo, before the advent of Christianity, western-style education, and government, a woman was in some measure, in a position of physical and economic dependence on her husband. She could not go to farm alone. Women go to market in groups, for slave raiding and warfare between village groups made travel outside a person's own village perilous in the extreme. My male informant recounted that the ending of warfare deprived men of a certain measure of prestige as head-hunters and as defenders of their families and villages, and at the same time weakening their controls over their wives because of the lessening of the wives' dependence on them for protection. He narrated that the community's choice of living in the hilly area is for collective identity and to fight collectively, the neighbouring towns that were besieging them. However, the situation is not the same now. There is now improved means of transportation other than walking. Consequently, going to market in group is a matter of choice now. The men crop, yam, comprised a larger proportion of the diet in the past than now, and the economy was one of meager subsistence, with a small margin of surplus. Though markets existed, the scale of trade was small and restricted to the cluster of friendly villages that they served in the past than now. People now trade far and near.

Before now, a man did not permit his wife to trade in the market for five years or more after marriage, and when she did start trading, she sold on his behalf for the first few years. He kept all the profit from the trade, feeding and clothing her in return. It was some years until he let her begin trading for herself. Major limitations of women trade in pre-contact times were the narrow margin of economic surplus. Since women trade consisted largely of the barter of

surplus vegetable crops, it was difficult for a woman to amass wealth at the most advantageous time. However, this is not the same presently. Women trade and keep the proceeds of their toil.

Following contact, several changes in the Nrobo economy occurred which may be summarized under the following headings: a marked increase in physical mobility as a result of technological improvements in the area of transportation, an increase in resources with a consequent rise in the standard of living, and a growth in the economic independence of women. New sources of income for men and women developed with the expansion of trade and technology. Some men now have part-time or full-time occupation in transportation business, most especially motorcycle transportation. Some are doing welding works and others in building works. However, those who are permanent in the village always see their farming activities as primary, especially during the planting season. Data from all the focus group discussion (FGD) participants validated these explanations.

For women the major source of economic change was the introduction of cassava. There are no appropriate accounts of when cassava was introduced in Nrobo. Nevertheless, Rodrigues (1962), while admitting that the spread of manioc appears to have been influenced significantly by the spread of knowledge of its processing techniques, also holds that, by 1700, the crop had become important in a few areas in Africa, including the islands of São Tomé, Príncipe, Fernando Pó and at Owerri. Several other scholars confirm that it was the arrival of freed slaves from Brazil into West Africa from the nineteenth century, who brought with them many practices learnt in the New World, including knowledge of the preparation of cassava, products that led to the spread of cassava in West Africa. Etejere and Bhat (1985) hold that cassava did not become popular in West Africa until its reintroduction by former slaves from Brazil, who also imported the culinary techniques necessary for its preparation as a foodstuff.

Thus, cassava spread as the knowledge of removing its prussic acid content and making cassava meal spread. In other words, it was knowledge of proper methods of cassava processing which facilitated the process of its adoption in West Africa. In western Nigeria, for instance, it was the arrival of returnee slaves from Brazil, the West Indies and Sierra Leone from the 1850s onwards, which was the major catalyst for the spread of cassava in the area. Many of them were said to have settled in large numbers among the local people in Lagos, Badagry, Abeokuta and Ijebu, to whom they imparted their knowledge. Likewise, in eastern Nigeria, knowledge of cassava cultivation and processing was first introduced to the towns along the coast, such as Yenagoa and Calabar, where consumption of the products was initially well established.

The evidence indicates the prominent role played by migrants, especially towards the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, in the introduction and diffusion of cassava in Igboland. The records cited above, suggest that some parts of Igboland may have been cultivating cassava since the seventeenth century especially after its introduction at Owerri. In fact, once it was introduced into the coastal areas of Yenagoa, Warri and Calabar, the crop gradually found its way into the Igbo hinterland, via the activities of long-distance traders, especially through the coastal regions and the Igala territories. In addition, this may suggest that cassava was introduced in Nrobo during this time. In this process, Aro traders, who were particularly prominent in the business of long-distance trading at the time, played a dominant role. This may have happened at different periods in Igboland, beginning in the early twentieth century, through the First World War, and up to the 1960s.

