

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES.**

**SON-PREFERENCE AND ITS IMPLICATION ON FEMALES IN
NIGERIA: THE YORUBA PERSPECTIVE**

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DECLARATION

I, Aduradola Oluwatomi Ruth declare that this work is my own and has not been submitted to any university by myself or any other person.

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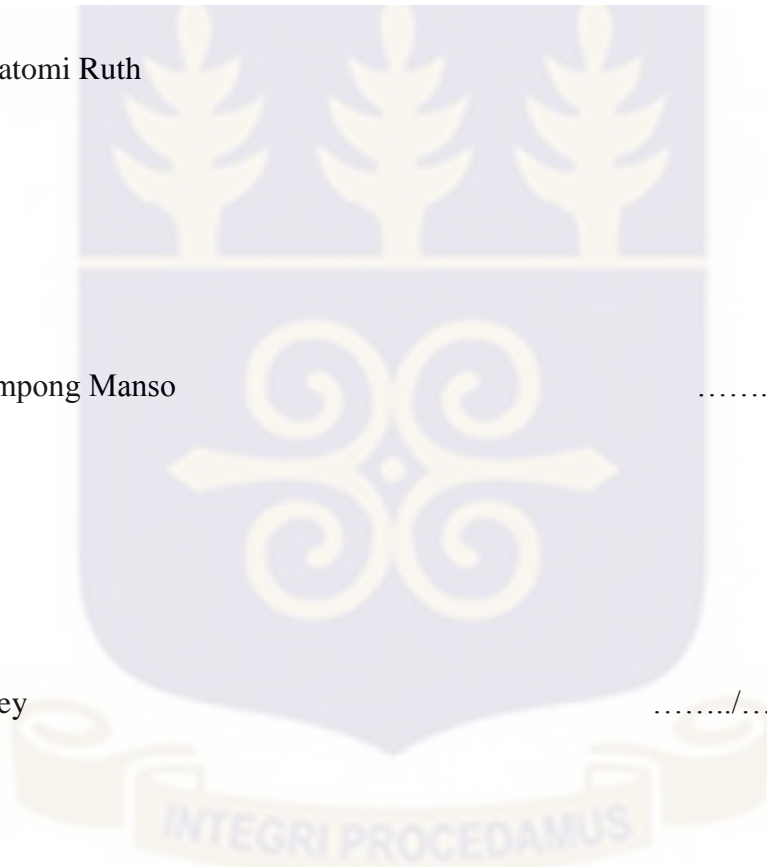
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ABSTRACT

The immense value placed on male children around the world, especially among patriarchal cultures in developing countries like Nigeria, has resulted in unfavorable disposition towards the continuous birth and welfare of females. In this study, the consequences of son preference and its implication on the status of girls and mothers were explored. The following objectives were addressed: (1) examine societal factors that influence son preference among Yoruba people; (2) explore the challenges of not having a male child among married Yoruba women; and (3) explore the implication of son preference on the status of daughters in the family. A qualitative research design was employed and purposive sampling technique was used to select twenty-four participants consisting of eight men and sixteen women. Individual in-depth interviews were conducted to collect data from respondents. The findings of the study showed that the perception of son preference is held by both men and women, and this perception is influenced by the need to retain family name and legacy of men. The most common factors found to influence son preference were: retention of family name, the need to institute legacy and traditional marriage practices. The study also found that health problems, infidelity and marital insecurity were challenges faced by women that had no sons. In addition, the study found a new perspective of parents towards the preference of sons. Findings from the study suggest that there are no negative implications of son preference on daughters. Based on these findings, the study recommended that the public should be sensitized through programs that address gender stereotypes. Also, more empowerment initiatives should target young girls and women because they are vulnerable to the imposition of many traditional norms. It was also recommended that social workers should advocate for the implementation of the gender equality bill by the government in Nigeria in order to stop harmful cultural practices against females.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the Almighty God, the giver of life, health and wisdom. I owe it all to God who started with me and will see me through till the very end.



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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background of the Study

One of the peculiarities of Yoruba culture is choosing the male child over the female counterpart. Son preference is a gender discrimination that is based on a belief that to have sons is more socially, economically, religiously and politically advantageous than daughters (Oluduro, 2014). It is characteristic of gender inequality and has gained global attention and mobilization in order to stop violations against the rights of women and girls. In 1979, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discriminatory practices Against Women (CEDAW). CEDAW has been ratified by over 180 states and the convention implores state parties to develop policies that eliminate discrimination against women; take action against the social causes of women's inequalities; calls for the elimination of laws, stereotypes, practices and prejudices that harm women's wellbeing (UN, 2007).

Also, at the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in 1994, all forms of prejudices against young girls were condemned and traditional practices like son preference, sex selective abortions and female infanticide were brought to the limelight. Both the CEDAW and ICPD confirm the existence of some cultural and social behaviors globally. Such behavior was found among both men and women and need to be reformed in order to eliminate discriminatory customs and traditions affecting males and females. Despite these declarations, a number of traditional practices such as female genital mutilation, child marriage, son preference and sex selective abortions are still prevalent in many developed and developing societies today. Furthermore, in spite of several gender equality programs, the MDG (2015) report on Nigeria show that son preference is still largely prevalent as it indicates poverty, disparities in education,

unequal access to inheritance, health care and paid work borne by women. Sons are reportedly more valued and preferred compared to daughters in many parts of the world, such as Bangladesh, Pakistan, Korea, Thailand, India, China and many patriarchal African countries including Nigeria. However, there are unique cultural differences in how son preference is projected in these societies. For instance, in India, Jha, Kumar, Vasa, Dhingra, Thiruchelvam, and Moineddin (2006) found a severe decline in child sex ratio; where over half a million female fetuses are aborted annually, owing to dowry and marriage expenses. Likewise, in China; Zhou, Wang, Zhou, and Hesketh (2012) studied the persistent sex ratio and found that as a result of the strict one child policy, people of reproductive ages choose to engage in sex-selective abortions, to ensure the birth of a male offspring.

Although little is known about sex selective abortions in Nigeria, several studies report the prevalence of son preference among the major ethnic groups: Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba. There are certain sentiments, beliefs, and practices regarding the importance of a male offspring in a family and the significant role they play in the society. Aluko (2005) explains that having a son is deemed necessary because male children carry on the family name, control property, and propagate the family legacy. For example, in the Yoruba culture, no matter how old a woman is or positions she occupies within the family, she has no right to give away her daughter in marriage. This is a role strictly reserved for men, one of the several privileges that men enjoy but denied women.

In addition, men lead families and are responsible for decision making. Thus, they exert authority on other family members, including the reproductive rights of wives (Azeez, Akinboro & Bakare, 2007) by ensuring that women bear at least one son in order to fulfill the cultural sentiment placed on the value of sons (Adebowale et al. 2014). Thus, this sentiment needs to be

explored to determine the consequences of not bearing a son on women. This is a gender study that may inform policy in Nigeria to ensure that females are able to enjoy as much privileges as they require in a male dominated society.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Son preference is a social problem and a form of gender discrimination that is based on the belief that daughters are inadequate and of lesser value than sons and this leads to harmful practices and unfair attitudes towards daughters. The Senate of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on 15th of March 2016 rejected for the second time, a bill seeking gender equality, women empowerment, and equal opportunity in employment. The rejection was based on the idea that the bill contradicted some traditional and religious beliefs in Nigeria. It is important to note that since 1985, when Nigeria ratified CEDAW, the government has not fulfilled the requirements therein. The resistance of policy makers to implement the gender equality bill is evidence of the highly patriarchal nature of the Nigerian society.

In Nigeria, there is a special regard for sons among the countries many cultural groups and the regard for sons is influenced by social factors which has consequences on females in the society (Nwoko, 2012). Some of such consequences include: early marriage of girls to ease the financial burden of their wellbeing on parents, high birth rate resulting from pressure on parents to satisfy the quest of bearing a son and separation or divorce when a woman is unable to produce a male heir for her husband. Ideally, both sexes should be valued equally and not one being inferior to one another. However, this is not the case and studies highlight that preference for boys outweigh that of girls in many societies (Fuse, 2010). Thus, gender studies have explored the inequalities that exist between the sexes in various forms and they have also provided evidence that females are often a subordinate and subjugated group in many societies

and therefore require intervention on a global level (MDGs Report, 2015). Therefore, preference for sons is a social problem which holds females subjected to traditional norms at the expense of their human rights.

While literature on son preference among the Igbo and Hausa/Fulani in Nigeria abounds, there are limited qualitative studies on the extent of son preference among the Yoruba's. There is need for a qualitative study to explore the implication of son preference on daughters among the Yoruba's because culture is dynamic and may be influenced by education, religion and individual differences or perspectives. Thus, the implication of son preference among Yoruba people may vary from those of other Nigerian cultures that have been explored. Many studies on son preference in Nigeria have determined that the practice persists and people still desire to have more sons than daughters, but few studies have been done to determine if this desire implies an inferior treatment for daughters currently. Therefore, this study explored the extent to which cultural perspectives can influence the choices and attitudes of parents towards their daughters currently.

The research interest developed by an observation of the varying consequences of son preference on daughters among Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba people. In the past and among Yoruba people, son preference was responsible for many gender discriminations against females like access to education and employment in corporate organizations. But in recent times, this ethnic group has witnessed more female enrollment in academic institutions and improved access to paid work. Thus, the study explores the extent to which son preference currently affects the lives of daughters among Yoruba people. Culture may not be solely responsible for the preferences shown towards sons; can culture compel parents to neglect girls or practice favoritism among

children? Do other factors like knowledge about sex determination, lack of exposure and low education of parents contribute to son preference?

Based on observation of the Nigerian society; particularly the Yoruba ethnic group and the seeming prevalence of son preference, in response to the global attention on females' course; this research explored the dynamic culture of Yoruba people, the consequences of placing immense value on sons over daughters and the implication of culture and sex preferences on daughters.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study is to explore the present attitude of parents towards daughters in a culture that has been recognized to value sons. The objectives of this study are;

1. To examine societal factors that influence son preference among married Yoruba men and women in Ibadan.
2. To explore the challenges of not having male children among married Yoruba women in Ibadan.
3. To explore the implication of son preference on the status of daughters in the family.

1.3 Research Questions

1. What factors influence son preference among married Yoruba men and women in Ibadan?
2. What are the challenges of not having male children on married Yoruba women in Ibadan?
3. What is the implication of son preference on the status of daughters in the family?

1.4 Significance of the Study

The study is significant for females, as it exposes unpleasant demands of culture and challenges faced by females in meeting such cultural demands. The study is relevant now that gender inequality is a global issue and it informs gender equality advocacy against traditional ideologies that maintain gender inequality and discrimination against females. The study also informs advocacy to focus on the expansion of the value of female children as human beings and not subjects of control and male dominance. Results from the study may inform public awareness to stop unequal rights to inheritance and education of males and females. The inclusion of men in this study will show that male partnership is also critical to the elimination of gender discrimination; therefore programs must be developed to sensitize males as well.

This study will inform policy makers and program administrators about the need for government action against all forms of gender discriminations especially those that violate human and women's rights. It provides useful information about the needs of females who are currently bearing the consequences of son preference. This study adds to existing literature on gender dynamics in developing countries as it relates to several other fields. Findings from this study presents evidence by which relevant policy that address gender inequality can be developed and sustained. In addition, the study is relevant for research and further enquiry into gender issues among Yoruba people.

1.5 Definition of Terms

The following terminologies were used in various sections of this work and are explained to give a clear meaning where they appear subsequently.

Son preference

Son preference can be defined as the gender discrimination that is based on a belief that to have sons is more socially, economically, religiously and politically advantageous than daughters (Oluduro, 2014). It is also regarded as a concept that describes a bias in the care, nurture and resources apportioned to the wellbeing of sons over daughters within a family (Jones et al, 2010).

Patriarchy

This is defined as the dominance of men over women, patriarchy describes a family structure or society where the man is, as of right, the head of the family and regarded by the women as the lord and master whose decision (about any and all issues, including those of maternal health) is final (Nwokocha, 2008).

Progeny/ Potentate

A person with potent, sometimes supreme power, sovereign authority and position to govern, dominate and rule everyone else. A potentate is a person or ruler unconstrained by law; so powerful that they do not have to follow the rules that govern everyone else. Synonyms include; monarch, crowned head, mogul, dynast, overlord leader.

1.6 Organization of the Study

Chapter One: An introduction of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, study area and definition of terms.

Chapter Two: A review of relevant literature and theoretical framework.

Chapter Three: An outline of the methodology adopted for the study. This includes research design, sample size, sampling technique, methods of data collection, data analysis and ethical considerations.

Chapter Four: Data analysis, presentation of research findings and discussion of findings.

Chapter Five: Summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature relevant to the study using the following themes: challenges women encounter due to preference for sons because of the preference for male children, imbalance in sex ratio and maternal health, factors contributing to son preference and implication of son preference on the status of women. The last section of the chapter describes the theory used for the study.

2.1 Challenges Women Encounter Due to Preference for Sons

Son preference and the decline in the status of females developed across regions with the evolution of patriarchal system which favored men (Bandyopadhyay & Singh, 2002). Son preference and other forms of gender inequalities are social problems that have gained attention on a global stage and they require accelerated progress (United Nations, 2009). Some scholars have described the difficulties of women to share political power with men, seek employment opportunities, participate in decision –making and face unattained gender parity of female enrollment in educational institutions (Azeez et al, 2007; Bradley, 2014).

Studies also show that preference for sons is not exclusive to men but women also show preference for sons in India (Guilomoto, 2012). The reasons why women may prefer sons over daughters may be due to cultural influences which can indirectly make women perpetrators of harmful practices that can hinder gender equality. A statistical index was developed and used to determine the extent to which expectant mothers preferred boys to girls; the result showed that 57% of women wanted to give birth to boys and only 2.3% had no particular sex preference (El-Gilany & Shady, 2007).

Over the past decade, women empowerment programs in Nigeria have been developed to address child sex preference among couples and to advance the status of women (Eguavoen, Odiagbe & Obetoh, 2007). However, these efforts are not very effective because some social cultural perception of gender roles and stereotypes still prevails. Also, the gender equality bill in Nigeria is yet to be accepted thus, the legislative instrument needed for implementing gender policies is lacking.

