

**CHANGING CHILD-REARING PRACTICES AMONG YORUBA
PARENTS IN IBADAN, NIGERIA**

BY

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ABSTRACT

Yoruba child-rearing practices are predicated on a distinctive cultural value-system, marked by continuous changes. While an extensive literature has evaluated aspects of the practices in relation to child-development, family and educational studies, there has been little concentration on the shifting patterns. This study, therefore, ethnographically explored the changes in child-rearing practices among Yoruba parents in Ibadan, Nigeria, with a view to affirming how socio-economic transformative processes influenced modifications in child-rearing practices.

Survey research design was adopted. Data were elicited through primary and secondary sources. 210 copies of a questionnaire were administered to 72 parents (purposively drawn among literate and illiterate parents engaged in formal and informal occupations), 63 children, 34 child-care workers and 41 teachers, purposively selected from five local government areas in Ibadan metropolis. In-depth interviews were conducted with 29 informants comprising 20 parents, three teachers, three child-care workers and three children. In addition, participant observation was held in 20 homes and direct observation of 30 family units. Quantitative data were analysed using descriptive statistics while qualitative data were content analysed.

Changes in child-rearing practices in Ibadan occurred with regard to obedience, respect, morality, responsibility, enculturation and adoption of Yoruba as a medium of communication. Obedience, formerly characterised by stringent adherence, has been replaced with liberal models which were more dominant among elite parents, private child-care workers and schoolteachers. A mix of stringent and liberal patterns was confirmed by 74.2% respondents to be prevalent among some parents and public schoolteachers. Respect values instilled through normative practices have yielded ground to western greeting norms and conducts, as affirmed by 78.0% respondents to be largely reflected among elite children. Inculturation of moral values has predominantly shifted from enforcement of cultural norms, to higher reliance on religious precepts, as asserted by 80% of the respondents. Responsibility practices have transformed among elite parents, with their children mostly participating less in domestic activities. However, 82.8% of the respondents asserted some parents enforced children's engagement in domestic chores. Enculturation has been modified from parents' active participation with greater support from communal, extended and fosterage system, to lesser participation and measurable support. Teachers and child-care workers have, however, assumed central socialisation roles. In addition, 69.5% respondents affirmed more of children's enculturation process take place through the mass media, digital technologies and peer influence. The domestic pattern of adopting Yoruba as medium of communication is being displaced, more so among elite families where prevalingly English is the preferred language of interaction at home. This prevailing linguistic trend has the outcome of producing Yoruba children who are mostly incompetent in speaking, reading and writing both Yoruba and English, and are thereby culturally alienated. The socio-economic transformative processes resulting in increased literacy, acculturation of foreign norms, modifications in parents' occupational engagements and working structures, and imbalance in work and parenting responsibilities influenced the alterations.

Socio-economic transformations have wrought both positive and culturally unfit changes in Yoruba child-rearing practices. Alternative measures of balancing work and parenting obligations would advance self-awareness and cultural grounding in Yoruba child-rearing practices.

Key words: Child-rearing practices, Ibadan, Culture-change, Socio-economic transformations, Yoruba parents

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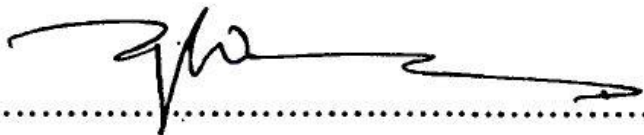
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- To God: For seeing me through the final phase of my educational accomplishment
and
For loving me so much....
- To Prof. Agbaje-Williams: For being a God-sent mentor
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- To Pa. S.E Owolabani (JP) For training me to rise up whenever I fall in the school of life
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CERTIFICATION

I certify that this work was carried out by MISS. C.S OWOLABANI in the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction of the Study

The popular citation of Heraclitus, “There is nothing permanent in life except change,” has been a maxim often used to describe or characterize the continuous human transition from old to new ways of life. This widely accepted philosophy has, of course, inspired people from different societies, across time to embrace changes in virtually all aspects of life. Hence, this modification process, as described by London to be a cyclical process of birth, breakdown and disintegration (2010:2), has been a reality to contend with in the Yoruba child-rearing studies over the years. As such, an extensive literature across different disciplines, both within and outside Nigeria; has assessed some components of the distinguishable cultural value-system of the Yoruba child-rearing practices in relation to child-development, health, family and educational studies but there has been few, if any ethnographies detailing the continuous shifts of the cultural practice under the influence of socio-economic transformative processes. This study, therefore, ethnographically explores changes in the Yoruba cultural value-system of child-rearing practices in regard to obedience, respect, morality, responsibility, enculturation and adoption of medium of communication, with a view to contributing to an assessment of how socio-economic transformative processes influence the alterations. In other words, the study evaluates the shifts in Yoruba child-rearing practices that were popular for a time but have been replaced with novel ones that are different in pattern and content through the influence of socio-economic transformative processes in Ibadan, South-Western, Nigeria.

1.1 Background to the Study

The anthropological interest in observing the cultural and behavioural orientation of 21st-century children in a school in Ibadan led to this researcher to be curious about how such breeding differ between the past and present. It also prompted the reading of “answers” from the crop of literary discourse produced by some scholars and researchers within and outside Nigeria. Hoping the literature on Yoruba child-rearing discourse would help resolve the culture change debate, the present researcher, however, found out that there has been more concentration on the documentation of the traditional value-system of the cultural practice within other interdisciplinary context, with little or no concentration on the ethnography, detailing the continuous shifts of the cultural practice. This finding demonstrated clearly that the Yoruba child-rearing literature has remained in need of augmentation that calls attention to the emergence of “new” practices which have not been examined by scholars. Similar literature in other societies have

accounted for the fading away of the traditional child-rearing value-system in the 21st century based on the changing economic and environmental experiences of the people. As such, the subtext in this study is that the shifts in socio-economic transformative processes can constitute an index for mapping out the changes in child-rearing practices within different societies. The challenge of accounting for these changes is crucial to the primary concerns of a discipline like anthropology which cannot ignore how the influence of socio-economic transformative processes in a society can affect its members and culture change.

Anthropology has been at the forefront of the disciplines which have traditionally studied change process within cultures and the cultural topics embedded in it. It is also one of the few disciplines that study peoples' day-to-day experiences within cultural concepts of multiple perspectives. Perhaps, this is why anthropologists have described culture as a complex system comprising many loosely interlocking, sometimes causally connected elements, of which child-rearing practices are integral components (D'Andrade, 1994 in Bradley and Corwyn, 2005:468). To buttress this anthropological notion, Evans and Myers (1994), in their psychological studies, also remark that child-rearing practices are embedded within cultural concepts. Similarly, scholars in sociology, philosophy, linguistics, public health, medical sciences, among others, have also placed some of their child-rearing related research findings within the unifying concept of culture. These ratiocinations, therefore, make up the logical premise that prompted the placement of this study within the confines of anthropological cultural studies.

Commenting on the contributions of other disciplines, the *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood in History and Society* (2008) notes that the idea of child-rearing as an enterprising study in the humanities, social, biological and medical sciences made increasing headway in the nineteenth century. This scholarly initiative, as indicated in the book, emerged as consequences of demographic and socio-economic developmental factors that befell most societies during the period. In agreement with this opinion, Lawal (2011) opines that the academic focus on specialized techniques in the normative patterns of child-rearing in given societies was partially induced by economic and demographic changes that occurred in the 1900s'. Alexander, however, notes that the discourse on child-rearing was initially undertaken with philosophical and religious rationales and that, the fields of science, specifically medicine, began to make inroads into the study by the close of nineteenth century (2001). It is, therefore, apparent that the discourse on child-rearing is not a novel one among academics but the reality of approaching the topic with new dimensions would be of significance.

Child-rearing has been a conceptual socio-scientific term often used in reference to the description of how children are cared for, raised or brought up from birth to adolescence. It is a social practice that varies from culture to culture and embedded in socialization processes of social groups (Lawal, 2011). Child-rearing can also be depicted as a cultural process that promotes and supports the physical, emotional, psychological, intellectual and social development of a child from infancy to adulthood. According to Evans and Myers, the cultural practice determines to a large extent, the behavioural expectations that surround children's developmental stages from birth to adolescence and its influence usually prevails on children's childhood experiences until they become parents (1994). Thus, the practice is suggested to be a social necessity engrafted in the act of nurturing children to be acceptable members of given societies.

However, for this requisite to be socially carried out, parents are primarily assigned the responsibility while parent-substitutes, e.g. extended family members and community members, play supplementary secondary roles. Government is also assigned a role in the provision of supportive policies and programmes for families and children. The parental obligation is referred to as parenting practices which are concerned with the process of caring, raising, educating and providing the social and psychological needs of a child from birth to adolescence. In other words, parenting has to do with the compulsory cultural obligations allotted to parents, in respect of the provision of children's physical, emotional, psychological, intellectual and social developmental needs. This sort of conceptualization led Byrd (2006) to conclude that both the mother and father of a child are the two most essential optimal figures the child needs during these growing-up phases. Continuing further, he believes both parties are principally burdened with the responsibility of providing the child with socio-psychological developmental requirements, and, at the same time, are double-tasked to play the socializing role of transmitting socio-cultural values into the child (2006:65). Therefore, it is presumed, the function of training a child by both parent figures is of vital importance to child-rearing practices since most people traditionally believe gender complementarities are necessary for children's positive development.

On the other hand, Alexander (2001), quoting St. Dimitri (1709), asserts that a young child is like a board prepared for an icon painting. In that case, whatever the iconographer paints on it, whether it is honourable or dishonourable, holy or sinful, angelic or demonic, the painting will remain that way for a very long time. In other words, St Dimitri was saying that the upbringing of a child depends on the training with which the parents instil socially acceptable norms and values in the child and that the grooming will always reflect in the child's future. To further emphasize this view, the seventeenth-century philosopher and physician, John Locke,

offered another analogy by conceiving a child's mind as a *tabula rasa*, or a blank slate, on which societies, through the aid of parents and other agents, stamp their cultural norms and values from generation to generation (1922, in Lawal, 2011:80). The observation of both scholars is, however, fixed within the socialisation process of children's upbringing which plays major complementary functions in parenting and child-rearing practices.

Socialisation, which is termed enculturation in anthropology, has been described in the *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood in History and Society* (2008) as the act of inculcating socially acceptable cultural practices, norms and values of a group into children. It also embodies social practices that provide parents, parent substitutes, community and other secondary child-care workers with the tools for training children to become acceptable members of their societies. According to O'Neil, socialisation involves the act of infusing necessary skills and attitudes that can enhance the basic socio-economic roles children are expected to contribute as adults in their respective societies (2009:8). In short, socialisation is a process through which a child must either formally or casually come to acquire the appropriate and expected behaviours and values that are held by most members of his/her society. Thus, the role of enculturation in child-rearing practices is to educate, support, and reinforce the values and beliefs that are unique to different cultural groups within societies (Harrison et al., 1990).

Therefore, one can reasonably claim that the process of socialisation starts right from the day a child is born into a family unit within any given society. Naturally, the first cultural assignment ordinarily designated to a child during the early stages of socialization is for him/her to learn the medium of communication of the society into which he/she is born. While the process of learning cultural norms, beliefs, value systems and other roles the child is expected to play in the society as a child, and in the future as an adult, will gradually play out over time. According to Ogbu (1990: 427), a child that is able to acquire the bulk of the generally acceptable cultural competencies of the social group to which he/she belongs, can automatically be said to qualify as a bona fide member of his/her cultural group within a society.

At this point, it is pertinent to note that child-rearing as a term differs from parenting and socialisation because it places more emphasis on the act of training or bringing up children. Parenting emphasizes the upbringing responsibilities that parents are saddled with and the exhibition of exemplary qualities of behaviour that children emulate. Socialisation on the other hand has to do with the adoption of the culturally established social and behavioural patterns of a socio-cultural group by a child. Therefore, the three concepts have specific contextual applications within the framework of the discourse on child-rearing. In this study, their relatedness is emphasized, and an effort is made to show their application.

However, there is still a growing perception among people in different societies that there is no "right way" of bringing up a child. Perhaps, this perception might have been generated based on the realization that there is an always considerable individual variation in the practices from family to family, community to community and society to society (Lawal, 2011:88). On the contrary, since the practice is largely culturally conditioned, then there is no doubt that its expedient nature has made it possible for parents to respond to diversity both in the past and in the present. This variation can also be based on the make-up of parents' personality traits, their growing-up experiences as children and the conditions under which they work and live within societies across the world. Nevertheless, whenever parents are asked about the task of bringing up children, the echoing slogan of the majority has always been 'It is not an easy task!' The commonality of this shibboleth might perhaps be associated with the challenging nature of practices that surround pregnancy, childbirth, breastfeeding, weaning and other ways of caring for and training children from childhood to adulthood stages, or based on the dissatisfaction with the amount of time expended in fulfilling work and parenting obligations. Even with such displeasing parental remarks, they still cannot deny the reality guiding their intuitive sense of right and wrong which was born out of the consequences of socio-cultural belief systems that go a long way in steering their children to become competent, responsible, and fully functional members of their respective social groups and societies.

As for the Yoruba socio-cultural group located within virtually all parts of Nigeria and beyond, great premium and value have always been placed on the child-rearing culture (Ogbu, 1990:418). This is possibly why they usually regard their children as priceless gifts from God or the gods that will link the past and present generation to the yet unborn ones in the future (Ogbu,1990:420). This ideology might probably be the reason behind the celebrations that normally accompany the birth of a baby in most Yoruba communities. However, during this celebration/excitement, how many parents or relatives normally pause for a minute or more to ponder on these questions: How can the upbringing of these children affect the society into which they are born? How can the society in turn also affect the lives of these children and the cultural values of the social groups to which they belong? In fact, most Yoruba parents might not have given these questions a second thought but they are certainly aware that children are the unique younger version of themselves and that they will inevitably grow into adults, who will eventually become either biological or surrogate parents or functional members of the society in the future.

Nevertheless, whatever the assumptions that generally come to the minds of Yoruba parents on the question of child-rearing, the reality behind such premises still holds that a Yoruba child is born without any in-built culture like any other child but he/she is expected to be transformed into a socio-culturally adept human being. In order to achieve this goal, the child has to be taken through the general socializing process of acquiring the acceptable Yoruba cultural norms and values. In a nutshell, a child born by a Yoruba parent in or outside a Yoruba community is expected to go through the vital Yoruba socializing processes. This cognitive operation meant for training children is presumed by the Yoruba to be the important customary way of preparing children for their social and adult life.

Bronfenbrenner (1958), however; observes that over time cultures change their child-rearing practices in response to historical factors, level of acculturation, adaptation, and survival forces. In view of this remark, it would not be out of context to posit that before the child-rearing practices of different cultural groups in given societies can be transformative in nature, it is conceivable to suggest that parents may be involved in some acts that can aid the change processes. While confirming this proposition, D'Andrade (2001 in Bradley and Corwyn, 2005:468) remarks that the engagement of parents in different spheres of activities and how such relate to changes in child-rearing practices are very much determined by the intricate interplay between set cultural forces, the prevailing social, economic, political, religious systems and other environmental conditions that hold in the societies where such changes occur.

According to Inglehart and Gabriel (2000), out of all the four factors that have been observed by Bronfenbrenner, the survival factor in terms of economic development tends to be the most influential social element that has the greatest impact on culture change, child-rearing practices inclusive. To justify this proposition, findings from around the world have likewise historically revealed that economic development is one of the central elements in the modernization process which effect other elemental changes in societies (Inglehart and Baker, 1997). In their words, "economic development tends to propel societies into industrialization which leads to occupational specializations, changes in educational levels, increase in income levels and eventually brings unforeseen changes in cultural practices" (1997:21).

This economic conceptualization of how culture change takes place in the context of modernization has been employed by scholars and researchers in different fields of study in recent times to cross-culturally evaluate the transformative nature of child-rearing practices, around the globe. It is based on this observation that this anthropological study seeks to capture the overarching ways in which rapid socio-economic transformative processes have

influenced changes in Yoruba child-rearing culture among Yoruba parents in the city of Ibadan. Ibadan affords one an opportunity to observe the transformations that are more or less spreading throughout Yorubaland. In certain ways, it has retained its markedly Yoruba aspects, even though it has not been left untouched by the changes occasioned by modernity (see Fourchard, 2003). Ibadan thus affords the researcher interested in changes in Yoruba child-rearing practices a field that promises all the possible variations in relation to such crosscutting variables as cultural identity, parenting, socio-economic development, and how these reflect and refract family structure. The research also explores how the transformative processes have effected an alteration in children's cultural and behavioural orientation. Similarly, the exploration reveals how such impacts can affect the continuity of this integral part of Yoruba culture which can in turn affect Nigerian society and its citizenry in general. The assessment also demonstrates how such impacts have resulted in a breakdown of the collective Yoruba cultural identity which can also affect socio-economic and cultural developmental processes in relation to the future of Nigerian society.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The literature on child-rearing practices in Yorubaland has remained in need of augmentation in relation to accounting for the transformations brought about by socio-economic shifts and their impact on culture change. The dependence on accounts of traditional practices of child-rearing, with little or no concentration on the changes that are taking place in the ways children are being actually brought up in recent times, makes this ethnographic study necessary.

Similarly, the city of Ibadan has also been fully involved in the rapid integration into the prevailing world system of socio-economic and globalizing transformative processes. As such, the outgrowths have produced changes in the ecology of the society, in the people's way of lives, in their attitudes and lifestyles. There have been visible shifts from conventional to western norms, changes in parents' occupational engagements, working structures, lifestyles and child-rearing worldviews. These changes have also created a situation in which a greater number of parents, most especially women, are involved in occupations requiring greater hours of separation from their children. These circumstances have, however, produced a common practice whereby majority of parents in formal and informal occupations drop young children, who are still not fully awake to the reality of a new dawn, at child-care centres during early hours of the day. While some parents leave their children to child-care workers, extended family members, siblings, neighbours and friends for hours or days, others strap them to their backs when going to purchase or sell commodities or undertake other

business activities. Such adopted routines are often continued until the children are of school age, say, two to five years old before they are transferred to schoolteachers. Having observed this normative trends in recent times, one tends to believe children usually spend the bulk of their formative years away from their biological parents who are supposed to be the primary socializing agents, saddled with the responsibility of caring, nurturing, guiding, educating and protecting the children. However, mere observation calls for substantive investigation that explores how parents' involvement in socio-economic transformative processes within the city of Ibadan has influenced changes in Yoruba child-rearing practices.

Similarly, with the engagement of both men and women in formal and informal occupations, studies on child-rearing have recently revealed that most working parents face some difficulties that often have implications on the upbringing and behavioural orientation of their children (Belsky, 1984:89). While this is a dominant trend of discourse in most societies across the world, it is also necessary for Nigerian scholars to generate research concerns on how socio-economic factors influence changes in child-rearing practices and how the shifts have effected modifications in children's socio-cultural orientation in recent times. It is against this backdrop that this study evaluates how socio-economic transformative processes have contributed to changing Yoruba child-rearing practices within the city of Ibadan, especially among parents in formal and informal forms of employment, and how the alterations play out on their children's social behavioural formation.

Relevant to the research problem are the following questions:

1. What are the socio-economic transformative processes influencing modifications in Yoruba child-rearing practices within the city of Ibadan?
2. To what extent has the socio-economic transformative process shaped the changes in Yoruba child-rearing practices with regard to obedience, respect, morality, responsibility, enculturation and adoption of Yoruba as a medium of communication within the city of Ibadan?
3. How have the socio-economic change processes been shaping the partial absence of Yoruba parents in their children's enculturation process?
4. How do the Yoruba children integrate into their immediate environment?
5. How do the alternative routes affect the children, their parents, the Yoruba child-rearing culture and the society at large?
6. How can Yoruba child-rearing practices manage to advance and survive in a changing environment being driven by socio-economic transformative processes?

These questions constitute the problematic aspects of the changes in Yoruba child-rearing practices which have not been critically appraised in the documented studies by scholars and researchers, most especially in the field of anthropology. Hence, these questions are some of the gaps needed to be filled in the anthropological discourse of Yoruba child-rearing practices.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The objective of this study is to ethnographically assess the changes in Yoruba child-rearing practices with regard to obedience, respect, morality, responsibility, enculturation and adoption of Yoruba as a medium of communication.

Other specific objectives addressed are:

1. Evaluation of the meeting point between socio-economic transformative processes and the modifications in Yoruba child-rearing practices.
2. Appraisal of the changes in past and present Yoruba child-rearing practices.
3. Assessment of the shifts in child-rearing practices among Yoruba parents working within the formal and informal economic sectors in Ibadan.
4. Valuation of cultural materialism theory and the transformation in Yoruba child-rearing practices.
5. Appraisal of ecological system theory and the shifts in Yoruba child-rearing practices.

From a practical perspective, the study suggests how to create a balance between work and parenting obligations in order to promote self-awareness in Yoruba child-rearing practices and cultural grounding for the Yoruba child.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The need to augment the ethnographic literature on Yoruba child-rearing practices provides the original impetus for undertaking this study. The study is necessary due to the need to understand the modifications observed to have occurred in Yoruba child-rearing practices over the years, and the implications of these changes for the cultural identity of the Yoruba ethnic group as a whole. A scrutiny of past literature, which revealed that there has been little concentration on the shifting patterns in Yoruba child-rearing practices, also led to the need for accounting for the developmental orientation influencing modifications in cultural practice.

This study is relevant because it embodies an intellectual contribution to the body of knowledge that has grown around Yoruba child-rearing practices and the larger anthropological discourse of the family in its role as the primary sphere for the recruitment and orientation of

members of a cultural group. In addition, it is a work of historical documentation, constructed to subserve the comparative impulse in anthropology because it records and references the changing patterns of Yoruba child-rearing practices and may be used in the future for trend analysis as well as historical reconstruction.

The study is also important for the following reasons:

1. It is a contribution to the literature on Yoruba and, by extension, Nigerian child-rearing practices, especially as it brings that literature up to date to cover contemporary times.
2. It explores how socio-economic transformative processes embedded in the ecological system of the city of Ibadan shape the changes in Yoruba child-rearing practices and the socio-cultural conducts of the Yoruba child.
3. It offers an insight into how socio-economic developmental and employment policies can address how to balance work and parenting responsibilities so as to advance cultural development.
4. It serves as a medium for educating the Nigerian populace about the roles and involvement of parents and government in inculcating cultural values that will aid the development of self-awareness in children's educational curriculum, work and parenting practices.
5. It also draws attention to emerging modifications in Yoruba child-rearing practices, and how these reflect larger transformations in the collective Yoruba cultural identity.

Finally, the study awakens the Nigerian populace to the need to be culturally conscious of whom we are and to raise our children in ways that would not alienate them from their cultural identity.

1.5 Basic Assumptions of the Study

Once a society embarks on social and economic developmental processes, it is certain that changes in some cultural practices will take place. Based on this notion, scholars and researchers have come up with different views suggesting that socio-economic transformative processes are the central elements igniting changes in aspects of the social structure. Therefore, this study was based on the assumption that socio-economic transformative processes have systematically produced increased literacy, changes in parental occupation and working structures which created the imbalance in work and parenting obligations that, in turn, influenced the alterations in Yoruba child-rearing practices.

Other guiding assumptions of the study are:

- Socio-economic transformation is accompanied by an imbalance in work and parenting practices.
- Socio-economic transformative processes have wrought both good and culturally unfit changes in Yoruba child-rearing practices within the city of Ibadan.
- The Yoruba child-rearing practices, under the pressure of socio-economic transformation and foreign acculturation, have been splicing and mixing up with western child-rearing norms without sifting the grain from the chaff.
- The fixed working schedule of parents has far-reaching implications on parenting practices and the advancement of self-awareness in Yoruba child-rearing practices.
- The inflexibility in working hours within formal and informal employments, resulting in working longer hours, evenings/nights, has far-reaching implications on the upbringing and enculturation process of children.
- Central child-rearing responsibilities and children's enculturation process have been assumed by child-care workers, schoolteachers, media and digital technologies.
- Less than an average of the population of Yoruba children adhere to culturally acceptable moral conducts.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study, being ethnographic in nature, provides the researcher with a variety of routes for coming to terms with the 'parts' that form the 'whole' which is being evaluated in the discourse. However, while employing a holistic approach, the research focused on the evaluation of the changing child-rearing practices among Yoruba parents in Ibadan. In any case, the study is an attempt to ascertain the level to which socio-economic transformative processes, evolving in the city of Ibadan, have effected alterations in the child-rearing practices among the Yoruba inhabitants. The study population is defined to include Yoruba parents, from the different Yoruba socio-cultural groups, residing and working within the metropolis. As such, the research is conceptualized in relation to urban dichotomy and its comparative samples are purposively drawn from literate and illiterate parents, who are engaged in the production and distribution of goods and services, largely outside official control (informal occupation) and those involved in business and organizational activities that are officially monitored with rules and regulations (formal occupation). This evaluation is, however, limited in physical coverage to ten (10) purposively selected communities, situated in five (5) local government areas within Ibadan.

There are so many Yoruba cities located within Nigeria and outside the shores of the nation which could have been chosen as the study area, but the city of Ibadan in present-day Oyo

State, Nigeria (Fig.1) was chosen due to its uniqueness as an ancient Yoruba city. It is cosmopolitan with a strong urban population which, in fact, could be said to be the headquarters of the Yoruba people undergoing socio-economic change processes. The city's socio-economic importance as a major commercial centre in Nigeria in the past, and the fact that it is composed of a *mélange* of formal and informal occupational sectors, also make it a metropolis of interest to this study. Similarly, Ibadan was selected based on the view that it is one of the urban cities with a syncretised and hybrid Yoruba cultural mix, where a delicate balance of the old and the new, the 'indigenous' and the 'modern', is pervasive. It also bears the traces of laborious modernization, migration, multiculturalism, and trans-national commodity traffic which are essential aspects of a modern postcolonial city.

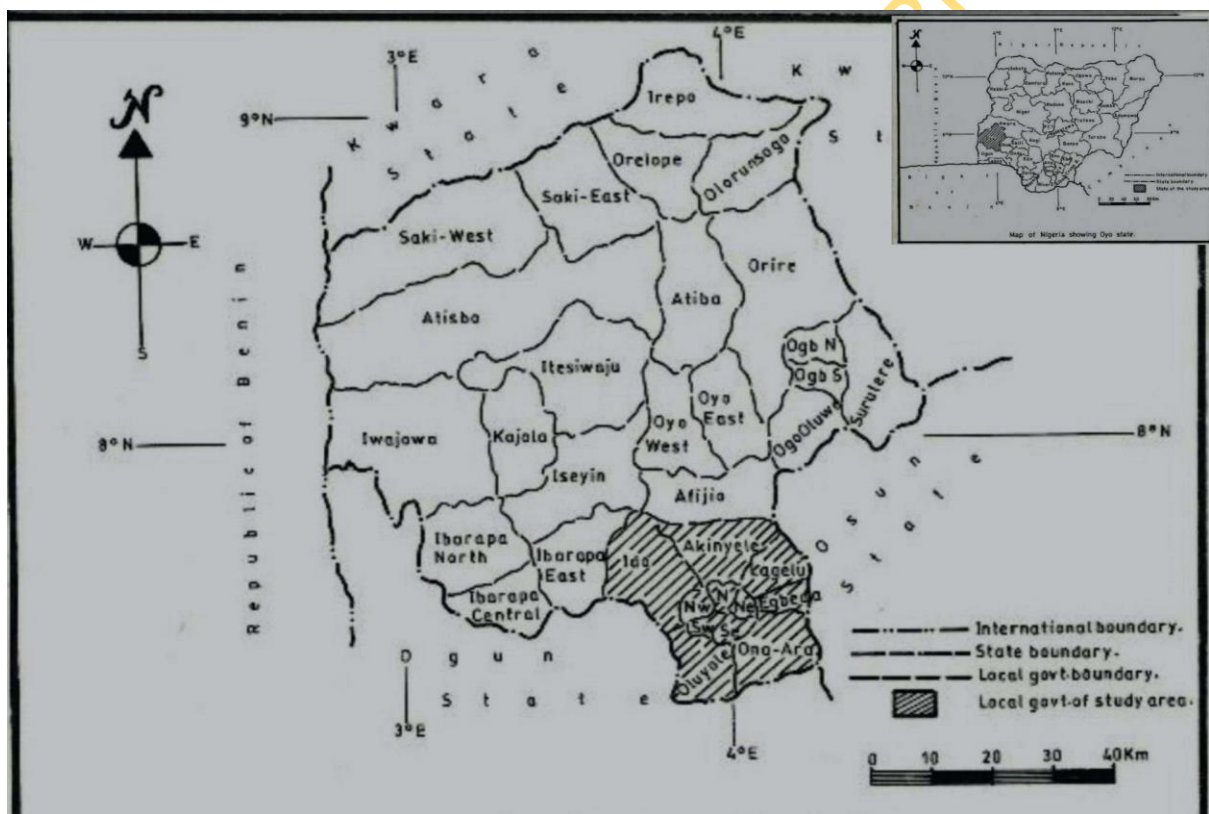


Fig. 1: Oyo State, indicating the city of Ibadan (Source: Ministry of Lands, and Survey, Oyo State)

There are eleven (11) Local Government Areas within the city of Ibadan and out of these, five (5) which includes Ibadan North (IBN), Ibadan North East (IBNE), Ibadan North West (IBNW), Ibadan South East (IBSE) and Ibadan South West (IBSW), were sampled. The locations where samples were randomly selected include New Bodija, Old Bodija, Ikolaba Estate, Orogun (IBN), Jericho GRA (IBNW), Oluyole Estate, Apata (IBSW), Beere (IBNE), Mapo and Molete (IBSE) (see Fig.2). The choice of the ten (10) study locations in Ibadan was however, informed by the need to compare the study's findings.

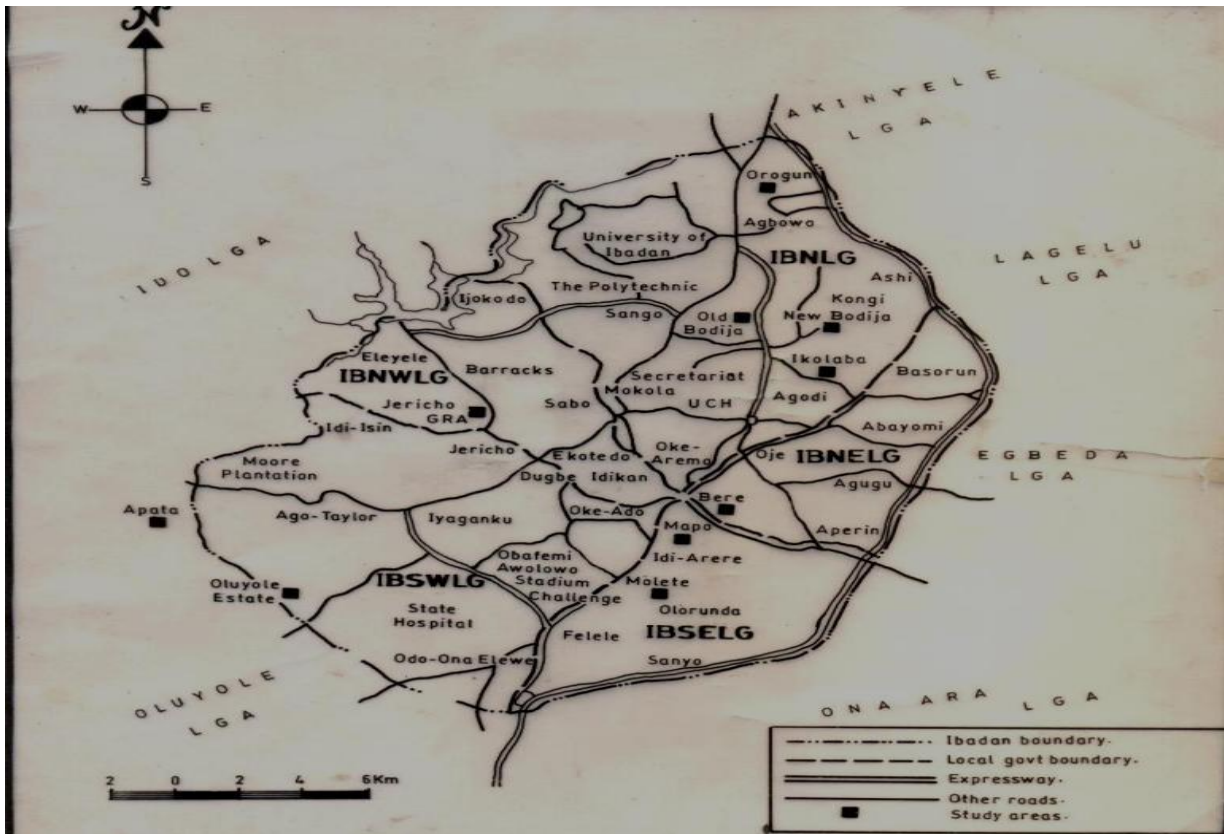


Fig. 2: Ibadan, showing the study areas (Source: Ministry of Lands and Survey, Oyo State)

In relation to the plight of the present-day Yoruba child, who has been sandwiched in the midst of various environmental change factors, the study examines how socio-economic transformative processes have influenced modifications in the ways the Yoruba child is reared in respect of obedience, respect, morality, responsibility, enculturation and adoption of medium of communication. It also focuses on how the alteration of the cultural practice shapes the children's socio-cultural conducts.

Ethnographically, the study employs the basic anthropological method of participant observation in triangulation with other research methods to establish the changes in Yoruba child-rearing practices and to evaluate how socio-economic transformative processes have become the instrument of change in Yoruba child-rearing practices. The methods are also used to measure how work/parenting time-frame impact on the alterations in children's upbringing and enculturation process. It as well tries to capture the different characteristics of working arrangements and work routines which create marketing opportunities for secondary socializing agents like child-care workers and teachers in child-care facilities, schools and orphanage homes (in rare cases) and to what extent they have been fulfilling their assumed central child-rearing roles.

The ethnographic data were elicited through in-depth interviews and participant observation of the 'everyday' child-rearing practices of parents within the age bracket of twenty-two to sixty years old (22-60), who are purposively drawn from formal and informal occupations and randomly selected from twenty (20) homes and thirty (30) family units. In-depth interviews, as well as open- and close-ended survey questionnaires administered to parents, teachers and child-care workers, who were randomly selected from the ten study areas, were also instrumental to the process of data collection.

1.7 Historical Background of the Study Area

The city of Ibadan, fully known in Yoruba language as Eba-Odan, (a settlement at the fringe of the rain forest) and nicknamed Ile Oluyole, is the capital city of Oyo State in Nigeria. It is located within south-western Nigeria, 128 km inland northeast of Lagos and about 120 km east of Republic of Benin (Areola, 1994:3). The city ranges in elevation from 150m in the valley area to 275m above sea level on the major north-south ridge which rises to the central part of the city.

Historically, Ibadan came into existence in 1829 as a war camp settlement founded by a handful of warriors from Ife, Oyo and Ijebu. The establishment of the city was characterized by the insecurity of Yorubaland and the birth of intra-Yoruba war in the 1820's (Mabogunje and Omer-Cooper, 1971:8.). It was the fall of the Oyo Empire and the desertion of its capital Oyo-Ile (Old Oyo) that paved the way for the exodus of massive emigrants out of northwest Yorubaland during the second decade of the nineteenth century (Agbaje-Williams, 1983). This exodus led not only to the expansion of earlier southern towns but also led to the emergence of new settlements. Eba Odan was one of these, and later metamorphosed to Ibadan (Oguntomisin and Falola, 1987; Falola, 1998 and Johnson, 1921). However, since its establishment, the wars that produced the settlement led to its rapid expansion, and its policy of inclusiveness led different Yoruba groups to flock into the settlement. By the end of the wars in the last decade of the nineteenth century, Ibadan was stabilized with its unique socio-political system.