However, an important contribution to the argument over the period during which cassava was introduced into Igboland is that by Ohadike (1981). According to him, the crop made its entry towards the end of the second decade of the twentieth century. He insists that the shift from yam to cassava was a direct consequence of British imperial presence on the

lower Niger as marked by the punitive expeditions of the first fifteen years of the twentieth century, the First World War and more importantly, the influenza pandemic of 1918–19. The major effect of these developments, he argued, was the disruption of agricultural activities. Many people were displaced; while farmland and several crops suffered neglect. The result was hunger, which led to a search for viable alternatives.

The Nrobo consider cassava a woman's crop, beneath the dignity of men. This attitude is associated with supernatural sanctions concerning the cultivation and consumption of yams, their traditional position as the prestige crop, and preference for them as food. Women acceptance of cassava has meant not only the alleviation of the traditional famine period preceding the yam harvest but also a profound alteration in the economic and social relations between husbands and wives. However, in present day reality, both men and women compete in cassava production. Men usually sell their cassava harvests to the women and the women process it for resale. However, when compared with yam, widowed women farm yam for their husbands. Women do not harvest nor tie the yams in the ban. Nevertheless, some women that attend Pentecostal churches are beginning to disobey this tradition.

In pre-contact days if a woman's husband did not give her food, she was in a sorry plight; now it is possible for her to subsist without the aid of her husband. In the words of an elderly Nrobo woman:

> *Nwonyenye a nụgụ echerie dị nye nẹ iye gbasatarụ nri, maka nẹ ọ jee n'anyi ọ kpuru ogodo, ọ hwete ogodo. Ọ bụrụ nẹ ọ nweru ego, nẹ ọ chọma onye je epeyi nụ anyi ọ ji ekpu ogodo. Ọ gbarụ ahụa nẹ nri agba, mee ọ keme oruree, n'oree weru ego gboru nkpa. Ọ keme ọ sụ nwonyeke bụ gụnụ. Nẹ nya nweru ego nke nye!"* [Nowadays women do not care if the husband doesn't give them any food, for they can go to the farm and get cassava. If a woman has any money she rents land and plants cassava. The year after she does this she can have a crop for cassava meal, which, she can sell and have her own money. Then she can say,

"What is man"', "I have my own money!"]. Source: in-depth interview with an 82 yrs. woman at Ajayigo, June 2016.

Figure 4.10: One of the cassava processing centers in Nrobo. Source: fieldwork, 2015.

Whatever, the validity of the impression that women have been liberated from a state of subjugation and dependence, it is undoubtedly the case that the events of the past fifty years have brought a real improvement in the standard of living for all Nrobo. This is through the virtual ending of the famine period, a rise in the nutrition level, introduction of acculturated clothing on a large scale, the building of some larger houses in a semi-European style, the use of carpentered furniture, and the schooling of some children.

Though wealth has long been an index of personal importance and distinction for both men and women, changes have been occurring in their economic aspirations in recent years. Men wish to achieve and maintain a high consumption level, exemplified by having European clothes, metal-roofed houses, wooden furniture, and certain European food, but they still regard title taking as the most valid means of investment. While many women agree that title-taking

represents the best disposition of wealth, a number of them, both schooled and unschooled, give first consideration to a standard of living including clothing and adequate nutrition and the education of their children. The decline in the number of titles taken by women since the mid-1980's, during a time when business conditions were good, corroborates this trend. Nrobo women say that formerly a woman would be willing to live for years on a near-starvation diet and wear one cloth until it fell to shreds in order to save as much as possible, to be able to show her wealth and importance by taking a title.

The present-day attitude of many women is expressed in the words of one woman, "Taking titles is good, but not if you let yourself go dirty". "When one does not eat in one's house and takes unnecessary titles it is bad." Women with schooling have little sympathy for title taking. As one said, "Titles have no benefit, for if one performs title today he may depart from the world the next day, and all will be lost."