Son preference is one of the reasons why greater value is placed on a male child and possibly negative consequences on women that don't give birth to a son (Babington- Ashaye, 2004; Jha et al. 2011). It is also evident in the immediate recognition of a son at birth as the head of the family who is to succeed his father, continue the family lineage and provide support for parents in old age (Izugbara, 2010).

2.2 Imbalance in Sex Ratio and Maternal health

The sex ratios of girls to boys are severely distorted in countries with the worst forms of gender discrimination like female infanticide and sex selective abortions (Seager, 2009a; Bhattacharya, 2012): Jayachandran (2014) also reports a consistent rise in sex ratio when compared with the total rate of fertility in India, which shows that the availability of medical technology may be used for selective abortions. There is more pressure on the sex ratio in many parts of the world because although the desired number of children has significantly declined, desired number of sons is yet to reduce (Jayachandran, 2014). This supports the claim that women continue to reproduce until they bear at least a son (Eguavon et al., 2007).

According to a world report by United Nations, female infant mortality rates are highest in China and India but Nigeria also has one of the highest maternal and infant mortality rate globally (United Nations, 2011). These rates depict the health risk that women take in order to

bear a son, while low child spacing is a risk that endangers the health of children. Patriarchal practices have had so much negative consequence on maternal health in south east Nigeria (Kinanee & Ezekiel-Hart, 2009).

Gender inequality like son preference has direct and indirect consequences on the health and general wellbeing of women and girls (Milazzo, 2014). Gender preference has been described in Africa as a 'social-cultural phenomenon' with implications on women such as risky maternal health (Adebowale et al. 2014). For example, as a result of the strict child policy in China, women who had only one child were more likely to have another if they already had a daughter, while women who already had a son did not show enthusiasm to have another (Zheng et al. 2009). Not only is this socio-cultural factor responsible for high birth rate, it also negates the impact of fertility reduction programs (Adebimpe, 2013).

2.3 Factors contributing to Son preference

Under this heading, the factors contributing to son preference are explained. Cultural, social, religious and economic factors influence the relative benefits and cost of having a son or daughter and ultimately influences the gender preference of parents (Eguavoen et al., 2007; Seager, 2009a).

2.3.1 Socio-cultural Sentiments

In many less developed societies, parents seem to have preference for sons rather than daughters; due to perceptions and traditional values or economic considerations (Eklund, 2011). In Nigeria, fertility of men and women and ability to give birth to sons are equally significant among married couples (Oyefara, 2015). This is evident in the findings of a study in Ibadan among Yoruba ethnic population which revealed a preference for sons was more than for daughters (Azeez et al, 2007).

Son preference is tied to the traditional definitions and meanings of gender roles. Therefore, understanding some traditional norms may provide information about gender dynamics (Lei & Pals, 2011). One of the means by which gender roles and preferences are defined and developed is through proverbs and taboos (Familusi, 2012). Proverbs hold very significant meanings for Nigerians because they are closely associated with the norms and values of the people and they are also used to maintain the transmission of norms from one generation to the next (Olabode, 2009) and (Tiamiyu & Olaleye, 2009).

The perception of Yoruba people regarding the value of sons may be partly informed by proverbs and taboos which enhance the status of males (Olabode, 2009 and Familusi, 2012). Examples of Yoruba proverbs depicting a preference for sons include; “Adekunle l’oruko okunrin, Adetule l’oruko obinrin” which means a son populates the family while the female daughters depopulates it. This is why the male child is symbolically referred to as the pillar of the family while the female child symbolizes a seasonal stream (Familusi, 2012:302). Another proverb says “Ai lokurin nile lobinrin njogun ada” which means that the absence of male affords a female the opportunity of inheriting a cutlass- symbolic of authority, responsibility and instrument for survival (Familusi, 2012:302).

As Familusi (2012) describes it, a woman may be a temporary substitute for a man only if he is dead, indolent and irresponsible. This is similar to ‘tio ba nidi, obirin kiije kumolu’ which means a woman cannot bear the name Kumolu without a reason. Kumolu is reserved for the heir of the family; this is a nickname for a boy who is the perpetrator of the patrilineal and will inherit the family name (Jain, 2014).

A proverb that perpetuates son preference is one that associates the continual birth of girls with witchcraft. It is believed that a man’s wife is a witch if she gives birth to only girls and

is doomed to live a life of misery because witches do not produce sons (Tiamiyu & Olaleye, 2009). As Olabode (2009) notes, witchcraft is not tolerated among Yoruba's. Unlike wizardry, witchcraft is a taboo and is treated with ostracism or in some cases death and this taboo is no doubt harmful, as it creates difficulties for mothers of only girls in the society while subjecting them to labels that diminishes their status (Gaudin, 2011) and (Oluduro, 2014). In addition, a man's happiness is said to partly depend on the ability of his wife to give birth to sons and this is another way of showing preference for male children in a patriarchal society (Familusi, 2012).

All the above explain to an extent, why son preference prevails despite several legal instruments to address this discriminatory cultural attitude and practice (Oluduro, 2014). The preference for male children exists in diverse forms and includes neglect of daughters, early marriage, and other forms of child abuse which are current global issues (Nnadi, 2013). In a study carried out among newly wedded couples in Ohio, preference for a first-born girl was lowest at (5.9%) and boys were significantly more preferred than girls (Sensibaugh and Paul, 1997). There has been a subsequent rise in gender inequality when compared to the advancement of women's education, economic and political participation (Ekmund, 2011). For example, a rise in female enrollment in educational institutions may create a subsequent rise in unemployment of females who have to compete with males for limited job positions available.

Studies in China and Yoruba tradition in Nigeria stipulate that sons, will remain in the family while daughters will join their husband's household eventually; therefore the notion exists that unlike daughters, sons are much more reliable to support their parents in old age (Chu, Xie & Yu 2006 and Familusi, 2012). This was also reported in a fertility survey in China where over half of the participants' rationale for having a son was for old age support (Ding & Zhang, 2009). Although support for aged parents is one of the reasons for preferring sons, the most common

rationale for having sons among Yoruba people is to preserve the family name and legacy (Oluduro, 2014).

2.3.2 Economic Consideration

The plight of young girls and women as regards achievement of social transformation and equal access to resources within the household and paid employment is still minimal (Jones et al., 2010). Some of the discriminatory social institutions also constrain access to opportunities and self-fulfillment of girls and women. In Vietnam, such social institutions are often based on patriarchal culture and family norms can contribute to gender disparities in access to productive employment, financial services and resources and limit access to properties, inheritance and empowerment for married women (Jones et al., 2010).

Son preference is also associated with economic power and in many cases the regard for sons over daughters continues because of parents' preparation for their old age (Almond, Edlund & Milligan, 2013). Old age support used to be a form of retirement plan that parents fall on to ensure the maintenance of their upkeep when they have past the stage of participating in any form of profitable labor (Ding & Zhang, 2009). Culture has been considered as a perpetuator of gender inequality and contributing to the problem of poverty, lack of resources for girls and women at all stages of their lives (Jones et al., 2010).

Patriarchal culture is noted for controlling females, this include their rights to education and paid work. Women have been domesticated without financial benefits as they do not get monetary rewards for the many roles they play in the home. It is also important to state that low education of females directly affects their access to better employment and opportunities for career advancement. The patriarchal culture is also partly responsible for low investment in girl child education because females are regarded as temporary members of their family, when they

get married all investments on them will benefit their new family. Hence, many fathers who have the means to educate their daughters feel it is a waste of resources to sow where they will not reap any rewards. This is a fundamental cultural mentality that has affected the financial independence of many women today.

2.4 Implication of Son preference on the status of Women

Culture determines the status of individuals and the power they exert in any society because all cultures are gender sensitive and gender relationship is a vital practice that influences the lives of men and women in any society (Eguavoen et al., 2007). Indication that son preference is a harmful cultural practice on women is manifest in the low level of education, decision -making and economic power of females (Eklund, 2011 & Oyefara, 2011).

2.4.1 Social-Cultural and Economic Implication of Son Preference

Gender roles have been defined by culture before birth, therefore little can be done to change the roles ascribed to a particular sex and any deviant behavior towards the expected conformity will lead to grave consequences (Kinanee & Ezekiel-Hart, 2009). Culture is so important that it affects the roles and authority that males and females play and exercise respectively because it can potentially determine the opportunities and privileges the sexes enjoy (Eguavoen et al., 2007). This is particularly reflected in the roles women and girls play traditionally and these roles relate to care-giving, motherhood and other domestic works that not necessarily require education (Kinanee & Ezekiel-Hart, 2009).

It has been observed that some cultures in Africa and Asia tend to place male and female children as persons with different capabilities and potentials and the importance of the male child in contrast to his female counterpart can be seen in the inheritance rights of males and females in those cultures (Izugbara, 2010 and Aluko, 2015). In many patriarchal societies, women's ability

to own property is largely determined by their spouses although Aluko (2015) argues that Yoruba women enjoy some level of independence to own property which their husbands cannot lay claim to.

Inheritance as a cultural practice among the Yoruba is not women friendly. Traditionally, the issue of will was non-existent. Thus, after the burial of the deceased, the oracle is consulted to fix a time for the sharing of the property (human -wives, offices and materials). Sharing of offices is male centered as women cannot be made the head of the family (Familusi, 2012). No matter how young a male child is, he is superior to female children in this regard. However, it is not impossible for female children to inherit property, especially when they are single, but this is not always the case for married women because of the belief that they belong to their husbands and it is not dignifying for a married woman to claim any right regarding inheriting her father's property (Aluko, 2015).

According to Nnadi (2013), inheritance rights in Igbo land, Nigeria is more hostile as women do not have any right to inherit anything from their fathers. If a man dies without having a son, his belongings go to his brother or uncle, and his name is believed to have been lost. This is why having a male child in the area is considered compulsory and the relevance of the name Ahamefula- My name is not lost. Hence, it is important to note that while a woman may not inherit, she could be inherited, thus, traditionally wives of the deceased were part of his property. In such a situation, she could be inherited by somebody too old for her or somebody who may be younger than her son (Ndu & Uzochukwu, 2011).

Oluduro (2014) confirms that culture undoubtedly still plays an important role in the lives of the people because it is one of the instruments that perpetuate gender inequality in Nigeria. For example, among the Igbo's in Nigeria, tradition requires that only sons can perform certain

functions and hold certain religious as well as cultural positions; the first son by tradition inherits the Ofor title which is the symbol of the family authority and represents the family in religious matters (Oluduro, 2014).

A Hausa slogan that describes demeaning attitude toward a female child's birth says *ba ayi komai ba, macce ta haifi mace*, which is translated as 'nothing is gained by a female giving birth to a female' which implies that son preference is an indication of the exclusion and inequalities in inheritance rights between males and females (DFID, 2005). In addition, in some societies, having a son ensures that families are more economically secured by not having to provide dowry payments, but rather being on the receiving end of the payment (Seager, 2009a). Furthermore, in countries where there are discriminatory practices regarding women inheriting, owning or controlling land by law, having a son ensures that the family will not have to worry about the legal outcome if something were to happen to them (Seager, 2009b). Although medical advancement can pre-determine the sex of a fetus, this technology may be responsible for the prevention of the birth of girls which has reportedly contributed to distorted sex ratio of boys to girls in India and China (Jha et al, 2011).

In order to prevent discriminatory consequences on daughters for a lifetime, some parents prefer to have sons instead and this prevention may be through inhumane means like sex selective abortions and female infanticide (Seager, 2009a). A situation where there is higher percentage of boys in comparison to girls may present consequences such as increased child trafficking and kidnapping of women and girls, rise in sexual crime rates as well as maintaining the preference that empowers men, yet devalue women in the society (Seager, 2009b).

With regard to empowerment, women can have a breakthrough with formal education. Education undeniably exposes men and women alike to different perspectives that can influence

a change in their lifestyle. There is a strong correlation between the adoption of western education and values and a higher status for women because it depicts how the spread of ideologies and norms, i.e. cultural globalization, directly impacts the social standing of Sub-Saharan African women (Shoola, 2013). In Nigeria, women are sometimes perceived to be more progressive if they observe western codes of conduct and social norms (Okome, 2005). But this perception still has limited impact on the cultural expectations on women; notwithstanding their educational attainment.

The organization for economic co-operation and development defined economic empowerment as the capacity of men and women to participate in, contribute to and benefit from growth processes in ways which recognize the value of their contributions, respect their dignity and make it possible to negotiate a fairer distribution of the benefits of growth (Malaba, 2006). Between men and women, over 70% of the global poor are women with very limited access to decent employment and even limited financial resources (Eyben, 2008). Thus, the financial status of women in many countries of the world can be said to reflect on their nutrition, health, education, access to safe housing, clean water, good sanitation and several other necessary and basic living conditions (Malaba, 2006)

Furthermore, poverty has been explained as resulting from limited access to basic infrastructure and services and is worsened by peoples' lack of access to productive resources such as land, credit facilities and also lack of institutions and other resources needed for sustainable livelihoods. Therefore, the aforementioned indices of poverty are similar to those from which women are excluded and discriminated against (Malaba, 2006). As portrayed by many scholars, in some cultures, women are seen as properties, more specifically in Nigeria,

among the Yoruba tribe, women are expected to submit themselves, income, and bodies to their husbands who are in the rightful position to decide what is best for women (Oluduro, 2014).

Skalli, (2001), explains poverty as ‘a multifaceted interaction between material lack, social exclusion, insecurity, powerlessness, humiliation and marginalization’. Women are more impoverished than men yet a study found that women often deny themselves of basic needs, such as food in order to protect their children or partners (spouse) from the consequences of poverty (Bastos *et al.*, 2009). Although women participate in the labor force globally, especially in agricultural sector, only about 10% of the income generated goes to women; this is in contrast to the high representation (66%) of women who perform most of the world’s work, producing over 50% of food but infinitely small proportion (1%) have access to properties (Clinton, 2009).