Ibadan was primarily a forest site with several ranges of hills, varying in elevation from 160 to 275 meters above sea level which offered its primary inhabitants some strategic defensive opportunities. Hence, 'its location at the fringe of the forest promoted its emergence as marketing centre for traders and goods from both the forest and grassland areas' (Fourchard, 2002: 2). It was also appropriately nicknamed *Idi Ibon*, "butt of a gun", due to its unique military character and the warriors constituted the rulers of the city and other most important economic group (Falola, 1984: 192). The city continued to develop and it grew into a prosperous new city with a commercial nerve centre until the last decade of the 19th century (Fourchard, 2002:2). Although

its estimated population in 1851 was said to be between 60,000 and 100,000, the military sanctuary expanded even further into a city state when refugees began arriving in large numbers from other parts of Yoruba states (Falola, 1989:2). The influx of refugees made it possible for the city state to successfully build its large empire from the 1860s to 1890s which extended over many parts of northern and eastern Yorubaland (Mabogunje, 1968:195). Thus, Ibadan grew into an impressive and sprawling urban centre so much that it dominated the Yoruba region militarily, politically and economically.

During the colonial period, the position of the city in the Yoruba urban network was reinforced and in 1893 Ibadan became a British Protectorate after a treaty signed by Fijabi, the Baale of Ibadan, with the British Acting Governor of Lagos, George C. Denton on 15 August (Vaughan, 2000:4). By then the population had swelled to 120,000. The British developed the new colony to facilitate their commercial activities in the area, and Ibadan shortly grew into the major trading centre that it is today.

As at Nigerian independence in 1960, Ibadan was the largest and most populous city in the country and, until 1970, Ibadan was the largest city in sub-Saharan Africa (Lloyd et al., 1967). In 1952, it was estimated that the total area of the city was about 103.8 sq.km (Areola, 1994: 99). However, only 36.2 km² was built up then. This meant that the remaining 67 km² were devoted to non-urban uses, such as farmlands, river flood plains, forest reserves and water bodies. These “non-urban land uses” disappeared in the 1960s, while the urban landscape has completely spread over 100 km² (Fourchard, 2002:3)

According to the 2006 census, Ibadan was the third largest metropolitan area in Nigeria next to Lagos and Kano with a population of 1,338,659, and the land area has increased from 136 km² in 1981 to about 240km² in 1988-89 (Areola, 1994: 101). By the year 2000, it was estimated that Ibadan would be around 400 km² (Onibokun and Faniran, 1995:7). The growth of the built-up area during the second half of the 20th century from 40 km² in the 1950s to over 250 km² in the 1990s, and its spread into Akinyele and Egbeda local governments, shows clearly that there has been an underestimation of the total growth of the city and this calls for a re-estimation of its population too. In the 1980s, the Ibadan-Lagos expressway generated the greatest urban sprawl to the eastern and northern parts of the city, followed by the Eleyele expressway which is located at the western part of the city (Onibokun and Faniran, 1995:7). The impressive growth of the city of Ibadan has further confirmed its importance as a major commercial centre in Nigeria.

The people of Ibadan are predominantly Yoruba and their descent is traced back to Ile-Ife, the cradle of all Yoruba people. A typical indigene of Ibadan is usually identified with

different types of facial marks, although this tradition is now becoming obsolete among the people. Apart from the Yoruba people other Nigerian inhabitants of the city are Hausa, Igbo, Fulani, Edo, among others and non-Nigerians from West Africa, of which Benin, Togo, Ghana are dominant.

The central core of the city is made up of the earliest high-density settlement, which still displays mud-walled buildings with rusted brownish corrugated iron roofing sheets (Plate 1). Most of these walled houses are usually composed of compounds comprising three or more nuclear families living together as a 'joint family'. In recent times, some of the buildings have either been plastered with cement or totally replaced by cement blocks. The outskirts of the city displays modern buildings in different planned housing estates with high-quality residential districts in planned areas like Bodija and Jericho and some unplanned areas like Orogun and Oke-Ado.



Plate 1: Overview of the central core of Ibadan situated within (IBNE) Local Government Area (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork; 2011)

Amala, made from yam flour, is basic to the people's diet. It is eaten with *ewedu* vegetable in combination with *gbegiri*-soup made from beans. Among the traditional Yoruba staples are *eba*, *iyán*, *fufu*, and *eko*, eaten with any soup of choice as lunch or dinner. Bread, rice, eggs, bean cakes (*moin-moin* and *akara*), beverages and other foods are regarded as refreshment (*ipanu*) and not commonly eaten by old people because such foods are conceived as low-energy providing.

The foundation governing virtually all the main aspects of the people's way of life is religion. That is, the people are highly religious and belief in God permeates all of their affairs. This belief system plays a very prominent part in the ways their children are brought up, trained and socialized within the society. However, some percentage of the people living in Ibadan have

different attitude to religious issues. Although the people might have been silent on this reality, it should, however, be pointed out that the society is not made up of entirely religious people. The three dominant religions practised in the city are traditional religion, Islam and Christianity. Like other Yoruba groups, they believe wholly in the existence of the supreme God who they refer to as *Olodumare*. This belief system also boasts what are termed ‘nature gods’ such as *Sanponna*, *Osun*, *Sango* and ‘functional gods’ such as *Orunmila*, *Ogun*, *Obatala* among others in the traditional religion. Other aspects of their religious beliefs are divination, witchcraft, magic and medicine (curative and preventive) (Simpson, 1980).

The practice of traditional religion is important to the people at three different levels in terms of training their children. The first is at the level of the individual. At this level, the people are trained to believe human beings could be successful in life if only they are hard-working and have been predestined to be prosperous. As believed, the ancestors, divinities (*Orisa*) and God only bestow favour on hard-working individuals. As such, to these practitioners, it is one thing to learn a job and master all its techniques; it is another thing to be hard-working. Thus, this belief has gone a long way in emphasizing the notion of hard work and participation of individuals living in the city of Ibadan within the different socio-economic sectors of the city. This impression speaks volumes of the people's view on a religious but lazy person and this is captured in this Yoruba popular saying:

*Ise ni oogun ise
Eni ti ise nse
Ko ma bo orisa
Oro ko kan t’oosa
Ibaa bo orisa
Ibaa bo Obatala
O di ojo ti o ba sise aje ko to jeun tabi lola.*

Working prevents poverty
Whoever is poor should not pray to the divinities
Because the divinities are not to blame
Even if he/she worships the divinities
Even if he/she worships Obatala
Such an individual can only be successful when he/she decides to have a job.

This proverb indicates that a lazy person within the society is usually condemned and frowned at when he/she decides to embrace religion without having a dignified source of livelihood.

The second level is that of the lineage through which members jointly take part in worshipping their patron god and in offering sacrifices and prayers to ancestors, divinities and

founders of lineages for peace and prosperity. Children at this level are trained to be religiously aware of these practices by learning to develop a sense of belief and reverence for God, divinities, ancestors and the elderly.

At the third level is the community. The Yoruba in the city of Ibadan have a communal religious festival called the *Okebadan*. It is an annual ceremony that provides a unifying ethno-identity force for the people. It also provides a communal atmosphere that acknowledges the providence and guidance of the supreme God (*Olodumare*) in their lives, as individuals, lineages and community. Thus children generally partake in the festive activities which involve the learning and mastery of different ways of fitting into the society.

Similarly other adherents of the two dominant foreign religions (Islam and Christianity) are equally influential in the city, a situation that Fadipe (1970) long identified as being applicable to Yorubaland as a whole. The Islamic religion spread into Ibadan in the 1830s at the fall of Oyo Empire and in 1936. Thus some unknown percentage of the people became nominal Muslims (Falola, 1989:6). Islam later transformed to become the dominant faith of many Ibadan people due to its ability to adapt into core Yoruba culture. As Muslims, the people believe in the Islamic doctrine of Allah (Almighty God), his prophets, the *Hadith* (collection of doctrinal traditions based on the life of Prophet Mohammed) and the final day of judgement (*Yao-mil-Aahir*). These belief systems guide their daily life activities and general perceptions about life.

Most of the Muslims attend services at different mosques within the city to say their daily prayers, observe Ramadan (the month of fasting), and a few make the pilgrimage to Mecca annually. Their children are also taught to adhere to this faith by observing daily prayers and Ramadan at a very tender age. They also learn other Islamic beliefs in diverse Quranic schools scattered around the city. The schools provide their children with different Islamic religious instructions on how to pray, recite long passages from the Quran and to acquire the rudiments of Arabic writing. Similarly, the people also believe, being good to others and giving alms make them receive favour from the Almighty Allah which can also lead to prosperity. This religious notion is however in contrast to that of the traditional religion practitioners who ascribe prosperity and favour of God to being hard-working.

The seed of Christianity was planted in 1851 and it germinated and grew with its own followers in the city of Ibadan (Falola, 1989:8). Churches and schools began to spring up in order to educate the Christian converts and their children formally. Like other Christians the world over, Ibadan Christians believe in the Trinity (God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit). They also believe in the act of loving everyone like themselves which usually inculcates

the fear of God in them. These basic tenets of Christianity are of great importance in training and instructing their children to be religiously socialized within the society. For children to acquire this religious knowledge, they have to accompany their parents or caregivers to churches where they learn the Christian way of life at the early stages of life. Thus, the socialization process of most Christian children is patterned on the religious beliefs and worldviews of their parents in collaboration with other socializing agents within and outside the church environs, e.g. schools.

Although these three religions are the major types that appear to exist and have gone a long way in shaping the people's ways of life, there is the common practice in which some individuals or family lineages do combine either two or all the three religious practices. However, the overall conviction of the people's involvement in different religious beliefs and practices demonstrates that their religious belief systems strengthen their worldview on the culture of child-rearing practices. It also proves that religious beliefs have a strong link to how children are trained through different models of acceptable acculturation processes in homes and other socializing institutions. These factors, coupled with the unique manner and ways in which people from different Yoruba sub-ethnic groups residing in the city of Ibadan bring up their children, make the city a noteworthy place for this kind of research.

1.7.1 The Economy of Ibadan

The large population and the viable agricultural base of Ibadan during its early days promoted the growth of a subsistence economy. This was purely based on the production of food crops such as cocoyam, yam, cassava, maize and vegetables. The importance of these agricultural products to the survival of Ibadan's populace encouraged the development of its internal market system and rapid expansion in commerce. The internal markets continue to thrive on the basis of large demands and on the wide network of exchange between the town and its neighbouring villages, which invariably has made Ibadan a central market over time and the hub of the exchange system not only in Yorubaland but in Nigeria as a whole.

The economic activities of Ibadan include production of agricultural goods, manufacturing of trade, production of crafted artefacts and engagement in service industries. The economic activities, however, expanded during colonial and post-colonial periods with the introduction of cash products like cocoa, cotton, timber, rubber, palm oil and kola nut. Cocoa eventually became the dominant product on which the development of Yorubaland in 1950's and 1960 depended when the city was the capital of western Nigeria. However, the practice of mixed economy was also common in the later developmental years of Ibadan. That is, the indigenes were combining farming with artisanship which includes weaving, spinning and dyeing (the

creation of *Adire* (tie-and-dye cloth), pottery, ceramics, and blacksmithing, among others. Involvement in small businesses such as corn milling, leather working, wood and steel furniture making, was also prominent among the people.

When Ibadan became an urban city, virtually every street and corner in the core and inner suburbs of the city became distinguished with a market square or stall. Within the city, there are many periodic markets such as Ibuko (Bode), Oje and Oja Oba (Plate 2) and many other daily markets. The largest daily market stretches in a belt from the railway station in the west to the centre of the city. In the later years, local crafts began to flourish and the people became more involved in modern artisanship and service delivery, such as printing, photography, sewing, hotel management, driving, and auto repairing, to mention a few. Trading is also dominant in the township and it involves the participation of both males and females. There are, however, few modern manufacturing industries and a good example was the former Nigerian Tobacco Company with its headquarters in Ibadan, around Iyaganku.



Plate 2: *Oja-Oba, one of the oldest markets in Ibadan (Source: Fourchard, 2011)*

Other industries include processing companies producing agricultural products such as palm kernel, cocoa, timber, while some manufacturing companies are involved in flour-milling, leather-work and furniture-making. Several cattle ranches, dairy farms as well as a commercial abattoir are also located within the city.

1.7.2 Socio-economic Transformation of Ibadan

According to Afolayan (1994:11), the urban city of Ibadan has been evolving since the nineteenth century due to the rural-urban migration of people from neighbouring villages and urban centres and as well as people from other ethnic groups from within and outside Nigeria. This development is recorded as a result of the city's emergence as the seat of Government for the British colonial administration in 1946 which automatically made it the headquarters of the

defunct Western Region. This prominent status of the city of Ibadan encouraged the massive migration of people into the metropolis. Hence, the city of Ibadan gradually evolved its internal market system into an expansive economic centre and a new economic labour market became visible within the city. This development also led to the boost in the city's employment opportunities and has since then continued to hold attraction for immigrants.

Another major political factor that has greatly influenced the increase of socio-economic transformation in Ibadan is the multiplication of its local government areas in 1991. This significantly created avenues for accelerated bureaucratic infrastructure which created employment opportunities for people in government organizations and small/large scale economic sectors. Thus, the rapid socio-economic transformation in Ibadan is largely ascribable to its economic and political role in Nigeria.

The economic and commercial importance of Ibadan cannot be over-emphasized as a veritable component of development in Nigeria. Moreover, the extension of railway from Lagos to Ibadan in 1901 accentuated the socio-economic attraction of people to Ibadan. Thus, by 1903, various European firms were given leasehold to settle in Ibadan, and this led to the establishment of modern business centres, and low-cost estates in government reserved areas. The extension of the railway to Ibadan, as well as the arrival of Europeans into the city, also marked the beginning of the large-scale immigration of various ethnic groups such as the Igbo, Ibibio, Edo, Urhobo, Hausa, Fulani, and others into Ibadan (Ayeni, 1994:54).

While the pace of industrialization cannot be initially described as fast in Ibadan, owing to the defunct western regional government's deliberate policy of concentrating industries in Lagos, Ibadan still accounted for about six per cent of the nation's industrial activity in 1972 (Ayeni, 1994:56). Industrial activities, therefore, also became an important factor in the socio-economic growth of Ibadan in relatively recent years. Furthermore, the oil boom of the early 1970s, in addition to the post-civil war rehabilitation and construction activities within the same period, significantly accelerated the rate of massive immigration of people into the city of Ibadan. This development created employment opportunities in administration, construction, commerce and related fields within the metropolis.

In the early 20th century, Ibadan kept part of its developmental characteristics of the mid-19th century which were based on agriculture, trade and craft. This vast network of economic activities also encouraged the development of transportation business within the city. The second half of the 20th century, however, witnessed a major socio-economic change with the establishment of modern manufacturing and service industries which aided the gradual

disappearance of agricultural activities in the city. Hence, the modern industrial sectors became the major sectors of employment for men, while more than 70 per cent of the city's active women and youths became involved in crafts and trading activities.

The changes in occupational structure can also be explained on the basis of the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programme of the Federal Government (SAP) in 1986 which consequently saw to the development of small-scale craft industries and trade. In fact, these two activities led the informal economic sector within the city. Therefore, there was an increase in employment in the informal economic sector in the 1980s and the annual growth rate rose from 25.8% to 32.5% in 1984 to 1990 before dropping to 11.1% between 1990 and 1993 (Akerele, 1997:39). The growth of the informal sector in petty trading and petty craft activities was the first consequence of the current economic crisis and the development of urban poverty in Nigeria. Although the city's farming population has declined, it is still large for an urban area in which many cultivators are now part-time farmers who augment their earnings with other skilled jobs like bricklaying, carpentry, and trading, among others. The other general factors that accounted for the rapid socio-economic transformative processes in the urban city of Ibadan include institutional and social factors and these are briefly discussed.

1.7.2.1 Institutional Factors

A number of important public institutions, established in Ibadan have contributed immensely to its socio-economic modifications. They include the University of Ibadan, the University College Hospital (UCH), Moor Plantation, Premier Hotel, Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research (NISER), International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA), Central Bank of Nigeria, the Army and Police Command Headquarters, various agricultural research institutes, television (the first in Africa) and radio stations, communication companies, banking institutions and several others. The siting of these institutions in Ibadan has contributed immensely to the observed rapid socio-economic transformation of the city.

1.7.2.2 Social Factors

The greatest socio-economic asset that has been promoting the development of the city of Ibadan might perhaps be the heterogeneous population of its founders. Since the establishment of the city, the indigenous population has learnt to be tolerant, understanding and accommodating to strangers. As a result of this, the city rarely experiences social and ethnic conflicts. This factor has contributed immensely to the rapid growth and development of the city, both in the past and in the present (Ayeni, 1994:57).

Finally, the socio-economic transformations in the city of Ibadan evolved right from the colonial era and the scene at the present stage is alive with almost 70 per cent of self-employed people working for long hours within different occupational sectors in the metropolis. Their creative energies are indispensable to the organization of the city's productive forces and its expanding economy. Since this is vital to the focus of the study, the subject is briefly discussed below.

1.7.3 The Formal and Informal Economic Sectors in Ibadan

Like most urban cities in Nigeria and other developing countries, Ibadan has two distinct economic sectors marked by a wide range of business activities, involving the use of labour, capital, land and natural resources. The two prominent sectors are: the formal and informal economy. These two sectors involve individuals and groups of people managing the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services provided by either the people that live within or outside the city.

The dominant economic sector within the city of Ibadan is the informal economy. It is an economic system that deals with the productive organization that engages people in production and distribution of goods and services largely outside official control (Smith, 1983:256). The sector has its origin at the inception of the settlement then known as "Eba-Odan" which was characterized by small trading units in subsistence goods, craft activities, and small-scale industries that eventually metamorphosed into what it is today. Thus, the primary participants in recent time are both literate and illiterate people, who are self-employed individuals operating small-scale enterprises with less focus on earning much profit. They usually have little access to credit facilities for expansion and frequently substitute for desirable wage work, providing income on a predictable basis.

It is similarly observed that the informal economic sector within the city of Ibadan is predominantly visible in the old central business districts of Dugbe, Gbagi (old and new), Adamasingba and Ekotedo areas. Other commercial centres are Agbeni, along Amunigun axis, Oje, Agodi Spare Parts/Shopping Complexes, Aleshinloye, Apata, Bodija, Orita Merin (Mapo Hall area), Agbowo, Ijokodo, Eleyele, Gege and Adelabu Shopping Complexes at Orita Challenge and Bodija among others.

In Nigeria, Ibadan inclusive, the informal economic sector is estimated to be responsible for providing total employment for more than seventy (70) per cent of the working population which is not employed by public and private organized sectors (Nigerian Government Third Development Plan Report of 1980-1986). The sector is also noted to be an important provider of

income, products and services to the unemployed (young/elderly, educated and uneducated men and women) and those who fall into the cracks of the hardly favourable economy within the city. With the influx of Global System for Mobile Communication (GSM) phones, computer systems, internet facilities and other forms of digital technologies into the country in recent times, millions of people have also become fully functional within the sector. Thus, the informal sector has been playing an important socio-economic developmental role within the city of Ibadan.

The other prevailing economy in Ibadan is the formal sector. It is the economic system that refers to the generative network of wage earning business activities that are fully monitored by government laws and regulations. In other words, this sector is totally captured in official statistics and taxation. It comprises large commercial firms or institutions, production and distribution companies and industries and government organizations. The participants within this sector are educated (mostly professional) individuals or group of people and some literate/illiterate workers like gardeners, cleaners and others, who are employed on regulatory working contract. They work in an organized environment and their salaries and incentives are fixed and based on qualifications and experiences or either of the two. They have pre-defined work conditions and job responsibilities that are fixed within stipulated working durations. They are also entitled to seek claims from employers when they are sick, if appointments are terminated by the organizations or when they retire.

The formal industrial institutions located in the city of Ibadan are scattered within these areas: Oluyole Estate, Old Lagos Road, Olubadan Industrial Estate near Express Toll Gate, Olubadan Estate along New Ibadan/Ife Express Road, Ajoda New Town and Eleiyele Light Industrial Estate. The financial institutions such as banks are situated in New and Old Bodija, Iwo Road, Gate, Mokola Roundabout, Dugbe, Bodija-Secretariat Road, tertiary institutions like University of Ibadan, the Polytechnic of Ibadan, Government and private hospitals, among others. Other companies and organizations also established in the periphery or fringe areas of Ibadan include Gas Cylinders Ltd located at Ejioku, Leyland Nigeria Limited at Iyana-Church (both along Ibadan-Iwo Road), the Nigeria Wire and Cable Ltd. Owode, along Ibadan-Abeokuta Road, the Standard Breweries at Alegongo Village, Eagle Flower Mills at Toll-Gate, the British-American Tobacco Company on Lagos-Ibadan Express Road, among others.

There is no doubt that the listed formal industrial and commercial companies, organizations and institutions have been the pervasive and persistent feature of the developing economy in the city of Ibadan. They have significantly contributed as income generators for people living within and outside the metropolis.

This study, however, focuses on how the developing operating systems of the two economic sectors have influenced changes in Yoruba child-rearing practices. The study is also concerned with an evaluation of how the transformation of the economic sectors shaped the alterations in parents' working schedules that transformed parental occupation to a device of change in Yoruba child-rearing practices within Ibadan.

1.8 Delimitations and Limitations of the Study

The ethnographic data collected and analyzed, as well as the research processes discussed in this study, are delimited to the dominant child-rearing practices observed in 2011-2013 with respect to obedience, respect, morality, responsibility, enculturation and adoption of Yoruba as a medium of communication among Yoruba parents who were engaged in formal and informal occupations within the city of Ibadan. The evaluation is also delimited to the effects of socio-economic transformative processes on the changing Yoruba child-rearing practices in Ibadan.

The study areas were delimited to ten (10) communities within five (5) Local Government Areas in Ibadan. The major parameters for selecting the study areas included time and financial constraints. These restrictions are as a result of the researcher's being solely responsible for the research funding for this study. The use of a research grant and research assistants could have increased the number of study areas, the sample size, as well as the number of individual interviews held. However, the research is limited in time because it is a snapshot, dependent on the conditions occurring at the period of study. It is also limited in providing expansible evaluation on the observed changes in other child-rearing practices. This is, however, based on the conception that other child-rearing practices are inter-textual topics that need to be studied as distinct and separate themes within the child-rearing discourse.

1.9 Definition of Terms

Child-Rearing: It is a socio-scientific term used in reference to the nurturing activities parents engage in while caring for and raising children. These activities include infant care, breastfeeding, nutrition, weaning, language development, psychosocial development, formal and informal education, recreation and discipline. Child-rearing practices are common to all societies and include obedience training, responsibility training, nurturance training, achievement training, self-reliance training and general independence training (Thomas, 2001). In specific relation to this study, the child-rearing function can be served by other caregivers, apart from the parents,

and these caregivers may be assigned by the parents or by societal norms the responsibility of bringing children up to become members of a cultural group.

Enculturation: An anthropological term used in describing the process by which an individual learns the traditional content of a culture and assimilates its practices and values. This process can also be called socialization.

Acculturation: This often results from the process or result of change in customs, beliefs and artefacts via the contact of two or more cultures. The two major types of acculturation are: **Incorporation and Directed Change** and they can be distinguished on the conditional basis under which cultural contact and change take place.

Culture Change: It is a concept used in reference to the systematic study of variation in social and cultural system, and modifications in social or cultural relationships. In this study, culture change is looked at within the realm of child-rearing practices in the understanding that changes in the way children are culturally recruited and oriented may account for much of the shape that the society takes on in the future.

Socio-economic Transformation: This is defined for the purposes of this study as those qualitative changes in social life which result from major shifts in the production and distribution of the means of livelihood. These shifts reflect in the organization of economic life and in the technologies employed in economic processes, and they yield structural change at the level of the family organization (Kuznets, 1966).

Formal and Informal Occupation: Formal occupations, in relation to the provision of a livelihood, are economic activities which are officially monitored and regulated by law; while informal occupations involve activities in the production and distribution of goods and services that are largely outside official control.

1.10 Overview

The beliefs attached to children's upbringing have influenced the creation of the distinctive value-systems attached to Yoruba child-rearing practices. Such beliefs and values are rooted in the culture of people, marked by continuous changes. Therefore, as the wind of change is blowing across all regions of the world through socio-economic transformative processes, there is no doubt that the great rupture has also influenced the changes in child-rearing practices among Yoruba parents in Ibadan. This reality led this researcher to explicitly explore the modifications in Yoruba child-rearing practices through the shaping of socio-economic change

processes. Hence, the study draws from the collective and individual experiences of parents, children, child-care workers, and teachers, acting as deconstructive lenses through which the dynamics of the modifications in Yoruba child rearing practices in the city of Ibadan are revealed.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS

2.0. Preamble

Central to all scholarly study is the need to adopt some theoretical perspectives, guiding the academic horizon and for explaining empirical findings. It is also expedient that a review of available literature on the various concepts adopted, be it visible, implicit, explicit and assumed, be presented for a better understanding. Therefore, this chapter focuses on both the review of the theoretical approaches adopted in the study and the relevant discourses in the extant literature on the subject of child-rearing practices. The purpose of this exercise is to situate the study within the general and specific contexts it claims to belong. It is along this eclectic perspective that the study will not only rely on the concept of culture to guide the discourse but as a matter of priority inquire into other essential viewpoints that will aid the construction of a more tenable understanding of the subject matter. The combination of different interrelated subjects in the discourse will also be of help in evaluating the effects of socio-economic transformations on the changes in Yoruba child-rearing practices. The harmonious orientation of the study in relation to the review of relevant literature is devoted to the first part of this chapter, while the theoretical orientation is presented in the second part.

2.1 Literature Review

For broad and in-depth discussion of the topic, literature review is undertaken under the following subheadings:

- (i) Origin and expansion of child-rearing studies
- (ii) Culture and anthropology of child-rearing
- (iii) Work, family and child development
- (iv) Modernization, development and culture change
- (v) Studies of Yoruba child-rearing Practices

2.1.1 The Origin and Expansion Child-Rearing Studies

The inception of the study of child-rearing has always been a puzzle which scholars and researchers have found difficult to resolve. This fruitless effort has, of course, made individuals to date its origin back to the period of human existence and it is this conceivable notion that perhaps made Kakar (1994) to trace the origin of the study to the desire that developed (since antiquity) out of the human inclination concerning being knowledgeable about caring for and

training children. According to him, this interest has been implanted in the human mind probably since man started the act of procreation. Farrier (2010), however, submits much has changed in the genesis of human parenting and child-rearing practices history within different generations and across societies and the shifts have been developing to reflect changing cultural values. As a result of this transformative framework in changing cultural values, the issue of child-rearing in different periods of history has become an engaging subject of intellectual depth that is often studied in combination with other social and environmental themes. This reasoning has, however, provided this study with a historical vantage point of assessing the modifications in Yoruba child-rearing practices in relation to the socio-economic theme.

The origin of child-rearing literature, as observed by Grant (2004), is different in most societies around the globe but can also be traced back to the beginning of human existence. Farrier, however, cites a note of caution warning against high expectations in respect to the historical origin and changing trend of child-rearing practices over the centuries. According to him, "... changes in family behavior are historically slower (or at least less perceptible) than changes in other institutions and it can be more difficult to measure" (2010:2). He similarly indicates such difficulties should not hinder scholars from noting the modifications in prevailing literature. Although this observance, as he further states, has made many scholars and researchers give credence to the discourse as a historical indicator of evolving historical documentation, as such most of the documented literature is based on the descriptions of the different but familiar child-rearing approaches adopted by parents during different periods. For instance, Galen, a Greek physician, while describing the familiar approaches to parenting in the A.D. 175, stated:

The normal child is healthy in every way and his/her manners need no correcting.... So, when they cry or scream or are upset, parents understand it means something is disturbing them, and they try to discover what they need and give it to them (*Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood in History*, 2004:167).

In the descriptive opinion of other sources, a different picture of how parents who lived in ancient times often looked upon their children as property is painted. Such is the impression of Aristotle when he summed up his description of the relationship between father and child as being analogous to the same political justice that was practised between a master and his slave, as he argued:

...for there is no such thing as injustice in the absolute sense towards what is one's own; and a chattel, or a child till it reaches a certain age and becomes independent. The child is, as it were, a part of oneself, and no one chooses to harm himself; hence there can be no injustice towards them and therefore nothing just or

unjust in the political sense (Aristotle, cited in Steinmetz, 1987:293-295).

There is no doubt that Aristotle based his descriptions on the historical impact of the practice of infanticide, incest and child sacrifice that was predominant during the period.

However, most of the literature produced at the inception of the discourse, which was also traced to the antediluvian age (the period before the flood as indicated in Gen 7,8; it is also called the Levant calendric time) were based on descriptions of early infanticidal child-rearing practices. As noted, during this period, infant sacrifice to gods was common among tribal societies like the Mesoamerican and the Incas, Assyrian and Canaanites, Phoenicians, Carthaginians and other early states (Lloyd, 2008:2). Likewise, the period also marked the flourishing of documentation on incest, body mutilation, child rape and tortures (*Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood in History*, 2004:175). However, the documentation of the period's late infanticidal child-rearing practices showed mothers as cultivating the daring and fearless attitude of not always rejecting their newborn babies. Yet, despite the braveness of the mothers, many young children, especially girls, were still exposed to death (DeMause, 1974:40-43). The Greeks and Romans also had similar practices which were graphically exposed by Philo:

...some of them do the deed with their own hands; with monstrous cruelty and barbarity. They stifle and throttle the first breath which the infants draw or throw them into a river or into the depths of the sea, after attaching some heavy substance to make them sink more quickly under its weight (Philo, cited in Lloyd, 1974: p. 28).

Nevertheless, the ancient practice of infanticide was officially proscribed in the western world by Christian missionaries in A.D. 374 (Johnston, 2011:2), because they perceived a child as a person having a soul at birth and full of both good and evil human attributes (DeMause, 1974:43). Thus, there was a replacement of the routine infanticide with the abandonment mode which promoted the fantasy of the biblical sacrifice of Christ, who was sent by his Father to be killed for the sins of others (Lloyd, 1982:61). This development, however, prompted the practice of fosterage, oblation of children to monasteries and nunneries, and apprenticeship which became the trendy child-rearing practices. The twelfth-century literature is noted to be thematically preoccupied with the ambivalent mode of child training practices through which mothers still emotionally rejected their children. This eventually prompted the creation of the first child instruction manuals and rudimentary child protection laws that were popular among parents of the period (DeMause, 1982:132). Following this, in the sixteenth century parenting shifted to the use of control like early beating to enforce children's obedience; that is, the parents of this period were only prepared to give children their attention as long as they were in control of the children's mind and their life in general (Lloyd, 1982).

Concluding on the ancient practices of child-rearing, DeMause resolves that a very large percentage of the children born prior to the eighteenth century were what would today be termed battered children. According to him, the child in antiquity lived his/her earliest years in an atmosphere of abuse and neglect. He then gives an instance of how children who grew up in Greece and Rome during that period were often abused sexually by older men (1974). Many scholars would view DeMause's interpretation as being extreme due to his reliance on secondary historical sources without any source of evidence in support of his claims. This automatically makes him fall prey to Pollock's remark that studies using primary sources such as diaries, memoirs and letters usually end up presenting their data with lesser repressive picture of childhood (1983). Nevertheless, it would still be justifiable for one to describe the literary account of the parenting approaches adopted during ancient times as a mixed bag of cultural practices.

The employment of the intrusive parenting practice of the sixteenth century, however, gave birth to the development of literature on customary practices that surround pregnancy, childbirth, child's nutrition/breastfeeding, weaning, sleeping arrangements, early toilet training, obedience to elders, child's punishment/reward, parental roles, among other early forms of child-rearing practices (Evans and Myers, 1994). With this evolution, parents abandoned the use of hell threats and turned to the use of literature to train their children (Glenn, 1976:76). This also boosted the explosive modern take-off of scientific advancement in child-rearing discourse. Likewise this contributed to the rise of some professions with legitimated "expertise" in counselling parents (Colin, 2001).

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Physicians were noted to be among the first to present their advice on how to rear children in print and the first advice manual was printed in England and produced in the American colonies (Mechling, 2011). Prominent among the initial writings was William Cadogan's 1749 *Essay on Nursing* and William Buchan's 1804 *Advice to Mothers* (Grant, 1998:65). According to Grant, a historian, these books marked the beginning of the "medicalization of motherhood", even when one notes that the physicians did not limit their advice to the purely medical issues. However, most of the physicians wrote primarily from the enlightenment view inherited from John Locke (29 August 1632 – 28 October 1704) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (28 June 1712 – 2 July 1778) among others, who saw the child as an innocent being of nature. The inherited perception of these notable scholars prompted some of the physicians to view child-rearing practices that surround feeding, toilet training, crying, sleeping, anger, and independence as implied issues of character. Professional advice to parents softened

in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the trend shifted towards the socialization mode (*Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood in History*). The writings of this period recorded the use of permissive, child-centred approaches adopted from psychological manipulations in training children. Likewise, the writings of this period, as stated by Glenn, tended towards viewing the family as a microcosm of society and their predominant themes focused more on the importance of how and what children learnt from human relationships would affect their interactions as future adults (Glenn, 1976).

In a way, the evolution of child-centred literature in the late seventeenth century promoted the rise of compulsory schooling, use of guilt (mental discipline) and the conceptualization of childhood as a distinct and separate stage in life. For instance, the material culture of the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century in the American colonies supports the account from written evidence of the historical transition from viewing the child as a little adult to the enlightenment portrait of the child as an innocent creature with unique needs for nurturance and guidance. As such, children began to have their own rooms in houses, their own dishes and chamber pots, and, interestingly, toys (DeMause, 1982). With this conceptualization, one can conclude that the writings of the late seventeenth century were probably the prime mover indicating the use of modern innovations of parenting which have helped researchers of child-rearing practices to sort out evidences of changing conceptions of parenting. It is, however, worthy of note that most of the writings of this period have the limitations of not being informative enough. For example, one cannot discern whether the advice given during these periods was actually followed by the parents who received it. Likewise, it is certain that not every social class had access to the writing, since differences in both disposable income and literacy would have restricted the expert knowledge available to some segments of the society.

From the mid-eighteenth century, however, scientific psychology developed and a number of child development theories aimed at linking childhood experiences with adult thought and behaviour became charts of history in the child-rearing literature. Attempts were also made by some writers to use developmental psychology, most often psychoanalytic theory, to explain societal patterns in reference to child rearing. Hence, the ideology of linking psychology to child rearing and, by extension, to adult personality became the subject matter and analytical tool in the child-rearing literature of the period, later to be de-emphasized after 1859 (Mechling, 1975).