Men interest in title taking continues much as in the past. A number of men titles associated with *ifụmma,* the Nrobo masquerade society, are compulsory for all Nrobo men except the Christian converts. Because all men participate in the activities of the village society regardless of the extent of their acculturation and schooling, the society validates title taking as an economic activity and reinforces the ties between Nrobo men and the traditional culture. Although a few men have questioned the values and goals of the society, their social conformity has been achieved through strong pressures brought, to bear on them. There is no equivalent binding force between the traditional culture and contemporary life in the case of women.

There are several basic differences between men and women titles. While there are more than five men titles, ranging from inexpensive ones taken in boyhood to costly ones taken in adulthood, there are only three titles for women, two, of which are taken late in life and which involve large expenditures, the other, marking transition from childhood to adulthood,

although not in practice now. Men titles, at least in the early stages, are a necessity, but women have always been luxuries. Because they were less firmly lodged in the acculturative process, they have been more readily subject to reinterpretation, being replaced by forms of expenditure, which are more meaningful and satisfying today, in terms of everyday existence and the realities of the more modest women economy.

A raised standard of living and the schooling of children are seen as titles in themselves. One hears remarks such as, 'I put two of my children through school,' or, 'I bought myself a Singer sewing machine,' instead of comments on title taking. And while a considerable number of traditionally oriented women in Nrobo say that they wish to take titles when they are able, the trend seems to be for women to concentrate on being able to 'give their children voice' through education. Thus, the traditional women title system appears to be canceling itself out through lack of participation. Yet, despite the rapid change in the women prestige economy, the principle underlying the old and new forms is the same: the achievement of distinction and prestige, and sometimes profit. Most Nrobo women think of education of their children, especially females who the men see as waste of resources, first as a means of obtaining prestige positions with high pay. Many Nrobo consider the education of children a very real investment, for it is their children, who will support them in their old age. The implication of reinterpreting a sewing machine as a 'title' is similar, for dress making is now a profitable activity throughout Nrobo.

The changes in the relative economic positions of men and women since British colonization must have taken place very gradually. While acculturative processes such as schooling and contact with Europeans were first experienced by men and still have had little direct effect on most Nrobo women, the economic position of women seems to have undergone a greater change than that of men. Though the women of Nrobo have less wealth, their

liberation from dependence on their husbands is very significant. Most of them do not question men traditional position of superiority in almost every field, but a few of the more acculturated women are beginning to do so.

The increase in self-esteem women have experienced since acculturation has been further bolstered by ideas about the position of women propounded by European missionaries. Most Nrobo men regard these attitudes as appropriate for Europeans, whose women seem homogeneously weak and helpless, and they do not share them for their own wives. In addition, their contribution to their children economic prospects and prestige through financing their schooling is not only an important basis of their self-respect; it also gives them a more profitable position in dealing with their husbands and children.

Thus, while men have been concerned with maintaining the status quo, women have used culture change as a means of improving their economic position. For though respect for men was a deeply embedded trait of traditional Nrobo culture, the idea of improving one's position was also strongly emphasized. Moreover, cassava must have had a special appeal for women as a means of alleviating the difficulty of the famine season, when they were responsible for the household food supply. Men negative response to cassava was logical enough, for in Nrobo thought yams represented wealth; they were the ultimate in a staple food for human consumption; and they were a supernaturally certified crop vital to survival in both the sacred and secular realms. Women, being economically insecure and, so to speak, having nothing to lose, were in a very different position. In the realm of economic attitudes, ironically, men have had the greatest degree of direct acculturative experience, but women have also changed in great measures.

4.6 Factors Responsible for Changes in Gender and Economic Relations of the Nrobo

Data from all the instruments of data collection showed that christianity, western-style education, technology, and government have been seen as the factors that cause changes in gender and economic relations among the Nrobo. It is common to hear women and men say, *"mgbe ụka nẹ onyibo abịa nẹgụ,* [before contact with Christianity and the Europeans]," *"ụka ekpome ru anyị* [Christianity has taken ground]," *"a gụ nụ eje n ẹkwụkwọ* [people now go to school]."