Women’s empowerment is very important to improving the developing world and to achieve this, all forms of discrimination and persistent gender inequalities resulting from ethnicity and culture must be addressed (OECD, 2010). These inequalities include unequal division of domestic work between men and women which keeps women busy without any economic reward and it is a major constraint to the inclusion of women, especially nursing mothers in the labor market; it is also a major cause of poverty among women (ILO, 2009).

2.4.2 Implication on Female Education

Prior to the introduction of western education, Yoruba people had a system of transmitting cultural values to the next generation and education to the average Yoruba person implies home training which covers a variety of learning skills such as house chores, lessons on how to speak, act or behave appropriately; especially to elders (Familusi, 2012). It also includes lessons on traditional ethics and norms, language development, interpretation of customs among others (Oguntomisin, 2005). Both direct [folktales, stories, proverbs, songs, chants names, and oral

forms] and indirect [signs, gestures and symbolic means] or training are given through verbal and non-verbal forms in formal and informal situations (Aduradola, 2010). Indeed both male and female children are exposed to home training, but female children are the focal point of domestic training because they are expected to replicate this in their homes after marriage. Thus, western education was mostly enjoyed by boys while girls stayed back to take care of the home (Adebisi, 2009).

However, with regards to western education; Sultana (2011) asserts that in a patriarchal society, parents have a biased perception regarding the education which excludes girls but favor boys such that from infancy a woman is shelved from developing her qualities compared to boys. Familusi (2012) describes parent's bias towards girl education as they believe such expenses are unprofitable and unrewarding for a child who will ultimately belong to her husband's family. Thus, the chances of a girl receiving education are further limited by the low income of her family which directly affects how much resources may be allocated to her (Gaudin, 2011). The perception that the traditional roles of females are such that they do not require formal education to perform domestic tasks, has indeed restricted opportunities for girls to get quality education (Nagaraja et al., 2013). This has been reported as a rationale for low female education in some developing countries like Bangladesh, Pakistan and India (Bhattacharya, 2012). This is also the case in Kenyan culture where sons have access and rights to inheritance while daughters are denied this right. It further exposes the rationale for low investment in girls (Jackson, 2010; Quisumbing, 2007).

2.5 Theoretical Perspective

2.5.1 Theory of Patriarchy (Sylvia Walby, 1990)

Theory is the contextual basis for research to be conducted (Bryman, 2012). Therefore, the theory of Patriarchy informed this study. This theory falls under the umbrella of the Feminist theory. Many feminist scholars have discussed patriarchy, such as Mary Daly, Harris, Mirkin and Adrienne Rich. However, the contribution of Sylvia Walby (1990) guides the current study. A comprehensive overview of the variety of ways to explain women's subordination in contemporary society was outlined by Walby (1990). Her explanation falls into four distinctive perspectives namely; Marxist feminism, radical feminism, liberalism and dual-systems theory. For the purpose of this study, the radical feminist approach to patriarchy was used.

According to Walby 1990, radical feminism is distinguished by its analysis of gender inequality in which men, as a group, dominate women as a group. Men are the main beneficiaries of the subordination of women and this system of domination is regarded as patriarchy. Women have been enslaved to a mentality of male dominance and control through the system of patriarchy. Walby also explains that sexuality is one major point of male domination over women, because it is a means through which men impose their notion of femininity on women. Other points of male dominance pointed out by Walby include violence, culture and the state (patriarchal system).

Furthermore, Walby provides that the theory of patriarchy views males as a dominant class that possess the power to develop ideas, culture, norms, values, recreation and whatever else that will suit their needs. This power is exerted over women; hence women can only have access to privileges based on the extent to which patriarchy allows them. Patriarchy denotes male dominance in all areas affecting the life of females including religious control of women and

feminists mainly use patriarchy to describe the power relationship between men and women (Sultana, 2011) Thus, patriarchy is more than just a term; feminists like Walby use it as a concept, and like all other concepts it is a tool to help us understand women's realities.

A woman is conceptualized as a powerless victim of tradition as patriarchy permeates every sphere of life including the very language which explains the indiscriminate subordination of women (Bhasin, 2006). She further argues that patriarchy is equivalent to culture and culture is patriarchy thus she describes the social structure as a determinant of the behavior and perception of individuals living within the society. Mary Daly supported Walby's point when she described patriarchy as a "gang rape" of the mind and body of women by traditional institutions. Daly believed that women are enslaved to patriarchs (men) and this is maintained through socialization (Mirkin, 1984:42).

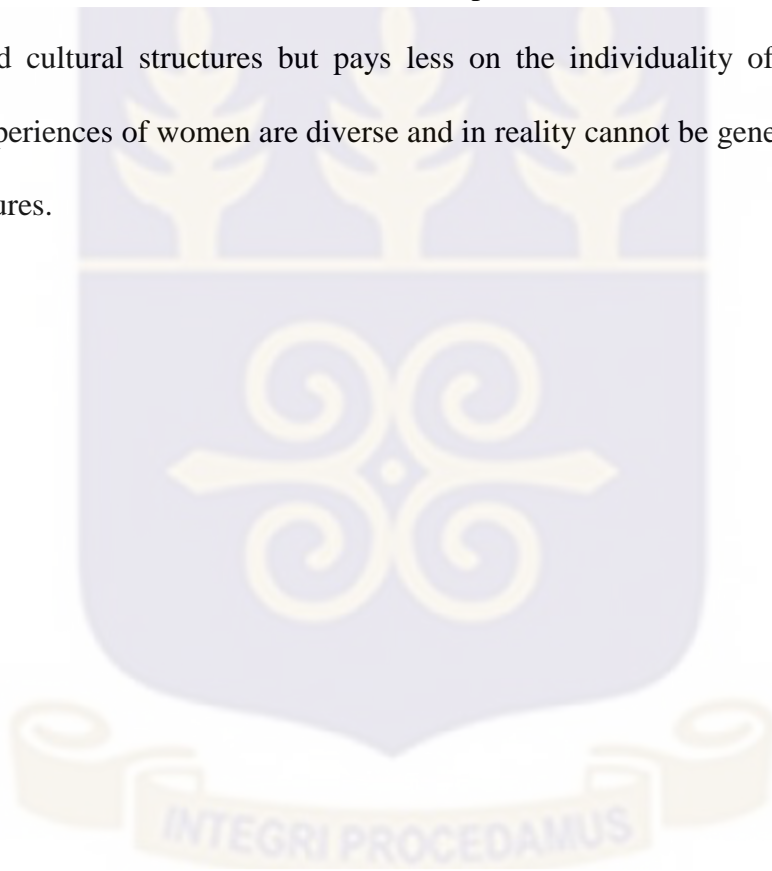
In addition, a study by Sultana (2011) confirms the position of Walby's perspective about the theory; that patriarchy maintains women subordination in various forms including 'discrimination, disregard, insult, control, exploitation, oppression, violence within the family, at the place of work, and in society. A common trait of patriarchal systems often includes son preference, discrimination against girls with respect to education, decision making, inheritance, domestic work as well as violation of females' rights to movement, to autonomy of their bodies, and widespread sexual harassment (Sultana, 2011).

2.5.2 Usefulness of the Theory of Patriarchy

This theory is useful in understanding how patriarchy influences the status of women among a culturally sensitive group. The theory of patriarchy has informed many gender studies and research about male dominance. It is therefore applicable to this study because Yoruba culture is patrilineal, patri-local and patriarchal in structure (Oyediran, 2006). The theory also explains the

basis for male dominance over females and the power relations between Yoruba men and women. In addition, the theory is used to explain the role of men, in maintaining the social order of dominance and female subordination.

The theory of patriarchy is an extension of the Radical Feminist theory and it is fundamental to gender research (Sultana, 2011); it guided the collection as well as analysis of data in this study. However, one major weakness of the theory of patriarchy is the impression of a universal experience of all women as victims of the patriarchs (victimizers). Its focus is mainly on the social and cultural structures but pays less on the individuality of people within the structure. The experiences of women are diverse and in reality cannot be generalized even within patriarchal structures.



CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In this chapter is a detailed explanation of the methods that were used for study. The section describes the methods and procedures used in this research which includes; the study population, sample size, the data collection techniques and the methods of data analysis.

3.1 Research Design

The research design is described as the plan, structure and strategy of investigation conceived so as to attain answers to research questions (Ogunjuyigbe & Fadeyi, 2001). Qualitative research aims at providing an in-depth and interpreted understanding of the social world of research participants by learning about the circumstances, experiences and perspectives of people affected by a phenomenon under study (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). This study employed a qualitative research design as the objectives of the study are aimed at providing an in-depth understanding of the factors responsible for son preference and the implication of son preference on daughters.

3.2 Study Location

The study was carried out in Ibadan, the capital city of Oyo state. It was previously known as Eba'dan and has 33 local government areas and 11 local government areas located within Ibadan metropolis and its suburb. There are 5 local government areas in Ibadan metropolis and 6 local government areas in suburbs. It is located in south-west Nigeria and the principal inhabitants of the city are the Yoruba ethnic group (Nigeria Demographics Profile, 2013). The area is relevant to the study because it is a semi-urban community with a vast majority of Yoruba people. The semi-urban nature of the area indicates changing perspectives of the population due to the

influence of development, urbanization and socialization. Some of the major economic activities in the study area include: agriculture and farming, metal crafting, trading and civil service.

Data was collected in Dugbe market, Aleshinloye market, and Forestry Research Institute.

3.3 Population and Sampling Technique

Target population for the study was married Yoruba men and women living in Ibadan, Nigeria. Purposive sampling technique was used to select participants. The purposive sampling method helps researchers to select a sample on the basis of knowledge of a population, its elements and the purpose of the study (Creswell, 2009). The criteria for inclusion in the study were: (1) that the person was a Yoruba man or woman who was married, and (2) such a person has at least one child.

It is not possible to interview all the target population; therefore twenty four respondents participated in the study. Sixteen women were recruited because the study is focused on the experiences and challenges women face if they don't give birth to a male child in their marriage. Eight men were recruited to enrich the findings of this study as the men provided useful information about what informs their preferences and the implications on their daughters. Men were recruited by purposive sampling method from the study population. The age of inclusion was eighteen and above because this is the legal age of an adult in Nigeria. Age of participants was between twenty eight to eighty five years. Five public servants, sixteen traders, two retirees and one dependent (aged woman living with her daughter) were included in the study. Participants were selected through a contact person in each of the selected locations.

3.4 Method of Data Collection

The data collection process involved the researcher introducing herself to the potential participants and explaining to them the purpose of the research. Data was collected over a period

of eight days from three locations. The researcher visited each location a day before collecting data, to select participants, based on their willingness to be part of the study. On the days on which the interviews were conducted, the informed consent form was read to participants and their verbal consent was sought before interview commenced. A topic guide designed for the purpose of this study was used to conduct interviews with selected interviewees and it served as a guide for participants to provide relevant information while making the allowance for the interviewer to further probe responses (Bryman, 2008).

The guide was developed in English language, while interviews with participants were conducted in both English and Yoruba Languages. The interview guide had four parts namely; social demographics, social factors that influence son preference, consequences of not bearing a male child on women and implications of son preference on the status of females (daughters). There were twenty open-ended questions focusing on the purpose and objectives of the study and five sub-questions which supported the twenty general questions. The questions helped participants to reflect back on their past experiences and describe the present situation in their lives.

The research guide helped the researcher to probe further into the responses of participants based on their personal experiences and that of a loved one or acquaintance. The guide included questions such as the respondents' knowledge on sex determination, their perception of sex selective abortions, and opinion concerning females' access to inheritance and property. The researcher was able to probe into the factors contributing to son preference, consequences of not delivering male children and the implications of such preference on the status of daughters. The interview questions were translated into Yoruba language for some

participants. Permission was also sought from participants to record the interviews on an audio recorder.

Interview sessions lasted for an average of thirty minutes each and they were conducted at a convenient time (during the day) and place (shops and offices) for participants. The interviews were one-on-one and for clarity, some questions were re- asked or reconstructed to ensure the researcher captures the meanings and ideas being described by respondents.

3.5 Data Handling and Analysis

After the collection of raw data on the field with the audio recorder, the data was stored on a password protected computer and external hard drive to prevent loss of data and to ensure data confidentiality. The recordings were painstakingly transcribed from audio to a text format and the data in Yoruba language were first translated to English language. The data was analyzed using John Creswell's (2009) framework which follows six steps;

1. Data organization and preparation; data was first transcribed from audio to text format using Microsoft Word 2010.
2. Reading through all the data; after transcription, read through the data corpus to familiarize myself with the ideas and language use of participants.
3. Coding of the data; based on each objective of the study, categorize data and label according to meanings or interpretation.
4. Generate themes; emerging ideas are grouped under themes and presented as major findings.
5. Description of data; findings are described using excerpts of quotations from participants.
6. Interpretation of data; findings are compared with reviewed literature and theoretical perspective used in the study (Creswell, 2009).

3.6 Ethical Considerations

Informed Consent

Without coercion, the participants were informed about the purpose of the study and they were willing to provide information based on their freewill. The participants in all three locations had the consent form read and explained to them before they were interviewed and the researcher obtained verbal consent before proceeding with the interviews. The informed consent form contained the purpose of the study and assurance of confidentiality and anonymity of participants' responses.

Confidentiality and Anonymity

The researcher explained to participants that the data will be treated carefully and protected. Only the research team could have access to data. Anonymity will ensure that information provided by participants will not be traced to their identity or revealed to any third party.

Plagiarism

All secondary data sought from literature (books and archival materials) to enrich the study were duly acknowledged to avoid academic malpractice.

Delimitations and limitations

According to Rudestam & Newton (2007), delimitation allows for a restraint on the research design. The study was purposefully limited to married Yoruba men and women, who were resident in Ibadan and had at least one child. The reason for this inclusion is because is majorly because it is not possible to include all Yoruba people in an exploratory study such as this. Thus, the researcher assumed that people who have at least one child and were married according to traditional rites would be able to provide reliable feedback on the implication of son preference on daughters in their home. However, the inclusion criteria of married persons may have limited

the research, where there may have been a possible bias towards single parents who may have valuable information about the study. The limitation implies that the sample population may not be a true representation of the attitudes and experiences of Yoruba people towards son preference. The researcher had to translate interview questions from English language to Yoruba language for some participants who could not express themselves in English and for those who preferred to respond in Yoruba language. The interviews conducted in Yoruba put those participants at ease as they were comfortable and willing to express themselves.