The collapse of enlightenment-based psychology in 1859 ushered in the boom of Darwinian evolutionary psychology which acknowledged instincts and unconscious drives as features to be reckoned with in rearing children (Greven, 1990). This development made Stanley

Hall, a powerful figure in the creation of scientific psychology in the United States, to institute the founding of child study movement which provided the scientific foundations for advising parents and teachers about how to rear children. With the establishment of this child study movement, children were no longer depicted in child-rearing literature as the "blank slate" of enlightenment but as the inheritors of instincts and traits forged by evolution. Thus, the child-rearing literature produced in the late eighteenth century was based on Darwinian psychology which urged parents, teachers, and youth workers (a growing professional group) to channel children's instincts into positive activities rather than attempting to eradicate or suppress them.

During the nineteenth century, industrialization and urbanization came into full bloom in the western world and change became apparent in all aspects of life. In parenting, there was a shift to liberal and sentimental approaches and emphasis was placed on character development (Hulbert, 2003:34.). This means that, the child-rearing practices of this period were somewhat relaxed and indulgent. Young people were intentionally shielded from near-adult roles, while the act of showering a child with love was seen as the key to success in child training. The literature of the time has frequent references to God and to the values of a Christian home. Mothers were presented as having the crucial role in the character development of a child because it was believed that character is developed by imitation. Therefore if the mother was good, honest, cheerful and orderly, so would the child be. This emphasis on imitation rather than formal instruction was, in part, the legacy of Darwin's work which held that man was a product of outside forces (Greven, 1990:85). It is important, however, to note that giving the mother the central role of child training during this period was necessitated by the decreasing role of fathers. In other words, with the rise of business enterprises around the turn of the century, fathers were spending more time away, so mothers had to take over management of the home, including the children.

In the mid-nineteenth century however, paediatrics and child psychology became the established specialities in child-rearing discourse and their publications became the focal point of disseminating scientific information about children's health, safety and well-being (Mechling, 2008). According to Deetz, the circle of publications produced by these disciplines at the time enjoyed the popularity of John Watson's behaviourism and the Freudian psychoanalytic hypothesis of personality development in explaining the scientific psychological reasoning behind most child-rearing themes (1996:89).

While these approaches continued to have great strength in child-rearing literature during these periods, there were also growing signs of realization that children's individual natures must

be taken into account (Mechling, 2008:9). Hence, psychological writings were redirected to the training of parents to be more sensitive to the needs of children and the embracement of a family culture that was more egalitarian to the needs of all its members. One of the prominent writers of the era was Karl Menninger who in 1930 wrote a series of articles in *Ladies Home Journal* entitled *Mental Hygiene in the Home* (Gordon, 1968:578). According to Gordon, these articles discussed child-rearing in the light of children's emotional needs while emphasis was placed on the influence and importance of the home in shaping behaviour. In other words, the child-rearing practices of this era were observed to have moved in the direction of greater permissiveness or indulgence. This development also boosted public recognition of the special needs, rights and place of children and youth in some societies (Hawes 1985). Stendler however summed up this era's child-rearing trend in 1950, when she commented:

The past two decades [1930-1950] have witnessed a revolution in child-rearing practices which have been tremendous in its scope and far reaching in its effects. From an era where the mother was taught that the child must have its physical wants cared for and then be left alone, must be fed on a rigid schedule, must learn to cry it out, must be toilet trained early and must not be spoiled by attention, we have come to a time when exactly the opposite advice is advocated. Today the mother is advised to feed the baby when he is hungry, to delay toilet training until he is ready for it, to see that the baby gets reasonable amount of cuddling and mothering, to let the baby initiate the weaning process. And just as a mother of 1930 was taught that the popular doctrine of 1930 would produce the right kind of child, so the mother of today is assured that if she weans and toilet trains and cuddles in the approved fashion, her child will have a well adjusted personality (1950: 122).

Stendler similarly questions why such radical changes have occurred in the absence of any scientific justification and she attributes the changes to the influence of popular literature. Agreeing with her notion, Vincent (1951) and Gordon (1968) also notes the distinct parallels between changes in patterns of middle class infant training and practices advocated in parent-education literature. This made Wolfenstein study the development of child-rearing by focusing on changes and he recommended four areas of infant development and training: 1) masturbation 2) thumb sucking 3) weaning 4) and bowel training (1953, cited in Gordon, 1968). According to Wolfenstein,

In respect to masturbation and thumb sucking, the curve of severity [in method of training suggested] shows a consistently declining direction. In weaning and bowel training we find a "U" curve rising in the twenties and subsequently declining... In 1942-45, the handling of the infant in all areas has become very gentle, this

tendency is continued and even carried further in 1951 (Wolfenstein 1953:128; cited in Gordon 1968:579).

In sum, the child-rearing advice of this period conceded to the emotional and "natural" development of children. Parents were advised literarily to be vigilant and to observe their children more closely before offering any developmental cues. By doing that, it was hoped that children would still end up as regular clockwork but parental tendency of achieving such goals would as well be towards less mechanical methods (Hawes, 1985: 502). This approach was evident in such books as *Babies Are Human Beings: An Interpretation of Growth* (Aldrich, 1938); *Keep Them Human* (Dixon, 1942) *You, Your Children, and War* (Baruch 1944) *Our American Babies* (Whipple 1944) and *Infant and Child in the Culture of Today* (Gesell 1943). The books generally ignored or played down the matter of discipline and this observation was also noted by Hawes while commenting on the literature of this era. According to him, "if one can judge a time from its books, the 1940's during the war and in the years immediately afterwards may be described as the most permissive time in child care" (Hawes 1985:503). In agreement with these views, Bronfenbrenner likewise observed the same trend of permissiveness, particularly among middle class mothers of this period (1958, cited in Gordon 1968).

However, the publication of the book, *Infant and Child Care in the Culture of Today* by Arnold Gesell and Francis Ilg in 1943, put an end to the behavioural approach and popularized a swing back towards child-centred developmental approach that recognized the power of biology in a child's physical and psychosocial growth (Mechling, 1975:63). This book made explicit the ideology of children's development which is aimed at maximizing the growth of the unique individual child and it recommended relaxed approaches to feeding, toilet training, and independence training.

The popularity of this conceptualization is perhaps most reflected in Benjamin Spock's book, *The Commonsense Book of Baby and Child Care*, published in 1946. The discussion in the book is centred on the theme of masturbation, thumb sucking, weaning, and toilet training and are presented in a generally specified agreement with other literature of the day which includes *Infant Care* (a publication of the U.S. Children's Bureau, first published in 1914) (Gordon, 1968: 46). Spock's aim, as he said, was to get mothers to trust themselves while training their children and to take a more relaxed approach that recognized the qualities of individual children. In order to achieve this aim, Spock's psychological advice was basically Freudian in character, although, as with other followers of Freud, he strained out many of the more overt psycho-sexual aspects of Freud's theory. The book, however, became a central topic of criticism in which the creation

of a generation of rebellious children and adolescents who mocked authority was faulted on the effects of the writer's permissive approach (Mechling, 1975:44). In the 1970s, other notable authors like Smith's *The Children's Doctor*, 1969 and Thomas Gordon's *Parental Effectiveness Training: The No-Lose Program for Raising Responsible Children*, 1970 also vied with Spock to be the most visible and most trusted information dispenser in the child-rearing discourse.

In the late 1990's, attachment parenting, whose origin is from Bowlby's attachment theory, became the paramount theme in the child-rearing literature (Wishy, 1968 cited in Mechling, 2008: 8). The writings of this period counselled parents not to be separated from their child's early developmental stages, that is; parents, most especially mothers, have to be around their developing infants in order to respond promptly to their cries, be responsive to their preferences in sleeping arrangements, and carry babies in a sling that keeps them in constant contact with their parent's body. Hence, the trust developed in this relationship often set the foundation for children's self-esteem and enable them to bond with their parents and other people throughout their developmental stages in life. Some writers also propound such bonding likewise progress into a trust-based disciplinary relationship between a developing child and all the people that surround him/her, and will in turn aid the development of his/her "healthy conscience".

In the early twentieth century, there was an increased academic interest in the discourse by scholars and researchers in different disciplines and the literary theme improved into expansive, descriptive and evaluative studies of the practice in different societies around the globe (Mechling, 2008:8). For instance, most of the Euro-American child-rearing literature of the period was based on the peculiarities of residing immigrants that serve the motive of providing government, care givers, NGO's, social and health workers with socializing guidance on how best to cater for immigrant children's developmental needs. Hackett and Hackett (1994) comparative study on the Gujarati and East Manchester white British-born mother's child-rearing practices, and Kelley and Tseng's (1992) evaluation of parenting techniques among immigrant Chinese and Caucasian-Americans are prototype of such writings. The period also witnessed a flourishing of literature that places the discourse within the broader context of culture, economic, psychological and other conceptual domains influencing the changes in child-rearing and socialization processes. One of such is Stearn's *Anxious Parents: A Modern History of Child-rearing in America* which evaluates how schooling, physical and emotional vulnerability, and the rise in influence of commercialism promoted a culture of neglect and diminishing behavioural standards in children. Other studies are categorised under parent-child relationship (Raley, S. and Bianchi, S.2006; Esteinou, R. 2005;), cross-cultural studies on child

rearing (Cote, L. and Bornstein, M. 2009; Lareau, A. 2002), attachment behaviour (Leoniek, K. et al; 2009; Frances, G. et al, 2007; Kerri, M.L. 2007), child's development (Hiram, F. et al., 2009;), among others.

In a nutshell, it is evident through this historical helicopter view that as time changes, so also is the discourse of child-rearing practices transforming through the dictate of differing approaches. As noted, the cultural swinging pattern of the subject had also been assessed and documented through the use of different conceptual paradigms in social sciences, humanities and medical sciences (Evans and Myers, 1994:23) that aided the boom of child-rearing literature. It is, however, deduced that any adopted approach of studying child-rearing practices will always reflect some historical events linked to the cultural practice. Nevertheless, the child-rearing literature has been majorly linked to how parents prepare their children to live within the world of their time through the inculcation of the norms of their culture. There is no doubt that the Yoruba parents residing in the city of Ibadan are already preparing their children with the ability to function intellectually in a fast-paced, computer/space age, which of course is in compliance with literary recommendations. As such, the modifications in the distinctive cultural value systems being inculcated into today's Yoruba child is the major focus of this study with lesser concentration on the link between the shifts and the specification of historical periods. This link is a difficult task to ascertain because there is perhaps no documentary historical evidence available, unlike the documentations in other societies where written historical information is obtainable.

2.1.2 Culture and Anthropology of Child-Rearing

The interconnectedness of culture, anthropology and child-rearing is explored in this appraisal through the conceptualisation of culture and the anthropology of the child-rearing discourse. The word culture has continuously been at the mercy of its users as a boundless concept attached to different meanings. As such, people often trivialize its meaning within the construct of music, dance, mode of dressing, art and crafts, among others. With this grounding, culture is generally defined as a depiction of entertainment, display and decoration (Ayoade, 1989:5). Hence, one tends to ask, if such denotations really capture the definition of culture in its real sense and if not, how then can one explain the concept?

This situation has encouraged scholars to come up with different orientational representations, subsuming the definition of culture under a holistic, adaptive, normative and ideational system. Therefore, most definitions depict culture as the way of life of any group of people within given societies (Irish and Prothro, 1965:19; Ukeje, 1992:395; Shoremi, 1999:94).

Some also assert that culture is deduced from the material and non-material aspects of a people's total way of life comprising values, beliefs, thoughts, feelings and customs. Affirming this definition, Ukeje states that 'these cultural traits have to be imbibed by all individuals in the course of growing up in any given society' (1992:13). Andah, however, presented an encompassing definition when he suggested that culture is an embracement of all the material and nonmaterial expressions of a group of people as well as the processes through which the expressions are communicated (1982:4-5). In other words, his representation of culture has to do with all the social, ethical, intellectual, scientific, artistic, and technological expressions embedded in the beliefs of a group of people who are ethnically, nationally or supra-nationally related, and are living within the same geographically contiguous area. In addition, this definition can also embrace how such processes of expressions are passed on to generations of successors. Applebaum and Chambliss, however, view culture as a constitution of materials from which people construct their identities and perceptions of the world (1987:24). For Thompson, culture has come to mean, on one hand, basically nothing more than the affirmation of a specific identity; and on the other, everything from habit of the mind, the arts, political institutions and to a whole way of life (1995:95). On the other hand, Weiss, submitting to perhaps one of the earliest definitions of the concept, declares that:

No other words express it better than E.B. Tylor's classical conception as that 'complex whole that include knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society'(1973:71).

The prevalence of too many definitions of the concept could have led Amadi to assert that the definition of culture differs in each society and that it is always in accordance with the socio-political operative laws in given communities (1981:59). He then stated that this view could have been what the Cultural Policy of Nigeria took into consideration while capturing the definition of culture as "the totality of the way of life evolved by a people in its environment—the social, political, economic, aesthetic and religious norms and modes of organization which distinguish a people from its neighbours" (Amadi, 1981:60, Cultural Policy of Nigeria, 1973).

However, Lewis's submission is that "culture as a design for living is passed on from generation to generation" (1964:150). In his opinion, cultural difference in values and beliefs influence cognitive perceptions, psychological evolution, mental development, and logical reasoning. This means that an individual born into a society will consciously or unconsciously imbibe certain traits through some social interactions that would aid his/her adjustment within the society or help him/her to become a socially acceptable personality. This position clearly brings forth the dynamism of culture which is highlighted by Oyeneye and Shoremi when they

suggested that culture is historically derived, created and recreated through the processes of adjustment and it is shared by all members of a human society in the universe (1985: 3).

The different views on the concept of culture have no doubt placed it as a central conceptual tool of holistic system which has gained a wide range of acceptance by anthropologists. Thus, by isolating the study of culture in its reflections in people's total way of life within and beyond different geographical bounds, anthropologists have developed perspectives that have been enabling them to contribute to the more precise understanding of the peculiar child-rearing practices of different societies. Similarly, the concept of culture has also aided anthropologists to focus their attention not only on the overt behaviour of parents in training their children but on the cognitive map that influences the content of what is transmitted, the techniques the parents employ, and their behaviour as role models.

Going by the remark of Maretzki and Maretzki (1963:13), the contribution of anthropology to the study of child life and child-rearing in societies all over the world perhaps represent the most valuable contribution to the discourse. In this regard, the earliest ethnographic accounts that first gave a vivid description of child life was written by Junod in 1927 and this was followed by Margaret Mead's monograph in 1928 when she was doing research on Samoan culture. Her work provided the full impetus to the study of child-rearing which dramatically came into the spotlight as a potential area of action for understanding cultural behaviour (D'Andrade 1994:46). Invariably, this work established Mead in the anthropological domain of the "culture and personality school" a development that came to full bloom in Freud's psychoanalysis in the mid-to-late twentieth century (Goodenough, 1996:23). With the employment of this theoretical framework by Mead, other anthropologist (Whiting, 1941; Dubois, 1944 and Erickson, 1950) came up with series of studies that emphasized the relation between child-rearing and character structure in given societies. As a result of this, Barnouw concluded, Mead's work generally aided the understanding of the growth and development of personality types or social identity in relation to social environment" (1963:5). In fact, this development led to the rapid expansion of the anthropology of the child-rearing discourse in which the consistent relation between (a) training methods in a given cultural setting, especially in infancy and early childhood, (b) the types of adult "character" or "personality" favoured in that setting and (c) the institutions and values that are patterned in that culture were established (Keesing and Keesing, 1971:92).

Another significant attempt that explains how child socialization patterns affect a child's future in a society was also instituted by Kardiner and Dubois who separately used Freudian and Marxist principles to explain how culture can be affected by child-rearing practices through the

basic and modal personality theory (Mcfarnald, 2007:1). According to Mcfarnald, “this theory stayed true to Freud's theories of personal development because it placed much importance on early childhood experiences being crucial to the development of the adult” (2007:2). But instead of focusing on biological drives which had been central to Freudian theory, Kardiner and Dubois individually focused on how the culturally determined outcomes of a child's dependency needs can affect children's adult life.

However, the basic problem noted in Kardiner's theory is that it did not account for personality differences within society and his argument is based on the conceptualisation that everyone reared in a society through same means do end up with the same personality type. His argument is, clearly, not true. As such, Dubois attempted to take care of this loophole through slight manipulative means while studying the people of Alor in a small Melanesian island. With the study, Dubois reconciled Kardiner's theoretical flaws by claiming a completely multi-uniform personality structure, termed modal personality type (Mcfarnald, 2007:4). The approach indicates everyone could not end up with the same personality type within a cultural group, but there would be basic modes that can statistical represent majority personality types within given cultures. The conclusion of both theorists is, however, based on the conception that the family structure usually determines the child-rearing patterns which in turn influence the formation of the basic individual personality types in given societies (Shweder, 1980:67).

The contributions of Kardiner and Dubois paved way for anthropological studies evaluating major traits influencing socio-cultural changes. That is, anthropologists started taking into account the fact that traditional cultural traits often change. So this interest gave birth to studies of culture change in relation to acculturation processes from the late nineteenth century to the present (Kottak, 2002:414). However, the latter part of the nineteenth to the early part of the twentieth century, according to Bealty, “also witnessed the shift of data gathering and description as an end in itself to a focus on the processes of acquiring new culture” (2001:251). Thus, from this period till the present, anthropology has been the keystone field, documenting data on what stimulates culture change (Kottak, 2002:412.). Thus, some of the findings of anthropologists in a series of culture change studies revealed that the societal desire for economic gain, social development and migration are perhaps the biggest stimulant influencing changes in different child-rearing cultures (Keesing and Keesing, 1971:92). Such findings are then linked to the process of diffusion as being responsible for a higher percentage of changing child-rearing practises (Bealty, 2001:255). Having established the place of anthropology in the child-rearing discourse, some selected studies within the field's intellectual engagement are reviewed.

Of interest to this study are the recent works of some scholars (Gupta & Gupta 1985, Hackett and Hackett 1994, Foss 1995, 1996; Zayas and Solai 1994, Siegel 1988, Brown 1997 and Leninger 1991) on the cultural context of the child-rearing practices among new immigrant families in Euro-American societies. It is quite apparent in these studies that the idea of exemplifying “Euro-American good parenting” as a universally acceptable practice to everybody residing in western countries could force immigrants to socialize their children according to the beliefs and values of the dominant culture. The studies, however, acknowledge that such a perspective has the potential of ignoring the cultural context of child-rearing practices among immigrant families and the situation could also lead to the mismatch of care provided for immigrant children. Hence, the assertion of some of these studies is that there should be a means of providing culturally congruent social and healthcare policies to people of different or similar cultures within Euro-American environments. Stemming from this position is the assumption that the Western societies are cognizant of the values, beliefs, and practices of people from different cultural backgrounds (Leninger, 1991) and that the adoption of Western elements of child-rearing practices as a new culture by the immigrants does not necessarily mean there should be an alteration in their own cultural core values. Acknowledging these differences, as suggested by Rosenthal, Bell, Demetriou and Efklides (1989), will ease the rate at which acculturation is enhanced between the culture of origin and the new culture.

However, some anthropologists came to the conclusion that the advent of industrialization, globalization and mass electronic communication media has accelerated the process of diffusion which has been the major factor of change in the child-rearing practices of most societies. For instance, Esteinou (2005) places substantial emphasis on the fact that social change processes have impacted greatly on Mexican child-rearing practices and family structure in the United States of America while McLanahan and Percheski (2008) also argued that globalization have implications on the way a child is brought up in non-western societies. Annette (2002) additionally observed that when the biological parents are too engrossed in the pursuit of a means of livelihood and the care of children is neglected to secondary caregivers, the child’s development and future life could be deeply affected.

Similarly, other researchers working within this framework have examined gender as a cultural variable that is capable of impacting on the dynamics of the parent-child relationship. One of such is a study done by Raley and Bianchiin (2006), to determine how gender role-play assigned to children by their parents can affect their adult behavioural formation. The observation of these scholars reveals that if parents continue to devote time to occupational attainment while their children are uncared for, there will still be a reinforcement of gender

differences in most developing societies. In a nutshell, the study suggests that the gender of a child has great implications on the way parent treats, invests, and ultimately receive care from the child, later on in life.

The literature is also replete with studies evaluating how media texts, in their multifarious formations, foster and perpetuate certain image stereotypes of children's sexualities and how this plays out in their lives. For example, Wohlwend (2009) assesses the correlation between Disney's Princess characters and the identity of the kindergarten personalities girls portray (in the classroom, in a study conducted among kindergarten pupils). The findings reveal kindergarten girls imitate the exact words and actions of Disney's Princesses, as in such fictional female heroines like Cinderella, Snow White and Ariel, among others who have appeared in various Disney media franchise of animated feature films. The scholar firmly believes Disney has an effect on how girls grow up to think their main priority in life is to be beautiful girls in search of prince charming. According to the scholar, many girls are socialized in schools and are growing up to believe "happily ever after" is attainable in everyday life (2009: 67).

Parenting attitude, as produced by ethnic affiliation and differing cultural backgrounds, is another issue that has been given considerable critical attention in the anthropology of child-rearing literature. In a study by Jambunathan, Burts and Pierce (2000), it was pointed out that different ethnic backgrounds do have different patterns of child-rearing. Based on this reality, the scholars focused on comparing parenting attitudes between four different minority groups of Euro-American society. The result reveals cultural variation in parenting attitudes of mothers among various ethnic groups. For example, African-American mothers are indicated to be authoritative parents, who demand to be addressed with respect, whereas Asian-American mothers are primarily concerned with creating a close bond with their children. In most minority cases, some mothers are indicated to be quintessential figures in the lives of their children while the creation of stronger bond is suggested to be predominant with female children.

Closely related to this study is another which sought to demonstrate the continuity between family emotional climate and the influence of sibling relationship and behavioural problems among young children. This phenomenon is the focus of Modry-Mandell, Gamble and Taylor's (2007:61) study where they argue that preschool-age children mock the attitudes and behaviours of their parents. The study is based on a survey of parents of "Mexican descent" in the United States of America, whose preschoolers (both boys and girls), as stated, "were treated or trained temperamentally". Similarly, the studies of Gardner, Dishion, Shaw, Burton, and Lauren Supplee (2009) indicate that proactive parenting reduces the risk of disruptive toddler behaviour and that proactive and positive parenting helps reduce the risk of toddler disruptive

behaviour. The results and recommendations of this finding are, however, questionable because some of the parent participants might not have been temperamental throughout the scholars' observatory research.

Early childhood masculinity is another point of interest to some anthropologists. For instance, a study by Pascoe (2009) associates the development of muscularity among American adolescent boys to "Fag epithet", (a high school insult reflecting multiple meaning in relation to sexuality and racism). The study focuses mainly on the conception that the fag epithet is not primarily employed in describing only homosexuals, but is also employed in describing heterosexual boys. Hence, boys try as much as possible to be masculine in order to escape the stigma of the epithet. As one boy in the study says, "it reduces a boy to nothing" (Pascoe, 2009:49). The research also reveals that the word "fag" has turned into a racist word often employed in reference to an African American boy who dedicates time to looking good and is familiar with the hip hop culture. As such, the fag epithet has not only become a descriptor for homosexual boys, it also serves as the means through which American boys discipline one another.

Like the fag phenomenon, gender descriptors like "spice girls", "nice girls", "girlie" and "tomboy" have also become culturally integrated into the framing of female children's subjectivities. Reay (2006) examined this phenomenon by establishing the manner in which gender discourses position schoolgirls and how their femininities are formed in classrooms. To establish his argument, the scholar interviewed and observed a classroom of seven-year-old children and she discovered both boys and girls believe boys are more popular and superior in school than girls, and that gender operates as a hierarchy in which boys are neither academically superior nor better behaved in the classroom. Thus, the study conclusively asserts that the girls do perform better academically than the boys, but both sexes however prefer to be boys rather than girls. This argument is given more ample demonstration by Zittleman (2009) who posited "gender schema concept is a good explanation for how boys and girls view good or bad situations" about their gender. As asserted by him, gender schema is a non-conscious preposition guiding people's perceptions and behaviours about sex differences that lead to overvaluation of males and devaluating attitude towards females. This finding is exactly similar to what Reay's study (2006) reveals, i.e. that over 40% of the girls studied agreed that being a boy is better while 95% of the boys agreed there is no good in being a girl.

Cote and Bornstein's (2009) study on the relationship between socialization process and children's engagement in recreational activities describes how different cultural backgrounds do affect the kind of play children are involved in. The research indicates the three cultural groups

investigated have similar mother-and-child play patterns but boys engage more in exploratory play, whereas girls are more interested in symbolic play. The study's findings reveal all cases of gender play are more sophisticated when mothers encourage children, rather than children playing alone.

Kroneman, Leoniek, Loeber, Hipwell, and Koot also direct their attention to the differential effect of socialization as a framework for gender inequality among girls and boys (2009). In their study, socialization is influenced by a lot of factors like parenting genetic make-up, socio-economic status, social race/ethnicity and psychological well-being. In order to relate socialization process with parenting, the scholars describe how the unique aspects of disruptive behaviour in girls are linked to protective parenting and the risks attached to it. Thus, they came up with the links between parenting and a girl-child behavioural formation. This assertion is well captured in a common Yoruba adage that says, "Owu ti Iya gbin ni omo ma ran". The link, therefore, suggests girls tend to be more oriented towards interpersonal relationships which make them gain more social approval than boys. Therefore, such privileges as indicated make them vulnerable to the effects of low parenting warmth and high level of familial comfort. It also explains, however, that a girl's phenotype of disruptive behaviour includes gossiping, spreading of rumours, running away from home, truancy, lying, and at worst, drug or alcohol abuse. Although, this generalization is unrealistic in nature, the writers' overall point is that parental behaviours toward girls during early stages of childhood tends to be lenient and this usually results in bad behaviour on the parts of girls but could change over time with the motherly warmth decreasing for girls and increasing for boys. Of course, the interpretation of the study's findings is too ambiguous and it is not objectively realistic.

In a nutshell, it is clear that culture provides a cognitive map or blueprint that governs and transmits the societal norms directed at raising children to be adults who can operate independently and effectively within societies. From the discussion so far, it is apparent that anthropologists, like other social scientists, have been concerned with the exploration of human cultural values, knowledge and behaviour, of which child-rearing is an integral part. As a point of fact, anthropologists have always been at the forefront of cultural studies, more so in relation to the norms of and variations in child-rearing practices in diverse societies in the world, thereby providing insights into how a society or community culturally reproduces itself through its child-rearing practices and how it can foresee its future, which is what this study seeks to explore in the case of the Yoruba parents in Ibadan.

2.1.3 Work, Family and Child Development

There has been an extensive literature on the issue of balancing between the work and home fronts in relation to child development. Confirming this assertion, Zedeck and Mosier (1990) admit that most of the studies on this topic have been evaluated by family sociologists, occupational sociologists, economists, demographers, industrial analysts, vocational psychologists and industrial and organizational psychologists like Burke and Greenglass (1987), Kanter (1977), Near, Rice and Hunt (1980), among others. It is, however, noted that most of the literature conceptualises the topic into separate subjects in relation to either “work”, “family” or “child development” (Zedeck :1990:240), and not as a combine study.

Aside from the academic interest in the work, family and child development discourse, media commentators in different societies are similarly interested in the discourse and have argued and presented different data of concern on the topic (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985:77), Thereby, establishing the links associated with work, private life and children’s social and psychological development in different media programmes (Kanter, 1977:12). Likewise, it has been observed that great interest has always been exhibited by individuals, who often love to express their values of self-fulfilment (either consciously or unconsciously) during discussions about how to balance work, family life and child development. Hence, it is this cumulative concern that has aided the continuous and increased interest of scholars in documenting the ways people in different societies are being shaped by their private and employment roles and how they have been managing such multiple involvements in their organizational, family and children’s lives (Baruch, Barnett, 1987:985, Kanter, 1977:14)

Of interest to the work, family and child development discourse is also the reality that children’s social, biological and psychological development is considered vital in human society and that is why some phrases such as "Would you just behave", "Stop doing that", "Put that down", "Do not eat that", "That is not good for your health", "Eat that now or later", "Pay attention", among others, are coined in societies to drum a sense of self-control into children. As such, children are taught from the start to restrain their impulses, focus on their physical, social and psychological wellbeing, and to consider their choices. Therefore, for the benefit of parents in different societies, these are wise cautionary phrases applied to children; but to what extent has parental work life been affecting the family life in relation to child-rearing practices and children’s developmental needs?

In an attempt to examine this issue, the scrutiny of the literature shows five main models of relationships between parental work and home life in the studies of Burke and Bradshaw

(1981), Evans and Bartolome (1984), Kanungo and Mistra (1984), Rice, Near and Hunt (1980) and Staines (1980). These accounts employed the spillover, compensation, segmentation, instrumental and conflict theoretical models to place their focus on the individual rather than on the family unit and they generally assume that work has an impact on family or that the family has an impact on work, to a much lesser degree. For instance, the assertion of the spillover model indicates there is a similarity between what occurs in the family and work environment (Staines, 1980: 516), and that people often assume working experiences do have great influences on what they do away from work. In other words, this proposition asserts that a happy personality at work will also experience happiness at home and this will in turn have positive effect on his/her child's socio-psychological development. Does it then mean that a sad personality at work will experience sadness at home and such feelings could affect the child's development negatively? This question was not answered by the spillover accounts because the discussions are generalised in terms of positive relationships, thereby ignoring the possibility of negative spillover. The study also suggests working attitudes are ingrained and carried over into home life (Kanungo and Mistra 1984:311) or that work attitudes affect the basic orientation towards self, others and children (Montimer et al., 1986:23). This means that the work environment is responsible for inducing some structural patterns in the life of a worker and his/her family members, most especially children (Parker, 1987:47).

Perhaps this is why the spillover model has been the research paradigm often employed by most studies in the work-family arena but some of the later researches on the subject went through some refinements and extensions. For instance, Payton-Miyazaki and Brafield (1987) offered the following amplifications: (i) feelings about a job form a component of feelings about life in general, which in other words means, satisfaction with a job increases life satisfaction and dissatisfaction with a job lessens general satisfaction; (ii) work leads to alienation in family life; and that (iii) a job is a socializing force that enables the worker to learn skills, values, expectations, self-concepts and social philosophies that can influence the family members positively (Piorkowski, 1978:45). Having cited the positive relationships attributed to the spillover insight, there is still a need for the studies using this model to also indicate other possible negative aspects of the work-family relation. For instance, there is a need for studies to come up with a notion asserting that job stresses can displace the cultural potential of child-rearing practices, positive family interactions and children's social development, thereby recommending ways through which a worker can be assisted to manage the associated problems. Alternatively, the studies can also research into situations in which a boring or monotonous job can result in "energy-deficit" resulting in laziness or come up with means of helping workers to be actively involved in children's upbringing and enculturation process.

The compensation model, however, postulates that there is an inverse relationship between work and family discourse (Staines, 1980:115); that is, work and non-work experiences tend to be antithetical in nature. This assumption indicates individuals make differential investments of themselves in the two settings (Champoux, 1978:408) but ends up making up in one for what is missing in the other (Evans and Bartolome, 1984:12). The theory has also been discussed in terms of three basic components by Kando and Summers (1971:311). The first component is the supplementary compensation which occurs only when desirable experiences, behaviours and psychological states that are insufficiently present in work situation are available in family activities. The second one is the reactive compensation which is suggested to take place when people make up their own compensations out of non-work activities. Such compensations are noted to be the results of deprivations experienced at work. Therefore, resting from work fatigues or seeking leisure activities after work are stated as instances of this process. The third component is termed shock absorbers which are linked to the compensation that occurs when events at home provide shock absorbers for disappointments experienced at work or vice versa (Crosby, 1984:56).

The postulation of the segmentation model is, however, different from the first two by contending that work and family environments are distinct entities in which individuals can function successfully in one without affecting the other (Evans and Bartolome, 1984; Payton-Miyazaki and Brayfield, 1976; Piotrkowski, 1978). This means it is possible for the two environments to exist side by side without being divorced from each other through practical purposes. The pragmatic intention behind the ideal of separating both environments is, however, based on the reality that individuals need to compartmentalize their lives in time, space and function. Therefore, the family environment can be seen as the realm of affectivity, intimacy and ascribed relationships, whereas the work place is viewed as impersonal, competitive and instrumental rather than expressive (Piotrkowski, 1976:48).

On the other hand, the instrumentalist model came up with the suggestion that the work environment is a means through which material needs are met for the family environment. This theory lies in the reality that work outcomes usually lead to good family life which also aids children's biological and psychological development, and are means through which individuals, parents and children alike, get some pleasures of life (Evans and Bartolome 1984; Payton-Miyazaki and Brayfield 1976).

For the conflict accounts, the satisfaction or success achieved in one environment means there must be sacrifices in the other. Therefore, the two environments are viewed by this model as being incompatible due to the distinct norms attached to the requirements of their fulfilments

(Evans and Bartolome 1984, Greenhaus and Beutell 1985, Payton-Miyazaki and Brayfield 1976). Other researchers like Crosby (1984), however, posit that family responsibilities are the determinant factors of work absenteeism, tardiness and inefficiency. This assumption leads to the conceptualization of the inter-role conflict between work and family responsibilities which invariably leads to studies on work, family stress and child development. As such, family and child development studies in relation to organizational context study have continued to be a point of interest to some researchers like Baruch and Barnett (1986), Burke (1986), Burke and Bradshaw (1981), Greenhaus and Beutell (1985), Greenhaus and Parasuraman (1986), Jones and Butler (1980), Suchet and Barling (1986).

Nevertheless, these five dominant models have been the research tools often employed by social and psychological disciplines to draw up the connection between work life, home life and child development. As such, these paradigms provide direction to the issue of how adults, especially working Yoruba parents can achieve a balance between their work and family responsibilities, with emphasis being placed on how to provide all the necessary socio-cultural, psychological and biological developmental needs of their children. This is with the aim of making recommendations that will help parents to balance work and family responsibilities in order to advance the socio-cultural development of the city of Ibadan.

Asides from the studies focusing on the feelings and thoughts of individuals within this discourse, there are also researches on dual-career couples indicating all “dual-worker” couples, do not necessarily have similar working experiences. Ironically, it has been noted that they are often treated the same in the earliest literature (Tryon and Tryon, 1982:51); that is, these distinctions were never acknowledged based on the reality that researchers were still using the individualistic models for their studies. Thus, this reflection calls for the expansion of the unit of paradigms in order to fit in the conception of dual-career workers but the current literature on the subject is hinged on the distinctions and recognition that work has different meanings to different social classes and differential concept of work to men and women.

The body of literature reviewed so far only points to the reality that the academic conception of “work, family and child development” is an important issue that government, organizational and family-related policies must address for a balance. If a balance is not established, the situation might end up impacting negatively on the children and society at large. Thus, in order to provide the balanced proposition that will aid positive work and family-responsive policies, this study looks into the issues by identifying the links between the two environments and their relation to the upbringing and enculturation process of the Yoruba children. Likewise, attention is given to the advancement of technology, changes in working

arrangements and changes in values/goals that are instrumental to structural changes in child-rearing practices through organizational and government policies.

2.1.4 Modernization, Development and Culture Change

The relationship between modernization, culture change and development is too complex to be treated comprehensively as a single subject in this segment. Therefore, the three themes are explored within the conceptualization of their interrelatedness, starting with a brief history of the term modernization, since it is suggestive of how one might explore and unfold the subject of development and its relatedness to culture change.