Every other factor is subsumed under modernization and globalization. For example, modernization brings systematic, predictable changes in gender roles. The impact of modernization operates in two key phases: One, industrialization brings women into the paid workforce and dramatically induce migration in search for industrial works (Ember, Ember, & Skoggard, 2004; Waldman, 2005). Women attain literacy and greater educational opportunities. Women are enfranchised and begin to participate in representative government. Two, the postindustrial phase brings a shift toward greater gender equality as women rise in management and the professions and gain political influence within elected and appointed bodies. Over half of the world has not yet entered this phase; only the more advanced industrial societies are currently moving on this trajectory (Hann & Hart, 2011; Carrier, 2005; Inglehart & Pippa, 2003).

4.7 Discussion of Findings

From the findings, a close look at the subsistence activities of the Nrobo shows that the society is majorly an agricultural economy. Although there are few skilled workers, they always take their farm works as primary. This compares with what Ottenberg (1970) found among the Afikpo and what Green (1964) found among the Umeke Agbaja. This means that

change is not as rapid as one would have anticipated using these ethnographies of other Igbo groups as bases for comparison for such a long period.

The traditional gender pattern of economic relation of the Nrobo follows ideological pattern that permits division of labour between men and women when compared with what Amadiume, (1997) found among the Nnobi. This is rooted in the explanation that some works are more suited for women and others for men. However, when one looks at the situation on ground, it does not follow that ideology. This is because, from what is observed, both women and men partake in some of the activities deemed fit for either men or women. For example, women identified that it was their duty to take care of the children but men are left with this function whenever women are engaged in other tasks elsewhere. Furthermore, men have been associated with those tasks that demand more physical strength like tilling of land for crop production. However, on a number of times I have seen few women do this. This actually follows functionalists' explanations that the roles in the society must be filled up for the efficient running of the society. When men are lacking in their ability to perform their roles, women see those roles fall on them and vice versa. While some do that to cover up for imminent shame, others do that as a matter of necessity.

Among the Nrobo, women perform more subsistence tasks and are actually not complaining for this. This also compares with what Green (1964) found among the Umeke Agbaja where men admitted that women even feed them. The times rifts arise are those times when men who do not live up to their expectations misbehave, probably when they take to excess drinking with their wives' money. Even though women have taken the advantage of acculturation to improve economically, they are not flouting the authority of their husbands. This supports the explanation by cultural feminist, which extols the positive aspects of feminine personality. Margaret Fuller, Jane Adams, proponents of the theory, argued that in the

governing of the state, society needed such women virtues as hardworking, cooperation, caring, pacifism, and nonviolence in the settlement of conflicts (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2014).

The task of identifying the gnosis, underlying gendered gap requires us to discursively, enter the landscape of Nrobo itself. We will begin with what most of the women always say. "*Kẹ nwonyeke ahalẹ nẹ nya tụarụ nwonyenye* [male child is valued more than the female child]." The Nrobo believe that no matter how small a male child is; he is rated above female. The ideal of the superiority of men over women is backed by men's controls over land and the supernatural. This is explicit in the words of many Nrobo women, "*Hẹ lẹ eri anyị* [men control land]." *'Mẹ hẹ bụ nụ whụ oshekere ohe* [men also are custodians of ohe deity]*," "Nwonyenye a nụ nịgị abụ atama maa* [women are not custodians of deities]*."*

However, when compared with Ọhafịa, land is controlled by matrilineal groups. Also, McCall (2000:117) has demonstrated ethnographically using the case of Nne Uko, an Ọhafịa woman whose gender was transformed following her masculine achievements, that roles are not gender specific. Nne Uko had risen from her prowess in masculine activities and even married two wives. She had large bans of yam and was even admitted to ekpe society, thought to be exclusive to men. She became known in her community by *dike nwamị,* a term that translates 'warrior woman' among them. She also rose to position of priestess of her matrilineage's *ududu* shrine.