Thus, during the translations, some information gathered may have been misinterpreted or lost. Some other limitations of this study were; interruption by customers during some interviews in the two market locations. This was a form of distraction and led to the repetition of questions and gaps in the responses. Participants had no access to analyzed data due to time constraint in collecting and transcribing the data. This limits the accuracy of data collected and the findings. More so, out of twenty four participants of the study, nineteen were Christians while five were Muslims. There were no participants in this study who practiced Yoruba traditional religion; hence the study may be limited to the extent of the researcher's interpretation of the impact of son preference on daughters from religious point of view.

In addressing the limitations of this study; the researcher employed the assistance of an interpreter to ask questions in Yoruba for participants who could not speak English language fluently. All interviews were recorded and some translated from Yoruba to English Verbatim. The researcher used a language dictionary to transcribe the nearest words in meaning of specific Yoruba connotations used by participants, thereby minimizing loss of data. In addition, the use of a tape recorder to record interview sessions helped the researcher to pause and continue interview after any distraction or interruption.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the demographic features of participants, analysis of field data, and the findings of the study are presented and discussed in comparison with related research findings that have been reviewed in chapter two. Therefore, the analysis presents findings based on the objectives of the study.

4.1 Presentation of Data

Field data was collected by the use of interviews from twenty four participants. The study was categorized into three themes based on the research objectives as presented below;

- Societal factors that influence son preference among Yoruba men and women.
- Challenges of not having male children among Yoruba women.
- Realities of the status of daughters among male siblings.

4.2.0 Demographic Characteristics of Participants

A summary of the demographic background of participants is presented. It includes, sex and age of participants, educational level, number of children, sex of children, occupation and religion. The researcher initially included only women in the study, but later decided to include men to enrich the findings. Out of the eight men included, four of them had only daughters (all four wanted their wives to give birth to a son), one had only sons and three had both sexes. Out of the sixteen women, two had only daughters, three had only sons and nine had both sexes. The number of children born by participants' ranged from one to ten children and men were found to have more children than women.

The age of participants ranged from twenty eight years to eighty five years. As regards education, three completed primary school, five completed secondary school, nine completed

tertiary education, four had Masters' degree, two had doctorate and one had no formal education. With respect to religion, there were nineteen Christians and five Muslims. Occupation of participants was mainly entrepreneurial or trading, there were five Public servants, two retired public servants and one was a dependent.

The demographic characteristics of participants were found to have impacted the findings of the study. Religion and education of parents influenced parents to value daughters as well as sons because they believed that children are blessings from God and people should be satisfied with whatever gender God blesses them with. While the elderly participants provided information on the reasons why sons were more valued in the past, younger participants especially women suggested that they had no reason to prefer sons and mostly preferred daughters because of their kind, caring nature.

The main findings are presented in accordance with the specific objectives previously identified in Chapter one of this study:

4.3.0 Factors that influence son preference among married Yoruba men and women

One major objective of this study was to explore factors contributing to son preference among the Yoruba's. There were various factors identified by participants and a combination of some of these factors present reasons for sons being valued more than daughters. Two main factors included; Sociocultural Factors such as preservation of identity, care and support for aged parents, and royalty and Individual Factors such as level of education, exposure and socialization.

4.3.1 Sociocultural Factors

The Yoruba culture is fundamentally patriarchal and this was found to be the major socio-cultural factor that contributed to son preference. The factors are divided into themes and they are explained with quotations from participants of the study. They include; preservation of family identity, care and support for aged parents, and royalty.

Preservation of Family Identity

The study participants, both men and women alike, identified that sons were much more valued in the family because they carried on the family name and had the responsibility to ensure that the family lineage and heritage were preserved. Below are some participants' responses on preservation of name and family identity:

Men want someone who will carry on their family name. This trend is now changing among the elites because they do not attach importance to the sex of children now. But basically, men want someone who will retain their name and take over after their exit. (Mr. Adeniyi, 2015).

The following participants affirmed that a daughter's marriage and change of name is also a contribution to preference for sons:

When a woman gets married, she abandons the family name; you can no longer associate her with her father's name and she will go to her husband's house. There is a need for someone to bear the family name and carry on whatever are the family values; and such a person has to be a man or male (Mrs Khadijat, 2015).

A daughter will eventually go to her husband's house and she won't bear her father's name (surname) again. She will change her name to her husband's name and the name will go into extinction but if a woman bears 6 daughters(only females), that name will

eventually go into extinction at the end of the day because they will all bear their husband's names (Mrs Adeoye, 2015).

A woman can bear her father's name but it is not possible to add your maiden name to your children's name because they belong to the husband's family. A woman cannot give birth to children who will bear her father's name but instead the children will bear her husband's family name (Mr. Biodun, 2015).

Two female participants insisted that despite a rise in literacy level, culture still holds an important place in society. They further explained that having a son is more important in the culture of Igbos of south eastern Nigeria (one of the three major ethnic groups). A woman could be excluded from participating in family meetings and discussions if she does not bear a son because she has failed to produce a heir for her husband.

We still have some families where if you don't have a boy, you will be irrelevant. Like my Igbo neighbors always say that if you don't have a boy; ah! No...The pressure is too much. In Yoruba culture, we are getting relieved, especially among the elites. If you don't have a son; you are nothing, nowhere to be found. Even in some gatherings they will tell you; No, no no! Madam you don't have to say anything because you don't have a male child in this family. So when others are talking, you keep quiet (Mrs Korede, 2015).

It is more prevalent among the Igbo's because they believe a man or woman who does not have a male child is yet to have children. But for me as a Yoruba woman, I don't count it as important. Some people do among the Yoruba's but it is not everybody (Mrs Dara, 2015).

These participants registered their bias towards sons arising from the need to have an heir and remnant in the family to maintain authority in family affairs and to pass on values and norms of the family to younger generation.

As Yoruba's, we believe that it is better to have a son so that you will have an heir in the family in case someone gets old; there will be someone to remain at home. People fear that their name will be wiped out, that is why they want a Daudu [someone that will stand when I'm no longer there]; the head of the family (Mr Rasaq, 2015).

Yes, there is son preference among Yorubas, we believe sons are the Daudu. Also, because of the name and the continuity of the family name (Mrs Coker, 2015).

Another participant indicated that sons are considered as the heir to possess the family property when parents pass away eventually.

Some people feel if they don't have a son, they have not given birth to an heir of the home and that a son is still much better than a daughter. The reason people may prefer sons is so that the family won't go into extinction. Some men feel they need someone to take over when they are gone and continue the family name (Mrs Adeoye, 2015).

Care and Support for the Elderly

The study found that the breakdown of the extended family system and marriage practices in Yoruba culture has influenced the way people care for the elderly. Two of the respondents made the following observations:

You know when you have a female child; she will get married and go to her husband's house; she won't be seen around unlike a son who may be with the family in the same compound or town. It's not possible for a female child to leave her family to come and stay with her parents for a long period of time. But sons can do that; they can bring their

whole family to spend holidays; sometimes a week long and there is no problem (Mr Rasqa, 2015).

When a woman gets married, she creates another family and forgets her parents. But it is not all children that behave like this. I pray that my children will help in the future (Mrs Eko, 2015).

In Yoruba culture, marriage marshals daughters out of the family of their birth into their husband's family, while sons remain and marry wives into the family. This means that sons are considered more reliable to assist in every day running of the household, farm land and family business in the long run while daughters will eventually end up contributing their labor to their new family.

A participant believed that:

In Yoruba land, there is preference for sons over daughters because we believe that a son is a pillar (remnant) in the home. At least when a daughter gets married, anything done to her/for her will be taken to her husband's house but a son will hold the family together (Mrs Bose, 2015).

Another participant shared her childhood experience in the hands of her father who refused to invest in his daughters.

My father had 5 wives and he trained only his sons because he believed the sons will buy him a car and take care of him in his old age while we female children will pack ourselves to another man's house and bear his name. So definitely with this belief, he took care of his sons more than he did for us females (Mrs Ogo, 2015).

Royalty and Posterity

In Yoruba culture, a royal stool is occupied only by a man and no woman holds the most prestigious traditional position in any Yoruba town. This is another major factor that influences son preference among Yoruba people. The culture is maintained by perceptions about and attitudes towards the headship of men in society. It is almost unheard of that a woman should hold traditional positions. The most significant roles women may be allowed to occupy are leaders of market women associations or other female dominated craft unions but there are no queen mothers.

However, to ensure that a Yoruba monarch has a successor when he dies, he is required to have a son biologically related to him; otherwise the royal stool will be occupied by another royal family. A male participant indicated that this is one of the reasons why many Yoruba kings are into polygamous marriages.

Ideally, if you are from the royal family, you need a son because in a royal family, women cannot ascend the throne; kings have several wives so that at least one of the wives would bear a male child. The wife that bears the first son is the mother of the heir to the throne (Mr. Abiodun, 2015).

However, a female participant explained that women; when given a leadership position do not live up to expectations.

In Yoruba land, I have never heard that a woman became Queen or ascends the throne. A woman cannot become a Queen only in Ondo state where women can be regent, but they usually mess up and disappoint. You know women are proud, I am a woman and I know this (Mrs Coker).

One participant however, indicated her preference for daughters, stating that the major difference between the sexes is the fact that only sons have access to royal stools, she also suggests that non royals have no justification to prefer sons.

Daughters are very important but maybe for those that come from royal families; sons are important. Apart from that, daughters are the best (Mrs Idowu).

The value placed on childbearing is intense and one of the participants' response confirmed that failure to give birth to a son may be viewed as unfortunate and in extreme cases it becomes synonymous with barrenness.

The regard for sons has been throughout history. People believe that only those who give birth to male children have indeed procreated or reproduced. If a man has two wives and one of them does not bear male children people will say she didn't bear him a heir. It has been like that since previous generations that men must bear sons (Mrs Adeoye, 2015).

This participant reported the situation of a close friend:

I had friend who is a prince and he waited for 10years after which the lord blessed him with three girls in succession. I asked him if he won't have more children because he is a royal breed, he will need a prince; he said; to pay school fees is trouble; to tell this woman to be pregnant again is another trouble for me. To buy diaper, is work. So to me, I don't see any big deal in boy/girl. Anyone that comes, it is God's blessing oh! (Mrs Korede, 2015).

High Expectations from Sons

Similar to providing support in old age, sons are also expected to be great achievers and make their parents and family proud. Although many participants noted this point as a rationale for which parents invest more in their sons than daughters, some participants stated clearly that

they realized that equal opportunities and investment in both sons and daughters greatly increases the chance for both male and female children to have a bright future.

These participants observed:

It is believed that when one has male children, they can go places; but that was then. Now; there is nothing good that a man can do, that a woman cannot even do better because they've realized that it's not only the male children that can attain great heights in life. We now have female presidents and ministers in Africa; like Liberia's Sir-Leaf-Johnson; she's a female and she is the president; likewise in Nigeria (Mr Rasaan).

Education has changed perception of people towards having sons to some extent, especially now that we are seeing women becoming successful and attaining great heights. Now, women perform better than men in their families (Mrs Oke, 2015).

Some participants spoke against the special focus on sons, stating that daughters could do better if given the opportunity. They reflected on their past perceptions and current experiences of women's achievements in present day society.

Things are now turning around because I don't think my mom went to school; I am not too sure; because of that she was only allowed to trade. We concentrated so much on the male child but things are changing; we have discovered that as much as we give both sexes equal rights; the women are even doing better (Mr Kola, 2015).

In this generation, women do what men do too. May God have mercy on us! Things we thought women could not do; they now do even much more than men (Mrs Adio).

The reason why our parents then were not giving consideration to females was because they thought women cannot become something tangible in the society or become important or hold positions in the society (Mr Kola, 2015).

4.3.2 Individual Factors

Individual preference for sons or lack of a particular gender preference may depend on the level of education, exposure and religion of a participant. Responses of participants suggests that individuals have their personal regard for sons which includes birth of a son as proof of male strength or potency, as well as the natural desire to have a replica of ones-self.

A participant indicated his personal desire for a son and his disposition towards having one. He remarked:

It is normal. I'm a man. I will like to have a son but I won't pressure my wife or make my wife suffer for that; it's not up to that level (Mr Rasaan, 2015).

It depends on the kind of people involved; the understanding. Some men don't believe that it is compulsory to have a son. There are individual differences. My husband was particularly happy about having a girl as first child. Individual differences and education matters a lot. It is just like a natural phenomenon that people want to have a male child; I think it is natural maybe in Africa and in Nigeria because sons are held in high esteem (Mrs Oke, 2015).

A female participant identified the preference and strong need for a son as a necessity borne out of undue pressure from society and family members. However, she was of the opinion that having daughters is much more beneficial for women in their old age. She buttressed her stand appositely:

I used to feel sorry for women who have no sons and I wished that such women will have at least one son, but now I'm more enlightened. It is better for a woman to have all girls than all boys. Heaven knows the kind of wives the sons will marry. A woman who has only girls should thank God because it's not possible for a girl not to have emotional attachment towards her mother. (Mrs Oke, 2015).

Religious Beliefs

Some interviewees acknowledged that because of their religion (Islam) they know better than to show preferences amongst their children, as it is ungodly and the sex of children is determined by God:

Religion is the main deal, and the most important. Once a person is religious and understands the faith, any human desire for children will be treated in the light of one's faith. There's no height in life a man gets to, that a woman cannot attain as well (Mrs Aishat, 2015).

It is not compulsory to bear a male child. It is God's decision. It is men who lack understanding that threaten to separate from their wives if she does not bear a son.

Women attain greater heights than men these days (Mr. Ige, 2015).

A male participant, who has only female children, explained that the ability to bear a son was divine and depends solely on God. His response reflected an awareness and acceptance of the man's responsibility in determining the sex of a child and that ultimately God determines the sex of a child. He pinpointed that:

It is males that determine what the sex of a child will be and he does not have power over it except God. It is what I donate to my wife that she will produce to me as a child. It is not her fault or her problem for producing only females (Mr Rasaan).