In the most general sense, the term “modern” connotes a sense of belonging to the present and an awareness of a “past” to which people can link up and, at the same time, separate themselves. It can also be described as a way of constructing and justifying historical or pseudo-historical continuities (Arce and Long, 1998:4). As Habermas (1983) suggested, the linguistic term “modern”, from the Latin word *modernus*, has since the latter part of the fifth century AD in Europe ‘appeared and reappeared’ to re-enact how Europeans underwent the process of refurbishing their relationship to the ancients. To clarify this point, Habermas illustrated that the uses of the term as at the period was employed by the new Roman converts to Christianity to differentiate themselves (Europeans) from the two types of “barbarians”, the heathens of the antiquity and the Jews of the Renaissance period (1983:26). Similarly, it was also used to imply learning and cultivated life style which was linked back to the classical Greek and Roman civilizations (Harvey, 1989).

However, Huntington traced its theoretical emergence back to the age of Enlightenment (17th and 18th centuries AD.), when a number of philosophers began to reinvent the term to characterize science, rationalism and the pursuit of “progress” (1993:22). On the other hand, the claim of the concepts most influential proponent, Karl Marx, was that modernization is the process of showing the future to the less developed societies (Marx 1859), while in recent times McGuigan (2011:37) opines modernization to be a uniquely Western process of development that non-Western societies could only follow if they “abandon” their traditional cultures and are technologically and morally assimilated into the “superior” Western ways of life. Interestingly, during the second half of the 20th century, non-Western societies unexpectedly surpassed their Western role models in some key aspects of modernization. For instance, East Asia, for example, attained the world’s highest rate of economic growth and Japan likewise became the highest per capita income earner of any major nation in the world which continues to lead the world in automobile manufacturing and consumer electronics, and to crown it all, it has the world’s

highest life expectancy. Therefore, Western economies are no longer assumed to be the model for the world. However, despite this resounding achievement by some non-Western societies which exempt Africa, the West is still lionized for its social superiority, not only because it started there but the region also dominates and dictates today's world affairs.

Nevertheless, as a model of social change, modernization theory has of course been assessed many times based on its basic premise that human societies do change within generations, and such changes are often facilitated by advancements in technology, production, and consumption (Bradshaw and Wallace 1996). This may be partly true because the rise of industrial society can be linked with coherent cultural shift away from traditional value systems of absolute norms and values toward a syndrome of increasingly rational, tolerant, post-industrial values. Unfortunately, this theoretical pattern is widely recognized as seriously flawed (Torres, 1994:14) because values now seem to be individually path-dependent; but for the purpose of the argument in this study, one further observation is still required. This concerns the fact that, whether or not one accepts the heuristic value of the theory, a reworking of modernity values and practices and how they occur through the various ways in which social actors or groups process and act upon such experiences, must be considered. Hence, it becomes necessary to analyze the differentiated and uneven social patchwork interconnecting local cultures with their various modernizing scenarios.

Still, the central claim of modernization theorists that economic development is linked with coherent and, to some extent, predictable changes in culture, social and political life (Daniel, 1977), is a reality one needs to contend with. While strengthening this affirmation, Inglehart and Baker (2004) assert that evidences from around the world do indicate that economic development tends to propel societies in a roughly predictable direction, that is, "industrialization usually leads to occupational specialization which then leads to rising educational levels, rising income levels, and eventually brings unforeseen socio-cultural and political changes" (Inglehart and Baker 2004:38). Similarly, modernization theorists from Karl Marx to Daniel Bell have also argued that economic development does bring about pervasive cultural changes (Lerner 1958; Weiner 1966). Therefore, the central prediction of the theory finds its broad support in the conception that economic development tends to transform a society in a predictable direction but the fact that societies are historically and ecologically shaped, and that many factors are involved in the process and path of change which are also not inevitable, suggest that any prediction made must be contingent on the historical and cultural context of the society in question. Hence, the remarkable socio-economic transformations resulting in cultural changes are reflective of the reality that a society's culture is shaped by its entire socio-economic

and historical heritage. Given this assumption, what then is the relationship between modernization and development, and their interrelatedness to major changes in prevailing Yoruba child-rearing cultural values in the early twenty-first century?

Emanating from the above, development study arose as a distinctive field of study only after 1945, when Western experts became concerned with the modernization of the colonial territories and newly-emerging independent countries (Bradshaw and Wallace 1996). For instance, Arce and Long (1998:4) are of the view that at that time, the strategic idea of modernity was organized around attitudes and policies based on a sense of superiority of the nations that had successfully modernized themselves. In other words, the emulation of “civilization” or modernity over designated “primitives” became the constituted construction of the notion of modern time which simultaneously posited the so-called “backward” or “underdeveloped” countries (later exalted as the Third World’) as representing an earlier stage of technological inferiority and ignorance. This, of course, is principally based on what was termed as lack of scientific knowledge and modern legal rational institutions of the “underdeveloped” countries. Hence, the implication that “modernization projects” could offer them the help needed to “catch up” was born and nurtured and this became a representation that expressed more than the desire for change in these countries (Arce and Long, 1998:6).

With this development, the implied establishment of a new optic on the value and practical use of local traditions was instituted (Arce and Long, 1992:37). Thus, aid policies and planning models of the industrialized countries that were promoted by international organizations and underpinned by academic research, sought to identify and eradicate the various “traditional” and institutional obstacles assumed to be “progress” blockers (Barth, 1992:20). Through this means, Barth disclosed a “developmentalist” relationship was established and legitimized with the Third World countries. Based on this ontogeny, any idea of the inherited pattern of thought or action, having existed through specific types of “modernity” (linked to the past of these countries before the arrival of colonial rule and development aid) was denied (Barth, 1992:28). In other words, the prerequisites of social development for the Third World as assumed could only be achieved through the replication of successful Euro-American experiences and models. Yet, in a paradoxical twist, the Euro-American fabricated Third World modernities were even more abstracted and removed from the local, social and political realities of the people than the adopted varieties that consequently produced developmental policies in which the belief in the power of science and technology was seldom questioned (Brokensha et al., 1980:47). This situation marked the beginning of the modern development studies constituted to reify “traditional” societies, whose exoticism revealed to the West the need for the ‘backward’

societies to strive for development and cultural modernity (Douglas, 1994:65). This assumption in other words, indicates that culture is one of the basic things to assess in knowing if a society is either modern or developing. As such, it became necessary for the “backward” societies to constantly modify their cultural values and as well improve on or adapt the caprices and exigencies of the modern, social and ideological milieu of the western social world. Ironically, the modern models are cognizant of the fact that a shift from preindustrial to industrial society usually wrought profound changes in people’s daily experiences and prevailing worldviews (Bell 1973, Inglehart 1997 and Spier 1996). Yet, efficient ways of how modern cultural dynamics can be introduced, blended or erased by the Third World countries, without losing their identities, was not established. Similarly, the efficacy of the technology through which modernity has been manifesting itself is seldom challenged by the Third World countries. Rather, the key feature of assumption is that the people should be able to reposition modernity’s elements within their own familiar cultural contexts in order to create distinct socio-cultural space where contests for social authority can be fought out.

It then becomes apparent, that within the universalistic Western patterns of conduct for modernization and development, local contrasts have to emerge. This hand-in-hand capacity will then aid the repositioning of the modern within the familiar, and will constitute one of the facets of the rapid and constant transformation which Western modernity intends to originally contribute (Crush, 1995:9). The outcome of these combinations will also generate a dynamism which can be represented through fusion, blending, counter-movements to modernity and will entail the disembodying of Western civilized standards which will be re-embedded within various local and sometimes distinctly “non-Western” representations of modernity (Hobart,1993:160). In this way, the West will not have to always be confronted with questions that challenge the existence of a singular and fully encompassing modernity or civilization, and the local can find its own footing.

Wertheim has made it clear that society is never a “completely integrated entity but the existence of some forms of protest that are in conflict with the hierarchical structure”. As asserted by him, these protests are generally based on some sets of values functioning as counterpoint to the leading melody (Wertheim, 1965). Hence, he characterizes the counterpoint to be composition of “deviant” values which in some way or the other, are already institutionally contained. Therefore, such values will not directly threaten the integrity of the society but remain potentially as the locus for the development of new sets of practices that can seriously disrupt other existing social hierarchies. In other words, Wertheim’s central point is that, “the dynamic processes of change can never be understood if the opposing value systems within society are not

taken into full account” (1965:32). He thus, develop his argument by referring to certain types of public performance in Bali that caricature that ridicule the principle of status hierarchy and challenge the position and lifestyle of the Hinduised aristocrats.

While commenting on what is then required sociologically in understanding such cultural processes, Wertheim (1965) suggested a careful analysis of the circumstances under which the amplification of the counterpoint values which gave rise to the challenges in the existing institutional arrangements is needed. He thus briefly discusses this in reference to Margaret Mead’s (1956) restudy of Manus society which was undertaken some twenty-odd years after her original fieldwork, during which the islanders had experienced extensive contact with the West. For instance, one of the striking things Mead noted during her first fieldwork was the discrepancy between the cultures of children and adults which stated “the child’s world formed a kind of counterpoint to the acquisitive adult world as a more or less separate subculture in the total fabric of Manus culture” (Wertheim, 1965:32). But by the 1950s, the relationship between these two worlds had shifted from “a universal polarity between generations into a true conflict of generations” (Wertheim, 1965:32). Given such circumstances, one is then compelled to reassess the concept of socio-cultural change, especially now that older notions of Western modernity and development are in demise and at the point when they have reached their zenith of success.

Therefore, this review on the counterworks of modernization is necessitated for opening up the possibility of analyzing the creative breaks within the premises and contours of orthodox concepts of socio-economic transformative process, in relation to the uncontested optimism of neo-liberal representations of cultural expansion and development of Yoruba child-rearing practices. Since everyday life is inherently pregnant with a wide range of contrasting as well as overlapping cultural values, and people have been steering their way through them, this vista aids the analytical challenge of evaluating the boundaries, conditions and implications of parental choice. It similarly explains, for example, why certain notions of modern patterns of Yoruba child-rearing practices are considered less efficacious than ‘non-modern’ practices, and why the modern practices have created some specific problematic situations. Thus, the three themes of modernization, development and culture change are addressed in this study as the fundamental endogenic change processes in Yoruba child-rearing practices.

However, despite the critical remarks directed at curbing the excesses and shortcomings of modernization and development studies, it is unlikely in the foreseeable future that the problematic situation of modernity will disappear entirely from the field of development and

culture change studies. Similarly, there is also a doubt that the forces of modernization will be able to produce a homogenized world culture in the foreseeable future. So, the more closely one looks into this issue, the more evident it is that we must continue to grapple with the problems of how best to describe and analyze the many features of modernity that now characterize development and culture change in the global era which this study captures.

2.1.5 Yoruba Child-Rearing Studies

Quite a number of scholars and researchers within and outside Nigeria (Hake 1972, Aina et al. 1992, LeVine et al. 1994, Super and Harkness 1986, Babatunde 1992, Nsamenang 1992, Zeitlin et al. 1995, Ogunnaike 1997, Ohuche and Otaala 1981, Isiugo-Abanihe 1985, 1991, among others) have produced substantial inter-disciplinary literature on Yoruba child-rearing discourse. Some of the studies evaluate Yoruba child-rearing practices within the contextual evaluation of family system, child-development, health care and educational studies.

The contextualisation of Yoruba child-rearing practices within the family system possibly emanated from the important role of the family in children's socialization process among the Yoruba people. This is clearly expressed in Aina et al. (1992) in which they give the vivid description of the people's expectation from the family after childbirth. Dressler and Carns (1973) also made reference to this earlier by affirming how children's socialization is a major responsibility of the Yoruba family as in other societies. In line with this perception, Nukunyan (1992:47) emphasized that the extended family system is a "social arrangement in which an individual, either a child or an adult, has extensive reciprocal duties to his relations within or outside the family setting". Interestingly, Fapohunda and Todaro previously demonstrated that Yoruba children are not exclusively under the charge of their biological parents, rather such responsibility is regarded as a social obligation binding extended family members, friends, neighbours, or other members residing within the immediate social environment of a developing child (1988:47). In attestation to this reality, Ogunnaike's study (2007) described how the Yoruba close-knit relatives normally share the costs of child-rearing, in terms of emotional involvement, financial aid and other material, moral and psychological support.

In a related sense, Isiugo-Abanihe likewise affirms that Yoruba traditional child-rearing pattern is closely connected to child fostering which is usually undertaken by relatives and non-relatives (1985:14). He, however, indicated that child fostering among members of kinship group is observed to be predominant among most of Nigeria's ethnic groups. He similarly indicates that children are commonly transferred from their biological homes to other homes (homes of uncles, aunts, cousins, friends and others) where they would be raised within the ambit of child fostering (Isiugo-Abanihe, 1985:17). In a nutshell, the ubiquitous and cohesive nature of the extended

family system is one of the supporting pillars which strengthen the traditional prescriptive patterns of Yoruba child-rearing practices. Nevertheless, parents are the foundation on which the family unit is based and they are socially responsible for creating the home environment that provides the building blocks upon which the child-rearing practices are normatively constructed. Hence the family environment, as produced by the parents, ordinarily goes a long way in determining how well a child is trained to comport his/herself, respect elders, show obedience and reason intelligently (Awujo, 2007).

As such, Zeitlin (1996) indicates that Yoruba parents are more concerned with the act of stimulating their children with different child-rearing practices that induce social development from early stages of growth. Stating an instance, Aina et al. (1993) observed that as early as 2 years of age, the Yoruba child would have been trained to fetch items, assist elderly people to hold or carry light objects or keep an eye on how light household chores are performed. Likewise, children are expected to listen, watch, observe and imitate adult behavioural patterns that are commonly reflective of obedience and responsibility training (Ogunnaike and Houser, 2002). The other desirable characteristics of children include respect for adults, compliance to authority, quietness, acceptance of care from multiple caregivers, among others (Obikeze, 1997).

Nevertheless, scholars like Wusu and Isiugo-Abanihe (2003), Ocholla-Ayayo (1997), Isiugo-Abanihe and Obono (1999) strongly assert that the socio-economic and political change that began in the late 19th century to early 20th-century Nigeria did affect the cohesive family system. For instance, Ocholla-Ayayo (1977:8) demonstrates clearly that the strong traditional kinship system of raising children has undergone serious strain and as such this collective child-rearing system is fading away and more so in the 21st century. Invariably, parental desire for large family size is becoming a thing of the past while having few children has become today's trendy practice (Orubuloye, 1995:9). The changes also resulted in the dwindling of extended family resources for the support of larger family members. "In the extended-family we have found that under the influence of Christianity and education component family groups tend to become individualised and independent of the larger extended family" (Fadipe, 1970: 315).

On the other hand, Wusu and Isiugo-Abanihe (2006) empirically examined the link between fertility decline and child-rearing practices. This study focused on how the changes in Nigerian family structure and child-rearing practices influence fertility behaviour among the *Ogu*, a sub-Yoruba ethnic group. The findings clearly demonstrate that the structural change processes taking place within the Nigerian family system led to the alterations of conventional means of sharing child-rearing costs with extended family members. The development as stated appears to have necessitated the use of contraceptives which is affecting the fertility of the *Ogu*

people. However, the scholars did not state if the respondents involved in the FGDs included both literate and illiterate people, which would have aided the evaluation of the data qualitatively. Similarly, the use of a single methodological approach in the study also places the validity of the data in question.

Another concern is the relationship between women's educational attainment and child-rearing capacity. This theme is addressed in the work of Buvinic et al. (1987) which examines how women's formal educational status influences healthy living and children survival. The findings disclose that educated women appear to have healthier infants. This conclusion is based on the reality that educated parents do have higher income with which their children are provided with good health care. This argument is in conformity with Harrison's (1979) study of northerners in Nigeria, which asserted that virtually all educated women do receive antenatal care and report for treatment when things go wrong, whereas only 65% of the illiterate do the same. Notwithstanding, a detailed examination of this conclusion however suggest that income differences cannot fully explain all of the effects of education or perhaps even as much as the issue of individual choices between the literate and illiterate parents on how best to cater for their children's health.

A study by Odebiyi (1985) attempts to highlight the relationship between the educational status of Yoruba mothers in Ile-Ife and their health related child-rearing practices. The study is of the view that educated mothers with good jobs spend less time at home with their children. They rather resort to the use of bottle-feeding method while illiterate mothers, who usually have their children with them at the farms or market places, often employ forced hand-feeding technique. Of interest in the study is the argument that the educational status of women also influences the different types of health hazards their children are exposed to. For instance, the study comparatively indicated that while the children of educated mothers suffer neglect and deprivation of breastfeeding, the children of the illiterate stand the risk of unhygienic exposures in the farms, market places and from forced hand-feeding. Nevertheless, the impact of such practices on the developmental outcome of the children was not evaluated in the study.

Similarly, Agunbiade and Ogunleye (2012) investigated how breastfeeding practices and experiences of nursing mothers are linked with grandmothers' roles, as well as the work-related constraints that affect nurses in providing quality support for breastfeeding mothers in Southwest Nigeria. In this study, breastfeeding is perceived as an essential component of child-rearing practices that strengthen the physical and spiritual bond between mother and child, thereby enhancing baby's health. Thus, exclusive breastfeeding is considered to be essential but quite

demanding on the part of working nursing mothers because the study found out only a small proportion of the nursing mothers, about 19%, practised exclusive breastfeeding. The survey, however, evaluated the major constraints hindering exclusive breastfeeding to be: maternal health problems, fear of babies becoming addicted to breast milk, pressure from mother-in-law, pains in the breast, babies' constant demand for breastfeeding, and the need to return to work. Poor feeding habit and inadequate support from the husband are similarly highlighted as parts of the dominant constraints against breastfeeding. In addition, the findings revealed that the constraints attached to the practice often result in the ineffectuality of the quality of support provided by nurses, thus encouraging nursing mothers to compromise the desire to practice exclusive breastfeeding shortly after child delivery. The study conclusively posits nursing mothers are faced with multiple challenges of working and striving to practise exclusive breastfeeding which is quite difficult because, on the average, a nursing working mother may spend at least eight hours away from home.

Unfortunately, there are few studies on the relationship between women's work in relation to infant feeding practices and child nutrition among the study population. However, two of these only examined the relationship between women's work and infants feeding practices in urban settings. For instance, the study of Di Domenico and Asuni (1979) found that 39% of women in the formal sector, and less than this (26%) in informal sector, stop breastfeeding before six months. Similarly, Bamisaye and Oyediran (1983) disclosed that the duration of breastfeeding among female employees of a large health clinic in Lagos is linked to the level of their salary income. These findings indicate that the higher the salary of the workers the lesser they breastfeed because they can conveniently afford supplementary meals and baby milk for their children. None of these studies, however, establishes that mother's work status and time frame could be the major determinant factors influencing choice of mother's feeding practices. However, Ogundimu (2007) is of the view that breastfeeding is a veritable tool for building the child who will end up building the nation. Therefore, she suggests that the Nigerian government should declare a state of emergency on the nation's child-rearing practices and make a national policy by recommending a minimum of six months' maternity leave which should be approved for all Nigerian formal-working nursing mothers. This good intention however exempts the nursing mothers working within the informal sectors where most of the Nigerian women population operate. But the scholar built a strong foundation for her argument by submitting that:

... a six months maternity leave will ensure the survival of children through adequate intake of specie-specific breast milk, given on demand, for strong bones, clear eyes, stable brain and generally healthy children's development. It will also, more importantly, establish a strong and lasting foundation for bonding and love,

which is the first important ingredient for laying good character and attitudes towards individual and public life in general (2007).

On the other hand, Apampa's (2010) study on child development and child-rearing practices in Nigeria found that people's beliefs, values, and ideas, about the right ways of raising children do affect how children function effectively as adults in the society and similarly influence their emotional development. As stated, when children are trained from early childhood to understand and control emotions, such as joy, laughter, sorrow, love, anger, jealousy and aggression, it does help their emotional development (Apampa, 2010:2). The study, however, indicates it is the responsibility of families and other caregivers to provide children with the loving, acceptable and secured feelings they need to develop emotionally while the negative emotions, such as aggression, dislike and hatred are to be discouraged. By so doing, Apampa implied children will be encouraged to show love and make friends with all the people that surround them; as such, child-care practitioners are advised to break new grounds in the development of early childhood education programmes.

Commenting on the relationship between child abuse and its implication in Nigerian society, Enwereji, (2008) observed that there has been a lack of understanding of the factors that influence child abuse in Nigeria. According to him, this lack of apprehension stems from the fact that some researchers have been unable to distinguish between Western culture of child-rearing practices and the African cultural patterns of disciplining a child (Enwereji, 2008:24). He then called for the need to sustain the lofty cultural norms of Nigerian child-rearing practices in concerted efforts with well planned developmental interventions that can coordinate and uphold the positive aspects of the indigenous child-rearing practices and similarly discourage the negative patterns termed as child abuse.

Odejobi's study of community parenting and the concept of child abuse in Yoruba culture (2012), however, investigate whether the concept of "child-abuse" is present within the Yoruba child training culture. The finding reveals that majority of the sampled parents and secondary school students (within Ile-Ife metropolis) indicated that the concept is alien to Yoruba society. Therefore, the study concludes that Yoruba child-rearing practices should not be condemned as child abuse but should be examined within its cultural context. In support of this notion, a preceding study by Owolabani (2005), evaluated the cultural milieus promoting the *Ogu* girl-child's participation in child labour which has been extensively diagnosed within the Western concept of child abuse (the *Ogu* are a sub-Yoruba socio-cultural group in Lagos, Badagry, southwestern Nigeria). The appraisal indicated that the series of programmes designed by

government through the funding aids of international organizations have not succeeded in addressing the problem of child-labour in that parents culturally view children's participation within the labour force as a visible socialization process through which their children are prepared for the vicissitudes of adult life. As such, the study discloses, treading on the thorny cultural pedagogy of child-training practices will continue to produce the intractable challenge of conquering the personalities of children workers who are visible on the socio-economic landscape of African countries. The scholar, however, recommends a forward-looking approach that will recognize the multi-dimensional cultural generative processes acting as the determinant factors producing the personality of child labourers in most African societies.

The link between educational studies and child-rearing studies is similarly highlighted in Awujo's study (2007) which evaluated the relationship between child-rearing pattern and secondary school students' study habits. According to Awujo, children brought up under very strict and rigid parental authorities are trained to be seen and not heard, therefore, they often lack the use of initiatives while studying. He further stated that "this is so because they have been brought up to obey rules and regulations without questioning and as such, the children tend to wait for directives or instructions before they can take up responsibilities" (2006:173). The scholar, however, failed to identify the variation of such study habit among children trained by parents who employed other types of parenting patterns.

In addition to the literature, Ajake U.E., Isangedihi A.J, and Bisong, N.N. (2009) reported ways in which adopted child-rearing styles influence students' involvement in disapproved social practices. The study evaluated how the adopted styles of training children at home have contributed to the promotion of premarital sex and drug abuse among secondary school students. The finding reveals that 60% of children reared with authoritarian and laissez-faire parenting styles are usually involved in premarital sexual practices, while 40% engage in drug abuse. Hence, the scholar asserted that the adoption of parenting pattern and choice of child-rearing practices go a long way in influencing negative behaviour among Senior Secondary School students. The declaration of the scholar is however highly subjective in that so many factors are responsible for the examined vices which were omitted in the study.

Studies on the child-rearing beliefs and practices shared by most Nigerian immigrant families living abroad have also been undertaken by some scholars. Moscardino et al. (2006) examined how the cultural beliefs and practices of a group of generalized first-generation of Nigerian immigrant mother influence infants' health development in Italy. The findings revealed that the most salient parental goals about infant physical health and development among

Nigerian population in Italy are mainly achieved through close physical contact bonded by co-sleeping, breastfeeding, and bodily massage. These practices, as indicated, reflect the distinctive Nigerian traditional child-rearing culture influenced by the eco-cultural niche of Italy. A significant issue is how the Nigerian immigrant mothers rely on paediatricians' recommendations. They are noted to be in frequent opposition to the paediatricians' child-rearing views, as cited in the study (Moscardino et al., 2006:253). The main reasons for visiting or adhering to the advice of health professionals are, however, said to be as a result of the difficulties they often encounter with obtaining specific African products such as 'teething-powder'. It is similarly indicated that they often follow paediatricians' instructions because of the concerns they attach to their babies' health and fear of being reproved. Another issue cited is that the immigrants adopt breastfeeding practice which is also linked to age consideration. The study discovered that few Nigerian mothers who migrated to Italy in less than a year, or who had previously delivered babies in Nigeria, purposively breastfeed their infants throughout the first year of life. As such, it is obvious that the immigrant's cultural child-care belief has been acculturated into the Italian health care culture.

On the other hand, Osundeko (2006) discovered in a study of Yoruba immigrants residing in the United States of America that the parents attach much importance to the distinctive value system of the Yoruba child-rearing culture like strapping of infants on the back, prolonged breastfeeding, use of physical punishment (during children's early years and within the home), respect for the elderly and children assistance in child-care and household chores. The scholar, however, observed that majority of the Nigerian parents prefer the adoption of such cultural child-rearing values in training their children but they are restrained in the public because of the rules and regulations binding parent-child relationship within the United States. As such, any parent or caregiver reported to be involved in such child-rearing practices are subjected to counselling or other social service interventions while some parents face Child Protective Services sanctions (Osundeko, 2006:92). Based on this reality, she noted majority of the Nigerian immigrants have completely adopted the use of American child-rearing practices while some combine both practices. The situation, as the author further states, is similarly influenced by other factors like the length of stay in the United States, level of parental contact with the host community and individual philosophy guiding the adopted pattern of child-rearing practices.

Bray's concern (2009) is on the effects of social change on family dynamics. The study accesses how the rapid pace of development in Nigeria led to changes in some traditional parenting code and adaptation of parents to new child-rearing values, such as a change in

discipline away from physical punishment and the employment of harsh scolding or threats that lead to unquestioned obedience, acceptance of children's dependency up to an adult age, display of affection and intimacy built through intimate relationship between parents and children, most especially fathers and children and a more verbally responsive approach to instruction. The findings similarly indicate some of the changing codes still have culture-specific influences on certain cultural food habits that are uniquely Nigerian. An instance showed that almost all parents still restrict the amount of high-quality animal foods (meat in particular) given to very young children as a form of concern for the development of children's moral character. The scholar noticed the size of the pieces of meat given to different persons in a household was a way to restrict and teach children the order of ranking privileged within the family. Conclusively, the study analytically asserts that the changes in Nigerian child-rearing practices tend to be complementary rather than conflicting. This view, however, contradicts the perspective of most scholars and researchers whose conception of culture change usually acknowledges the clash and impact of the old and new culture on each other. That is, cultures either forcefully or naturally modify, supplant, eliminate one another to form a new cultural melting pot.

This study evaluates the mediation between the benefits, conflicts and consequences of all the ingredients that have constituted the expression of the cultural melting pot of the changing child-rearing practices among Yoruba parents in Ibadan. It also dwells on how the dynamics of the socio-economic transformative processes and other accompanying socio-cultural components influence the modifications of the distinctive Yoruba child-rearing value-systems.

2.2.0 Theoretical Framework

Introduction

The fundamental significance of utilizing theoretical models in understanding and constituting data on any academic subject is a crucial tradition that cannot be neglected in this study. Since the study has extended its subject of discourse "outside the box" of cultural studies to include other related fields in the discipline of anthropology, it intrinsically employs the triangulation of two theories in proffering answers to the research problems presented in the study. Hence, the theoretical perspectives of cultural materialism and Bronfenbrenner's ecological system theory are employed to situate the study within the specific contexts of linking socio-economic transformative processes with the changes within the cultural milieu of Yoruba child-rearing practices. The use of these theories also permits the study to account for the ways in which culture change is subjected to the influences arising from the social, economic and

environmental development processes in which a society finds itself, especially in a world that is globalizing at a rapid rate.

The theory of cultural materialism provides the study with relevant discursive premises relating how economic shifts effect culture change while Bronfenbrenner's ecological system theory gives us the relevant analytic tools for dissecting the intricate issues of how social and environmental transformation influences culture change. The two theoretical perspectives are, however, meshed without prejudice to the overarching anthropological direction of the study.

2.2.1 Cultural Materialism

Cultural materialism emanated in 1968 as a scientific research paradigm that prioritizes and explains the evolution of material, behavioural and etic processes of human socio-cultural systems. The theory was first expounded by Marvin Harris in his text, *The Rise of Anthropological Theory*, as a reaction to cultural relativism and idealist theories which locate culture change in human systems of thought rather than in material conditions (Buzney and Marcoux, 2009:2). In other words, the weakness in these early idealist and relativist anthropological theories on culture change discourse created a theoretical loophole resolved by Marvin Harris's paradigm of cultural materialism that has its basic element in Steward's theory of cultural ecology but differs from Steward's thoughts due to its consideration of the interrelated connection between environment, culture and society (Barfield 1997: 232).

The theory's argument is based on the conception that the initial theoretical approaches in anthropology schematically withdrew culture from its material base and placed it solely within the minds of the people practising it. According to Harris, "with their strictly emic (native's view of target culture) approach, the idealists and relativists fail to be holistic, thereby violating the principal tenet of anthropological research" (Harris 1979; 1996). Hence, by focusing on culture as an observable, measurable phenomenon, cultural materialism came up with an etic (observer's view of target culture) perspective of studying human society and it became an acceptable theory in the field of anthropology. Yet cultural materialists still recommend the use of a mix of both emic and etic behavioural analyses (Lim, 2004).

Complying with Marx's historical materialism, cultural materialism raises the concern about socio-cultural causality systems in societies. It similarly holds that the causes and effects should be established by studying the underlying material constraints of human existence. The theory is, however, designed for the purpose of explaining cultural similarities and differences as well as for explicating models of cultural change within all socio-cultural frameworks (Marcoux, 2004).

As a theoretical approach, cultural materialism conceives the socio-cultural as a system made up of three distinct levels. The first level, termed infrastructure, consists of “material realities” such as technological modes of production (economy) and the reproductive (demographic) factors which influence the moulding of the other two levels named, structure and superstructure. Structure include the organizational aspects of culture like political economy, domestic, and kinship systems while the superstructure deals with a wide range of ideological and symbolic aspects of society such as behaviour, religion, art, music, dance, emotions, values, traditions, literature, among others. With these three divisional scales, cultural materialism perches on the infrastructural determinism argument which states that modes of production (economy) and reproduction (demography) are the primary factors that shape the socio-cultural structures within which the superstructure is produced. Substantiating this horizon, Harris declares that:

Similar technologies applied to similar environments tend to produce similar arrangements of labour in production and distribution, and... these in turn call forth similar kinds of social groupings, which justify and coordinate their activities by means of similar systems of values and belief (1968:4).

Interestingly, the cultural materialist paradigm, which is a follow-up to the Marxist theory of historical materialism, has the same scale of divisions but there is an established contrast between both theories. While Marxist theory suggests that production is a material condition located in the base of society that engages in a reciprocal relationship with societal structure, which in turn, acts upon the infrastructural sector, cultural materialism, on the other hand, is based on the proposition that production lies within the infrastructure that aids the creation of the unidirectional relationship between infrastructure-structure (Harris 1996:277-278). Thus, cultural materialists view the infrastructure-structure relationship as a one-way goal while Marxists regard the relationship as reciprocal. Cultural materialism also differs from Marxism in its lack of a class theory (Barfield 1997:232) in the sense that while Marxism suggests culture change only benefits the ruling class, cultural materialism addresses the relations of unequal power and it recognizes the innovations or changes that benefit both the upper and lower classes (Harris 1996: 278). Despite the fact that both cultural materialism and Marxism are evolutionary in proposing that culture change results from innovations selected by society because of the benefits that increases with productive capabilities, cultural materialism does not envision a final utopian form as visualized by Marxism (Engels, quoted by Harris 1979: 141-142; Harris 1996: 280).

Nevertheless, cultural materialists believe all societies operate according to the model in which production and reproduction dominate and determine what happens in the cultural sectors. As such, production and reproduction serve as the effective driving forces behind all cultural development. The theorists also propose that all non-infrastructure aspects of the society are created with the purpose of benefitting societal productive and reproductive capabilities. Therefore, systems such as government, religion, law, and kinship are considered to be social constructs that only exist for the sole purpose of promoting production and reproduction. Calling for empirical research and strict scientific methods for constructing accurate comparisons between separate cultures, the proponents of cultural materialism believe this perspective will effectively explain both intercultural variation and cultural similarities (Harris 1979: 27). With respect to this, the demographic, environmental, and technological changes are then invoked to explain cultural variation (Barfield 1997: 232).

Though lauded for its explicit appeal to the epistemology of science, cultural materialism is nevertheless criticized for the so many difficulties inherent in the paradigm. Various critics like Lett (1997 and 2002), O'Meara (1997), Sperber (1996), Moore (1996), Magnarella (1993), Barkow et al. (1992) and Geertz (1995) have pointed out the inadequacies of Harris' postulation.

O'Meara (1997), as cited in Lett (1997), queries the causal principle of infrastructural determinism in cultural materialism and he contends that in as much as "infrastructure" is an abstraction, it is certainly devoid of causal efficacy in the real world. Based on the paradigm of the aforesaid, O'Meara affirmed that infrastructure is incapable of predicting or explaining human behaviour. He further argues that even though cultural materialism establishes useful correlation among the three rubrics of infrastructure, structure and superstructure, such correlation are definitely devoid of indications of causal relationships but are rather signposts pointing towards the casual properties of the entities. Buttressing this view further, the scholar submitted that:

...correlation among event types may help us predict future event types with some accuracy, but only if relevant conditions remain similar. Because of the vast number, specificity, and delicacy of psychological and other constituent mechanisms of humans, however, the corresponding number, specificity, and delicacy of relevant conditions is also vast. Only by learning the causal-mechanical properties of those mechanisms and the environmental conditions to which they are sensitive can we explain people's behaviour in current circumstances or predict them in novel circumstances (1997:406).

Barkow, Cosmides, and Tooby (1992) also view cultural materialism as a paradigm that is based upon a form of functionalism which lacks genuine explanatory power. To them, the present or future-oriented form of functionalism that could be associated with cultural materialism seeks to account for a particular phenomenon by asking how such a process is explained through the utility of its consequences. Such proposition, as Lett (2002) reasons, makes the fundamental error of placing the consequences before the cause. Therefore, Barkow et al. (1992) assert that it is deemed reasonable for such causal explanation to necessarily focus on the antecedent condition, since "the consequences of a phenomenon can be neither the cause of the phenomenon nor its explanation" (1992:625). Lett (2002) further posits that even if the principle of infrastructural determinism claimed to only account for the persistence of cultural traits rather than emergence of cultural traits, it would still lack explanatory power. The lapses according to Sperber (1996), is because the paradigm, unlike Darwin's principle of natural selection, fails to identify a feedback mechanism with sufficient selective power to accomplish the task that is purportedly accomplished.

The theory has also been criticized on the account that it is not sufficiently grounded in biological evolution. According to Boyd and Silk (2000), an understanding of the selective forces that shaped human evolution is essential for understanding human nature while the understanding of human nature is required for realizing why humans behave the way they do. Therefore, they declare that the attempt of cultural materialism to explain human universals without giving reference to the evolved details of human nature is nothing short of an Achilles' heel to the paradigm (2002). This notion made Lett (2002) to argue that the principle of infrastructural determinism will not explain, for instance, the universality of violent male sexual jealousy nor will it explain the fact that, on the average, husbands are older than their wives in every society in the world. These human universals, he submitted, can only be explained by a shared human nature, perhaps by the evolutionary forces that shaped it.