However, Nrobo men react differently. In their words, "*ego ọ na-akọ nwonyenye akọ* [does a woman lack money]*?" "Mẹ hẹ nwe n meme ẹkwụ, wama ukpaa (ibe-ohoyi), wọma orome* [women process palm produce, *Irvingia gabonensis* and also pluck oranges]." *"I cheru nẹ ego shii n'iye whụ dụ ja* [do you think the money got from all these is small]*?" "Hẹ nụwhụ ere ogodo* [they also process and sell cassava]*."* Nrobo men see women as having many sources

of income and believe that women do not lack money. One elderly man recounts that her wife was able to provide for the family during famine period, from her savings.

According to Inglehart and Pippa (2003), an extensive literature in, sociology and anthropology, has documented the familiar yet profound transformation of sex roles associated with the process of societal modernization. One, virtually all preindustrial societies emphasize childbearing and child rearing as the central goal for women and their most important function in life, along with tasks like food production and preparation at home; jobs in the paid workforce are predominately male. In postindustrial societies, gender roles have increasingly converged because of a structural revolution in the paid labor force, in educational opportunities for women, and in the characteristics of modern families. Two, in most affluent countries, people are marrying later than in previous generations and having fewer children. Three a rapid increase in premarital cohabitation is challenging the once-privileged position held by marriage. More and more women, especially those who are married, have entered the paid labor force, creating the transition from male breadwinner to dual-earning families. Four, although the gender gap in rates of economic participation is narrowing, women and men roles in the labour force continue to differ. Women still have to juggle the demands of family responsibilities and market work, and they hold different jobs than men do, often with lower status and rewards. These social trends raise questions about long-established moral values and attitudes toward the family and gender roles that were once taken for granted. Traditional family values have by no means disappeared, but they appear to be under greater strain in modern societies (Hann & Hart, 2011).

Christianity, western-style education, and government have been seen as the factors that cause changes in gender and economic relations among the Nrobo. It is common to hear women and men say, *"mgbe ụka nẹ onyibo abịa nẹgụ* [before contact with Christianity and the

Europeans]*", "ụka ekpome ru anyị* [Christianity has taken ground]," *"a gụ nụ eje n ẹkwụkwọ* [people now go to school]*."* Every other factor is subsumed under modernization and globalization. For example, modernization brings systematic, predictable changes in gender roles. The impact of modernization operates in two key phases: One, industrialization brings women into the paid workforce and dramatically induce migration in search for industrial works (Ember, Ember, & Skoggard, 2004; Waldman, 2005). Women attain literacy and greater educational opportunities. Women are enfranchised and begin to participate in representative government. (Hann & Hart, 2011; Carrier, 2005; Inglehart & Pippa, 2003).

4.8 Theoretical Analysis

Initially, what I projected to be used, as theoretical frameworks for this study were functionalism as propounded by Malinowski (1994), and Radcliffe-Brown (1965) to mention but a few and gender inequality theory as propounded by Friedan (1963), from feminist perspectives. Even though I had a theoretical sense of what I was setting out to investigate, it was impossible to determine the nature of result before actually going to the field. These two were chosen from the theories reviewed at the proposal phase because of their general applicability to the topic that I set out to study. However, data from Nrobo shows that cultural feminism as propounded by Margaret Fuller, Jane Adams to mention only these, who argued that in the governing of the state, society needed such women's virtues as cooperation, caring, and pacifism (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2014), is to be added at this stage. In summary, functionalism sees gender relations in terms of function, which each gender category performs for the overall survival and maintenance of society. Based on this, there is the need to divide these functions appropriately. The best way is the division of labour between the male and the female. Both male and female contribute to the overall functioning and maintenance of the Nrobo. That is, if M is male and performs role a1, a2, and F is female and performs role b1, b2, both a1+a2

and b1+b2 are seen as a complement of C, which represents Nrobo. Hence, [(a1+a2) + (b1+b2) = c].