A Christian participant also explained her religious inclinations:

If you're a real Christian, you will not think that way or prefer one sex to the other. A real child of God that has the knowledge of God won't do that. I'm a Redeem (Pentecostal church) member, in my former church, the pastor there was a woman; she was even my friend. Redeem church accepts and ordains women as pastors. We have many female ministers (Mrs, Dara, 2015).

Education and Socialization

Some participants reported that son preference persists even among the elite; in spite of the level of education some cultural values and myths are maintained. However, many participants attributed the persistence of son preference to lack of education, wrong perception of who determines the sex of a child between a couple as well as a biased understanding of the value of children.

Two female participants explained that their education helped them to appreciate the value of both sexes equally.

I am somebody who has my own mind and I do things based on facts. I don't just want to accept views just like that except you are able to support your opinion or view with facts and then with my level of education, I don't think anyone would have been able to convince me that I must have girls or boys (Mrs Khadijat, 2015).

Some people still prefer sons, but it is now minimized unlike before because of education, civilization and people now travel outside the country and see what is happening in other places; they stop thinking like they used to when they have a new orientation (Mrs.Dara, 2015).

A female participant, although educated, provided limited knowledge about how the sex of a child is determined as she thought her husband was not performing well to produce a son. She reiterated:

I remember someone told me if I am not having a male child; maybe it is because my husband is not performing (sexually) very well because he is the one that releases the eggs; maybe during intercourse; he is lazy. It is what he deposited that is what he gives birth to. Had it been that he had worked very well; he would have put more extra XX (laughing) (Mrs Mary, 2015).

Another female participant attributes her lack of preference for sons to her upbringing and she feels responsible to retain same among her children. She desires a son but does not feel a compulsive need to ensure she bears one by all means. She also considers her desire for a son to be harmless and without negative consequences. She specified her thoughts by saying that:

It has to do with the way the male children are brought up; their psychology. Irrespective of the level of education, I think many people still want to have male children and even among the Yoruba's. I think when you look at the science of it, it's not the woman that determines the sex of the child and I think people need more awareness, and information. Sometimes you think that because someone is educated that person won't be thinking in that line; but most times you get it wrong when you interact with people (Mrs Khadijat, 2015).

A male participant also maintains that the style of his upbringing has influenced his preference;

Although my dad and mom are not learned or educated people; despite that they gave us equal rights so why would I do differently even with their effort to send me to school to a

level? I have to reciprocate the same in my own family and copy that from my own father and mother (Mr. Rasaq).

At a naming ceremony with my friends; it is true; I will feel somehow; initially I will feel somehow that this is a male child born to my friend while I am having female children; but as I am not the alpha and omega; there is nothing I can do because I caused it. It's not the lady that caused it, I am responsible. So in that case, I accept what I have. But failing to accept what you have will lead you to problem in life (Mr. Kola, 2015).

4.4 Consequences of not Bearing Male Sons among Yoruba Women

There were a number of challenges that participants noted which resulted from not bearing sons; they include; health challenges, marital insecurity and in-law interference. Participants indicated that among poorly educated people, illiterates and those in polygamous families, the consequences of a woman without a son are much more pronounced.

The findings to substantiate objective two are discussed under two themes:

4.4.1 Health Challenges

Several issues were noted that could affect a woman's health. The physical health risks mostly noted included: maternal health problems resulting from high birth rate as well as poor child spacing and the risk of childbirth at advanced reproductive years, to ensure that one gives birth to a son. Psychological abuse is also a mental health consequence of son preference as it results from indirect pressures mounted on women and the stigmatization for bearing only female children. Below are the responses of some participants:

People decide to continue bearing children in hope for a son despite the economic situation and it shows that the couples are not happy neither is their joy full. They may

say there's no sex that is not good, but in their hearts, they are not satisfied. That is why some women at 45 or 50 years of age are still trying to get pregnant in order to bear a son. One of my aunties clocked fifty last month; during her thanksgiving service, she said her prayer request is that God should bless her with twin boys. This is in spite of the fact that she already has children (Mrs Bose, 2015).

For a woman looking for a male child, it can influence the number of children she has. Having many children affects a woman's health. We depreciate as we give birth and as we get older it becomes more difficult and risky to have children (Mrs Mary, 2015).

There is so much fear in women that do not have a son, such that even after delivery a woman who discovers she has delivered a girl yet again may take a deep breath and die. So in Africa, women are discriminated against and suffer a lot (Mrs Coker, 2015).

You are endangering her life. If a female child is not born, how will a man get a wife in the future and vice-versa? But the issue is that it's not proper to keep having up to 8, 9, 10 children because you are seeking a particular sex. If it's only 3 children you can afford to have, give birth to them and take care of them because many births endanger the mother's life. I've worked in a hospital before and I know that the more a woman gives birth, the weaker she becomes. Women face a lot of danger in childbirth. After first, second, third, fourth, fifth issue, it reduces her lifespan (Mr Jude, 2015).

A woman stressed the negative impact of wanting a son by all means as a risk to a woman's health. She believed:

It affects maternal health. For example, if a woman goes for a scan and she discovers that she's going to have a female child and she tells her husband or family members who

want a male child; she may not be given so much attention and you know she needs to access health care. The man says after all you're going to have a girl. Sometimes when it comes to the issue of having more children; a man who is eager to have a son but is having daughters will always want to quickly make his wife pregnant as soon as she has a baby (Mrs Khadijat, 2015).

The cultural expectation to bear sons and the resulting stigma on women that have only daughters have heightened the risk and pressure mounted on women to continue to bear children until a son is born. Participants reported that there are psychological abuse and labels for women that have only female children.

People insult and ridicule a woman who bears no sons. They are usually called "Abigail". I know a woman who has two daughters only; when she got pregnant and delivered, people were asking if it was "Abigail" again (Mrs Coker, 2015).

There are more women in psychiatric hospitals because some have had broken relationships or failed marriages. Also, by having so many children, her health is affected. She won't have rest of mind and she will be thinking excessively (Mrs Mary, 2015).

Some participants also related that women are labelled as witches by their husband and in-laws for bearing only girls:

Ah! Such a woman's mind will not be at rest, she may develop high blood pressure because she knows her foundation in the home is shaky and if her husband marries another woman who bears him a son; she will immediately be labelled a witch because the family will begin to hide that son from her for fear that she may kill him (Mrs Ogooluwa, 2015).

The husband may accuse the woman of witchcraft if she has only female children. People feel there is nothing to achieve by having girls... But you know the in-laws will say it to your face like this that you're a witch, we want male sons from you. We want a male child and such a woman can never have rest of mind or be happy, she will always be thinking of how to get pregnant and give birth to a son to end her shame (Mrs Cynthia, 2015).

4.4.2 Marital Insecurity and In-law interference

Other challenges found to confront women who do not have male children are: interference of in laws, threats of separation or divorce, extra-marital affairs and polygamy. These are threats posed to the welfare and security of a wife remaining in her matrimonial home because the risk of another wife or woman competing with her for the affection and attention of her husband is painful and disrespectful, not to mention the resultant negative effects on the woman's marital experience.

Two participants explained:

Ah! A woman who has no son cannot have peace of mind because if an illegitimate (result of an affair) son is brought to her husband, he will accept the son and most likely marry the mother of his son. Mothers of male children enjoy more than mothers of girls in polygamous family (Mrs Ogooluwa, 2015).

People always ask us to have another child, a boy this time oh! There are people who talk to her (his wife) even from her own family and mine. But I have my life to live. Ah! There are pressures and there would be pressures. They (family members) say it to her (wife) not to me; they won't disturb me. They disturb her so that she will disturb me. That's why I've told my wife not to worry. I will give her one more (child). The moment I try the 4th

one now; if she gives us a boy or girl; no problem; life goes on; I will know that I have tried my best oh and my hands are tied. In as much as the family members are not going to take care of my children for me; I know what I want (Mr. Rasaan, 2015).

A participant's friend was divorced because she had three daughters but no son. The unfortunate experience situation was revealed in the response below:

Ah! There is still son preference in our days because the husband of one of my friends recently had an affair with an alcoholic woman because my friend could not bear him a son; and the alcoholic woman snatched my friend's husband from her (Mrs. Ogooluwa, 2015).

Another participant expressed a parallel view by revealing the case of her brother:

One of my brothers has 9 daughters; he married another wife because he wanted a son but she still had daughters. There's nothing he could do about it; he has accepted it as his fate (Mrs. Aishat, 2015).

The following participants held relatives especially mother-in-law's responsible for instigating marital problems for a woman who has not given birth to a son.

Ah! The mothers-in-law sometimes cause trouble. They threaten their sons' wives saying they will be sent packing from their homes or they may promise and even work at getting new wives for their sons (Mr. Jude, 2015).

After I had two daughters, my husband did not complain because we were both young and we lived with his parents but his family took it up seriously. The family complained that I gave birth to another girl (Mrs. Eko, 2015).

My elder sister has 3 daughters and no son. Her husband stays in Canada. He came home one time and did a court marriage with another woman because my sister did not give birth to a son for him but the new wife gave birth to a son. If anything happens now, the new wife will say after all, she is the one who gave birth to a son for their husband. His family put pressure on him to marry another woman who can bear him a son. Now he regrets marrying another wife because the second wife is now unruly and behaves badly. My sister's husband does not joke with his children from the first wife. He sends so many things to my sister because she is well behaved. So it is the family that coerced him into marrying another woman to have a son (Mrs. Adeoye, 2015).

Another participant explained that a woman who has no son is sometimes considered barren and barrenness is culturally-unacceptable among the Yoruba people. She exclaimed:

Ah! It happens in many places where a woman who is yet to bear a son she is considered childless and her daughters may be considered as illegitimate children (Mrs. Ogooluwa, 2015).

Another female participant who does not have a son validated the assertion with her personal experience:

I know that my husband still wants a boy. Personally, I don't want children anymore but my husband still wants a boy. As for me, I have reached my bus stop but I will get pregnant just once more; if it's a boy; fine; but if it is a girl that is the end. No more children after the third time (Mrs. Mary, 2015).

However, a male participant felt differently about the consequences of not bearing a son. He has only sons and believes women should not suffer for bearing only daughters:

It is a different ball-game if she has no children. When there is procreation and she has children, I do not see how she can be affected by other people. If there is no fertility, people will talk and do whatever, but if there are children there are no words to spite her. Things have changed. These days everyone goes to school both male and female, except where there are limited resources to train the children (Elder Adeniyi, 2015).

4.5 Implications of Son Preference on the Status of Daughters

This section is divided into two parts past and current trends. The study found that although some traditional practices and norms were still in places, the effect on the present treatment of daughters was not negative. For examples marriage practices and the subsequent change of names were sustained.

4.5.1 Past Experiences

The findings present the experiences of discrimination against women during their formative years due to son preference. Some fundamental children's rights were reported to have been violated. They include: right to education, decision making, inheritance and play.

With respect to lack of access to formal education, one participant narrated her experience as a daughter in her family:

My father had 5 wives and he trained (educated) only his sons because he believed the son will buy him a car and take care of him while I and my sisters will pack ourselves to other men's houses and bear their name. So, definitely with this belief, he took care of his sons more than he did for us females (Mrs. Ogooluwa, 2015).

She also narrated her experience with respect to inheritance right when she commented about her father's disposition towards his daughters:

My daddy did not even let any woman know where his properties were, talk less of inheriting them. What sort of inheritance? He did not let any female know about the properties. Only his sons knew about his properties. They walked and talked together, they make signs to themselves to exclude us. They decide on all events in the family. The role of the women is merely to select clothes and head gears/cap for ceremonies. The sons own the properties (Mrs Ogooluwa, 2015).

A male participant compared the state of his sisters' lack of education to the present situation of his daughters. He observed that:

Son preference affected female education in those days. But these days, it does not affect them because like I said I have seven graduates and three still in school. They are both sexes and they all got educated. One of my sons did not want to go to school. When he was in secondary school, he was not serious; so I ignored him (Mr. Abiodun, 2015).

A middle aged participant further reiterated his view by stating that:

A typical Yoruba man believes a woman has no right to inheritance but the first born in my family is a woman and I'm sure she will not allow herself to be deprived of her share in the family inheritance when the time to share my late fathers properties come (Mr. Jude, 2015).

Two elderly participants believed that polygamy can reduce the allocation of resources for daughters when they acknowledged that:

In Yoruba land, inheritance is shared among wives in a polygamous family and it favors wives with more sons but in a monogamous marriage, it may be shared equally among both sexes. If the parents choose to do this, it is not anybody's business. That is how it is done here (Mr Abiodun, 2015).

There is no such thing as a woman getting inheritance in my family. The only way a woman can have a share is if she is the only child of her mother and there is no son from her mother. The other wives' children (sons); will be given first then she may receive something from whatever is left. This is because inheritance is shared according to the number of wives but sons get the largest share and may decide whether or not to give their sisters anything (Mr. Ige, 2015).

Domestic work was also noted by participants and they referred mainly to unequal sharing of house chores between male and female children and they also observed that house chores are mostly performed by daughters. Reflecting on the numerous domestic duties performed at a young age, this is what a female participant noted:

In those days son preference was responsible for unjust treatment of female siblings only daughters washed the dishes, washed cloths, tidy the house while sons would go out to play football or bring his friend home to watch TV, dance and play. It was daughters that performed house chores all day. If a son is called to do the dishes in the kitchen, he would refuse claiming that it is a girl's duty and not meant for sons (Mrs Ogooluwa, 2015).

4.5.2 The Current Trend

The lived experiences of some mothers in the past, have helped to solidify their commitment to see to the welfare of their daughters irrespective of their husbands support. Such women want to prevent a repeat of the ill fate they suffered in their formative years. Although majority of the participants recognized that son preference still persists, and also believe that the ideal situation is for a woman to have at least one son. However, many of them pointed out that their preference had no negative implication on their daughters.

A male participant who has only daughters also affirmed that:

Of course son preference still exists among Yoruba's but it has no implication whatsoever on my wife or daughters. In my home everybody is equal (Mr Kazeem, 2015).