Drawing from the significant criticism of the proponents of the aforesaid viewpoints, the theory, has also been termed "vulgar materialism" by some Marxists critics who believe it is an empirical approach to culture change and it is too simple and straightforward (Friedman, 1974; Barfield 1997:232). As for J. Friedman, he believes cultural materialists rely too heavily on the uni-directional infrastructure-superstructure relationship to explain culture change, and that the relationship between the "base" (a distinct level of a socio-cultural system, underlying the structure, in Marxist terminology) and the superstructure must be dialectically viewed (1974: 238). Thus, his argument is that the cultural materialist approach should disregard the effect of

using the infrastructure as the shaping component that dictates the structural elements in the superstructure.

Likewise, the idealists in the likes of the structuralists (the followers of Durkheim), whose theoretical paradigm for understanding culture change is based on emic understanding, have argued in contrast to cultural materialists that there should not be any need for the use of an etic/emic distinction (Harris 1979: 167). To the idealists, the etic view of understanding culture is irrelevant and full of ethnocentrism and that culture itself is the controlling factor in culture change (Harris 1979: p.167).

The postmodernists are also not left out in the criticism. They similarly argue vehemently against cultural materialism because of its use of strict scientific method. To them, science is itself a culturally determined phenomenon that is affected by class, race and other structural and infrastructural variables (Harris 1995: 62) and in fact, some argue that science is a tool used by upper classes to oppress and dominate lower classes (Rosenau 1992: 129). Thus, postmodernists' contention is that, the use of any science in studying culture is useless, and that cultures should be studied using only the particularist and relativist models (Harris 1995: 63).

Reacting to all the onslaughts against cultural materialism, Murphy and Margolis made some clarification that set the bounds of the paradigm. According to these scholars,

cultural materialism... never suggests that *all* changes in the system under *all* circumstances spring from alterations in the infrastructure. Nor does cultural materialism claim that the structure and superstructure are passive entities that do not influence the material base. Rather it proposes a probabilistic relationship between these three levels, while at the same time insisting that the *principal* forces of change reside in the material conditions of human existence (1995:3, italics in original).

Therefore, judging cultural materialism on this clarification, one can then conclude that it is a theoretical paradigm that can be used to determine whether a cultural innovation is selected by a society based on the effects of the basic needs of individuals of such society. Similarly, the needs, according to the theory, can also be created through a change in demographics, technological or environmental changes within the infrastructure as well. If this happens, then the innovations within the infrastructure could be selected to increase the productive and reproductive capabilities even when they are in conflict with the structural or superstructure elements such as the culture of child-rearing practices within societies (Harris 1996: 278). Therefore, the driving force behind culture change according to the theory is in the process of satisfying the basic needs of human existence.

Having highlighted the “pro and cons” of cultural materialism and elucidating its propositions, it is, however, crucial for one to credit the theory for challenging the discipline of anthropology to use more scientific research methods, and similarly for being able to prove that rather than relying solely on native explanations of a phenomenon, analysts should also endeavour to use empirical and replicable methods in their studies. Moreover, the theory should be credited for promoting the notion that culture change can be studied across geographic and temporal boundaries. The use of so-called universal nomothetic theories, as promoted by cultural materialism, is evident in some many anthropological studies such as Burroughs and Rindfleisch (2002), Dawson (1997), Ferguson (1984 and 1995), Goodenough (2003), Henrich (2001) Johnson and Earle (1987), Margolis (2003 and 1984), Murphy and Margolis (1995), Murphy (1991), Nolan and Lenski (1996), Roseberry (1997), among others. Therefore, this study is approached from a cultural materialism perspective to suggest that the involvement of parents in the modes of production (economy) and environment and socio-economic changes can be considered to be the influential factors characterizing the changes in the child-rearing practices among Yoruba parents in Ibadan.

2.2.2 Ecological System Theory

The ecological system theory is a very broad theoretical approach that defines how the different complex “layers” of the environment, namely, microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem and macrosystem can singly have effects on a child’s development, and in turn affect his/her future psychosocial behavioural and personality formation (Paquette and Ryan, 2001:2; Fig 1). The theory is traced back to Bronfenbrenner (1979 and 1993), who first looked at a child’s development within the context of the system of relationships that form the child’s socio-cultural environment. This theory has recently been renamed “bioecological system theory” to indicate that a child’s own biology is the primary factor fuelling his/her behavioural and future personality formation/development (Paquette and Ryan, 2001:2). That is, it is the interaction between a child’s maturing biology and his/her immediate family/community, environment and the societal landscape that fuels and steers his/her future behavioural and personality formation. The reasoning then follows that changes or conflict in any one layer will ripple throughout other layers, and when this occurs, it can affect the child’s future personality formation. As such, Bronfenbrenner suggests that while studying children’s development and future personality formation in relation to child-rearing practices, one must look at the child’s immediate environment in terms of its interaction with the larger environment. This perspective calls for the division of the theory into four different contextual parts, as illustrated in the diagram below (Fig 3).

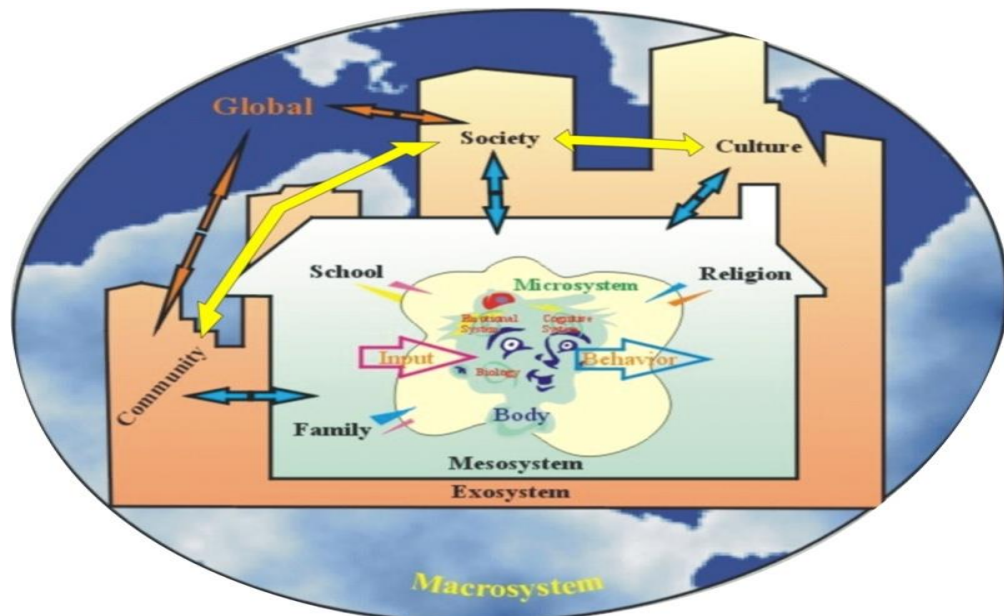


Fig 3: Illustration of the four parts of Bronfenbrenner's Ecological System theory, (Source: Paquette and Ryan, 2001:1)

The microsystem is the first division, and it is said to be the closest to a child's primary growing-up environment. It is portrayed as the immediate environment that familiarizes a child with the activities having to do with the development of his/her biological, emotional and cognitive formation. It comprises the emotional, the cognitive, the biological (the ways in which the body and cells of the child behave), and the body system, which is the major platform that holds the other parts of a child's microsystem intact. Therefore, the body is viewed as the life supporting system, the mobility system with which a child perceives and interacts with his/her immediate environment (Berks, 2000:33), while the emotional and cognitive systems located within the brain are the most important developing systems in a child (Paquette and Ryan, 2001:3). Having highlighted the functions of each system within the microsystem, Bronfenbrenner, however, posits that a child, with these inbuilt systems meant to develop naturally, still needs the central support system provided by his/her family members in the second structure, the mesosystem, to develop and function properly in a society.

The Mesosystem is the second layer that provides the connection between the structures of a child's microsystem and the other outer parts of his/her immediate environment. It is characterized as containing the structure with which a child has direct contact. According to Berk (2000:34), "the mesosystem covers the relationships and interactions of a child with his/her immediate surroundings". The functional structures identified in the mesosystem include the family, school, neighbours, child-care workers and religious institutions. In other words, the set of people presented in the mesosystem are described by the theorist as being the connective links between a developing child and his/her immediate environment. Therefore, the relationship a child develops in school is said to be the critical aspect of the mesosystem that aids his/her

overall positive development. This perception is based on the belief that the amount of time a child spends in school fosters the development of a dominant human relationship in the child's formative years of building outside-the-home relationships with adults/peer groups. The child's cognitive and emotional growth is thus improved upon via the established connections (Paquette and Ryan: 2001:2).

On the other hand, the family, among all other socializing agents presented in the mesosystem, is portrayed in the paradigm as the closest to a child during his/her formative years. The connecting component between parent-child relationships is labelled in the theory as a bi-directional interaction, which Bronfenbrenner summarized in the phrase: 'away from the child and towards the child'. This is simply because there is reciprocal influence in parent-child interactions. For instance, it is believed that the belief system and behavioural attitudes of parents aid the shaping of their children and, at the same time, the children's behavioural and belief system also influence their parents. As such, the bi-directional relationship observable in the parent-child relationship within the mesosystem is proposed by the theorists to have the strongest and greatest impact on the overall development and future personality formation of a child. Hence, the instruction on how to develop the bi-directional interactions between parent and child is laid out in the following five propositions as discussed in the Family Service of America, (1990:23).

Proposition 1: The child must have an on-going, long-term mutual interaction with an adult or adults who has/have a stake in his/her well-being. The interaction should be accompanied by a strong emotional tie that is meant to last for a long time and it is also important for this attachment to be one created out of unconditional love and support. That is, such an adult must believe the child is "the best," and the child must be aware that the adult has this belief.

Proposition 2: The strong tie and pattern of interpersonal interaction in proposition 1 will enable the child to relate well with other features within his/her mesosystem. In other words, the skills and confidence the child derived from the initial relationships will continually increase his/her ability to effectively explore and grow within the activities designed by other adults present in the mesosystem.

Proposition 3: The attachments and interactions the child developed with other adults will help him/her to progress into a more complex relationship with his/her primary adults-parents. This will ultimately enable the child to appreciate the importance of his/her parents and will assist him/her to gain affirmation from them for a third party relationship with other adults.

Proposition 4: There will be a development of relationships between the child and the secondary adults in schools, child care facilities, religious institutions, socializing agents, among others. This development will invariably progress into two-way repeated interchanges of mutual compromises that the child needs at home, school and other care facilities, which will eventually extend to parents who need the interchanges in their neighbourhoods and workplaces.

Proposition 5: The emerging relationship between the child and all the adults in his/her developmental stages in life will require a public attitude of support and affirmation indicating the importance of the roles individuals have to play in the whole of the child's growing-up process. It is only then that public policies can provide enabling time and resources for all established relationships to be nurtured and a culture-wide value can be placed on all the people that are involved in the process of the child's growing-up.

The Exosystem is the third division and is described as the layer that defines the larger social structures in which a child does not function directly but serve as the supportive shields providing the child with a bi-directional relationship in the mesosystem. As such, the operational structures within the exosystem are taken to be the community, society, and culture in its holistic sense. These structures, according to Bronfenbrenner, provide the values, material resources and context within which a child develops a relationship with his/her immediate environment in the mesosystem which, in turn, impacts on the child's microsystem. This means that the structures in this layer indirectly impact on a child's development through his/her interaction with the initial systems in the micro-meso systems (Berk, 2000:35). For instance, the parents' workplace schedules or community-based family resources are examples of structures present in the exosystem in which the child may not be directly involved, yet the child still feels the positive or negative impact of these structures through his/her interactive relationships in the mesosystem and such outcome will have an effect on his/her microsystem. In other words, the increasing number of hours worked outside the home by parents in the mesosystemic level might mean that they have fewer times to be fully involved in their children's upbringing and socialization. If this happens, then parents have no other choice than to call upon the structures in Bronfenbrenner's exosystem to provide their children with secondary relationships within the child's immediate community.

Therefore, the society or community is saddled with the responsibility of providing parents with access to people with similar concerns that can function and provide resources and emotional support for the development of their children. Based on this assumption, a research was conducted by Lewis and Morris in 1998 and they came up with a list of five basic needs a

society or community must provide for the positive development of children. These are: (i) a personal relationship with a caring adult; (ii) a safe place to live; (iii) a healthy start towards children's future; (iv) a marketable skill to use after graduation from high school, and (v) an opportunity to contribute to their community's development. These scholars, however, indicated that partnerships involving individuals, national and local agencies within societies or communities can assist with provisions for these needs. To this end, it is assumed that the coordination among agencies, parents, and schools will help provide a safety net for families in crisis and render a solid resource for strengthening all relationships within a child's mesosystem. In other words, it is the societal or community structure, located within the exosystem, that is responsible for the provision of human, legislative, financial and developmental resources that enable the structures located in a child's mesosystem to flourish. The provision of these resources by the society is also suggested to be the creative context that aids a child's parents to build a functional family that will in turn become the bedrock of the society.

However, Bronfenbrenner acknowledge that the operational society located in the exosystem is usually designed to accommodate developmental changes which are also prone to seasonal breakdowns and remodelling. Perhaps, this realization made him resolve that any developmental breakdown or remodelling that occurs at the societal level in the exosystem is normally responsible for the attributed problems situated within the mesosystemic relationships. Therefore, he came up with an interrogative notion about societal reactions to changes in human values and environment. According to him, if technology has been changing the human society and we have been taking great pains to safeguard the physical environment from the damage done by technology, why can we not provide similar safeguards to the damage that are being done to our societal values? The question that comes to mind then is: How true is this assumption within the context of the changes in the distinctive cultural value system of child-rearing practices among Yoruba parents in Ibadan?

Hence, it is obvious that culture is fundamental in the exosystem because it is engrafted into all the structures presented in the microsystem, mesosystem and exosystem. Since culture dictates the beliefs concerning human values, especially the norms of responsibility for the developmental needs of a child, then it is of importance for it to be passed on from generation to generation. Thus, culture is always a reference point in providing the societal structures within the exosystem with distinctive values passed on to the developing child, who in turn receives them in order to be functional in the society (Seifert, 1999: 282). This means that a developing child is affected by the beliefs, norms, customs and values of his/her community, communicated through the various agents of socialization in all other structures in the meso-exosystems.

This leads in to the last division, the macrosystem, that is, the outermost layer attributed to the impact of global events on the child's formative years within his/her growing-up environment. By virtue of the macrosystem, the ecological system theory places some emphasis on the impact of global events on the lives of individuals, either as children or as adults, in different societies throughout generations. For instance, Bronfenbrenner highlighted that in the past, events across an ocean or distant lands were not even known until days or weeks later and their impact on the lives of people in most societies were then thought to be negligible. But with the invention of cyberspace and satellites to link every corner of the planet together in a matter of a few seconds, global news is becoming constant in the life of everybody in today's world. Therefore, with the advent of different modern technologies, most especially the mass media, individuals are now living in a new century of flux in a global village, where any happening thousands of miles away is brought to different homes in the twinkle of an eye.

It is as a result of this that Bronfenbrenner conceive the influence of global events vital not only to societal and individual values but also in relation to children's growing up needs. Buttressing this reality, he pointed out that global influences are not just limited to children's developmental needs but have also spread their wings through ecological, social, economic, political and religious forces among other social institutions that are more reactive to international events (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:25). This assumption led him to observe that changes recorded in the economic sector of a society, for instance, the provision of equal employment opportunities for both men and women as a result of offshore competition, can in turn have a direct consequence on the society and family life which invariably can also result in poor parenting. In other words, communities or societies can suffer tremendous economic stresses when a local business is closed down because it cannot compete with multinational corporations or businesses can be relocated to take advantage of lower wage costs in another society (a phenomenon evident in the developed world) or downsizing occurs and wage earners become incapable of meeting the needs of their children and families.

In sum, one can discern that the socio-economic shifts, which societies all over the world have witnessed in recent times, will perhaps continue to be witnessed for a long time. And just as the global trade initiatives are proliferating, the alterative societal situations will also continue to have social and economic effects on most societies and individuals, most especially children, in broad and possibly overwhelming ways. It is based on this assumption that this empirical study attempts to focus on how social and environmental transformation influences cultural changes in Yoruba child-rearing practices.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Preamble

In a research work of this nature, selecting the primary or major methods of investigating a problem is in itself problematic. This is due to the fact that the scholar has to reflect on the nature of the problem before coming to terms with the cognitive orientation needed to methodologically dissect the problem of study. Therefore, this study, being an anthropological subject, ordinarily calls for the use of a naturalistic qualitative method which has been seen as the objective way of investigating and capturing “what people say and do as a product of how they interpret the complexity of their world...” (Osuala, 1982:171).

Nevertheless, since modern researchers have realized the advantages in combining different methods in proffering answers to research problems, this study had in this light merged other field methods with the classical anthropological method of participant observation to provide some leeway in the process of gathering data. Thus, the study utilized a relevant creative mixing of methods that also assisted in the process of theorizing and extending the subjects of discourse “outside the box” of the chosen discipline of anthropology. The utilization of combinative methods in the study also aided its placement under the umbrella of similar studies in other disciplines without prejudice to the dominant anthropological direction of the study in order to enhance the quality and validity of the research work. Similarly, the conceptualization of the study within socio-economic discourse also necessitated the application of multi-disciplinary approaches that aided the process of generating the research data.

It is in this regard that this research has employed some meshed and linking methods beyond the micro-macro divides of anthropological methods to enhance the logical qualitative analysis presented in the study. As such, the research employed a holistic view of broad and flexible anthropological methods such as participant and non-participant observation, in-depth interviews, survey questionnaire (open and close-ended) in a combined mode with the perusal of relevant literature as the source of generating data, guiding the ethnographic understanding of the subject of discourse. Apart from yielding enormous data, the combination of these methods also enhanced the objective validation and reliability of data as well as analysis.

3.1 Methods of Data Collection

Much of the data discussed in this study was elicited through fieldwork and data were collected first-hand during the space of twenty months (April 2011 to November, 2012). It

involved both active participant and non-participant observation of the day-to-day activities of child-rearing practices and children's growing-up experiences witnessed within the sampled homes and family units, child-care centres, schools, foster and religious institutions. Based on the ethical principles of the discipline of study, the researcher did not only request for the verbal consents of the participants but also prepared a formal consent form (Appendix II: page 209) in order to inform them of the nature of their involvement in the research. The consent form, which also informed them of their free will to withdraw from the study at any time was studied and endorsed by the participants before the commencement of the research. The variety of elicitation techniques used in collecting the data is clarified in the following sections.

3.1.1 Participant Observation/Direct Observation

The participant observation method was employed as the central resource for partaking in the day-to-day activities of child-rearing in some selected homes and direct observation was undertaken in some family units. The method was of great utility in generating the usual "everydayness" context of data presented in the study. With the aid of this method, the researcher had easy access as well as cooperation and attention from the sampled population, who volitionally opened up (via in-depth interview) on the changing patterns and values of Yoruba child-rearing culture. The method also aided the assessment of parenting quality vis-à-vis aspects of parent's daily child-rearing/working routines, involvement of extended family members and some neighbours in children's upbringing and socialization, and the level of parents' dependence on secondary socializing agents in their children's enculturation process. This approach was also used to evaluate the quality and quantity of support and stimulation provided by parents (involved in both formal and informal occupations), secondary socializing agents at homes, child-care centres, schools, religious and foster institutions in children's upbringing and enculturation. It similarly served as an interesting means of validating and invalidating the data obtained from the in-depth interviews held, and from the survey questionnaires administered in the field. In addition, it proved a useful resource for the generation of issues for discussion and assisted the researcher to develop deeper rapport that aided the asking and answering of questions about the researcher's observations.

3.1.2 In-depth Interviews

The method made it easier for the researcher to harvest a rich crop of first-hand data that were based on opinions, experiences, interpretations, queries and asides, from the interviewees. It was similarly employed to guide the descriptive and comparative understanding of the study. The in-depth interviews were utilized to capture the detailed experiences of parents,

children, teachers and child-care workers. This method also provided the study with incisive information on the basic generalized public opinion on the influence of socio-economic transformations on changing child-rearing practices among Yoruba parents in Ibadan. In addition, its use created an open dialogue in which information flowed back and forth between the researcher and participants. It also led to the evaluation of value reflexivity in the documentation of this ethnography. Interviews were conducted in English and Yoruba, but it is also pertinent to add that since a vast majority of the respondents, despite their educational and occupational statuses, code-mixed Pidgin English and Yoruba as a means of communication, the researcher did not hesitate to code-switch when necessary.

3.1.3 Survey Questionnaire

Survey questionnaires were used in this study for the purpose of confirming and measuring how socio-economic transformative processes influenced the changes in Yoruba child-rearing practices. It also reflected some questions on how secondary socialization agents in the form of communal, extended and fosterage system, siblings-chain supports, child-care workers and school teachers were involved in children's upbringing and enculturation. The method was also employed to capture the cultural knowledge and understanding of both adults and children in relation to Yoruba child-rearing practices.

3.2 Sampling Procedure

Before setting out on the research, a preliminary fieldwork was embarked upon by the researcher and two research assistants who worked along with the researcher within the chosen study areas. After the orientation exercise, request/notification letters, attached with the consent forms (Appendix I and II), were distributed to workers in selected homes, child-care centres, schools, religious and foster institutions located within the selected study areas for the purpose of informing and requesting families, parents, children, child-care workers and teachers to be part of the research. It took some days before the consent forms were fully filled and returned to the researcher. Those willing to participate filled in their home addresses, names of family members, occupational, literacy and other demographic details in the consent forms with their signatures appended to indicate acceptance and willingness to participate in the research.

Consistent with purposive sampling method guided by the demographic details presented in the consent forms, participants were randomly selected from the ten purposively chosen study areas. With the help of the fieldwork assistants, a community list indicating the homes, families, parents' occupational and literacy status, names of child-care centres, schools, religious and foster institutions that fell within the focus of the research was prepared. The listing reflected the

age, educational status and occupational sectors under investigation. By a simple random sampling method, samples for each study location were selected. Once the list of the participants was prepared, visiting appointments were scheduled to seek permission on when to hold interviews, call in as a participant observer and visiting researcher.

Thereafter, a synergetic fieldwork sampling of the ten (10) communities, namely, New Bodija, Old Bodija, Ikolaba Estate, Oluyole Estate and Jericho GRA, Beere, Mapo, Molete, Orogun and Apata in five (5) Local Government areas including Ibadan North, Ibadan North East, Ibadan North West, Ibadan South East and Ibadan South West, was embarked upon (Table 1). The sampled communities in New Bodija, Old Bodija, Ikolaba Estate, Oluyole Estate and Jericho GRA were chosen based on the conception that they are popular residences situated within the planned geographical areas in the city. Likewise, they are part of the domicile of most literate parents who are involved in formal and informal occupations in Ibadan. The sampled locations in Beere, Mapo, Molete, Orogun and Apata were selected due to their environmental characteristics as the developing districts where literate and illiterate parents are involved in both formal and informal occupations.

Table: 1 Characteristic of the Study Areas

Study Area	Local Government Area	1991 Base Population Figure	2012 Forecast Population Figure
New Bodija	Ibadan North	11890	21364
Old Bodija	Ibadan North	11890	21362
Ikolaba Estate	Ibadan North	6575	11814
Jericho GRA	Ibadan North-West	1234	2217
Oluyole Estate	Ibadan South-West	5097	9158
Orogun	Ibadan North	13478	24218
Beere	Ibadan North-East	1307	2348
Mapo	Ibadan South-East	1888	3392
Molete	Ibadan South-East	10902	19589
Apata	Ibadan South-West	31443	56498

Source: National Population Commission, Ibadan, Oyo-State (Nigeria 2006 Census Figures)

The choice of the ten (10) study locations was informed by the comparative representation of the study's findings. From each of the ten (10) sampled communities, two (2) homes and three (3) family units were randomly selected for objective observation of the people's daily activities, especially the ones relating to the subject of study. As such, the researcher stayed one month in each of twenty (20) homes as a participant observer, and visited other thirty (30) participating

family units within the period, acting in the latter homes only as an observer in that the researcher did not substantially partake in the child-rearing activities within these other homes (Table 2). It is important to note that in each of the sampled home and family unit, there is at least a working parent and a child who is either an infant/toddler, or in early/middle childhood. Aside from the children and parents, the observation also focused on the contributions of extended family members residing in some of the selected homes. Likewise the observation went beyond some of the homes because sometimes the researcher accompanied the child/children residing in the selected homes to child-care centres, schools and religious institutions from time to time in order to note their participation in school activities, church services and events. This follow-up was embarked upon for the purpose of presenting data on the daily routine of the observed child-rearing activities.

The observations however, served as useful resources in collating qualitative data on the changing child-rearing patterns, models of child-rearing practices and enculturation processes. This also aided the drawing of a line between professed and observed findings that was employed for comparative purposes. As such, the total number of homes observed during the study was twenty (20) in all while thirty (30) family units were visited for direct observational purposes (Table 2). The observation in the homes and the family units helped the researcher to have a feel of the daily child-rearing practices of the parents studied and a closer observation of the ways their children were brought up and socialized.

Table 2: Participant Observation/Direct Observation Sample Size

Study Location	Participant Observation of Homes	Direct Observation Family Units	Total
New Bodija	2	3	5
Old Bodija	2	3	5
Ikolaba Estate	2	3	5
Jericho GRA	2	3	5
Oluyole Estate	2	3	5
Orogun	2	3	5
Beere	2	3	5
Mapo	2	3	5
Molete	2	3	5
Apata	2	3	5
Total	20	30	50

Field notes were taken during the observational processes while discussions were tape-recorded, transcribed and content-analyzed with photographic representation. As such, the data collected was reflected upon for further insight into subsequent interviews and questioning on the subject of discourse.

The in-depth interviews involved twenty-nine (29) principal informants, comprising twenty (20) parents (Appendix III), three (3) children (Appendix IV), three (3) teachers and three (3) child-care workers (Appendix V), who were randomly selected from the ten study areas and whom the researcher was in touch with throughout the period of fieldwork. The twenty-nine (29) interviews conducted (Table 3) were recorded and transcribed for qualitative data analysis. It is however important to note that the total number of participants interviewed was based on the necessity of including many shades of opinion and slices of experiences into the pool of information collected on the field.

Table 3: Interview Sample Size

In-Depth Interviews	New Bodija	Old Bodija	Ikolaba Estate	Jericho GRA	Oluyole Estate	Orogun	Beere	Mapo	Molete	Apata	T
Parents	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	20
Child-Care Workers	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	3
Teachers	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	3
Children	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
Total	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	29

A list of probing questions, out of which thirty (30) items rated the importance of Yoruba child-rearing orientation in the past and present, changes in the cultural practice and how socio-economic transformative processes influence the shift, was collected from the consensus informants and developed into a copy of a questionnaire. Hence one (1) survey questionnaire, duplicated to a total of Two hundred and ten (210) copies (Appendix VI), was similarly administered across the four demographic groups of the sampled respondents comprising seventy-two (72) parents, sixty-three (63) children, thirty-four (34) child-care workers and forty-one (41) teachers, randomly selected from the ten study areas. The demographic sampling groupings of respondents include parents who are engaged in formal and informal occupations (22-60 years old), children (12-18 years old), child-care workers (19 years and above) and teachers (22 years and above). Children's questionnaires were administered in ten (10) sampled

government/private-owned primary and secondary schools. With adequate care, a total of two hundred and ten (210) questionnaires (Table 4) were randomly administered in order to elicit differences in the respondent's perception on the subject of discourse, and a ten per cent (10%) margin of error was also recorded.

Table 4: Questionnaire Sample Size

Study Locations	S/N	Respondents	Age Grouping	No	Total	
New Bodija	1.	Parents	22-39 40-60	3	3	
				4	4	
						7
	2.	Children	12-18	6	6	
						6
	3.	Child-care Workers	19 and above	5	5	
	4.	Teachers	22 and above	4	4	
	Total					22
Old Bodija	1.	Parents	22-39 40-60	4	4	
				3	3	
						7
	2.	Children	12-18	6	6	
	3.	Child-care Workers	19 and above	3	3	
	4.	Teachers	22 and above	4	4	
	Total					20
	Ikolaba Estate	1.	Parents	22-39 40-60	2	4
5					3	
						7
2.		Children	12-18	7	7	
3.		Child-care Workers	19 and above	3	3	
4.		Teachers	22 and above	4	4	
Total					21	
Jericho GRA		1.	Parents	22-39 40-60	5	5
	2				2	
						7
	2.	Children	12-18	6	6	
	3.	Child-care Workers	19 and above	4	4	
	4.	Teachers	22 and above	5	5	
	Total					22
	Oluyole Estate	1.	Parents	22-39 40-60	3	3
4					4	
					7	

	3.	Children	12-18	6	6
	4.	Child-care Workers	19 and above	3	3
	5.	Teachers	22 and above	4	4
Total					20
Orogun	1.	Parents	22-39	3	3
			40-60	5	5
					8
	2.	Children	12-18	6	6
3.	Child-care Workers	19 and above	3	3	
4.	Teachers	22 and above	4	4	
Total					21
Beere	1.	Parents	22-39	4	4
			40-60	3	3
					7
	2.	Children	12-18	7	7
3.	Child-care Workers	19 and above	3	3	
4.	Teachers	22 and above	4	4	
Total					21
Mapo	1.	Parents	22-39	3	3
			40-60	4	4
					7
	2.	Children	12-18	6	6
3.	Child-care Workers	19 and above	3	3	
4.	Teachers	22 and above	4	4	
Total					20
Molete	1.	Parents	22-39	4	4
			40-60	4	4
					8
	2.	Children	12-18	7	7
3.	Child-care Workers	19 and above	3	3	
4.	Teachers	22 and above	4	4	
Total					22
Apata	1.	Parents	22-39	3	3
			40-60	4	4
				7	
2.	Children	12-18	6	6	

	3.	Child-care Workers	19 and above	4	4
	4.	Teachers	22 and above	4	4
Total					21
Sub Total					210

In a nutshell, the total sum of the homes and family units observed was fifty (50), the individual participants interviewed were twenty-nine (29) and the questionnaires administered were two hundred and ten (210). The summary of the sampled size and demographic characteristics of the sampled participants/respondents are presented in table 5. The detailed discussion of this table comes up in the next chapters demonstrating how the data collected impact on the discourse.

Table 5: Summary of Sample Size and Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Participants/Respondents

Sampling Methods	Category Sample	Total of Sampling Size	Sub Total	S/N	Socio-Demographic Characteristics Participants/Respondents	F	%
Participant Observation	Home	20		a.	Age 12-18 22-39 40-60	95	32.9
Observation	Family Units	30	50			91	31.5
In-Depth Interview	Parents Children Child-care worker Teachers	20 3 3 3				103	35.6
		29	29	b.	Gender Male Female	85	29.5
						204	70.5
				c.	Educational Status Pry/Secondary School O Level OND HND Bsc/BA Masters Professional Qualifications Ph.D. Illiterate	99	34.2
Questionnaires	Parents	72				18	6.2
	Children	63				16	5.5
	Child-care workers	34				18	6.2
	Teacher	41				27	9.3
		210	210			15	5.1
						34	11.7
				8	2.7		
				54	18.6		
Sub-Total of Sampled Participants/ Respondents			289	d.	Residential Area New Bodija Old Bodija Ikolaba Estate Oluyole Estate Jericho GRA Orogun Beere Mapo Molet		
						30	10.3
						25	8.6
						25	8.6
						30	10.3
						29	10
						30	10.3
						32	11
						26	9
						33	11.4

		Apata	29	10
	e.	Occupation		
		Student	95	32.8
		Trading	42	14.5
		Banking	27	9.3
		Private Business	23	8
		Teaching	28	9.6
		Health sector	12	4.1
		Civil servant	25	8.6
		Skilled work	23	9.3
		Others	14	4.8
	f.	Religion		
		Christianity	171	59.1
		Islam	106	36.6
		Others	12	4.1
TOTAL			289	100

3.3 Methods of Data Analysis

Survey research design was adopted and elicited data were transcribed and documented descriptively while inferences were appropriately drawn. Quantitative data were analysed using descriptive statistics while qualitative data were content analysed. Quotations from individual expressions of participants were used as headings for each section of data presentation in conformity with the objectives of the study. Analysis was done at three levels. Firstly, a number of emerging themes that came up during the broad analysis of the data were based on the general research objectives of the study. This is followed by dwelling on the apparent relationships and differences noted and interpreted through alternative explanations and their relevance to the research topic before the analysis is interlinked to the theoretical frameworks employed in the study. Striking expressions were noted and cited to buttress participants' responses.

3.4 Limitation of the Methods

Throughout the process of completing this research, emerging challenges from the methodologies used posed some limitations but they were adequately addressed to achieve the defined goals of the study. For instance, the participant observation, while being a more in-depth research method, was not without defect during the study because one of the most difficult aspects of authenticating data from participant observation method is what can be termed “a sense of losing self-control”. In conversations, for instance, one had to adjust to the slow or fast

pace of different interlocutors, and be patient in recording observations. One also had to be mindful of personal preferences, habits and cultural assumptions in relating to the patterns and wishes of the observed families; all of which proved challenging. Likewise, being open and responsive to feedback from multiple perspectives, as well as being willing to give feedback when asked without being biased about practices being observed, was also a demanding experience. Ironically, through the use of the participant observation method, accessibility of information from the observed homes was easier with illiterate parents who were more cooperative in revealing and sharing their day-to-day child-rearing experiences; while some of the literate participants observed were a bit cautious in divulging information. Yet, the use of this research method made it possible for the researcher to have a good immersion and understanding of the subject of discourse.

Despite the researcher's carefulness in designing an open and close-ended format questionnaire with the background description of the study, some respondents still gave wrong interpretations of the questions. For instance, some respondents were limited to a selection of responses, regardless of the range of options that were provided in the questionnaires. Though the use of questionnaires did help to generate quick, easy, and ideal responses because it was administered to a large group of respondents, the chances of the responses lacking depth and truth was also a matter for concern.

In addition, examining the influence of socio-economic transformation on the child-rearing practices within the chosen study areas was an extremely difficult enterprise, given that the social setting is an "out of the way" open experience that makes the task of disclosing the absolute reality of the daily child-rearing activities to the public daunting. Finally, given that the researcher was slightly hampered in terms of financial sponsorship, the employment of cross-disciplinary literature and methods helped to surmount some of the problems that could have been faced during the research if a narrow approach had been adopted.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.0 Preamble

Ethnographies like novels tend to include an overabundance of detail. Much of it is messy and extraneous to the main argument... rather than condemning this extraneousness as boring or outdated, it is preferable to build on it, as a source of analytic heterogeneity. By so doing, its messiness can be viewed as a conception of components that simultaneously draw reader's attention into projects of cultural comparison, regional cultural history, and local/global positioning. (Tsing, 1993:290).

This chapter is conceptualized to capture, describe and interpret the inexhaustible and divergent experiences echoed in the voices and realities of the everyday child-rearing practices observed among the sampled Yoruba parents in Ibadan. However, since it is impossible to present findings on the changing child-rearing practices of the studied population without revisiting the past, the first division of the data presentation can be categorized as the "extraneous or outdated" aspects of this ethnographic study, as stated by Tsing in the citation above. Therefore, the first segment of data presentation provides the main source of analytic heterogeneity which lays the foundation for the main argument of the study. The data for an overview of the traditional Yoruba child-rearing culture, which is followed by the descriptive reflections on parents own traditional child-rearing experiences, were elicited from the sampled parents, through meshed life history and in-depth interview method. The data also gives detailed description on other aspects of child-rearing practices which are not central to the study but are contextually interlinked to the findings.