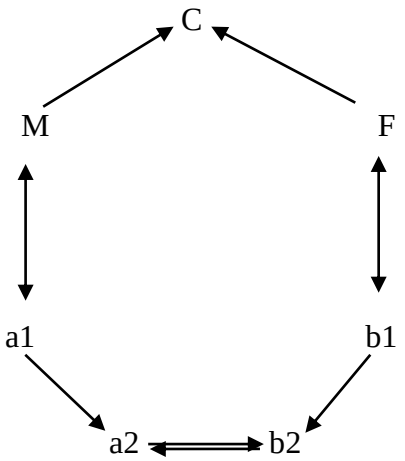

Figure 4.11: Flow of function among the Nrobo

However, these roles, in the case of a2 and b2 are not gender constant in some cases. This division of roles is needed, to keep the Nrobo going. The functions of each of the gender category are needed to keep the society.

From the feminist theories reviewed, the theory of gender inequality is adopted as one of the theoretical frameworks of this study. Four themes characterize feminist theorizing of gender inequality. Men and women are situated in society not only differently but also unequally. Women get less of the material resources, social status, power, and opportunities for self-actualization than do men who share their social location – be it a location based on class, race, occupation, ethnicity, religion, education, nationality or any intersection of these factors. This inequality results from the organization of society, for although individual human beings vary in their profile of potentials and traits, no significant pattern of natural variation distinguishes the sexes. All human beings are characterized by an intrinsic need for self-actualization and by a fundamental malleability that lets them adapt to the constraints or opportunities of their situations. To say that there is gender inequality is to claim that women are situationally less empowered than men are to realize the need they share with men for self-

actualization. All inequality theorists assume that both women and men will respond easily to more egalitarian social structures and situations. The ethnographic evidence on Nrobo refutes some of these assumptions. For example, both men and women of Nrobo have differing views of who actually control resources. Accepted that men do own land, majority of the agricultural input on the land are controlled by women. The assumption of women getting less because of how the society is organized is not proven here. The evidence of this study supports the explanation by cultural feminist, which extols the positive aspects of feminine personality.

4.9 Contributions to Knowledge

This study contributes to economic anthropology, feminism, and traditional gender relations. This is because, much of the studies among the Igbo in respect to gender and economic relations, are either localized, or generalized to be the same among a diverse group as the Igbo. The studies here are classics in the form of ethnographies of which none has been done among the Nrobo. This is, therefore, the first time that this type of study is being done on this group. In addition, the study is relevant theoretically, as it presents a platform for anthropological theorists to re-evaluate their positions by upholding the views of functionalists, and parts of feminist perspective especially cultural feminism, but also finding faults on some of the assumptions of the gender inequality theory. Practically, local and international policy makers may acquire insights that may assist in their functions from this study. This study is an important contribution to the anthropological literature. This study further helps scholars in this field to develop new relativistic view of gender and economic relations among the Nrobo, as it brings to knowledge the autochthonous gendered economic relations of the Nrobo amidst acculturation, and its social and cultural implication to the people.

Methodologically, the benefits which, foreign ethnographers enjoy are limited in many aspects to local ethnographers. For example, natives tend to be suspicious of the local

ethnographers especially given the security threats prevalent today. This has implications on the nature and quality of data.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary of the Study

This study investigates gender and economic relations among the Nrobo of Southeastern Nigeria.The first chapter gives the background review of gender roles across societies. The statement of the problem followed the background of the study. From the problem statement, five research questions were raised to guide the study. The study has a general objective of investigating ethnographically gender and economic relation among the Nrobo of Southeastern Nigeria. The specific objectives of the study were derived from the research questions. The significance of the study is highlighted and finally some of the concepts are glossed as they apply to this study.

The second chapter reviews literatures relevant to this study. This starts from the conceptual/theoretical review of the subject matter of economic anthropology, mode of economic exchange, gender, and gender and economic relations. The review of empirical literature followed, and was reviewed according the themes derived from the specific objectives of this study. Review of theories followed and from the theories reviewed, functionalism and gender inequality theory were selected as pre-field theoretical frameworks for the study. However, cultural feminism was added as part of post-field theoretical frameworks.