A woman explained further that it was a thing of the past for daughters to be discriminated against in inheritance. She noted that:

These days, once a child is well educated, he or she may not have interest in the parent's properties. The best legacy for a child is quality education; that is a good inheritance. It was in those days that people fight over properties, not children of this age. Properties were so much value but not anymore (Mrs Eko, 2015).

Religious Perspectives about Female Inheritance

With regard to inheritance and the influence of religion; Islam allows a man to marry more than one wife and share his properties in such a way that sons will get double of whatever daughters get. Two Muslim participants stated that Islam provides a guide for parents on how to share inheritance among their children. They noted that:

Assuming there are three women in a polygamous family and only one of them has a son; while the other two have females all through; they will start to think because it means the

only son will be the head of the family. According to my religion; if a single wife has 3 sons while the other wives have 3 daughters each; when it's time to share the properties; the children will be counted as nine (9) while the properties would be shared into twelve (12) places. While all the girls receive one portion; the 3 boys will receive double. That's the only thing. There is nothing more to it (Mr. Rasaq, 2015).

In Islam; sons get double of what daughters get. This is because a daughter gets both from her father and her husband. A son has to take care of the family irrespective of what the woman earns. It's the woman that will decide if and what she wants to contribute to the family. What she earns is hers; completely hers. The man does not have any right over it. Her money is her money, her property is her property: anything that is a source of income for her belongs to her. So that's why the male gets double when it comes to inheritance because he is supposed to maintain the family; not the woman (Mrs. Khadijat, 2015).

A Christian participant attributed the ills of son preference to polygamy and suggests that Islamic religion supports polygamy:

My father-in-law had this problem. They were Muslims and there were several children, up to 15 of them, only two sons. My father-in-law, a well-respected Muslim cleric took care of the sons and neglected all the daughters. He didn't care for them at all. Once any of them got pregnant, that was the end. He believed sons are the backbone in the family; he was not interested in female children (Mrs. Cynthia, 2015).

Another Christian participant said:

I will leave inheritance for children. Whatever I have, I will share it equally between them. I won't say because this one is a boy, that one is a girl, so they should get different shares. NO. If you're a real Christian, you will not think that way or prefer one sex to the other. A real child of God that has the knowledge of God won't do that. (Mrs Dara, 2015).

Improved Investment in Development of Daughters

The findings showed a favorable attitude towards female education which depicts that an interest in the development of potentials in daughters. A female participant indicated a positive impact of a mother's economic power on the welfare of her daughters and herself, with little or no support from her husband:

If my husband decides to have another wife; he cannot get rid of my skill, profession or economic power. I can use my skill to provide for myself and my children. It is not possible. Civilization and exposure has changed my lifestyle (Mrs Coker, 2015).

A male participant and father of only girls confirmed that he has no regret whatsoever for having only female children. Hence he spends a lot of money to provide for his daughters.

Nowadays it has no implication on females. Some of my friends; like three (3) or four (4) of us that belong to girls family (have only daughters); to the glory of God we spend lavishly on our daughters and we don't even regret that we do not have a male child. In this generation of ours, females have influence in the society. Everywhere you go now; you discover that females are gaining grounds more than men. Yes, I am telling you the fact. (Mr. Kola, 2015).

On education, participants outlined the benefits of educating both male and female children. They admitted the current trend in contemporary times is largely influenced by education and exposure.

These days, exposure and civilization have changed things; now a woman can become a lawyer or president. There is nothing a man does that a woman cannot do. The time when females were denied education has rolled away, nowadays everybody wants their children, both male and female to be educated so that they will turn out great in the future (Mrs Eko, 2015).

It is both sexes that will be sent to school. I always pray that God will bless both parents to be able to cater for all our children. No child can be neglected because of the other these days. We now know the value of education in Nigeria now. As you lay you bed, so you will find it (Mrs Cynthia, 2015).

It is wiser to invest in both sons and daughters because, it might be the child who could not be trained through school that will be most successful in life. Even if you give everybody equal rights these days, some of them will not succeed properly; but you still have to give them the rights (Mr Jude, 2015).

Significance of Daughters to Parents

The findings presented in this study suggested that daughters are now treasured among Yoruba people. Parents noted that their daughters are caring, obedient and more thoughtful than their sons. A participant admitted that his sisters provide more to take care of their parents than he does. According to him:

If you look at the situation in the Nigerian context now; you will discover that female children are more responsible; in terms of taking good care of their parents than males. I know my contribution to my parents is less than what my sister's contribute because I am doing more for my immediate family. Despite the fact that my sisters are married, they are sharing responsibility with their immediate family and to they share responsibilities with their husbands in their immediate (nuclear) families in addition to the care of our parents. There is nothing a son can do that a female child cannot do better. A female child can become a doctor, a nurse; can become a very prominent person in the society. (Mr. Kola, 2015).

A middle aged participant acknowledged that his daughters are blessings to him. He endorsed their goodwill towards him:

My girls are at home; they are doing fine. I love seeing them around me. They do miss me a lot anytime I'm not at home. Whenever I get home they are excited; they yell "daddy welcome" and life goes on. God blessed me with girls, I have a set of twins; not everyone is blessed with twins. So, to me there is no regret that I have only girls, probably because I see people around that are older than I am but don't have any child. One has to be grateful with whatever we have and learn to be content (Mr. Rasaq, 2015).

The youngest male participant submitted that he has only a daughter and he is positively disposed towards her in spite of external pressures mounted on him to the contrary. He avowed his aspiration and allegiance towards either male or female child without any preference.

I desire to have three (3) children and I am okay with any sex that comes. Are females not children? There is pressure on us to that we should have a second child by now; but not

on male or female. I don't see anything special in having sons. Anyone that tries to put pressure on my wife has to come through me. (Mr. Femi, 2015).

An elderly participant compares the care he enjoys from his daughters against the treatment from his sons.

I don't think my daughters suffered any neglect under my care because they are the ones that care more for me. My daughters even take better care of me than my sons. Son preference still exist among Yoruba's but it has no consequences since the men we have these days are not very useful; daughters have more worth to parents these days (Mr. Ige, 2015).

A female participant who has three sons and a daughter professed the cordial relationships among her children was a string of affection developed in her childhood. She suggests that parents, particularly mothers should adopt an equal treatment of their male and female children.

I grew up in the midst of boys and I was pampered, my brothers took great care of me. I noticed that my children have also adopted this trait from my side of the family. Anytime we need to decide on who gets what; the boys say; let your daughter have it; we (boys) can share or manage whatever is left. I tell my sons to always take care of their sister and that is what Islam teaches, not because women are weaker but they need to be protected all the time (Mrs Khadijat, 2015).

For me, I treat them (children) equally. Apart from the fact that we know female generally require special care not because they "weaker sex" but I think everyone should be allowed to play on the same level, given equal privileges. We all have our potentials, a

male child has his; so does a female child we should just give them equal opportunities for their potentials to be achieved (Mrs Khadijat, 2015).

4.6. Discussion of the Findings

The findings of the study presented above are explained and related to reviewed literature in Chapter two. The findings are discussed elaborately to achieve the objectives of the study.

4.6.1 Factors Contributing to Son Preference among married Yoruba Men and Women

The first objective examined factors that contribute to son preference among Yoruba men and women. There were two major factors found to contribute to son preference. The core socio-cultural factor identified was patriarchy and individual factors. The former is sub-divided into four other factors, namely; Preservation of family identity, Care and support for the elderly, Royalty and posterity and High expectation from sons. The findings established that son preference persists among patriarchal Yoruba culture which is consistent with United Nations (2009) and MDG Report (2015) which found son preference and gender discrimination to be a major social problem globally and especially in patriarchal societies.

The study found that while men continue to maintain control over women, women submit to control until they cannot tolerate its consequences any longer. One way by which women submit to the control of men (Patriarchs) is by conforming to traditional attitudes and norms that magnify the role and value of sons over that of daughters. Indeed, it can be described as an indoctrination of the mind of women, who have so conformed to the norm, that they consider themselves blessed to have only sons but inadequate or underachievers where they have only daughters.

With regard to preservation of family identity, this study corroborates studies by Izugbara (2010) and Chu et al., (2006). Findings show how a son is valued immediately after birth

because he is regarded as the successor of his father and the provider of financial or material support for parents in their old age. Although Sultana (2011) suggested that having a son, heir or benefactor is mandatory for men; this study established significantly that this factor is only relevant to royal families, while non- royals do not necessarily require a son. The lack of a son(s) in a royal Yoruba family implies that the lineage of the King or Chief will forever be lost in history and that a king without a son has no legacy or footprint to leave his mark on the sands of time.

In other words, to maintain a royal stool is like a relay race that requires passing the baton of authority unto the next offspring. Only male offspring can qualify to participate in the race and perform their expected responsibilities. Hence, failure to produce a son is considered a shame and also pitiable since the mantle of authority will now be passed unto the next royal family that satisfy the requirement of Yoruba tradition. Having at least one son is very important for Yoruba Kings to maintain and continue their ruler-ship through their descendants; since females cannot ascend the throne. Therefore, sons are highly regarded as a symbol of authority, of power or strength and of continuity of family heritage. Likewise, in non- royal or common households, a son is still required to continue whatever legacy is left after the demise of his father, he is to defend and protect his family properties, good name and memories of his antecedents. Although sons among common Yoruba household do not have to take -up as much social responsibilities as sons in royal families, their relevance in the family is not in any way undermined. Thus, failure to have a son is synonymous to living life without any record of ones existence in history.

On the other hand, daughters are also valued for their domestic and nurturing roles on the home front. However, a female child cannot preserve her family name because females

eventually relocate to another family where they will be identified by their husbands surname immediately after marriage. Among Yoruba people, names are highly significant and a good name must be preserved because it identifies a person with his or her roots; in fact a child whose father is not known is often regarded as a bastard among Yoruba people. Also, the study found that participants believed the recent trend in which females use compound names (fathers name and husband's name) is not an alternative to resolving issues regarding family name preservation. Although some married women bear compound names, it is very rare and such names cannot be borne by children of such women. Thus, the name cannot be passed to the next generation. Ideally, marriage practices stipulate that a woman has to stop answering her maiden name as she adopts her husband's last name; but recently some women now use both names especially women who were influential before marriage. However, men do not agree with this new practice because it gives a woman an identity which is independent from her husbands. Men also argue that the practice of compound names indicates lack of submission to a man's authority and pride in women.

Another rationale for son preference is because of old age or elderly support of parents which confirms other studies conducted by Raut (1996) and Ding & Zhang (2009). The rationale for sons to provide old age support corroborates Kinanee & Ezekiel-Hart (2009), which established that care and support for elderly parents or relatives was closely linked with marriage practices and entails that daughters leave their family to create a new family and start a new life. Care and support for aged parents was provided by children or extended family relations in the past. That is, before the extended family system was weakened, due to globalization and socialization. In recent years, the need for institutionalized care for the aged has become necessary. Currently, many children grow up, go to school, gain employment, get married and

migrate out of their parent's environment very often and cannot provide the attention or companionship that their elderly parents crave.

The reason why sons are relied upon for such care is because Yoruba marriage practice is such that a female may not visit her parents once she is married except her husband gives permission. If and whenever she visits, her stay is limited to a few days because Yoruba tradition frowns upon women staying back in their parents' home after marriage. Thus, findings on the rationale for preferring sons to daughters based on aged care and financial support in old age of parents among selected Yoruba people is consistent with studies by Okome (2005); Oyediran (2006); Eklund (2011) and Shoola (2013) conducted in South-east Nigeria among the Igbo ethnic group.

Furthermore, evidence from the study suggest that in the past, parents had high financial and material expectations from sons which made them invest more in sons than in daughters. Studies by Bongaarts (2013); Bradley (2014); Jayachandran, (2015) confirm that sons are groomed to occupy the best positions and high income job opportunities which is evident in the sex ratio of men to women in politics, management positions and traditional leadership in patriarchal cultures. The motive of parents to invest more in sons than daughters is also explained by the theory of patriarchy which exposes the inferior position of females to males. Females are most often expected to perform only domestic roles such as cooking, cleaning and raising children, thus, there is no need to invest in any other form of skill or capital intensive training as it is considered a waste of resources. In fact, women who aspired to be skilled in a male dominated field like Engineering or Medicine are often regarded as ambitious while men who have interest in fields mainly dominated by women like Nursing, catering/hospitality are considered lazy and under-achievers. These perceptions have contributed to a glass ceiling,

which limits the growth, development and aspiration of females in a patriarchal society like the selected group. From past experience, even educated women could not fairly compete with men to secure job positions. For example, in Yoruba tradition, a woman is expected to take up her wife and motherly role more seriously than any career development. Seeing to the welfare of her husband and children is considered more important than getting promoted at the office. Thus, this perception had discouraged many parents from investing in their daughters in such a way that they can be financially independent from their spouses in the future. This is also why parents preferred to educate sons more than daughters and in many cases only sons got the privilege of furthering their academics to tertiary level.

Individual Factor was found to contribute to son preference and it refers to the personal preference of sons because a man desires a replica of himself, it means that men have a perception that bearing a son is a mark of virility, sexual prowess and macho power on the part of men. Poor knowledge about gender determination and lack of exposure of men and women to the quandary of gender inequality are also individual traits that informed the disposition towards son's preference. Medically, the gender of a child is determined by the father because men donate either X or Y chromosomes to the woman, while women can only donate X chromosomes. Therefore, if a man donates X to his wife, a baby girl will be conceived, while a boy will be conceived if a man donates Y chromosome. In addition, the release of either chromosome cannot be accurately monitored. This is why men are responsible for the gender of a child. Unfortunately, a man's ego is fed when he fathers a son, as this represents his enormous strength and ability to subdue a woman's body to produce another of his kind- the future patriarch and descendant of the family. Hence, the birth of sons is celebrated more than that of daughters. Even a woman gets praised and is considered hardworking for giving birth to and

raising sons. It is ironic to find out that among some educated participants, the gender of children was believed to be influenced by the sexual agility of men during intercourse. With such a belief, a man's ego is deflated when he keeps having girls. Thus, to prove that his sexual performance is admirable he aims for a son and continues to put his wife in the family way until the desired male child is born.