On the whole, this section of the study presents and discusses the data elicited in the field about the changing Yoruba child-rearing practices in regard to obedience, respect, morality, responsibility, enculturation and adoption of Yoruba as a medium of communication, as influenced by the socio-economic transformative processes in Ibadan. The presentation of data is divided into two sections, with the first centring on the reflective child-rearing experiences of the randomly selected parent participants, drawn among elderly and young parents, who had been engaged or are employed in formal and informal occupations, and distinguished by their level of literacy. The second division focuses on the data elicited through participant and direct observation of the sampled homes and family units, child care centres, schools, religious institutions and children. The summary of the data deduced is generally established based on the interview questions and survey questionnaire response categories, while clarification of

individual “voices”, occupational and literacy status is similarly indicated. In addition, portraits of relevant experiences are similarly drawn from longer narratives to buttress the main argument of the study. Given the comparative nature of the study, data are organized in parts, around the research questions and distinguished with the variables employed in the study. Quantitative data are analyzed with frequency and percentage distribution while qualitative data are content analyzed.

4.1 The Traditional Yoruba Child-Rearing Culture: An Overview

The Yoruba people, as a generalized socio-cultural group with a population of over 40 million people (National Geographic, 2001:78), are unified by a common history, language, social system and culture. According to Redd (1999:23), the people are predominantly found in Southwestern Nigeria, but are also spread across the coastal lands of the Republic of Benin, Togo, Ghana, parts of Brazil, North America and other parts of the world, and they are naturally endowed with diverse, unique and peculiar ways of life. As such, the first notable observation of a first-time visitor to any part of Yorubaland is the richness and variety of the visible culture of the people, set on learned and internalized norms. One of such is the unique value system that surrounds the people’s culture of child-rearing practices which is interrelated to their distinctive parenting styles, child-training techniques, socialization processes and personality type (Elegbede, 2005:86).

Child-rearing among the Yoruba can be described as a deliberate attempt to “teach” the child from an early age how to relate to others appropriately, be helpful, responsible, and respectful (Babatunde, 1992; Zeitlin et al., 1995). There are different child-rearing practices that are peculiar to the Yoruba, but most of the essential components of the patterns consist of the use of systematic and multiple exemplary repetitions of inculcation of obedience, responsibility, nurturance, self-reliance/achievement and general independence training. In other words, children are generally taught how to listen, observe, and imitate their parents, family members, relatives, and other adults who exhibit all or some of the fundamental behavioural attributes of these components of training (Babatunde, 1992; Ohuche and Otaala, 1981).

Hence, the first universal process of bringing up children by the people involves the act of teaching the medium of communication which is Yoruba language, coupled with the infusion of other “appropriate” ways of being fitted into the society. For instance, respect for elders is reflected through greetings, courteous expressions and respectful phrases reflecting seniority. Boys are trained to prostrate themselves before their superiors, while girls are trained to curtsy by kneeling down (Babatunde, 1992). Likewise, children are trained to be selfless and

responsible through their participation in household chores and running of errands. Before age five, Yoruba girls are usually trained on how to perform household chores, namely, washing, sweeping, cooking and how to take care of their younger siblings (Akinware et al., 1992).

The act of inculcating these cultural norms into children is believed by the people to be the customary responsibility of all who reside within the society. That is, it is generally viewed as not being the obligation of the biological parents alone but that of all members of the extended family and the society at large. This perception is thus reflected in one of the Yoruba sayings on child rearing: "*Eyo eniyan kansoso lo nbi'mo, igba eniyan lo n woo*" meaning, "An individual gives birth to a child but it takes a whole village to raise the child". Therefore, the Yoruba parents receive a great deal of support from neighbours, friends, extended family members and others in the society during the upbringing of their children (Osundeko, 2006:5). Indeed, as Fadipe (1970: 311) observes of the traditional family in Yorubaland,

Owing to the strength of kinship and neighbourly solidarity, the members of the extended-family and neighbours have certain powers of control and discipline over juvenile members. These powers may extend to infliction of physical pain, in some cases, or an obligation to report a serious breach of the peace to parents.

In the Yoruba family setting, the biological parents are naturally saddled with the responsibility of providing their children's basic nutritional, care, nurture, social and psychological developmental needs. For instance, mothers are expected to breastfeed their infant children for a prolonged duration that will last for a minimum of one (1) year but exceptions are given to nursing mothers with health-related problems. The father or father-figure in the home is expected to be the breadwinner of the family and he is principally burdened with the responsibility of providing the financial needs of the family. He is also in charge of establishing the bonding norms and the rules and regulations governing everyone in the household. Although both the biological father and mother are mainly responsible for the supervision and execution of rules and regulation, the extended family members and other members of the society also play active disciplinary roles. The duties and responsibilities associated with child care, nurturing and upbringing practices, are not considered to be the exclusive obligation of the biological parents, but are rather conceptualized as the duty of everyone that surrounds the child during his/her developmental stages (Fapohunda, 1982:277).

As the child grows from infancy to toddler, the mother or mother-figure in the household is expected to educate the child on toilet training and other appropriate developmental activities. All female members of the extended family, grandmothers, and sisters-in-law in particular, also play supportive roles. For a woman to be considered a good mother by the Yoruba, she must be able to harmoniously combine the act of caring and nurturing her child with other activities that provide her with some financial income.

In terms of discipline, the biological father and mother are required to administer a disciplinary check that is of commensurate measure to an erring child. In a consanguineous family compound, however, all members ensure that they dutifully supervise and discipline any violating child of a family member, but such disciplinary duty designated to extended family members are sometimes frowned at by the biological parents. This is illustrated in the Yoruba saying: "*Ba mi no omo min, kii de 'nu olomo*", meaning "Spanking a child by other parties could be unsatisfactory to the biological parents". Nevertheless, a child that misbehaves is usually punished by any elderly person present and, in most cases, such punitive violations are later analysed and explained to the child for the avoidance of similar pitfalls in the future.

Quite often, children are sent to live in the homes of any member of the extended family, friends, neighbours depending on the natal family or friendship situation. This practice among the Yoruba is a form of voluntary child fostering that is usually employed in checking and training children living with their biological parents. The practice also provides children with some measures of socio-economic security which their biological parents cannot afford. Similarly, the practice encourages children to identify with their extended family members, who assist with the improvement of their social, economic and educational training. This practice affords the children an opportunity to learn aspects of their culture from people other than their parents. As Fadipe (1970: 311) notes of the traditional family system,

The education of the young Yoruba in the codes of manners, convention, customs, morals, superstitions and laws of his society is therefore achieved through various members of his family and household, his extended-family (usually located in the same compound), his kindred and his neighbourhood. The more inclusive the group the less the direct responsibility of the average member of that group for the training of the child.

The typical traditional parenting pattern of the Yoruba may be considered authoritative or strict in nature. The adoption of this pattern by most parents is, however, based on the high

expectations they have towards their children's social conformity and compliance to rules, regulations and directions. It is usually fashioned out in restrictive and punitive ways in which parents advise their children to follow stipulated directions and for them to respect parental efforts at raising them to be socially acceptable within the society. For instance, a Yoruba child is not expected to be present when elderly people are engaged in a discussion and if a child is given the privilege of being present, he/she is not expected to interfere in the said discussion. Nevertheless, some Yoruba parents still reserve a little space for open dialogue between themselves and their children when there is a need to explain the reasoning that surrounds any disciplinary actions taken against the violation of rules and boundaries governing children's social conducts. It should be however noted that the people are conscious of the possibility of children's rebellion associated with forceful parental demands on children. Therefore, they always guide against such reality by being cautious when instructing children on customary behaviours. Nevertheless, one can still posit that children trained with authoritarian parenting style in a Yoruba household ordinarily turn out to be positively and socially competent in most cases.

At this point, it is important to indicate that the people socialize their children through some distinct enculturation process, that is, they believe there are necessary cognitive procedures of teaching children about the cultural norms and values of the society. Therefore, their children are trained to adapt to sociable conducts right from early childhood to adolescent. As such, behavioural attributes that conform to the socially acceptable moral standards are transmitted by the parents, extended family members, friends, neighbours, religious instructors, schoolteachers and other elderly members of the society to the children. This customary practice is administered to children through different forms of instruction inculcated through admonitions, monitoring of activities, scolding, spanking, punishment, rewards, and encouragement, among others. For instance, children are trained to deliberately bow down their head slightly, thereby avoiding eye contact with elderly persons during any form of interaction. Younger children or siblings are also expected to be respectful when making reference to elderly relatives and siblings. These behavioural scripts are associated with the Yoruba norm of moral respect for elders. Thus children are expected to imbibe these standards when interacting with elders.

The Yoruba children, from early childhood, are also socially stimulated through some learning processes that help them to develop a sense of self-reliance in the society. Therefore, as soon as a child is old and sensible enough to comprehend instructions (usually between ages two to six), the child is trained to learn certain domestic duties based on his/her sex. For instance, a child can be instructed through initiating conversation to do some simple tasks such as running

errands for the adults within the household, washing of dishes, fetching of water for domestic use, among other chores. Some of these domestic skills are learned by the child through a long process of observation and imitation in which the guardian chips in comments or advice before the child would be able to execute them satisfactorily. The successful completion of errands is highly valued and rewarded through praise and increased assignment of domestic and other responsibilities (Lancy, 1996; Lloyd, 1970; Whiting and Edwards, 1988). Hence, by the time a Yoruba child reaches the age of five years and above, the seed of sex role stereotypes is already sowed into him/her and the child is expected to have started mastering the important cultural values associated with the acceptable social behaviours, moral proclivity and role expectations.

The Yoruba saying, “*Oye k’omo to ba sise dede, l’asiko igbadun ti yio fi j’aye*”, meaning “A hardworking child must be entitled to a recreational period”, has found a strong footing in the way Yoruba children are brought up. Their children are psychologically trained to participate in refreshing activities when they are not needed for any major task. Thus, children are encouraged from their tender ages to have free playtime with a familiar social peer group. As such, it is a common phenomenon for children to identify themselves with a semi-formalized peer group within a given environment.

The traditional recreational activity for an average Yoruba male children’s group is the act of hunting small game such as harmless reptiles found around the home, birds and rats, among others, while that of the female groups consists of playful trading activities and playing with toys. Both sexes also engage themselves quite often in the practice of sex role mastery in which the females simulate cooking activities, while the males get themselves occupied with masculine tasks such as building of sand houses, talking tough to an imagined wife or child and wrestling with one another. However, when peer groups are playfully involved at this level, the peer group formation could be made up of members of the same sex or a combination of both sexes. However, this recreational practice has been created by Yoruba parents as a social tool of transplanting the cultural bureau of sex roles into the cognition of their children, that is, the practice is a form of socializing creativity that aids the indirect teaching of sex roles. It also serves as a rehearsing exercise through which children can continuously practice their expected adult responsibility and behavioural values.

These socialization processes are the tools used in training Yoruba children into becoming value-oriented personalities that can positively fit into the normative expectations of any Yoruba community. Nevertheless, it is of importance to note that the Yoruba classification of personality types produced through these child-rearing practices follows the well-known “good or bad” dichotomies. That is, when a child exhibits some socially desirable behaviours or

shows some positive quality traits of obedience and respect, such a child is considered to be a good personality while a child that deviates from upright behaviours is considered as a bad personality.

In a nutshell, child-rearing practices among the Yoruba are an integral aspect of their non-material culture that has been undergoing both implicit and explicit transformations from the past to the present. Nevertheless, the compartmentalization of the peculiar Yoruba child-rearing practices that has been discussed above is based on the essential conventional patterns that are prevalent in any Yoruba community. However, since the conventional child-rearing practices have been recording continuous changes, it is of importance for the alterations to be documented periodically for historical purposes. It is against this background that the next section ethnographically explores parent's childhood upbringing experiences in Ibadan.

4.2 Reflection on Parent's Traditional Child-Rearing Experiences

Based on the parents' disposition to participate in the study and their willingness to answer some of the interview questions guided by observations and interest in their childhood child-rearing experiences, the researcher was able to travel with the parents to a past she never had any physical contact with. Thus, having either booked individual appointments or stayed with the parents and re-introduced herself or re-stated the purpose of study, the researcher elicited data through informal interviews. The introductory questions were often presented in witty ways, requesting the parent participants to describe how they were brought up from infancy to adolescent age. This step was usually followed by a description of the parents' child-rearing experiences, characterized with deep sighs and beams of laughter and joy. Some of the initial responses are summarized in the following quoted expressions, representing the descriptions of how majority of the parents interviewed were trained during their childhood days.

At age three, my parents took me from Oyo to my maternal aunt's house in Ibadan, at Beere. My new home turned out to be a polygamous home (*Ile-olorogun*). It was a big compound (*Agbo-ile*) comprising close to fifteen homes belonging to the members of the extended family of my aunt's husband. During my growing up days I observed, giving special preference to any child was discouraged. As such, all the children in the house were treated equally in terms of care, nurturing, feeding, clothing, discipline and other forms of upbringing needs. Although age differences and other necessities did often time dictate the quantity of such needs. In my own case, I was not formally educated but was trained on the intricacies of buying and selling. On a daily basis, I have to wake up early to take part in house chores assigned to me before accompanying my aunt to the market. As a child, I was trained never to interrupt, reply or look straight into an elderly person's eyes while being addressed. I had to excuse elders in the midst of

discussions and accord all and sundry with respect. I was taught to be truthful and obedient at all times. All my daily activities and the friends I associated with were monitored. I left my aunt's place for my husband house but that home is still my most preferred.

--- A female trader at Beere (Personal communication).

As the eldest female child in the house, I used to wake up around 4 am to pound yam flour with a wooden pestle. Same thing account for the grinding of pepper but that was usually done with the aid of an *Olo* (grinding stone). I often went to the stream or a well to fetch water and afterwards wash all the dishes before having my breakfast. Dirty clothes belonging to my parents had to be washed before going to the market to assist her with the day's sales.

---- A male trader at Mapo (Personal communication).

My mother was a food seller and she trained me and my siblings to always assist with the process of preparing food before leaving for school in the morning. As for my father, none of his children dared go to school late. With the rules set and we were aware of the consequences of disobedience; we always tried as much as possible to satisfy both parties with the kind of disciplinary acts and behaviours demanded from us. Similarly, we have to be home on time because any latecomer without convincing proofs would be reported either by our mother, members of the extended family, neighbours or well-wishers, to our father in the evening. As such, disobedience was usually frowned at with strict disciplinary measures like thorough flogging, kneeling down for hours, holding big stones which must not fall down for whatever reasons among other disciplinary acts. The lesson from such discipline was to remind the erring child of the physical pains sustained whenever he/she wants to repeat such undisciplined acts.

--- A teacher at Jericho Estate (Personal communication).

The childhood experiences recounted in most cases was the conventional Yoruba model of child-rearing practices. Majority of the parents recalled that their enculturation started with the act of having to learn and understand Yoruba language as the primary language of communication. Some of the parents strongly believed that all the cultural values inculcated into them either by their parents, relatives or secondary socializing agents were enhanced by their ability to understand and communicate in Yoruba language. A medical doctor at New Bodija stated thus: "It is only when the communication barrier has been broken that other acts of infusing the child-rearing values that are acceptable in homes, compounds, community and society at large, can begin to unfold."

The next child-rearing practice that follows language acquisition is the instillation of respectful values, particularly through greetings that were reflected in body postures and respectful phrases indicating age or seniority differences. Buttressing the importance of this child-rearing practice, an illiterate trader at Beere popularly called Iya-L'remo descriptively

narrated her experience, when she stated that the next child-rearing practice impressed on a child who can communicate early was the act of learning how to greet. Buttressing her view with an instance, she submitted that when visitors entered a house and spotted a child of 1-2 years old, they often say a word of greeting to the child while the people around would instruct the child to curtsy and respond with imitative words of greetings and the visitors would react by reciting the child's panegyrics (*oriki*). In addition, she also indicated that a child that greeted his/her parents in a similar manner would be showered with encomiums and some words of prayers. Another instance of how respect values were impressed was through the act of enforcing children to address their elderly siblings, nieces, nephews and cousins with respectful phrases like "*boda or anti*" (brother and sister) in combination with the name of the concerned person. According to Iya-L'remo, "no child was bold enough to defy such respecting rules". Some of the parent participants indicated that, as children, they dared not walk in the opposite direction of an elderly person with the intention of not bending their heads, moving sideways and greeting with the respectful act of curtsying (girls) or prostration (boys). Deviance from such norms was usually reported to parents or caregivers while disobedient children were often punished before the younger ones as exemplary scapegoats.

The fear of their parents, relatives, neighbours and the elderly was also indicated to be part of the respect value instilled into them as children. This practice also enhanced their inability to question, reply, argue with or query their parents or elders whenever they were accused wrongly or admonished for wrong conducts. Instead, they were expected, as respectful children, to adhere strictly to disciplinary instructions by bowing their heads and not having eye contact with the person they had dealings with. As such, the common act of looking downward while being addressed either by their mates, associates or anybody at all became part of their character trait.

In terms of moral practices, the cultivation of the act of being contented and satisfied with whatever situation they might find themselves in or with whatever they had or were given was an integral aspect of their upbringing. They were taught as children never to complain to outsiders about what they ate or what was done within the confines of their homes. This practice, according to most of the parents, enhanced the secretive nature of keeping important issues entrusted to them as children either by their parents or any elderly person. The narrative of a 68-year-old grandfather at Oluyole Estate is instructive here.

During our days as children, whenever we wanted to soak *garri* (processed cassava grains), my father's most senior wife might instruct us to fold our left hands as if we had pieces of meat in our

fists. In the process of supping the *garri*, we would lift up our left fists and place it close to our mouth as if we wanted to cut some chunk of meat out of what we had in there. By doing this, a visitor that came in at the time would believe we were having the *garri* with meat (Personal communication).

In addition, majority of the parents indicated they were also brought up with the moral obligatory practices in which their parents refrained from giving them portions of meat, eggs, and other animal foods. This practice, as stated, was based on the belief that the desire or craving for such food items could lead them to the act of stealing at home. Therefore, it was believed that the practice was necessitated as an attempt to curb greed and to instil discipline, self-denial and dampen children's immoral and excessive desires.

Another important practice employed by their parents in inculcating moral values was said to be training in sensing when parents or elderly people were communicating with a child in body language. Their parents usually achieved this through glances that called the children's attention to immediate acts of breach or via coded paradoxical expressions. For instance, a child sent on an errand to bring a bowl while two or more elderly people were engaged in a discussion could be dismissed with an eye contact message or dismissed with a paradoxical expression like, "*Duro pa sibe!*" (Your standing still would be more preferable!), which is a paradoxical expression instructing the child to indirectly leave the place. A child who could not sense or decode such expressions or coded disciplinary signals or messages was usually referred to as "*Omo ti ko mo'ju-mo'ra*" (A child not informed about moral gestures).

The importance of showing gratitude is likewise noted to be strongly imposed as an essential part of good character and personality formation in the Yoruba child. Hence, as children, majority of the parents indicated they were taught to be grateful to both old and young people, including parents, grandparents, elderly relatives, elders in the society, religious leaders, teachers, siblings, friends and strangers, among others. As such, whenever they were favoured or given anything, they were expected to say "*e seun* or *eseun pupo*" ("thank you" or "thank you very much"). Other forms of moral values like kindness, generosity, having a sacrificial spirit, decency in mode of dressing, speech and deportment in public places were also noted to be accentuated in their reflective descriptions. All the moral values portrayed were said to be mainly inculcated during their childhood days through teaching, preaching and demonstration of repetitive examples by parents or members of the family, as well as other members of the society at large.

In reference to responsibility practices which principally centre on participation in domestic jobs and acquisition of practical skills, most of the parents submitted they were trained as from two years old to minimally partake in domestic activities. After that age, the girl-child was, however, expected to imbibe the habit of observing, imitating and helping her mother with domestic tasks, while boys were encouraged to help their fathers within the house. Intrinsically, most of the parents indicated they were involved in different domestic chores that suited their ages, sexes and levels of understanding while initiatives and originality were encouraged and rewarded with encomiums. By age five (5) girls were similarly expected to be capable of being involved in a good deal of domestic work, while boys played active parts in farm work and other practical skills which were often in line with their fathers' occupations. Some fathers, however, confirmed that the act of washing, sweeping, fetching of water or firewood and cooking was never left in the care of their female siblings alone. In a way, both sexes were made to actively participate in most of the activities modulated to their abilities, especially, cleaning, fetching of water and firewood, and washing of dirty clothes or dishes. Few of the fathers even described their parents' insistence on the need for them to learn how to cook and take part in the cleaning of the house. According to one of the accounts:

My mother used to enforce my presence in the cooking section (kitchen) of the house located at the backyard. She believed I have equal head in comparison to my female siblings and since I had to eat part of the food being prepared, she often insisted it was important for me to observe the cooking process, in particular how to prepare different kinds of food. As such, she did encourage me and my brothers to be knowledgeable in the art of cookery because we might find it useful while living independently as bachelors in the future.

---- A father (bus driver) at Beere (Personal communication).

Some parents similarly indicated that their mothers encouraged the act of having the female children physically close by while working because this gave them the opportunity of training the girl-child on how to execute domestic tasks and concurrently correcting their mistakes along the line or as the circumstances demanded. As for the fathers, it was said that they often demonstrated how to impart practical skills to their sons, leaving them for a while with a chore, and then returning to see the result. In this way, most of the parents interviewed said they were trained to work to a degree of independence. Some of the parents also clearly stated that they had both male and female extended family members who stayed with their parents during their growing-up days but some of the relatives were said to be often treated equally in all forms of responsibility training that suited their ages and sexes; although there were few exceptional cases in which extended family members were trained to be involved in

the most difficult responsibility tasks. According to one of the participants with such an experience:

I stayed with my uncle who was very strict in all manner of child-rearing training. I was never treated equally with his children in terms of division of labour within the house. The most difficult tasks were usually assigned to me. Tasks like grinding of pepper with *Olo* (millstone), preparing the meals whenever my uncle's wife was not around, and taking care of my younger cousins even when there was a girl in the house! But when I left the house and I started staying on my own as a bachelor, all of those trainings were very helpful. Most of it made me hardworking and very resourceful in all spheres of life but for my cousins, they all ended up being deficient in some of the responsibility qualities which I had. Ironically, I used to think then that my uncle and his wife treated me badly but their "maltreatment" turned out to be a blessing at the end.

--- A father (a lecturer at The Polytechnic, Ibadan) at New Bodija (Personal communication).

Had the researcher sampled more parents, the likelihood of finding a different story—perhaps of a person that lived in a more nuclear and less extended family setting (which might also have been rare in those days)—might have been possible. However, in the parents' recollections, child-rearing practices involving children's training in domestic chores and the act of learning practical skills, as indicated by 93.8% of the respondents, went a long way in enforcing responsibility training in them as children (Table 6).

Table 6: Relevance of Children's Involvement in Domestic Tasks and Practical Skills, to Responsibility Child-Rearing Practices

Response Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Participation in practical skills and domestic tasks had firm basis in responsibility child-rearing practices.	193	93.8%
Participation in Practical skills and domestic chores is insignificant in responsibility child-rearing practices.	12	5.7%
I did not observe the relevance.	5	2.3%
Total	210	100

Question: What is the relevance of children's participation in domestic chores and learning of practical skills to responsibility child-rearing practices?

Other forms of responsibility training described include helping elderly people to run errands within and outside the house and the act of helping them to carry items or parcels of load (when returning from an outing or from the market). Of course, such good gestures were usually rewarded with gifts and encomiums while defaulters were punished in different ways like being publicly reprimanded or scourged.

Commenting on the degree of their own parents' participation in their upbringing and enculturation process, the parents interviewed indicated mothers often took up the basic responsibilities of raising children and that they were fully involved in their children's socialization processes. According to a trader at Molete:

Our mothers were the primary socializing agents, who transmitted and appropriated morally acceptable behaviours into us, as children. They also played the major role of overseeing children's adherence to cultural values through diverse sanctioning process while fathers function in the role of enforcing rules and regulations, peaceful co-existence, love, peace and unity (Personal communication).

In relation to their education, most of the participants disclosed that their parents were poor and could not afford to sponsor their formal educational training. However, the few privileged ones with educational qualifications were either self-sponsored through their involvement in all sorts of labour, like participating in trading activities during early hours of the day and attending evening classes, or given aid from parents, extended family, or missionary agencies or won government scholarships. Among these few is a retired teacher at Molete who narrated his own experience as follows:

I used to go to the forest to fetch firewood or in search of edible seasonal fruits as early as 5 am. Such firewood or fruits were not meant for domestic use or consumption but for trading purposes. They were gathered at the frontage of the house, so that passers-by would know we had such items to sell. It was the savings realized from such trading that was used for my formal educational pursuits. Although my father and one of my uncles did help out with some of my needs but they also believed in the adage that says "*Omo to ba si'pa n' iya re npon*" (A child that needs assistance will prove his/her worth first). Their contribution to my educational pursuit was born out of my own determination and efforts (Personal communication).

In the aspects of religious enculturation practices, 90% of the respondents practising Christianity, Islamic and traditional religions disclosed that religious belief systems formed one of the foundational bases upon which most of their child-rearing practices were grounded (Table 7). For instance, a Christian mother at New Bodija recalled thus:

When a child is advised not to steal, not to be rude to people, to be hardworking, obedient, respectful and responsible, the footings of such trainings were in the religious beliefs that God will hold parents and guardians accountable for ordering or not, the steps, actions and reasoning of their children in the path of God. As such, religious activities or doctrines were more interwoven with moral and obedience trainings which are linked to the act of attending

religious activities. That is why we have an adage that says, “*Lati kekere ni imole ti’n ko’mo re laso*” (inculcate the belief of God into your children right from their early ages)
(Personal communication).

Table 7: Influence of Religious Training on Enculturation Practices

Response Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Religious training was one of the foundational child-rearing practices that greatly influenced my upbringing and enculturation as a child.	170	90 %
Religious practices impacted little on my childhood upbringing and enculturation process.	16	7.6%
I am not sure whether it does or do not.	24	11.4%
TOTAL	210	100

Question: Did religious training influence your childhood upbringing and enculturation process?

Children were religiously trained to respect Christianity, Islamic and traditional religious doctrinal dictates with the help and understanding of anointed men of God, priests, teachers, parents, family and friends. Similarly, they were urged to refrain from negative attitudinal behaviours like jealousy, material covetousness, dishonesty, immorality, undermining people’s integrity, theft and slander among other conducts that can portray wrong impressions about their religious beliefs. Good characteristics such as obedience, perseverance, submissiveness, modesty in mode of dressing and other spheres of life and deep sense of responsibility towards families, friends, neighbours and the society were encouraged. Religion thus played a major role in enculturation.

In response to their involvement in social enculturation activities, most of the parents described how their growing-up days were filled with memorable moments (Plate 3). Their accounts revealed that they usually played with their siblings and cousins within and outside their immediate environment half-naked. Playtime, according to some of them, was their leisure time. For instance, it was said that whenever a child had completed his/her daily assigned tasks, he/she would be allowed to go to the playground to relax. Therefore, many respondents stated that their parents or relatives, as a matter of importance, sent all healthy children to the playground because it was the major social forum where children mingled and made friends with their extended family members, neighbours and other people within and outside their immediate surroundings. In fact, the playground was considered to be the bond-building arena of their time.



Plate 3: Interview session with some grandparents at Beere, describing their childhood experiences with the researcher in the open porch of a house; the centre of relaxation and social interaction. (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: *Fieldwork*, 2011).

The routine of play-type as described, however, depended on the age group and sexes of the children involved. Defining this, some of the participants indicated that as soon as a child could walk, he/she would be allowed to go out and play but as from age two, the child would automatically fix him/herself into a playgroup within the neighbourhood and the elderly children in other groups were urged to watch over the younger ones, while parents also monitored them from time to time.

However, the play media of children between the ages of 2-5 were usually sand, water, stones, sticks and leaves. That is, they commonly played with water mixed with sand in representation of staple foods, while varieties of leaves would be chopped into water, stones and sticks mixed with the solution to simulate soups. However, the male children between the ages of 5-10 did play different games like hide and seek or stage a non-audience oriented war playlet and bird hunt. Girls within same age group act out some of the domestic skills they have learnt. For instance, one could play the role of a mother, while others would be siblings, aunts, cousins and, occasionally, one would play the role of a father-figure. Such plays were usually the replication and imitation of what they learnt in the house or in the community. Playtime was commonly fixed before sunset (evening) and must come to an abrupt end at twilight following the screaming of parents and other elderly people around, instructing the children to end the day's play-acting activities. Most of the role-play dramatized during playtime unconsciously provided the children with the means of reinforcing obedience, responsibility, morality, self-reliance and other general independence training which had been observed in the cause of socialization. In addition, it quite often went

along with storytelling involving both children and adults. In most cases the stories were often motivated by a deliberate attempt to teach children about Yoruba history, how to relate with others through social skills, how to be helpful, responsible, respectful, obedient and independent. All of these impart cultural and moral values in the children, and the adults involved were members of the extended family and neighbours. Hence, no story would end without passing on moral, cultural or historical messages across to the audience.

In actuality, some of the respondents depicted their involvement in most of the playgroup activities as a deliberate attempt by parents to informally allow children to regurgitate what they have been taught under their scrutiny. By so doing, they were able to correct children's mistakes and observe their behavioural and personality formation from an early age. Similarly, they were assured of the kind of behaviour their children could not put on when they were not around. This notion was reaffirmed by a retired nurse at Jericho:

That was why our parents could stand tall while vouching for any of their wards whenever they were wrongfully accused and when such cases were investigated, one would discover that most parents truly know who their children were (Personal communication).

Concerning the enculturation norms of relating with people within the neighbourhood, some of the participants said such relationships were built with strong bonds and this was elaborated upon by Mama Olobi, a trader at Orogun: "Generally, it would be difficult for an outsider to differentiate between blood related families and neighbours living within the same environment". As such, a child from a household could decide to stay with a nextdoor neighbour, eat, sleep and engage in different activities within the house without the biological parents frowning at it. This practice, according to some of the participants, encouraged and promoted the sense of oneness, love, unity, friendliness and peace among all the children that grew up within the same neighbourhood or compound. This does not mean that social conflicts were absent, but, in most cases, the conflicts were easily resolved.

However, the type of occupations parents engaged in then, according to 70.5% of the respondents (Table 8), made it easy for them to be available and fully involved in their children's upbringing and enculturation process. As stated in most of the accounts, mothers were mostly involved in trading, farming, and skilled occupations in which they were either selling or buying commodities in markets closer to their residences or selling on the frontage of their houses. As submitted by the respondents, there was hardly any mother who would not combine certain occupation with her child-rearing obligations. As such, the nature of their choice of career provided the avenue for taking infants and toddlers to places of work and

mothers usually worked with their infants strapped to the backs while children around age 6 were taken to relatives or left in the care of neighbours or relatives until the mother returned. The children brought up this way were noted to be closer to their relatives, and when they were old enough to visit them, and they often fell into the habits of visiting all by themselves, during their leisure periods.

Table 8: Level of Parental Availability and Engagement in Children's Upbringing and Enculturation Processes

Response Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Both of my parents were always available and fully involved in my upbringing and enculturation process	148	70.5%
One of my parents was always available and fully involved in my upbringing and enculturation process	18	8.5%
I am not too sure of their level of availability and participations	6	2.8%
I am not aware of it	38	18.0%
TOTAL	210	100

Question: How often were your parents available and involved in your upbringing and enculturation process, while growing up as a child?

While mothers were busy with the children, fathers' duty was to provide the daily basic needs of the entire family members under their care and they also played the major role of monitoring the children. As noted, fathers principally centred their attention on disciplinary issues and other important deliberations that had to do with fatherly responsibilities. In this case 48.5% of the respondents indicated that as from age 6, fathers exercised greater disciplinary measures to enforce children's obedience, while 39.0% assumed children often viewed their mothers as figures of power and superiority in terms of discipline and 12.4% considered mothers as indulgent (Table 9).

Table 9: Level of Parental Enforcement of Obedience through Disciplinary Measures

Response Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Fathers exercise greater disciplinary measures	102	48.5%
Mothers exercise greater disciplinary measures	82	39.0%
Mothers were indulgent in terms of disciplinary measures	26	12.4%
TOTAL	210	100

Question: Who was the most influential in terms of enforcing obedience through disciplinary measures, your father or mother?

Nevertheless, the totality of interviews held with the parents demonstrated children's conformity to the rules and regulations guiding their enculturation process like respect, morality and responsibility training generally have the basic grounding in obedience practices. Majority of the parent's recounts indicated that strict pattern of enforcing obedience was their parents' virtue and it was characterized by high parental expectations towards children's conformity and compliance to rules, regulations and good social conducts. This was fashioned out in restrictive and punitive ways by which children were instructed to respect stipulated guidelines aimed at raising them to be socially fit and acceptable in the society. For instance, children were expectedly trained not to be present when elderly people were engaged in discussions, but when a child was given such privilege, he/she is not expected to interfere, disturb or distract in any form.

Commenting on the standards of punishment, some participants disclosed that their parents naturally believed children must internalize and demonstrate the most essential disciplinary standards they were taught and when a child intentionally disobeyed such measures, the punishment varied in accordance with the level of offence. In other words, parents often take the age, circumstances, and other related factors into consideration before disciplining a disobedient child. Similarly, individual parental temperament, mood, upbringing, status and personality types were said to also serve as determinant factors. But commonly, parents usually react through accusatory glances, complaints and other angry reactions, including spanking with hands, objects, canes or horse whip (*koboko*). Other familiar punishments include such routines as stooping down, raising up of hands and closing of eyes and lifting up of one leg for a stipulated period, among others. Although most of the parents placed emphasis on the importance of avoiding physical punishment, it was the most commonly considered disciplinary measure of their own parents. Any child that unintentionally acted in disregard of rules could be forgiven and warned after thorough inquiries but the unlucky ones, already punished before investigations were carried out, were silently ignored. Confirming this, Iya Agba, a trader at Apata, stated that ignoring such acts was not an indication that their parents were not sober and sorry for the wrongs but their reactions were culturally bound. This is because it is very uncommon in Yoruba culture for a parent to directly apologize to a child for whatsoever reasons. However, an apology could be indirectly tendered through words of admonishment or presentation of gift items.

Rewards, too, more often than not, took the form of endearing looks and smiles from parents and other people. Children were similarly encouraged with special treats in form of meals, fruits, and clothing items, among others, while the children often regarded such gifts

as prizes won. Some respondents were of the view that it was proper for children's good behaviour to be ignored occasionally without any words of praise or gifts tendered because such acts were deliberately practised in order to discourage pride.

To sum up, majority of the respondents submitted that their child-rearing practices experiences were grounded in collective training enforced by their parents, close/extended family members, neighbours, family friends, the elderly, teachers, religious leaders and other members of the society, who resided within and outside their immediate environment.

4.3 **The Shift in Responsibility and Practices: Parenting Child-Rearing Experiences**

I started my parenthood journey during the early postcolonial period. The child-rearing practices and parenting pattern I employed as at that period, was a bit different from the ways I was brought up as a child. Some of the traditional practices with which I was trained were modified because Ibadan was gradually turning into an urbanized centre through Western cultural diffusion that aided the changes in some of the traditional child-rearing practices.
--- A retired civil servant, at Old Bodija (Personal communication).