The third chapter introduces the research methodology. It starts with the research design, followed by the area of the study, the population of the study, scope of the study, sample size, sampling technique, instruments of data collection, administration of the instruments, and the method of data analysis. The challenges of taking up residence, participant observation and conducting FGD are also discussed in this chapter.

The forth chapter analyses the ethnographic evidence on the Nrobo. The analysis follows from themes derived from the specific objectives of this study. Discussion of findings also follows thematically from the objectives of the study.

Many of the descriptions made in the foregoing chapters tend to show that gender roles are social construction. These gender roles increasingly differ with the nature of social structure a culture adopts. For instance, gender roles differ between foraging and agricultural societies. The same is applicable between chiefdom and industrial societies. Nrobo subsistence strategy is anchored on sedentary agriculture, like many other Igbo groups. Acculturation has altered the ideological structure and women are benefiting more. Men tend to be conservative in trying to uphold some of the traditional roles than women do.

5.2 Conclusion

The study concluded that although the Nrobo society has witnessed acculturation, the subsistence activities still reflect autochthonous structure. Even though there are still verbal ideological reflections on gendered roles division, it does not mirror what actually obtains in the society, except bio-social roles. Ideological superiority of men reflects the patrilineal kinship arrangement of the society.

Theoretically some of the hypotheses of gender inequality (socialist) theory were disputed because it could not adequately explain gender and economic relation of the Nrobo. It is therefore recommended that a further research in this area should be holistic in order to capture interstices between kinship, political, religious and gendered economic relations.

5.3 Recommendations

In the scope of this study, I identified that the present study is not an attempt at the holistic representation of Nrobo society like what Malinowski did among the Trobriand

Islander. This study is an attempt at a specific area of social life of the Nrobo which is the gendered relations in the subsistence strategies of the Nrobo. As such, this study tries not to treat the findings as a blue print of action for other societies because of the peculiar and relative nature of the study.

However, a further research in this area should reflect a holistic investigation of the society to show the interconnection of gender in kinship, religion, politics and economy. The further study should explore the spiritual source of pottery among women of Nrobo and the constant claim that any Nrobo woman married out to another community cannot mould clay pot.

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Appendix 1

Focus Group Discussion (FGD) Guide

1) Autochthonous economic activities of the Nrobo

2) Autochthonous patterns of economic relations between Nrobo men and women

3) Gap, if any, in economic relations of the Nrobo men and women

4) Changes in the autochthonous economic relations of the Nrobo men and women

5) Factors responsible for changes, if any, in economic relations of the Nrobo men and women

Appendix 2

Chronological List of Events Witnessed by the Researcher

First Expedition: June, 2015 - August, 2015.

June 20th, 2015. Arrival and the visit of the Igwe's palace at Ofunu village.
Preliminary information obtained.

June 25th – July 25th. Constant visit to the Orie Market Square sited at Umuiya; preliminary information obtained.

August, 2015. Burial rites of a titled man; some data obtained at Ajayigo.

Second Expedition: **September, 2015 – August 2016.**

September 20th 2015. A visit to family of the head hunter of Nrobo on occasion of child birth at Owa Ugwu; information collected.

September 25th 2015. Second visit to the head hunter. Much information collected in that period.

October, 10th 2015. Unsuccessful attempt to see the chief priest of Ohe at Okpara.

November – December, 2015. Helped one of the close families to me to harvest yam. Some data collected at Umudiesue.

November – February 2016, series of harvest activities; information collected.

December, 1015—January, 2016. Celebration of Onwa Esato festival; much data obtained.

January, 2016. Followed the hunters on a hunting expedition; data obtained. Witness "Ishue Ukpo" ceremony at Umuiya.

February, 2016. Helped a blacksmith at Orie market. Information collected.

April 2016, a visit to Umoyo Hill; data obtained on clay harvesting and price.

May 2016, a visit to a clay pot moulder (potter) at Ugo. Information collected.

June 2016, helped a mortar maker at Umuiya; data obtained.

April – June 2016, crop cultivation activities; data obtained in various capacities. Also, went to Eshi Avuruge River where fishing is done.