Lack of exposure and civilization also contributes to son preference. In this regard, women that had no opportunity to get skilled and formally educated, to develop their capacities beyond domestic work, procreation and nurturing a family were largely dependent on their spouses. Such women depend on men to provide for their wellbeing, to make all decisions regarding their life. Therefore, decisions about reproduction, number of children to be born and child spacing depends on the men who usually have a high preponderance for male preference. On the other hand, individuals that have been socially exposed and formally educated do not share the same bias in favor of sons. Education and socialization with people of other cultures, personal experiences of the value of education on women and life examples of women that have broken through the glass ceiling to leave a legacy in their lifetime, are some individual factors that contribute to lack of son preference. Individuals who experienced all the aforementioned are most receptive to gender equality.

4.6.2 Challenges of not having Male Children among married Yoruba Women in Ibadan.

Two major consequences were found; Health challenges and Marital Insecurity and In- Law Interference. Health Challenges is the first consequence of bearing only daughters. It includes; maternal health risks, lack of resources to seek medical attention, high birth rate, low child spacing, trauma, depression and anxiety due to insecure status in the matrimonial home. Findings presented earlier show that maternal health problems and high birth rate were challenges faced

by women trying to conceive a male child and it promotes gender inequality. This is similar to the study by Zhou et al., (2015) on son preference being a form of gender inequality that can hinder women empowerment, increase maternal health risks, and contribute to sex ratio imbalance and infanticide.

As earlier stated, women have been influenced psychologically to feel inadequate and responsible for the continual birth of girls. Thus, women who have sons stand a step higher than women who do not have sons. The superiority of mothers of at least one son is a status that women living in patriarchal Yoruba society strive to achieve. This is how women assist the patriarchs to maintain cultural harmful cultural norms and dictates. The most notable health risk that affects women is high birth rate such that a woman continues to get pregnant as reported by Oluduro (2014) beyond her desired number of children in a bid to satisfy her spouse, who has the right to decide what is best for her, thereby putting her health at risk. This also supports Milazzo (2014) report that maternal mortality rate in Nigeria is five hundred and fifty (550) per thousand live births; being one of the highest globally.

Contrary to the conclusions of Shoola (2013) and Okome (2005) who both claim that Nigerian women are perceived as progressive people if they observe western norms such as the women's reproductive rights and become economically empowered; inference drawn from this study suggest that despite a high academic achievement or exposure, the cultural expectations still hinders women from attaining autonomy of their bodies. A feature of patriarchal culture is male dominance over women in reproductive decisions. Hindrances to women's autonomy of their body and choices are deeply rooted in culture and traditional practices which control reproductive decisions of women. For example, the demand for sons by men increases birth rate

and directly influences poor child spacing which is consistent with studies by Li (2007) and Nnadi (2010).

In addition, findings presented above is similar to studies by Oyefara (2015) that high birth rate and short child spacing are common among Yoruba women who have only female children but desire to have a son. The desire can however become an unhealthy quest for a male child at the expense of a woman's life. Findings of this study suggest that women are considered unfortunate until they give birth to a son. Such women have to deal with questioning remarks and unsolicited advice to try for another baby with the hope of giving birth to a son. What could start as a side comment about the gender of a woman's children may ultimately generate issues for a woman until she surrenders to the pressure of trying for a son.

Other findings related to health challenges include depression and psychological trauma experienced by some women while they hope to give birth to a son. Psychological trauma was found to develop from insults and labelling of such women by their husbands and close relatives who blame women for the continuous birth of girls. Such women are subjected to stigma and called names such as Abigail (nick name used for mothers of only female children). Furthermore, the perception of Yoruba people about witchcraft contributes to the unjust treatment of females and a woman could be ostracized by her husband and in-laws for giving birth to only girls. Many of the responses indicated that a woman who has only female children is a likely suspect and may be accused of witchcraft which confirms the findings of Tiamiyu & Olaleye (2009). It also confirms that there is no stigma attached to wizardry and other diabolical activities that men participate in. Witchcraft is however most often associated with females and it is unpardonable in the Yoruba culture. In addition, this creates fear, hopelessness and unstable mental wellbeing in mothers of only girls because of the belief that witches give birth to girls and donate their male

fetus (before they are born) in order to maintain and populate their secret society by initiating their young daughters.

Marital insecurity and In-law interference is another consequence of not bearing a son and it includes; separation or divorce, extra-marital affairs, polygamy and insults from in-laws. This study found that matrimonial bliss is not assured for women affected by son preference. The continual birth of girls is often an excuse used by husbands to engage in extra marital affairs that may produce the desired male child as confirmed by Olabode (2009).The study also confirms what Oluduro (2014) stated about the role of in-laws in mounting pressure on a husband to marry a new wife, who will bear him a son. This study found that extended family members indulge in verbal abuse and put the blame on women for the birth of only girls; as established by the study of Gaudin (2011) in India.

In- law interference can indeed end a marriage and have grave consequences on a financially dependent wife such that, her relationship with her husband becomes estranged. In many cases, participants in this study affirmed that marriage can be nullified where there is no male child. The relatives of a man can marry a new wife for him whom they believe will give birth to and raise sons and an heir for him. When a new wife is chosen and imposed on a man by his family, such a woman will start to contend for her husband's attention, finances and properties. Herself and her daughters are often neglected and treated with inferiority.

In addition, women suffer from societal pressures to bear a son; and men are sometimes forced to put pressure on their spouses because of the perception stated earlier that having only daughters is a sign of sexual weakness and impotence. It was also found that while males are regarded as kings in the home, females are valued with respect to the care they so easily give, compassion shown, commitment to the home affairs and family welfare. This corroborates the

findings of Aluko (2015) and Eyben (2008) that women experience the worst form of poverty in African societies because their domestic and traditional roles are not monetized and financially unprofitable.

4.6.3 Implication of Son Preference on Daughters

The third objective outlines the implication of son preference on daughters. The findings indicate a change in perspective of parents towards the value of daughters. Education, socialization and religious values were found to diminish the consequences of son preference on daughters. Findings of the study showed that son preference is not only found among men but also among women who indicated that the practice is culturally acceptable. This confirms the CEDAW (1984) report that indicated cultural behavior of both men and women as supporting gender stereotypes.

However, in contrast to the findings of the study of Nwoku (2012), this study found that among the Yoruba's, a daughter is immensely valued as well as sons, and the regard for sons does not have negative consequences on daughters. Findings suggest that participants strongly feel that females can now achieve great feats like their male counterparts, if given equal opportunity. The value of daughters is explained with respect to the benefits enjoyed by parents and the experiences of some elderly participants in the study. These participants admitted that indeed culture contributed to preference for sons but now, they have come to realize that daughters take up more responsibility in providing and sustaining them in old age. As earlier stated, marriage practices among Yoruba people demands that a daughter leaves her family to join her husband and raise his children. However, the present day married daughter not only maintains contact with family but also takes up the responsibility of providing for her parents whether it is expected of her or not. In this study, women indicated that girls are good natured,

caring and are better at bonding emotionally with their mothers for a lifetime. That is, daughters maintain a great relationship with their parents in spite of marriage and distance.

Unlike the findings of Rohini & Nan (2007) that son preference restricted girls' access to education; it was found in this study that parents have begun to realize the ills of discrimination against girls. Thus, parents now consider any investment in education of girls to be rewarding. Participants stated that investing in quality education is the best legacy for male and female children respectively while Adebisi (2009) found that parents consider investment in daughters a waste of resources. However, this study found that limited resources could affect the quality of education while Eyben (2008) argued that limited family resources further excludes girls from accessing formal education. Participants offered that limited income of a family is not borne exclusively by females just as abundance is enjoyed by both sexes. To achieve this equal distribution of limited resources, responses showed that parents are willing to work extra hard to provide the needs of their wards, so that no child will feel inferior to the other. Female participants also revealed the reason they engage in paid work is to avoid being dependent on their spouses, to also contribute to finances in the home and to reduce the financial burden on men.

According to Eklund (2011) & Oyefara (2011), indicators of son preference is manifest in the level of education, decision -making and economic power of females. The current findings confirm their study because some female participants spoke about their childhood and how they were unfairly treated compared to their male siblings. Some female participants remembered their fathers disdain for female education, convinced that it was a waste of resources. Therefore only their brothers got sponsored to get educated up to tertiary level, while the sisters managed whatever resources their mother could provide to meet their basic educational needs.

In addition, the study found that the past experiences of women regarding gender discrimination, has a positive influence that has resulted in a change in the trend of what used to be neglect and inequality towards daughters in the family. Most importantly among female participants that did not give birth to sons, there was a strong will and determination to provide for their daughters. They do not mind working extra hard to earn more money and provide for their daughters education with or without the assistance of their husbands. All male participants that have only daughters in this study also relayed their commitment to providing for their daughters.

More so, findings corroborates assertion by Kinanee & Ezekiel-Hart (2009) which described the culturally defined domestic roles of women as care-givers, procreators and family keepers; but current findings went a step further to establish that domestic roles that women play does not limit their economic roles and financial contribution to providing for upkeep in the family anymore. Discrimination in domestic work still exists in Yoruba households, as indicated by Oluduro (2014) which favors boys. However, this study confirms that unequal distribution of house chores persists but mothers' value the assistance they receive from daughters on a daily basis. Female participants also affirm that such domestic work prepares females to be diligent and able to multi- task in different roles in the future. Evidence from the study identified that socio cultural norms and perspectives regarding the subordinate roles of women (such as in domestic work) still prevails. Nonetheless, females can combine domestic work with classroom activities, paid employment requirements and business or trading successfully.

Finally, the study found a new perspective regarding rights of females to inheritance of properties. Many participants offered that inheritance or unequal share of it among children is no longer a problem as it was in the past. This is due to education, civilization and migration

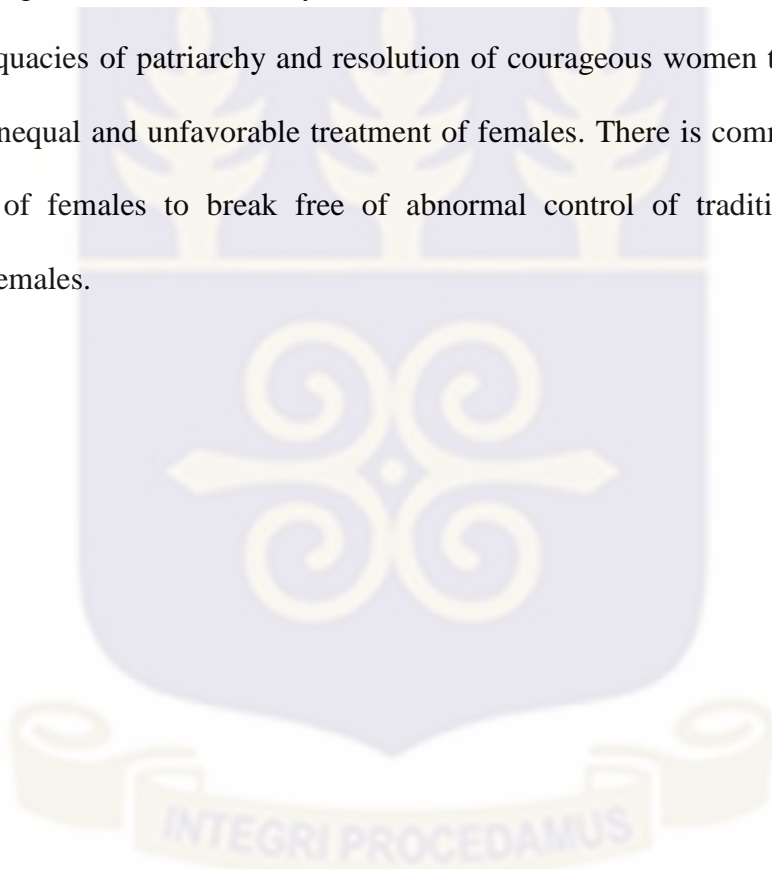
patterns of children. They registered that once a child is well educated and equipped with necessary skills to lead a successful life, he or she will most likely lose interest to inherit outdated properties of parents. Thus the best legacy for every child is quality education which determined financial independence and self- sufficiency as an adult.

However, where inheritance must be shared, findings show a gendered variation in inheritance rights between Islamic and Christian religions. While Christian participants condemned unequal share of inheritance among male and female children, Muslim participants defended the Quran's prescription on sharing inheritance. For Muslims, the Qu'ran prescribes that a son should inherit from his father, double of whatever is entitled to a daughter; reason for this is because when a daughter is married, she will benefit from her husband's resources as well as what she inherited from her father.

In conclusion, current findings on the factors contributing to son preference and the consequences of not having a male child among Yoruba women, verifies the theory of patriarchy. The features of patriarchy theory depict male control which is consistent with factors that contribute to son preference including preservation of name or identity of a man, the value of a son as the heir to continue royal leadership and as a symbol of a man's strength, virility and potency. In addition, the consequences of not bearing a son by women in this study confirm the theory of patriarchy's position on female subordination to the dictate and authority of men over decisions that violate their human rights. Challenges faced by only women for the birth of only daughters confirms that women are indeed a subordinate group whose life choices are expected to conform with whatever men desire. However, the theory of patriarchy fell short in explaining the implications of son preference on daughters because current findings indicated that

perspectives about son preference had no negative implication on the wellbeing and status of daughters.

Mirkin (1984) explained patriarchy as an organized institution characterized by male domination over women and regarded women as a 'brainwashed victim of patriarchy'. The reality of the status of daughters in patriarchal Yoruba culture does not reflect them as a victim of patriarchy. In the past women were enslaved to every dictate of tradition at their own expense but to the advantage of men. This study found a new trend that will most likely continue to expose the inadequacies of patriarchy and resolution of courageous women to break away from the shackles of unequal and unfavorable treatment of females. There is commendable resilience and strong will of females to break free of abnormal control of traditions which impede development of females.



CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter briefly presents a summary of the findings, conclusion and recommendations for policy makers, gender equality agencies, and institutionalized care for the aged and women empowerment programs to be developed. This section also presents suggestion for further research.

5.1 Summary of the Findings

The study explored the experiences of men and women on son preference and found some divergent conclusions concerning the implication of son preference on the status of daughters. The major findings of the study answered the objectives outlined in the first chapter. Firstly, the contributing factors of son preference were like other studies largely embedded in the patriarchal culture which places more value on sons. This study found that in a royal family; sons are immensely valued and respected as the heir to the throne. In addition, the study found that unlike other studies on gender preference in Asia, sex selective abortions and infanticide were uncommon and hardly reported. This is why high birth rate was found to be a consequence of son preference. Other challenges faced by women for giving birth to only daughters are marital crisis, divorce, separation and insults from in-laws.

Unlike countries where son preference result in abortion of female fetus, this study found that parents condemn abortions but continue trying to conceive a son and this can affect the mother's health and development of the other children due to short child spacing intervals. The other consequences faced by women include insults and ridicule by co-wives for bearing only girls;

accusation of being a witch because females are associated with diabolical powers; and pressure from relatives to give birth to a son as a means of ensuring husbands faithfulness in marriage.

In spite of persisting factors that influence the prevalence of son preference among Yoruba people, the implication on daughters was found to be a far cry from other studies conducted in Asia and other major ethnic groups in Nigeria like the Igbo's of the south-east and Hausa's of the North. The rate of girls enrollment at all levels of education has consistently risen over the years particularly in south west Yoruba states of Nigeria. Participants of this study were quick to buttress the popular saying that 'what a man can do, a woman can do much better' and the important roles some women have worked tirelessly to achieve in Nigeria has been a remarkable eye-opener for people. There seems to be a personal will to abandon cultural sentiments so long as a good course would be achieved ultimately; in this case the development of daughters.

5.2 Conclusion

Based on the analysis of the data, evidence presented in this study shows that changing perspectives have indeed resulted in an improvement on the status of females among Yoruba people. This is influenced by socialization, the media- through movies and dramas, religious affiliations and most importantly by their observation of women around them who have made great achievements and have been recognized in the society despite their gender. Many women in this study wanted their daughters to be like notable women in government and management positions. Even among less educated participants who experienced discrimination and neglect while growing; there was an awareness of the importance of training both males and females to become self-sufficient, independent and to eventually rise above poverty. An uneducated mother said she will strive to do her best in sponsoring all her children through school; even if it requires that she engages in the worst form of menial labor available.

Thus, patriarchy was found to influence preference for sons and challenges faced by women where they have no sons; but education, socialization and exposure have undoubtedly influenced the changing trend that has minimized the implication of son preference on the status of daughters. One major weakness of the theory of patriarchy is the impression of a universal experience of all women as victims of the patriarchy. The theory focused mainly on the social and cultural structures but pay less attention on the individuality of people within the structure. Finally, the study found that women empowerment; especially financial empowerment is a means by which the gender inequality gap can be reduced. Working mothers can cushion inadequate resources in the home if their welfare and that of their children is not determined by the goodwill of their spouses.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on findings of the study, the following recommendations are made:

5.3.1 Recommendation Regarding Factors that Contribute to Son Preference

One of the major findings on the factors that influence son preference among parents was elderly care and support. As parents grow old, they need care and resources to cater for their welfare. This study noted a breakdown in extended family support system, thus it is recommended that institutionalized care for the aged should be adopted like many western countries have done for their ageing population.

5.3.2 Recommendation Regarding Challenges Women Face for not having Sons

The findings of this study indicated that women are exposed to embarrassment from spouses or relatives, divorce from spouses; they are also prone to maternal health risks and high birth rates. Therefore this study recommends the development of more empowerment programs that will benefit such women who are dependent on their spouses financially.

5.3.3 Recommendation Regarding the Status of Daughters

In spite of persistent cultural values like marriage and preservation of family identity, findings of the study indicated that the status of daughters has immensely improved even among lowly educated parents. Thus, recommends for more enlightenment on the importance of female education, and government commitment to fund public schools for the benefit of parents that struggle with financing girls' education. Enlightenment on female education and its benefits can be achieved through intense awareness on many social and media platforms.

Other recommendations are:

5.4 Recommendations for Gender Equality Agencies

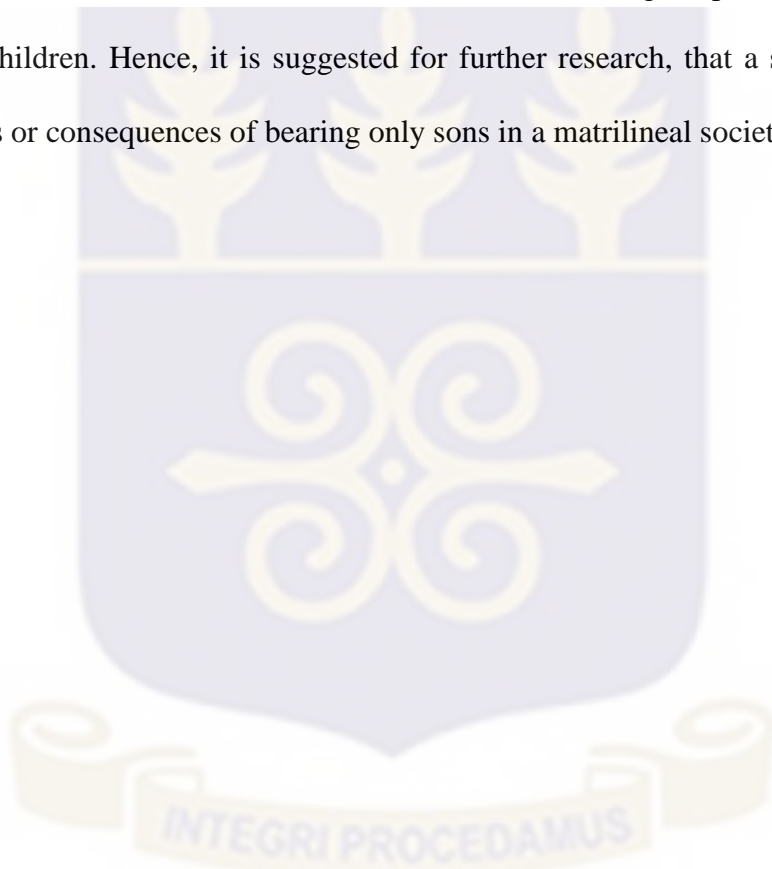
Women empowerment programs can reduce the impact of poverty on women and girls. Therefore, it is recommended for more empowerment programs in less developed communities that are yet to be exposed like suburbs and villages. The programs should target widows, single parents and unskilled women to make a modest living for themselves such as; skill acquisition and training, provision of soft loans, purchase of equipment for informal learning, free or state subsidized school fees and exam fees, free school uniforms and academic materials.

5.5 Implication for Policy

Policy makers need to intensify efforts to ensure that the legislative bill on gender equality in Nigeria is passed. The delay in passing the bill since 1984 when the country ratified CEDAW is evident of cultural and religious sentiments hindering the course and progress of gender equality in the country. This study found that the economic status of women can directly influence the welfare and opportunities of their children. Hence, the bill should not be seen as a western idea imposed on Nigeria but rather it should be modified and domesticated to suit the country's realities which undoubtedly still favors males over females. In addition, policy makers need to

reintroduce the affirmative action policy and ensure compliance of educational institutions in Nigeria. The affirmative action will promote to a large extent, the enrollment of female students in academic institutions, thus bridging the gender inequality gap further.

Suggestion for further studies; this research found that indeed son preference exists among Yoruba people selected but its influence on the status of females was limited and minimal compared to some other Nigerian tribes. Findings show that parents appreciate their female children more and in fact have concerns about the future and old age experience of parents who bear only male children. Hence, it is suggested for further research, that a study be conducted about the benefits or consequences of bearing only sons in a matrilineal society.



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Appendix 1: Interview guide

Social characteristics- Age, Sex, Age at marriage, state of origin, religion, educational qualification, occupation, number of children, and sex of children.

What is your perception of son preference among Yoruba people?

Do you have any preference for male children and Why?

If you could have only one sex, what would you like it to be; male or female?

What are the reasons for preferring one sex over another?

Do you understand how the sex of a child is determined between parents?

What are the privileges of bearing a male child?

How do you feel about having only female children?

How do your husband and family feel about this?

What is your perception about sex-selective abortion?

What alternative means of achieving your desired sex would you opt for?

Would you keep reproducing till you bear a male child?

Do you feel threatened in your in your marriage if there are no male children?

How has been the treated of your daughters?

What has been your experience in providing for their education and other needs?

What is the situation in your household regarding females' access to inheritance?

What are the disadvantages of bearing only female children for men?

What are the worst experiences of a woman that has not borne a male child?

Are there pressures on women to have male children?

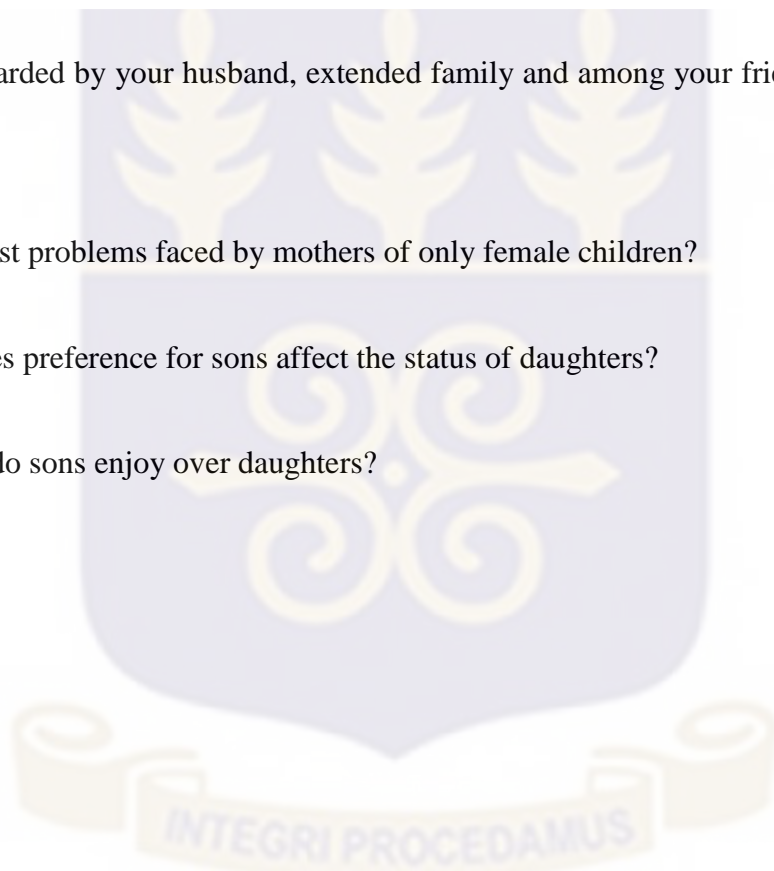
In what ways are women pressured to bear male children?

How are you regarded by your husband, extended family and among your friends if you have no male children?

What are the worst problems faced by mothers of only female children?

In what ways does preference for sons affect the status of daughters?

What privileges do sons enjoy over daughters?



Appendix 2: Informed consent

This is a presentation of how I will use the data collected in this interview.

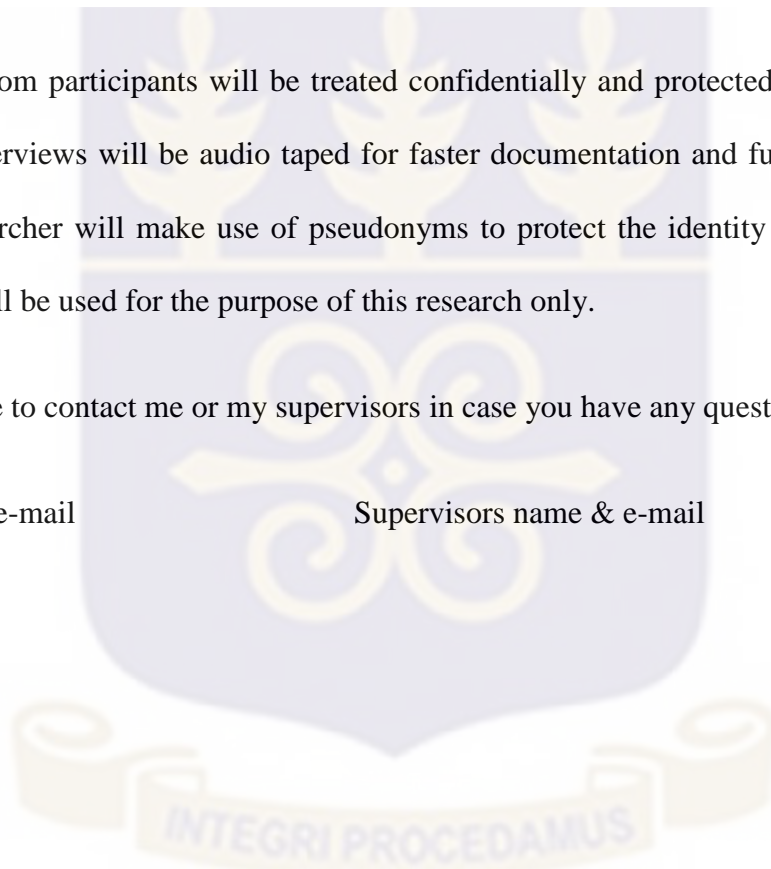
This thesis is a requirement in partial fulfillment of my MPhil program in the department of Social Work, University of Ghana. To abide by the ethical consideration concerns for research, I promise to abide by the following ethics: Participants will be duly informed about the purpose of the research; participants have the right to withdraw from the interview at any point.

Data collected from participants will be treated confidentially and protected from unauthorized persons. The interviews will be audio taped for faster documentation and further referral in the thesis. The researcher will make use of pseudonyms to protect the identity of participants. All data collected will be used for the purpose of this research only.

You are welcome to contact me or my supervisors in case you have any questions.

Student name & e-mail

Supervisors name & e-mail



Interviewee