From the assertion in the above citation, it is glaring that the city of Ibadan is of no exception in the ways most societies have been subjected to socio-economic transformative processes, at different periods of time. Therefore, this division in the presentation of findings focuses on the different versions of experiences recounted by the sampled parents on the influence of the changing socio-economic processes on traditional parenting and child-rearing practices. Thus, the presentation of data is more of an interesting and comprehensive tale, compiled from individual participant's description of their own child-rearing practices as parents. We see that these parents, more or less traditionally brought up, were predominantly caught up between the act of stabilizing the Yoruba child-rearing culture and, simultaneously, conforming to modern adaptations.

Building on the familiar relationship established with the participant, the groundwork for elucidating data on the more specific modifications in the predominant child-rearing practices of the period was laid through some foundational questions relating to how the parents cared for their children right from infancy. These backdrops of questions prompted the rendition of a broader account on some child-care practices which were infused into the early stages of child-rearing practices, children's upbringing and enculturation.

Responding to questions on infant child-care, most of the accounts revealed that the moment a woman gave birth in a Yoruba family setting, both the mother and child were cared

for by all the members of the extended, comprising both maternal and paternal families. As stated by Iya Olole (*moinmoin seller*), a retired civil servant at Orogun:

...during the first three days of birth, nursing mothers were not often permitted to be involved in domestic activities. This act was prompted on the belief that mothers who delivered few days ago were still physically weak. Thus, both the mother and baby were cared for by relatives, who oftentimes provided all their basic needs while the mother was expected to eat, rest, breastfeed and sleep (Personal communication).

However, in most of the narratives, the parents disclosed that taking care of their young children presented no serious problem because their choice of occupations commonly permitted mothers to take young children to their work places which could also be their residences, in most cases. As for those engaged in farm work, trading, marketing, artisan or craft works, there was no form of separation between the mother, child and workplace. Thus, mothers were able to harmoniously combine parenting, occupational activities and child-rearing obligations, thereby being fully engaged in their children's enculturation process without recording conflicts in any of the roles played.

For instance, breastfeeding was considered a major motherly obligation expected to be fulfilled by biological mothers and, as such, majority of the participants considered breastfeeding as a preferential healthy benefit to both mother and child. It is this belief that prompted many of the women participants to disclose their children were breast-fed for close to 2 years while other staple foods like cereals and pap (*ogi*-made from corn) were later introduced to supplement breast milk as from 3-5 months old. Although the act of bottle feeding with processed or imported baby milk, as stated, was fairly common, the traditional feeding method of placing babies on the lap and turning them sideways with their hands and legs tucked between the laps of the "feeder" while the liquid cereals or pap is poured bit-by-bit into the "feeder's" palm (who would systematically block the child's nostrils during the feeding process), was still used to enforce eating habits in children. However, the level of children's satisfaction was usually determined by the size of their protruding stomach. At six months to one year old, children were given solid foods like *Amala* (made from yam flour), *ole* (made from beans), rice, bread, fruits, vegetables, fish, meat and other farm, poultry and factory-made products fortified with carbohydrates, proteins and vitamins.

Children were not formally taught how to eat and, to start with, they were simply hand-fed by mothers or any elderly persons. Months later, food items were usually placed in their hands and, when they were close to nine months old, they were trained to seat on the floor or mats with plates of food placed before them while any elderly person could monitor

and assist them to ensure the food is not thrown away. As indicated, such eating habits were simultaneously practised with breastfeeding until mothers were ready to wean children between one and two years of age. Notwithstanding, this used to be the normal pattern but the time of weaning varied from parent to parent.

Children were similarly cared for and trained in terms of cleanliness. They were commonly bathed in open spaces outside the house and properly dressed but they were always in their dirtiest state during crawling stages. In some accounts, it was disclosed that the habit of dressing in modest ways was instilled in children right from their infancy. According to a trader at Beere:

...From infancy, parents and care-givers purposely dressed children in decent manners because we wanted them to imbibe the habit of modest grooming right from their tender ages. The ideal of modest dressing was usually enforced and channelled through exemplary mode of dressing, corrective measures and admonition because culturally, it was not morally ideal for someone to reveal any sensitive part of the body within the house or in public view. When someone mistakenly behaved this way either at home or in the public, the person's attention would be drawn to it and he/she would quickly leave the scene to correct the misdeed but if it was discovered after chastening that such deed was deliberate (which was very rare), the offender would be sent away and disgraced in a humorous manner. (Personal communication)

However, close to 54.3% of the respondents perceived child-care practices to be the obligatory responsibilities of mothers. This situation, as similarly stated by some of the participants, also accounted for the inherent innate connectedness between mother and child during the first and second years of childhood. The connection was stated to have also paved ways for the preference and further closeness of most children to their mothers which often lead to the prolonged physical attachment between both parties. Buttressing this view, Mama Agba, a seamstress at Apata, disclosed:

I used to strap all my children to my back during their first 2 years. They preferred to be with me than with any other member of the family. Even if my mother-in-law insisted on my dropping most of them with her before going to peddle my wares, they would refuse to stay with her and if I became resolute about it, they would not stop crying right from the moment I turned my back on them, until they fell asleep. This usually resulted into somatic sensations and falling sick at will. The cause might also be ascribed to my unavailability to breastfeed them (they were individually breastfed for two years) whenever I was out for the day's business. So, since I observed the continuous occurrence of this reaction on their part,

I started taking them with me. Whenever they were hungry, I would drop my ware and breastfeed them as a common pattern throughout the business hours. Whenever I was busy and they were hungry, I had to abandon whatever I was doing and give them what they wanted and if I refused to oblige, my customers would not hesitate at berating me. Through this continuous daily practice, my children ended up being more emotionally attached and closer to me than other members of the family during their childhood days (Personal communication).

Responding to questions relating to adoption of medium of communication, majority of the accounts indicated children learnt how to speak Yoruba language as the medium of communication through imitation, training and repetition. Explaining this notion, a teacher at Orogun expatiated as follows:

Yoruba language is one of the major attributes that depict our cultural identity and it is the only universal means of distinguishing a Yoruba person, around the globe. That is why it was culturally mandatory for us the parents to train our children from their early developmental stages with the act of learning and speaking our language. Thus, from the moment a child was conceived till the moment of birth, he/she would have been listening to the language of communication in his/her immediate environment and while growing up from stage to stage, he/she would be able to pick one or more words out of the ones spoken around through imitation and repetition. Any words or utterances said wrongly were usually corrected by the mother or elderly persons around and this would continue until the child was able to communicate accurately and fluently (Personal communication).

In respect of the degree of parental involvement in children's upbringing and enculturation, several accounts revealed that as at the period when most of them got married, industries had started springing up and the city was becoming more urbanized. As such, most husbands and wives were involved in different forms of skilled labour while the educated ones were engaged in formal employments. With this development, a wide range of authoritative parenting patterns was discontinued. In other words, the parenting pattern became a bit flexible. This aided the creation of different child-rearing practices, depending on the parent's educational, occupational and socio-economic status. However, most of such variants of child-rearing practices were only widely accepted in the society on the consideration that they remain within the vague definition of what culturally constituted the character of "ideal" child-rearing practices that is marked by the distinctive Yoruba value systems. All parents were more or less conscious of the generalized idea of rearing the

“ideal” Yoruba child even when the definition of the objective was not rigidly specified. However, some of the dominant child-rearing practices that equipped this generation of parents with the basis of shaping their children’s upbringing and enculturation, as stated by some of the respondents, resulted from a mix of traditional and western value systems that was occasioned by socio-economic transformative factors of the last five to six decades. Moreover, the adoption of the western child-rearing values associated with parent’s aspiration for their children’s educational training also influenced the modification. But obedience, respect, morality and responsibility values were inculcated into their children and guided by the familiar traditional content and pattern of child-rearing practices with which they were similarly brought up as children. Reinforcing this account, respect for seniority, coupled with total submission to authority, was strongly stressed in their children’s training. In addition, the parents also employed threats of corporal punishment in dealing with disobedient behaviours while the moral value of showing gratitude was instilled into their children. Buttrressing this view, a civil servant at Ikolaba, noted:

The act of training children in different ways of showing gratitude was considered essential for being a good child. Thus, children were not only taught to be grateful to parents, grandparents, older relatives, teachers, friends, religious leaders, instructors and any elderly person but for them to also extend such gratitude to God in all situations (Personal communication).

Other moral values discussed include kindness, loyalty, generosity, exhibition of positive social interactive skills, tolerance, accommodating spirit, politeness, joyful outlook on life, selflessness and zeal for attainment of merit. All these values formed part of their children’s socialization process achieved through teaching, preaching, imitation, and setting of good examples by all, not only the parents but the society in general. However, children’s adherence, as indicated, was mostly based on the act of striking fear in them through threats, motivations, punishment and reward, and improved upon by children’s self-discipline. However, some of the respondents disclosed that children sometimes naturally protested against what they considered to be unjust disciplinary sanctions, unlike during their own days when children did comply without any reaction. In an attempt to curb such immoral and socio-culturally deviant behaviours, different but similar accounts were given. Majority employed the use of disciplinary measures while more preference was given to flogging with whip, rope or horse whip (*kobobo*). Others measures were strict monitoring and screening of children’s association with peer groups and friends.

However, the monitoring responsibility that was culturally attached to children’s upbringing and enculturation process were still shouldered by biological parents,

close/extended family members, friends, neighbours and other secondary socializing agents within the society. As such, it was easy for the parents to combine their parenting and working obligations without recording conflict the roles played. Buttressing this assertion, instances of how extended family members, particularly grandmothers and elderly women, played supportive roles in sharing child-rearing responsibilities were cited by Mama, a civil servant at Ikolaba. For example, it was disclosed that when mothers were unable to go to work with their young children (which was usually based on unavoidable circumstances), elderly persons or co-wives would willingly take up the task of caring for the child until the mother returned.

Likewise, those from consanguineous family compounds described how family members often took up same responsibility of supervising and discipline of any erring child within or outside the extended family circle. Mama also disclosed that at times children were transferred to the homes of extended family members for proper upbringing. This voluntary practice of child fostering was viewed by majority of the participants as a means of avoiding the act of pampering children, especially if it was an only child. Although some of the accounts affirmed their children were transferred to the homes of their relatives because they could not afford to train them with formal education, such supports were oftentimes provided by their relatives. By doing this, some of their children were exposed to different modern social lifestyles in areas of skills acquisition, formal education and proper upbringing devoid of pampering.

In terms of enculturation practices, religious factors had some impact on their children's socialization process. For instance, Christianity and Islam advocate similar spiritual values as expressed in Yoruba cosmology that emphasizes fear of God, adherence to moral principles and the acts of distinguishing between what is evil, right or wrong. Buttressing this perspective, a retired teacher at Mapo further explained that religious activities were not based on daily and continuous attendance in religious institutions nor through the display of one's level of spirituality nor fervent prayers, but by the example of one's moral conduct, doing what is right and in the expression of one's fear and strong belief in the supernatural being. Reinforcing this notion, this retired teacher said: "Children were trained during our time to be morally and spiritually upright because these virtues were the basic foundation upholding other Yoruba child-rearing practices."

Parental attitude towards education was also said to go a long way in determining how children were socialized. Most of the participants generally emphasized how their children were formally educated or trained in different acts of trade or craftwork. It was however

disclosed that the importance attached to such training was based on the notion of securing their children's future. For those who got educated, the attainment of an individual child depended on both the intellectual capacity of the child and the parents' socio-economic and educational status. Nevertheless, in order to draw children's attention to the importance of educational training, examples of educated people who grew up with some of the parents as age mates and who had used their educational attainment to achieve success were often cited for children to emulate. In some cases, some of the parents who fell within lower or middle socio-economic status or were illiterates who were not trained in craft/artisan works nor had any professional/trading skills, would cite personal examples as warnings against the danger of being uneducated and untrained.

Quite often, some of their children in schools were usually instructed to return from school early in order to help peddle trading goods or stay in stalls/shops to assist with the sales. Thereby, the children were trained to learn the art of marketing, trading and saving from the little amounts given to them as incentives. These practices are parts of the pedagogy of grooming and preparing children to be independent and responsible adults in the future.

According to some of the parents, parental interest in formal educational training and other forms of western acculturation values appeared to have negative effect on some basic Yoruba tenets such as compliance to moral, obedience and other enculturation values. In other words, the child-rearing values held by the parents, along with the embrace of selected foreign norms (westernization), continuously erode the quality of the parents' child-rearing values. This inevitable step-down, however, prompted majority of the parents and care-givers to adopt different coping strategies which led to the emergence of the dominant authoritative parenting pattern that started to gain ground in the 70's and 80's but became trendy in the 90's. A carpenter at Beere referenced how parents often resolved issue relating to children's exhibition of immoral conducts, assimilated through their exposure to electronic media. According to him:

I can still remember television and radio were becoming common electronic appliances in our society when my children were growing up. Fortunately, we were opportune to have just one television within the family compound that incorporated close to twelve (12) houses. Hence, whenever a popular programme of interest was to be aired, that is popular TV dramas, we would all converge (both old and young, from both the people living within and outside the compound) as a big crowd in the house where the television was located, in order to view the programme. Through this large communal viewing pattern, adults were able to curb the immoral conducts imitated or later exhibited by the children. Of

course, children were sometimes left alone to view or listen to other programmes of interest, but such would be screened by the elderly around, before they would be permitted to view or listen to it. Any child who wanted to view programmes that were not designed for young people would be sent out of the house. Similarly, the privileges of viewing television programmes were only given to children on weekends, starting from Fridays and ending on Sundays. Thereby, children were greatly curbed from being too exposed to much of the negative aspects of western norms observed via the media (Personal communication).

To this extent, children were encouraged to bring their friends home for screening and scrutiny. However, this practice was only encouraged if the friends were of the same sexual group with the child in question while friendship with the opposite sex was discouraged by instilling the fear of girls getting impregnated by boys. This cautionary measure applied to both girls and the boys. Therefore, teenage pregnancy was not a common phenomenon.

Nevertheless, the zeal of authenticating the parental accounts prompted an attempt at verifying the described values to which their children were generally subjected in the past. Thus, some of their children, who were chosen as part of the study, were similarly interviewed for confirmatory accounts. Interestingly, some of the elderly parents' accounts were corroborated in the following narratives:

During my growing up days, my parent took good care of me and I was trained to be a responsible and independent adult. I was also disciplined to be truthful in all situations within the spheres of life. I was checked from being involved in aimless activities during day or night time. My desired requests and wishes were always scrutinized before being approved or granted. The authority, counsels and disciplinary acts of my parents were never disregarded nor questioned by me because the fear of being obedient to them at all times was deeply rooted in me. As Christians, I attended church services on Sundays with my parents where I often joined my mates at the children section. It used to be a gathering of different children of different age groups. Aside from learning the major doctrines of the Bible, we were instructed to be of good moral conduct and for us to always imbibe and exhibit godly characters, learnt from the bible stories. Adhering to these trainings had helped me in solving so many situational problems during my growing up days and some of the trainings are still helpful till today.

--- A banker at New Bodija (Personal communication).

Another respondent shared a similar view, when she narrated her experience.

My father was a school headmaster and he used to have one of the old Peugeot 504. His strict instructions in respect to educational attainment in life, was for us his children to concentrate more on

our studies than any other activities. Although his instruction was usually obeyed after assisting our mother with household chores but we sometimes pretended to be serious with our studies. For instance, some older members of our extended family staying with us knew the sound of my father's car and as soon as he was approaching the house, we would all rush down to the living room with our books, pretending as if we were studying of which he characteristically knew all this and would say, "you are only deceiving yourselves". Quite often, the scapegoats were disciplined in different ways.

-- A medical doctor at Ikolaba Estate (Personal communication).

In a confirmatory account, a civil servant residing at Apata described her recent experience in comparison to what used to be the common trend during her childhood days. According to her, "the last time I visited my father's house, I saw one of my stepsisters dressed in trousers with lots of make-up on her face. I was so surprised that my father did not disapprove of her mode of dressing. Unlike in my growing up days, no child in my father's house was allowed to dress in trousers". As she stated, such modes of dressing were strictly discouraged and referred to as a predominant act among harlots, therefore, any child dressed in that way would be severely punished; while modesty was enforced in children's dressing code. She similarly noted that Yoruba language was the dominant medium of communication, during her childhood. Explaining this further, she said:

... You would hardly find a Yoruba child that was unable to speak the language and it was a rare thing to come across a child with a Yoruba name who did not have proper understanding of speaking Yoruba language (with the exceptions of those born and brought up abroad). Even a Yoruba child born and brought up in other parts of the country or a non-Yoruba child brought up in Ibadan was able to speak the language fluently. On the other hand, the language was not the official language used in our schools and its usage was discouraged in classrooms. In those days, whoever was caught speaking Yoruba language in the school would be forced to pay a fee as a form of punishment. As such, whenever we wanted to utter words in English language, we often take our time in translating whatever we wanted to say from Yoruba to English language and such acts were usually comical. This was because our utterances in English Language were often composed and uttered with the structure of Yoruba language (Personal communication).

She, however, said that despite all odds, some brilliant ones among them were still able to excel brilliantly in their academic activities, even when it was apparent that majority

of them often had difficulty in using the right forms of English language structure when speaking or writing.

A similar account came from a teacher whose mother was unlettered but still very much interested in formal education.

I grew up at Adeoyo at Agbadagbudu, en route to Oke-Aremo. My mother was a food trader, who usually woke up around 4am. As assigned, I and my younger brother had to assist her with the preparation of *Eba* (as part of our regular early morning chore) with half bag of *Garri*. The bag I am referring to was called '*Shaaka*.' This was usually used for *garri* packaging. Despite having to fulfil this early morning task, we were also aware that our mother would never tolerate going to school late and neither would she allow us to stay back at home. So, since the rules were already set and we had to obligatorily conform to the conditions, as soon as our mother woke up, we would be up too. We would greet all the elderly persons in the house, clean dishes, swept the house and clean the entire environment, as parts of our individually assigned early morning activities which needed no reminding. By the time we were through with all our morning chores, we would then resume at our mothers food stall which was very close to the house, to assist with the preparation of *Eba* before leaving for school. On our way to school, she would warn us to be of good conduct in school while instructing us to be back on time in order to assist her in the stall.

----A teacher at Orogun (Personal communication).

The importance of religion is reflected in the following narrative by a civil servant at Molete.

I am from a Muslim background and I was trained by my parents to observe all Islamic daily prayers. Being involved in this practice has taught me to be closer to Allah. It also helped me during my growing up years to guide against immoral acts that could defile my image and that of my parents and religion. I usually go to the mosque on Fridays to observe J'umat prayers in any close by mosque. The basic tenet of my religion is based on the fear of Allah and having good relationship with all the people that cross my path, doing unto others what I would like or want them to relate to me in return (Personal communication).

A mechanic at Beere also shared his experience by stating his father was a very strict disciplinarian and being his child, he had no choice than to do his will at all time. His father taught him to be obedient, respectful, disciplined and morally upright in all of his dealings with people. According to him "my father so much believed in the saying: 'whatsoever you sow shall you reap' and this was the basis upon which he trained us, his children." As his father's child, he learnt how to be at his best behaviour at all times, thereby, guiding against

being treated as a scapegoat by his father. Of course since he could not do without erring once in a while his father had different sizes of '*koboko*' (horse whip) that served for disciplinary purposes. Hence, as he noted too, he also employed this measure in bringing up his children. After this, the offender was advised immediately after being disciplined not to repeat such an act again. At times, threats of being subjected to severe punishment for any repetition of act(s) of disobedience were emphasized. Good deeds were also sometimes rewarded by his father with indirect encomiums relating how a child was of exemplary conduct to other erring children who were chastised. As a Yoruba child, he was trained to be modest in his dress sense, talk in the midst of people, behave well, cultivate good eating habits and properly address people in public places, most especially being respectful to people in general. His siblings, who were formally educated, were likewise trained to be respectful to their teachers at school and to be submissive to any disciplinarian measure. Citing an instance to buttress the enforcement of such training by his father, he recalled a case in which one of his younger brothers was flogged by a school principal and he sustained some injury in the process. His brother went home during school hours to report the case to their father but instead of following him to school to inquire about the incident, their father sent him back to the school with a warning, stating if he discovered he did not return to school, both he, the father, and the principal would punish him afresh.

To sum up, the confirmatory accounts significantly correspond with most of the elderly parent's narratives, but on a more general note, the childhood accounts clearly hinted that their past experience of obedience, respect, responsibility, morality and enculturation child-rearing practices were patterned on the traditional Yoruba value system which later got caught up in the socio-economic transformative web of development. As such, some of the parents deemed it necessary to modify some of their adopted child-rearing practices to suit the prevailing social changes that were gradually shaping the development of the city as at when most of them assumed their parenting responsibilities (in later years). Aside from this, they similarly and strongly believed that the Yoruba child must be trained with the basic cultural values which distinguish his/her identity. Hence, most of the parent participants were prompted to alter parts of the "ideal" traditional child-rearing practices in order to create more modern patterns, accompanied with both negative and positive outcomes. The parents came up with different forms of disciplinary measures that helped curb some of the negative aspects of their current individually adopted child-rearing practices. Majority of the parents, however, believe they have been able to inculcate the relatively "best" child-rearing values in their children but they also observed that the city's socio-economic alterations, coupled with the socio-environmental change going on, have profoundly modified the child-rearing

practices at the turn of the 21st century. Based on this observation, the current situation is presented in the next division.

4.4 Raising Kids at the Turn of the 21st Century: A Different Tale of Child-Rearing Experiences

... Unlike our growing up days, the city of Ibadan as at present, has grown over the years to attain its credibility as an urban centre. The developmental transformation of the city has, however, presented us, the present parents with diverse child-rearing dilemma that was not experienced in the past by our grandparents, parents, or by some of our contemporaries residing in rural communities. Leaving the home front early in order to spend the significant portion of the day at work, has created the problems of providing children with quality parenting and parental involvement in children's upbringing and socialization and for many of today's parents. These problems, of course, surfaced as a result of the conflicting responsibilities attached to both parenting and employment obligations.

---- A custom officer at Ikolaba (Personal communication).

Living in a changing society that has produced complicated working arrangements, has made the obligatory child-rearing responsibilities of most working parents difficult to fulfill. Adapting to most of the transformed and necessary surviving strategies enforced by the city's socio-economic development has also forced many of today's parents to modify some of the traditional parenting patterns, child-rearing practices, values, children's upbringing and enculturation processes, to suit their complicated work and parenting situations.

---- A business woman at old Bodija (Personal communication).

These comments generally demonstrate the dominant problems parents are currently facing in bringing up their children based on the changing socio-economic process taking place within the city of Ibadan, which invariably informed the adoption of new child-rearing practices. This is clearly explained by a banker at Ikolaba.

... the transformative socio-economic processes shaping the development of the city of Ibadan, lured many parents into formal employment because they want to meet up with the constant and continuous societal dictates that not only saddle them with the responsibility of providing for their families livelihood but also to provide their children's needs and to secure their future. Thus, the influence of this socio-economic transformation of Ibadan, coupled with the effects of parental occupations often dictates the choice of adopted child-rearing practices among today's parents (Personal communication).

After such clarifications, the sampled participants presented vivid descriptions of their children's upbringing within the last two decades. Interestingly, the data elicited was a case of

“different strokes for different people”. With respect to divergence in the accounts, the findings are presented in two subdivisional headings describing the experiences of both literate and unlettered parents who are engaged in formal and informal occupations.

4.4.1 Child-Rearing Practices among Parents in Formal Employments

The parental accounts represented in this section are elicited from parents working as bankers, medical doctors, academicians, lawyers, nurses, engineers, teachers, clerks, cleaners and messengers, among others. Starting off with questions relating to the description of what parenting life entails, majority of the participants (despite the differences in their educational, social and occupational statuses) acknowledged that their parenting experiences are quite challenging in the sense that their choice of occupations oftentimes makes it difficult for them to cope with parenting responsibilities. This is so not only because of lack of assistance from extended family members, but also the working schedules leave no room for regular personal involvement in the day-to-day monitoring of their wards. Coupled with this is the fact that today’s home environment is quite different from what it used to be in the childhood days of parents who reside in the city, where accommodation is not as spacious as it used to be in the extended family compound and many live in rented apartments. The effect of this is clearly enunciated by one of the respondents, a teacher at New Bodija.

With the isolating characteristics of some of the chosen residences and the involvement of parents in time consuming occupations, commercial care givers have mostly taken up the central child-rearing obligations. Hence, in contrast to the way we were reared, most of our children do not have the same communal child-rearing privileges we had but they have its equivalent in more formal way, with secondary care-givers.
(Personal communication).

This emphatically expressed one of the parents’ feelings on the current situation in most professional parents (with higher or middle socio-economic status) are employed within the formal economic sectors, thereby heightening the separation of parent and child which ultimately alters the pattern of children’s upbringing. This and other similar accounts clearly show that parents in formal occupations are required to follow rigidly fixed working schedules and inflexible employment arrangements. As such, their children are often left in the care of paid secondary child-care workers for most of the working hours of the day, which usually extend to late evening. Undoubtedly, this arrangement necessitates the transfer of the bulk of parent’s child-rearing responsibility to commercial care-givers in the likes of house-helps, nannies, child-care centres, nurseries, primary and secondary schools and foster homes/hostels

(in rare cases). In this regard, the duties associated with their children’s upbringing and enculturation are accomplished by secondary child-care workers.

However, the participants with lower economic status, disclosed that their children are usually enrolled in selected inexpensive day-care centres and schools and, quite often, the children are left in the care of their siblings, grandmothers or other willing extended family members, neighbours and friends, as further buttressed by medical doctor at Ikolaba:

... whether a parent is working as a cleaner, a messenger or a manager in any formal employment, it is important for the person to adhere to the fixed working schedule if he/she does not want to lose the job. Thus, if parents do not have other alternative means of providing for the family’s needs, especially that of the children, then the issue of parent-child separation during the early stages of children’s developmental stages is inevitable. That is why most parents are in the habit of keeping their young children in child-care centres or with some of their extended family members who are willing to take care of their children when they are at work (Personal communication)

On the matter of the adopted medium of communication with their children, majority of the participants stated they choose English language. Interestingly, 84.2% of the respondents (Table 10) similarly chose English language as the adopted medium of communication in their households. Thus, their children are more competent in English than Yoruba language while less than ten per cent of the households sometimes later code-mix or code-switch.

Table 10: Children’s Adopted Language of Communication

Response Categories	Frequency	Percentage
English	156	84.2%
Yoruba	34	16.2%
Code mixing/switching with both Yoruba and English	18	8.6%
TOTAL	210	100

Question: What is the adopted medium of interaction among the children in your household?

When asked about such preferences, several respondents attributed the causative factors to their social and educational status and for the simple reason that children are mostly instructed at school in English language along with the fact that the parents also encourage this, believing it is better to be knowledgeable in English than in Yoruba language. It is generally believed that confidence in English aids better communication both within and outside their immediate environment. This notion is further buttressed by a civil servant at Ikolaba:

... the trend of adopting English language as the medium of communication in most households was shaped on the value attached to the language by the Nigerian society and our educational system which endorsed English as the official language of communication. Therefore, most parents now prefer and deem it ideal to communicate with their children in English language because parents want their children to perform better in their academic quests which will in extension, train them to master the art of communicating fluently with English language, either within or outside the shores of their immediate environment and country (Personal communication).

In relation to disciplinary training, children are well trained in the cultural norms of the people that enforce respect, obedience, morality and responsibility practices. However, the enforcement of these cultural values among literate parents is based on individual preference of a parenting pattern, ranging from detached, permissive to authoritative practices. Although some of the literate parents appear to combine all these practices, rarely are they strict or authoritarian in the real act of disciplining their children. This was quite obvious in the course of staying with some of them. For instance, many of them rely so much on religious teachings and doctrines, that parents place more emphasis on moral training with the aid of religious instructions. This practice is commonly accentuated through the involvement of children in various activities that take place in different denominations of religious institutions (Christianity, in particular) where they worship. Such engagement goes a long way in assisting parents in constructing their children's moral behaviour to conform to societal values. It was, however, observed that such engagements are more peculiar to Christians who gave instances of being involved in midweek services like Bible studies, prayer meetings and vigils, among others. Some disclosed that going to vigils with their children is usually stressful, but they have no other choice than to take them along because there is nobody to take care of them at home. Establishing the importance of this practice in children's upbringing, majority of the respondents feel that their children need to be trained in the right way of life, while believing the best way to achieving such goal, is through religious teachings. Thus, the act of encouraging and compelling children to be involved in some religious activities is viewed as a necessary means of rearing children to be morally upright. As one of the respondents opined, "...The best and the right way of training a child can be said to be to bring them to God, through religious instructions in order to end up as morally upright children" (A teacher at Jericho (personal communication)).

Like the literate parents, most of the unschooled parents also rely on religious and doctrinal teachings that are accentuated through different religious activities for their children's

moral training but the main difference observed is in respect of the way such grooming is accomplished. In this case, the act of moral and disciplinary grooming is exercised not only by their parents but also by other adults within or outside their immediate environment. The feature of crowdedness that characterizes their social environment is also a factor that has prompted such communal training. This is explained by one of the participants, a driver at Orogun.

... even if discipline and moral training is acknowledged to be major responsibility of either biological or foster parents, still, the social and communal bonding established in most residential areas like ours, play vital roles in the way children are disciplined or morally trained. When you observe some of the homes within this area, (Apata, plates 4 and 5) you will notice that it is crowded. This condition of living promotes a state of communal child training among the people. Thus, parents do encourage their neighbours, friends, relatives and concerned members of the community to monitor and discipline their erring children. They also encourage their associates to observe and report any manifestation or display of moral deviance in their children's behaviours (Personal communication).



Plate 4: Scene of a Street layout in Apata, with blocks of bungalows having 'face-me-I-face you' rooms. A typical example of a neighbourhood where most low-income earners reside within the city of Ibadan (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2012)



Plate 5: An overview of a crowded apartment popularly called “face-me-I-face you”. The separated rooms are occupied by different family members, an ambiance that encourages communal grooming of children. (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2012)

Thus, by urging “others” to monitor their children, some of these parents are slightly relieved of some child-rearing stresses while on the positive side their children tend to be cautious (in their behaviours). These children are similarly trained to imbibe some major social and ethical conducts like being obedient, submissive, loyal, kind, friendly, respectful and polite, among others. Adherence to the described training was established on an authoritative parenting pattern and not on the pattern noticed among the literate parents.

Concerning children’s training in household chores, there is a wide gulf of difference between how the literate and unschooled parents train their children. The literates often employ the services of domestic helps despite the fact that this is a practical aspect of child-rearing practices. Some of these parents indicated that their children are well trained in domestic skills and are always fully involved in household chores. On the other hand, this is not the case among the unlettered parents who view this practice as responsibility training, and therefore compel their children to be active participants in domestic chores. The importance attached to this training is clearly stated by Iya Ibeji, a cleaner at Orogun:

Children’s participation in domestic activities is one of the significant ways of training the Yoruba child to be a responsible member of his/her immediate environment. It is also the best means through which children can respectfully appreciate their parent’s caring efforts. Any child that is exempted from being involved in domestic activities might turn up being a lazy individual as a child or as an adult.
(Personal communication).

The level of their children's participation in domestic activities is however presented in Table 11.

Table 11: Level of Children's Participation in Domestic Activities

Response Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Fully involved in household chores	65	31%
Partially involved in household chore	23	11%
Not involved in household chores	122	58.0%
TOTAL	210	100

Question: What is the degree of your child/children's participation in domestic activities?

In relation to enculturation, children's educational training is placed above every other socio-cultural consideration, especially among literate parents. Majority of them see this training as the most important aspect of their children's upbringing. As such, 22.8% enrolled their children early in private schools while 30.5% enrolled theirs in public schools (Table 12). However, it should be noted that the two common types of schools (public and private) are graded not only by ownership but most importantly by the quality of their activities. For instance, the private schools are commercial, and most of them are better equipped than the public ones. As such, those parents who can afford the fees enrol their children in private schools believing their children would be well trained educationally. But quite often, some very good students emerge from public schools.

Table 12: Children's Enrolment in Schools

Response Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Public schools	24	30.5%
Private Schools	48	22.8%
Not applicable	138	65.8%
TOTAL	210	100

Question: What division of school do child/children attend?

As regards how their children get to school and return home (Table 13 & 14), most of the parents take their kids to school in the morning while a few assign their drivers in the company of their housemaids or grandparents for pickups after school hours. Many parents prefer collecting their wards after close of work, which is usually during the early or later part of the evening.

Table 13: Drop-off time

Response Categories	Frequency	Percentage
6:30-7:00 am	18	8.6%
7:00-7:30am	32	15.2%
7:30-8:00am	15	7.1%
8:00am and beyond	7	3.3%
Not applicable	138	65.7%
TOTAL	210	100

Question: What time do you normally drop your child/children at school or child-care centres?

Table 14: Pick-up Time

Response Categories	Frequency	Percentage
1:00-3:00pm	5	2.2%
3:00-4:00pm	8	3.8%
4:00-5:00pm	12	5.7%
5:00pm and beyond	47	22.3%
Not applicable	138	65.7%
TOTAL	210	100

Question: What time do you often pick your child/children from child-care centres or schools?

Responses on children's playtime or leisure activities revealed that children are seldom involved in outdoor leisure time activities during weekdays because they often return from school in the evening. The latter part of the evenings are however utilized for take-home schoolwork, watching television, playing computer games, surfing the internet or playing with their cell phones while toddlers play with different types of educational toys. As cited earlier, socializing outside residential areas is highly discouraged by the elites as a form of disciplinary measure against children coming under negative peer group influence that results in bad behaviours or mishaps. Thus, the kids spend the better part of the day at school during weekdays while evenings and weekends are expended indoors, outdoors or in religious institutions. Some of the outdoor weekend activities include going to eateries, recreational centres and picnics during festive holidays like Easter, Christmas, Ramadan and other public holidays. Unlike the elite's children, the generality of the children of unlettered parents are encouraged to socialize both within and outside residential areas after returning from school but they are always warned against keeping bad company (Table 15). The listed pastime activities of their children include: football game, watching of television programmes, playing with cell phones, helping with domestic chores and running errands, among others.

Table 15: Level of Children’s Socialization within or outside the Neighbourhood

Response Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Children socialize within and outside residential areas	28	13.2 %
Children socialize within the house	44	21.0%
Not applicable	138	65.8%
TOTAL	210	100

Question: Do you allow your child/children to socialize within or outside your residential areas?

Conclusively, the dominant upbringing pattern often employed by the elite parents tends towards a mix of authoritarian, authoritative, permissive and detached parenting patterns in which parents spend relatively lesser time with their children while most of the illiterate parents predominantly employ authoritarian parenting pattern, mixed slightly with the authoritative model. Nevertheless, all the chosen patterns are fairly strong in nurturing with some variations made up of the infusion of different degrees of western and Yoruba child-rearing values. In addition, majority of the elite parents raise their children within individualized family systems with little or no assistance from extended family members while the bulk of their children’s upbringing and socialization is transferred to commercial socializing agents. On the other hand, the children of the illiterates are reared within the extended family and communal systems and their upbringing and socialization are more of collective training enforced by parents, close/extended family members, neighbours, family-friends, the elderly, and supplemented by secondary commercial socializing agents.

4.4. 2 Child-Rearing Practices among Parents in Informal Employments

The categorization of parents in this division includes both literate and unlettered self-employed traders, who are involved in long or short distance trade or skilled occupations like tailoring, electronic or auto-mechanic work, commercial taxi driving, hair styling and petty trading in all sorts of commodities. In some cases, individuals are involved in more than one or two vocations based on their business interest, but their trading stalls, workshops, stores and offices are either located within or around their homes, and may be far from or near market places. Hence, based on the nature of their chosen occupations and business location, most of the parent in informal employment, mothers in particular, usually go to work in the company of their younger children (toddlers) and are hardly separated from them. Although, unforeseen situations sometimes separate the mother and child but immediate or extended family members, neighbours or friends often assist with the task of looking after/caring and watching over the child until the mother returns. Such supportive roles are frequently solicited for by those

involved in short- and long-distance trade, whenever the need for purchasing goods or rendering services arises. However, most of the mothers carry their younger children to the workplace not only because they care for their safety but to be able to breastfeed and monitor their social behavioural formation from early developmental stages.

As to formal educational training which is linked to the enculturation process, some of the illiterate parents enrol their children in public schools while those who can afford it send their wards to preparatory classes, popularly called *Jele-o-sinmi* ('Your absence makes the home peaceful), as from age three to five. The preparatory day-care centres are commonly located within the vicinity of the parent's stalls, shops, workshops or within market places, and they charge daily, weekly or monthly school fees at low comparatively rates. Various reasons account for this early enrolment of children in educational facilities. 22.9% of the respondents submitted it is a way of preparing the children for elementary schools and 12.4% stated it improves children's intellect, while 17.1% indicated the schools provides safer environments where the children can be monitored when the parents are engaged in occupational activities during the major part of the trading hours (Table 16). The closing and the pick-up time for the children, however, ranges from 12-1pm when their parents take over the responsibility of watching over them until they have to return home.

Table 16: Reasons for Enrolling Children in Kindergarten Schools

Response Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Preparation for enrolment elementary schools	48	22.9%
Improvement on intellectual development	26	12.4%
Provides safer environments where children can be monitored	36	17.1%
All of the above	18	8.6%
Not applicable	82	39%
TOTAL	210	100

Question: Why do you enrol your younger children in kindergarten schools?

As from age five to six, the children are enrolled in either public or private schools. Those attending public or private primary schools between the ages of six to twelve close between 1pm and 3pm while the secondary school pupils between ages twelve to eighteen close as from 2pm to 5pm. As explained, they always return home in groups and their needs are attended to or supervised by extended family members or neighbours, who might have been given the keys to the children's homes. Some of the parents, however, stated their children are often busy after school hours by helping out with different activities. Buttrressing this view,

instances of how children of eight years and above are compelled to either peddle trade goods within market places, roadsides, streets or stay in stalls and shops to observe and assist with the day's sales were given by some of the parents. In this way, their children are similarly trained to learn how to trade or market goods and at the same time brought up to be independent-minded. The income realized is often used to assist their parents financially.

The parents, however, place relative values on their children's educational training. While some invest in their children's education up to tertiary institutions, others stop their children's schooling at primary or secondary school level. The reason behind the break is ascribed to the intellectual ability of their children or their own financial capability. In some cases, few parents who could not afford such expenses or were willing to, but had children considered not intellectually able, often enrol their wards to learn a skilled craft or trading activity after their graduation from either primary or secondary school. On the other hand, the literate parents predominantly enrol their children in private child care centres as from age one and their children's educational training, just like their counterparts in formal occupations, is held in very high esteem. Although, some of their children are also involved in after-school-hour classes, they often return from school as from 4:00pm to assist or observe daily activities that transpire in their parent's shops, workshops, offices or stores.

The parents working in informal employments also employ similar patterns of disciplinary, responsibility, morality and obedience practices like the parents in formal occupations but with slight differences and variations that are often determined by the educational, occupational and socio-economic status of the parents. For instance, the literate parents in informal occupations often favour the individual freedom and choice of their wards while majority of the unlettered expect unquestionable obedience from their children. Therefore, differences between the adopted child-rearing practices of illiterate parents and those of their literate counterparts are founded on the factor of choice of authoritarian parenting pattern. As such, illiterate parents mainly inculcate similar but modified versions of the same child-rearing values their own parents subjected them to when they were growing up. Similarly, their children's upbringing is established on collective training that is enforced by parents, close/extended family members, neighbours, family-friends and supplemented by commercialized care-givers and school teachers. On the other hand, the literate parents often employed the authoritative and permissive child-rearing patterns, relying more on child-care workers and schoolteachers, with little or no support outside their nuclear family. Hence, it is conclusively deduced that recent child-rearing experiences among the literate parents demonstrate a major shift from the traditional pattern to a more western permissive child-

rearing norm but the illiterate parents still stick to the bulk of conventional Yoruba child-rearing practices.

4.5 Observed Yoruba Child-Rearing Practices in Ibadan, from 2011-2012

This segment explores the observed “everydayness” of home, family-life and institutional Yoruba child-rearing practices in the city of Ibadan, studied from 2011-2012. The objective is to qualitatively assess the changes within the last two decades of Yoruba child-rearing practices as evidenced from interviews and survey questionnaires. For this reason, the data is divided into different contextual segments with the first describing the child-rearing practices observed among parents, who are engaged in formal and informal occupations, followed by children’s and child-care workers/teachers views, and the general public opinion on the topic of discourse. The last segment portrays some of the selected child-rearing related events, witnessed in the field and how the emanating inferences impinge on the discourse.

4.5.1 Reflects on the Homes and Family Units Observed

The homes and family units observed are made up of parents with different educational, occupational and socio-economic statuses. Among them are elites who reside within the highbrow residential areas, located at Old and New Bodija, Ikolaba, Oluyole Estate and Jericho Quarters (Plates 6-10).



Plate 6: Overview of University Crescent layout at Old Bodija, situated at Ibadan North Local Government Area (IBN), Ibadan, Oyo State (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2011)



Plate 7: Scene of Adenuga street layout, New Bodija. This vicinity is located within Ibadan North Local Government Area (IBN), Ibadan, Oyo State (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2011)



Plate 8: Scene of Ikolaba layout, situated at Ibadan North Local Government Area (IBN), Ibadan; Oyo State (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2011)



Plate 9: Scene of a street layout at Oluyole Estate, located within Ibadan South West Local Government Area (IBSW), Ibadan, Oyo State (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2011)



Plate 10: Scene of a street layout in Jericho, located within Ibadan North West Local Government Area (IBNW); Ibadan, Oyo State (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2011)

Majority of the parent participants residing in these localities fall within the higher and middle socio-economic class and their lifestyles are characterized by different distinguishing traits such as moderate number of family members, living in single detached fenced houses/apartments. In addition, the architecture of their houses, accessibility to good roads, availability of basic amenities like water and electricity supply, furnished rooms with ornamental details and abundance of electronic appliances in the living rooms and kitchen, reflect a lifestyle that is much influenced by western ideals. The bedrooms are commonly built with en suite bathrooms and toilets and are allocated to children based on their sexes (if there are many rooms), but one room is usually apportioned for children in households with three bedrooms. Similarly, employment of domestic maids is also one of the major normative attributes of these households.

On the other hand, other areas of study are Beere, Mapo, Molete, Apata and Orogun (Plates 11-14), characterized by overcrowding, noise, dirty or degraded environments, bad roads and absence of road networks. Houses in these areas accommodate a higher percentage of the middle and lower income earners working within the city.



Plate 11: View of Beere, situated within Ibadan North East Local Government Area (IBNE), Ibadan, Oyo State (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2011)



Plate 12: View of Mapo, located within Ibadan South East Local Government Area (IBSE), Ibadan, Oyo State (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2011)



Plate 13: View of Apata, situated in Ibadan South West Local Government Area (IBSW), Ibadan, Oyo State (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2011)



Plate 14: Scene of a street layout at Orogun. The vicinity is located within Ibadan North Local Government Area (IBN), Ibadan, Oyo State (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2011)

The participants residing in Beere and Mapo are located at the core centre of the city and their houses are generally built with either mud or sandy blocks plastered with cement and covered with rusted corrugated iron roofs. The poor environmental conditions that characterize these two areas make the rent charged for single or double-room apartments cheaper and affordable to a higher percentage of poor and illiterate low income earners. The participants residing in Molete, Apata and Orogun are representatives of the lower and medium income earners, whose homes are located within the larger parts of the city. The prominent attributes of these areas are paucity of moderate and affordable apartments, illegal conversion of residential buildings to commercial uses, and street trading, among others.

Most of the participants residing in the afore-mentioned areas have large to moderate number of family members in single rooms, a room and an adjoined living room, or 2-3 bedroom apartments. The derelict features of most of the bungalows include limited or no waste disposal system, poor drainage, roads, lack of kitchen and toilet facilities, a near total lack of basic amenities like water, electricity and barely furnished rooms with shabby or crappy, cheap furniture and electronic appliances.

4.5.2 Rubrics of the Observed Child-Rearing Practices among Parents in Formal Employments

In some households, children are roused from sleep with jingling of bells announcing Morning Prayer sessions, but in some, early risers make it a point of duty to wake others or individuals would wake up with the aids of their personal alarm devices. In a few households,

early morning prayers are often said by all members of the family while some parents encourage their children to observe individual prayer time within the confines of their rooms. Children that participate in congregational prayer session often greet their parents before or after the activity while those permitted to observe theirs individually could go into their parents' rooms to purposely greet them or do so when they accidentally meet or when they must have finished preparing for school. In homes where children are trained to be fully involved in domestic chores, the next call of duty is for the grownups to assist their mothers with the early morning chores and when cases of waking up late arise, some of their tasks are sometimes left undone. In the elite homes, domestic chores are attended to by home helps.

The conveniences attached to the architecture of some of the elite residences make the task of preparing children for school easy for most of the parents, who are often exempted from supervisions in the case of grown-up children. In some of the homes, children are commonly served beverages or light food like noodles (one of children's favourite) in the morning while some get prepared roadside foods for breakfast. And if they are unable to eat breakfast before leaving the house, their meals are often packaged in various types of food flasks/plastic plates, water bottles and food baskets which are taken to school. Nursing mothers also make it a point of duty to pack their babies' basic needs such as extracted breast milks, processed baby milks and cereals, pampers, feeding bottles, hot water (in flasks), clothing, among others, in baby bags before leaving home in the morning.

As early as 6:30 to 8:00am, babies of 8-12 weeks old, toddlers and children of different ages in the company of their parents or extended family members would leave their homes to be on their way to child-care centres and schools (Plate 15-16). Most of the middle or low-income earning parents (mostly mothers) often strap their babies or toddlers to their backs while scrambling with their handbags, nursing bags and "food-baskets" to board vehicles to their various destinations (Plate 17). Similarly, those without strapped babies/toddlers are usually accompanied by their young or old children in small and large numbers (holding or strapping school bags with "food-baskets") dashing out early to board public vehicles. Those with large number of children sometimes make arrangement with tricycle drivers or motorcycle taxis to drop their children in school.



Plate 15: Parents dropping their children in private Nursery and Primary School at Adenuga Street, New Bodija, during early hours of the day. (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2012).



Plate 16: A mother dropping her child in a child-care centre at Jericho, during early hours of the day. (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2012).



Plate 17: A strapped toddler (strapping his school bag), with his mother on their way to a child care centre. (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2012).

The take-off time to school often depends on children's resumption time and the distance needed to be covered from homes to children's schools, baby care centres or parent's workplace. In cases where the distance to children's schools is far and could cause parent's lateness to work (especially those with private or official vehicles), their children are occasionally left with neighbours heading in the direction of their children's school or whose children also attend same school. Such deeds of favour are often on a prearranged basis and are exercised interchangeably. Few parents who could not afford private cars, or who do not like to seek favours from their neighbours, usually make arrangements with commercial cabdrivers or school buses to convey their children to school with monthly or daily payment of service charges.

The children are in schools or child-care centres until varied closing times. Those in secondary schools close around 2:00-3:45pm daily while majority of them hang back until 5:00-6:00pm for extra classes before returning home in the later part of the evening. The official closing hour for those in nursery and primary schools is 1:00pm but most of them are similarly involved in extra tutorial classes until 4:00pm. Private drivers, cab drivers or bike men in company of domestic helps, family members or parents often pick up a few children as from 1:00pm. Most of the children, especially toddlers and babies, stay within the child-care or school premises until their parents are available to collect them after close of work and this varies from 5:00-7:00pm. Some of the children also leave the school premises early, and have their lunch at their home, but those involved in extra classes usually go to school with enough food that could sustain them till closing hours while some are given feeding allowances that take care of their basic needs throughout the school hours. Sometimes, a few of them are provided with both, and the amount varies from minimum of fifty to maximum of five hundred Naira (#500.00), depending on the parent's financial status.

When children return from school, they are involved in various activities that often start off with the act of completing their school assignments (after lunch). Afterwards, they are free to play within the confinement of their compounds or play computer games, watch television programmes, play with toys, have interactive discussions among themselves, listen and dance to both foreign and Nigerian music, surf the internet with their mobile phones or computers and study, among others (Plate 18-20).



Plate 18: Children playing with a baby doll in their mother's store after school hours. (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2012).

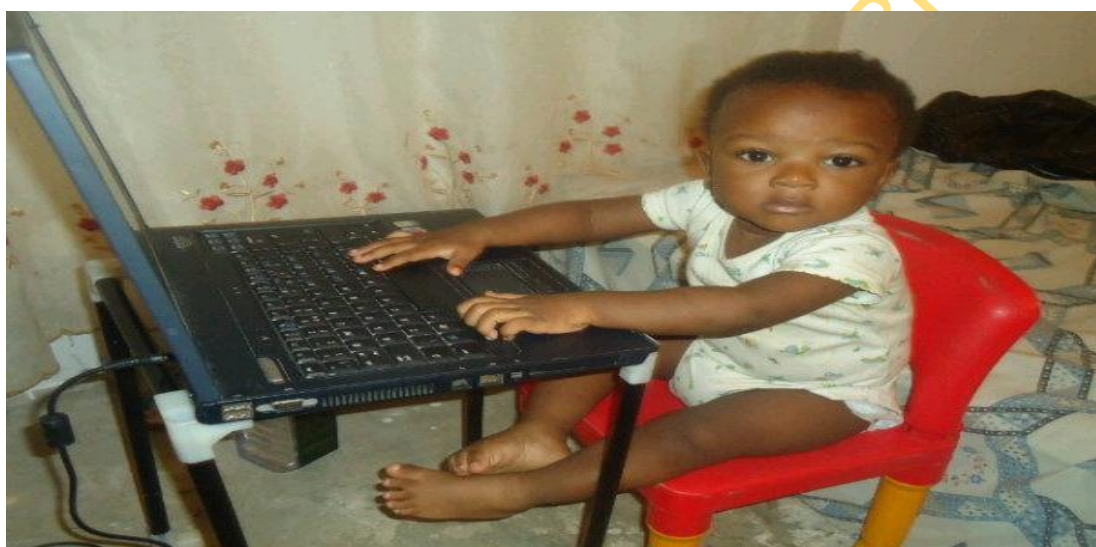


Plate 19: A one-year-old child playing with her parent's laptop computer. (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2012).



Plate 20: Children playing within the compound, after school hours. (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2012).

Children's participation in such recreational activities begins in the evenings till around 6:00-7:30pm. After dinner, every individual member of the household often retires to their bedroom. However, only few out of the parents deem it necessary to flip through their children's notebooks in order to check what they are taught in school or monitor their children's academic performances by going to their schools, while majority of the parents do not follow up in any way.

On weekends, Saturdays especially, some parents visit recreational centres or popular eateries with their children (Plate 21) while some stay indoors to relax, watch the television or are busy surfing the internet. In homes where there are domestic helps, children oftentimes stay glued to their television sets as from the early hours of the day without parental regulation on the timing, duration or any form of restrictions on media consumption, instead the domestic helps are often called on to serve the children some meals or refreshments, based on individual requests.



Plate 21: A child's day out at a popular eatery with children's recreational facilities (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2012).

During vacation, majority of the children are involved in different types of commercialized holiday programmes ranging from academic, recreational to creative activities. Such programmes often begin during early hours of the day and close till around mid to early evenings; while few among the children travel within or outside the state for holidays or visiting relatives and family friends.

However, in few of the homes, some of the children attend far or near boarding schools but do come home during the holidays. Similarly, in some homes, some of the fathers work either outside the city, state or country but they are constantly in touch with their family members. Hence, the bulk of the child-rearing activities, decisions and responsibilities are left in the care of the mothers, who are also always busy with their occupational activities. Thus,

some of the children are left in the care of domestic helps, who hardly have firm constraining authority over them.

The adopted medium of communication in almost all the homes is English language while some code-mix/switch occasionally with Yoruba Language. As observed, majority of the children cannot speak Yoruba fluently but can mentally perceive ideas or instructions said in the language. The utterances of some of the children in both Yoruba and English languages are commonly uttered ungrammatically and are sometimes expressed with wrong intonation. Some parents detest and discourage their children from speaking the slightest degree of Yoruba language; for instance, two kids were observed while chatting in a badly intoned Yoruba language and they were sighted by their elder sister, who threatened to report them to their father. When the researcher inquired why she intended to report her siblings, she replied in ill-formed English, indicating their father has instructed them not to speak Yoruba language because it corrupts the mastery of their spoken English. Interestingly, on arrival, the case was reported but the father did not utter a word about the event throughout the researcher's stay in the house. However, there were cases of parents who communicate on regular basis with their children in Yoruba but encourage them to respond in English language, even if it is not grammatically structured while few adopt Yoruba as the medium of communication.

In terms of obedience training, children are taught to be respectful to elders and authority, loyal, polite, humble and observe moral etiquette, among other things. But such anticipation is enforced, based on the preference of individual parenting pattern. Some of the parents often employ the permissive pattern which is occasionally meshed with authoritative or authoritarian models. However, when desperate disciplinary measures are being considered, some stick to the authoritarian pattern but such disciplinary measures depend on the parent's upbringing experience, the situation being addressed or the personality of the child involved. In dealing with any form of socially deviant behaviour, reproofing admonitions and threats of using corporal punishment are often employed but such threats are rarely actualized by some of the elite parents. However, most of the parents sometimes employ effective communication strategy in discussing with the children about why they are admonished for misconduct or why they needed to be corrected through disciplinary sanctions.

With the use of permissive or authoritative child-rearing patterns, most of the children exhibit different characters or dispositions that reflect over-pampering, as a result of indulgent parenting by the elites. For instance, if an elderly person says a word of greeting to

some of the children in a friendly gesture, they commonly ignore such acts until their parents instruct them to respond. Despite parental intervention, some of the kids would still be adamant in not responding or changing their attitude. Moreover, in some homes, children are not restrained from being present when elderly people are discussing. Based on such permissive attitude of parents, children often interfere in serious adult discussions when they are not called upon to do so. Thus, it is not surprising that a lot of the parents fail to encourage Yoruba greeting patterns like kneeling (girls) and prostrating (boys) while greeting the elderly and this is based on the pretext of modernization. The act of addressing those advanced in age through honorific phrases reflecting seniority (by using the pronominal 'ẹ' for an elderly person) is not common in most of the homes. Rather children address their elders in English language which does not have the feature of honorific personal pronouns. Wrongful conducts such as rudeness, shouting at the elderly, disrespect and indecent dressing are often ignored in some of the homes.

Morally, the act of communicating through admonitory glances or calling children's attention to an act of correction via coded paradoxical expressions, are not often used in some of the elite homes or not clearly understood by most of their children. For instance, a visitor was served a meal in one of the elite homes studied, and a 5-year-old boy sat very close to the visitor while focusing intensely on the food. The mother observed this barely concealed act of gluttony on the part of the child and she signalled to him with an admonitory glance, but the child looked at his mother and said, *"What? Why are you 'eyeing' me? You don't want me to eat abi, (right)? Okay, I won't eat."* The mother was so embarrassed and the incident was turned into a joke by all present.

Children's basic needs are provided by parents on a must-have basis, even if such needs fall within financially trying times. Based on this indulgent response of granting almost all wishes by most of these parents, some of the children find it difficult to endure difficult and trying times and they are rarely aware of such financial inconveniences. On the other hand, majority of the children are highly inquisitive, outspoken, smart and reasonably intelligent. These qualities are built up in the children based on the encouragement of unrestrained freedom of expression by the parents.

In respect of responsibility practices, most of the children of the elite are hardly involved in domestic tasks because domestic helps are readily available. Although, in some other homes, both grown-up and young children are involved in domestic activities, few only participate out of free will or on request. As such, general domestic activities, child care and

the monitoring of children are commonly assigned to domestic maids (Plate 22) by most of the elite parents.



Plate 22: A girl-child, domestic help placed in charge of monitoring a child during church service (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2012)

Although, in some homes, children are allowed to be involved in some errands within the households, when urgent need for an outdoor errand arises, domestic helps or grown-up children are sometimes sent. However, outdoor errands are not common practices in most of these households because their domestic provisions are usually stocked at home while urgent needs are acquired through phone calls or house/office delivery services.

Enculturation practices are dominantly meshed with religious training which involves children accompanying their parents to different religious institutions to worship, as a formal means of inculcating doctrinal teachings. In Christian homes, children normally wake up early on Sundays to prepare for church services where they attend Sunday schools for the inculcation of religious teaching. Such studies incorporate other social precepts like how to relate with people within and outside the church premises, how be of good character and portray acceptable social conducts, etc. All these reinforce the exhibition of good moral conducts in children (Plate 23-24). Mid-week services are also observed by few parents in the company of their children (Plate 44), but there are few exceptions in which church services are observed on Saturdays by those that attend Seven Day Adventist churches.



Plate 23: A group of children reciting biblical verses during church service on a Sunday morning. (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2012).



Plate 24: Children listening to religious teaching during church service on a Sunday morning. (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2012).

On the other hand, the Muslims train their children in the ways of observing five daily compulsory prayers at any convenient place they may be at the stipulated time. As such, praying mats and *tes'bius* are made available within Muslim households. The act of observing prayer times is voluntary for children below seven years of age, but as from age seven, it is made compulsory and enforced by parents through disciplinary measures. Children in the company of their parents attend *Jum'at* services at different mosques on Fridays. Young children are also encouraged to participate in fasting activities during the yearly *Ramadan* but they are given the privilege of breaking before the scheduled time, usually 6:00pm. In addition, some of the Muslim children attend weekend Quranic schools

where they are trained on how to pray, recite long passages from the Quran and to write in Arabic language (Plate 25).



Plate 25: Children listening to religious teaching in a Quranic School on a Saturday morning. (Source: Cecilia Owolabani:Fieldwork, 2012).

In terms of dressing, children are commonly dressed in trendy western clothes while the Muslim girl child covers her head with *hijab* (head scarf worn by Muslims women). In most cases, some of the children do insist on dressing like foreign children, who they imitate from watching cable television programmes (which most of the parents willingly provide if they can afford it). As one of parents, Mrs. Olalekan, indicated:

... if my child expresses a desire for any material thing and I can afford it, why would I not satisfy such wish? After all I am only going through the stress of working because I wanted to see to the needs of my family, of which my children are of paramount priority.

Based on such a view, most of the elite children's clothing consists of foreign clothes, bought in clothes stores, or through office marketing or home delivery services, while some of the average or low income earners provide their children with different "grades" of fairly used clothing popular called *okrika*. Traditional attires are often worn by the children during social functions on Sundays or when there is a cultural display programme in their schools (Plate 26 & 27).



Plate 26: Children (Boys) in traditional attires. (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2012).



Plate 27: Children (Girls) in traditional attires. (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2012).

In sum, the child-rearing practices adopted by most parent participants engaged in formal employments is often a joint responsibility that rests solely on the biological mother and father but the individual financial investment on their children varies. For instance, the direct financial costs of raising children, including expenses on rents or home maintenance, electrical appliances, transportation, feeding, health and educational training are usually taken care of by most fathers, while other expenses on clothing, domestic appliances, health, and other children's needs, are usually provided by the mothers.

4.5.3 Rubrics of Observed Child-Rearing Practices among Parents in Informal Employments

The dominant child-rearing practices among parent in informal employments vary but most of the activities observed in the homes and family units of the literate parents, engaged in informal occupations, are similar in many respects to their counterparts in the formal sector. On the other hand, most of the illiterate parents, engage in trade and practical occupations, often depend on the first early morning Islamic call to prayer for their wake-up time, while others employ different methods of waking up as described earlier. Early morning prayers are compulsory for Muslims, either at home or in the mosques around 5:00am, while Christians observe their own either as individuals or as a family unit. However, majority of the parent traders barely participate in early morning prayer sessions due to their tight working schedule that hardly leaves space for such activities. For instance, most of them often want to avoid the early morning rush hour in order to get to stores or markets early, or travel to neighbouring villages or other states to purchase goods.

Nevertheless, children of illiterate parents obligatorily greet their parents in the morning, as the first or second most essential mandate that must be fulfilled in the morning. The next point of call is their involvement in early morning domestic tasks like sweeping, washing of dishes, warming of leftover foods (Plate 28), among others. Some children have to walk considerable distances to fetch well water (Plate 29), etc., and they continuously go on many trips to provide enough water for the needs of all the family members before going to school. These tasks are commonly assigned permanently to children individually, and dodging such responsibilities is greatly frowned upon by parents or guardians.



Plate 28: Children warming leftover meal in an outdoor kitchen. (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2012)



Plate 29: A little girl returning from the well with a bowl of water. (Source: Cecilia Owolabani:Fieldwork, 2012).

Waking up late is not commonly encouraged and cannot be used as an excuse for incomplete daily assigned domestic tasks in some of the homes. When the case of going to school late arises, they have to either meet up with their basic morning responsibilities and go to school late or go to school early and forfeit their feeding allowances or other benefits. Some of the children often leave their homes for schools without having breakfast but few do purchase roadside foods or snacks with part of their feeding allowances. Such food is packaged and taken to school, eaten by the road side or eaten on the way to school. This common habit is encouraged by most of the illiterate parent traders because of their tight schedule that hardly allows any space for breakfast preparation at home.

The children attend both private and government schools, depending on the choice and financial capability of the parents, while babies, toddlers and younger children mostly attend private child-care centres and schools. Those in the primary section of government schools close around 1:00pm while those in secondary sections close around 2:00pm, but young children in kindergarten or prep schools are picked as from 12:00pm. The closing time of those attending private nursery, primary and secondary school varies from 2:00 to 4:00pm. Only few out of their children participate in extra classes. This low rate is recorded because most of the parents are always available to attend to their children, after the school hours. However, during closing hours, the children are either dropped by the school buses, collected by their parents, while some commonly strolled home in different age groups (Plate 30), and those going to long distances, assemble as crowds at bus stops to board cabs or buses.



***Plate 30: Children in a private Primary school strolling home after the school hours
(Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2012).***

The children often return either to their homes, parent's stalls, stores or shops as from 2:00pm. After the midday meal and having rested for little period, some of them assist their parents in peddling different goods by hawking either on the streets (Plate 31), in the traffic, market places, frontage of the house (Plate 32), stalls, stores or shops. On the other hand, few of the grown-up children who are already enrolled as apprentices with big time traders or skilled artisans, resume in their master's shops, while others stay at home, gallivanting around the streets or in the shops, stores and stalls.



***Plate 31: Children hawking on the street of Ibadan. (Source: Cecilia Owolabani:
Fieldwork, 2012).***



Plate 32: Children selling fried fish in the frontage of their residence. (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: *Fieldwork*, 2012).

As from 6:00 pm, both parents and children start returning home to attend to the home front. When dinner is being prepared, most of the illiterate parents strictly enforce the presence of their children within the vicinity of the kitchen in order for the children to assist with different errands. Such imposition, as explained, aids children's knowledge of the arts of cookery and aids their independence when the parents are not around or when they intentionally decide not to be involved in domestic activities. In some cases where little or no assistance is needed, children are often compelled by their parents to go and study.

Dinner is commonly served as from 8:30 to 10:00pm after which those with school homework, or those interested in studying, proceed with the task. Interestingly, most of the children usually doze off whenever they lay hold on their books. In some fortunate homes with power supply, all members of the household commonly gather around the television either before or after dinner to watch movies which can sometimes extend into midnight. In such cases, children normally abandon their studies or homework exercises. On the other hand, sleeping time varies in different homes but does not come earlier than 9:00pm depending on the end of the day's activities within each home, the nature of parents work, parents and children resumption time, or fixed wake-up time.

Saturday mornings are usually programmed for general house cleaning and washing of dirty clothes. It is the basic play and leisure day for some lucky ones but it is usually the busiest day of augmenting the week's sales, either by hawking or staying in stalls, stores or shops for the unlucky ones. Sunday mornings are for the observation of religious obligations while the remaining part of the day is usually used as leisure or resting periods for many of the children.

Majority of the children use their holiday periods to help boost their parents or guardian's finances through their involvement in different forms of trading activities, especially in hawking water packed in sachet or any other products. Few of them attend academic holiday programmes and gallivant around their neighbourhood when they return. Such leisure times are also used for fulfilling all sorts of errands for family members or neighbours. Few usually spent their holidays within or outside the city with relatives or family friends, while others stay at home and play throughout the holiday periods.

These activities cover most of the major aspects of the daily child-rearing activities observed within the homes and family units of the parent participants, who are engaged in informal occupation, especially among the illiterate parent traders and skilled workers.

Unlike the children of the parents in formal employments, this category of children understand and can communicate either averagely or fluently in Yoruba language, but majority of the parents often communicate with their younger children (under the age of ten) in English language. Most of the illiterate parents were observed to be involved in this practice for the sake of boosting their self-esteem. Hence, they often end up expressing their thoughts with ill-formed English language, popularly termed Yoruba-English. Examples in this code are: *“Be going! (Go!), I were not there (I was not around), It has tayed (It’s been ages), I will greet my daddy for you (I will extend your regards to my dad), Sleep is catching me (I’m feeling sleepy), Why are you fearing? (Why are you scared?), Rain is falling (It is raining), NEPA has taken light (There is a power outage), I am going to come back (I will be right back),* among others. This impressive act, as observed, has, however, aided the production of predominantly half-baked Yoruba children who are inaccurate in speaking or writing both English and Yoruba language.

Obedience practices are often based on authoritarian and authoritative models, while some parents combine permissive and authoritative patterns whenever they want to be lenient. However, children are always compelled to comport themselves in good manner both at home and in public places. In other words, they are obliged to be respectful to elders by referring to them in respectful terms that indicate seniority. For instance, ‘*e*’ is used in reference to the elderly or someone who is senior in age, while ‘*o*’ is used for people of same age grouping or in addressing familiar persons in the same age range or peer group. Similarly, children are trained to greet in a courteous and polite manner, to be obedient, loyal, submissive to elders, seniors and authority, to be friendly and to always observe social etiquette within and outside the home. Mostly on the part of the illiterate mothers, misconduct

by children is often redressed through corporal punishment or strict admonition. While such corrective disciplinary concerns are often viewed as necessary cautions that must be exercised by the parents, the literates often condone their children's misconduct or indiscipline. In most cases, the children always adhere to the listed routines of disciplinary training through parental insistence, that is, some of them are not indulged whenever they are involved in any misconduct, especially in terms of observing socially acceptable conduct in public places. For instance, if a child is being reproved by a neighbour or an outsider based on a child's misconduct and he/she reacts reluctantly or with resentment (either in the presence of the parent or the case is reported to them later on), the child will be punished, reproved and instructed to go and apologize to the person involved. Such correctional act on the part of some parents always encourage family members, friends, neighbours, associates and other well-wishers around, to willingly assist the biological parents in the upbringing of their children. However, few of the parents sometimes indulge their children's wrongful conduct and this is usually disapproved by others.

Some of the children are also trained with the clear understanding of admonitory glances or paradoxical expressions that call their attention to immediate acts of solecism within homes or in public places. The act of indiscriminate and careless dressing is also frowned at and discouraged by many of the parents. For instance, indecent dresses are not commonly purchased by these parents and if their adolescent children buy such clothes, they are scolded and discouraged from putting them on. The act of discouraging children, especially females, from indulging in indecent dressing is constantly echoed through a proverb which states, "a good child from a good home with good moral upbringing, should not appear in the public half nude" (*'omo 're, ti a bi ni 'le re, ti a to re, ki i rin ihoho*). Hence, children dressed indecently are often viewed as children with wrongful upbringing.

Living in different types of "hard-knock-life" situations also goes a long way in training some of the children, especially by the middle or lower class parents. The children from such homes are observed to be deliberately reasonable, understanding and enduring during difficult financial situations. For instance, some grown-up children only eat twice per day (morning and night) while others sacrifice their transportation fare to school in place of feeding allowance, thereby, trekking to and from school. Quite often, meat and fish are not given as part of the children's meals while the type of meals served might not be what they really desire, yet they would not express dissatisfaction with the meal; at times they might eat late. Notwithstanding, some of the children do not complain about the situation but willingly accept their fate by hoping for better tomorrow.

Unlike what operates in the elite homes and family units, most of the children always excuse themselves when elderly people are having discussions and neither do they interrupt nor interfere in discussions when they are not instructed to do so. Some rarely talk about any issues they eavesdropped on or heard of within the house with an outsider without their parents' consent. During interrogative or discursive sessions with an elderly, some of the children do not respond until they are instructed to do so. This indicates profound feelings of respect or fear of elders; yet a few of them do respond boldly in angry moods but such outbursts are always viewed as being rude and reprimanded by their parents.

The inquisitive nature of children is commonly overlooked by some of the parents while those observant of such curiosities minimally encourage them without giving it a good deal of the attention desired by the children. Nevertheless, majority of the children are averagely outspoken in the use of Yoruba language and they are smart, intelligent and highly inquisitive. But their utterances in English language are mostly ill-formed but quite understandable.

Like with the other category of parents, religious training is similarly incorporated as the major aspect of the adopted enculturation practice. In this respect, among the illiterate or lower class parents, a higher percentage of the Muslim children attend daily Quranic schools in the evenings (Plate 33- 34) while the Christians attend churches (Plate 35) but many have preference for Yoruba services which often commences around 9:00 to 10:00am.



Plate 33: Children awaiting their teacher in a Quranic school in the evening. (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2012).



Plate 34: Children under the tutorship of their teacher in a Quranic school. (Source: Cecilia Owolabani:Fieldwork, 2012)



Plate 35: Children at the entrance of a Church during mid-week service on a Thursday. (Source: Cecilia Owolabani, 2012).

In respect of clothing, most of the children dress up in both traditional and western attires but the bulk of the western clothing worn by the children of illiterate parents are either bought as cheap ready-made products of low quality materials, or are fairly used clothing popularly called “*okirika*” or “*bend down pick*”. The fairly used clothes are bought in the open market where people search through piles before picking their choices.

Children’s upbringing in most of the homes is usually accomplished through joint parental efforts in varied ways. For instance, in the three polygamous homes studied, the husbands commonly scheduled their movement from the home of one wife to another, in an attempt to exert their influence not only on the wives but also on their children. In most cases, the husbands are responsible for accommodation. On the part of mothers, they are responsible

for taking care of the children, and their tasks include expenses on children's feeding, clothing, health and at times education.

As a result of providing such responsibility, mothers usually manage their own budgets independently and similarly invest their money separately from their husbands in order to provide a measure of financial security for themselves and their children. By so doing, most of the mothers' contribution to the total household finances often surpasses that of the fathers. In a nutshell, practically everybody living within this sort of social environment is involved in the children's enculturation but the brunt falls on the mothers.

4.6 Observed Practices in Secondary Socializing Institutions

The socializing institutions observed are child-care centres, nursery, primary and secondary schools, a foster home, churches and mosques. The visitations to the sampled institutions were prearranged by some of the parent participants whose children are enrolled in these establishments.

Starting with child-care centres, babies from 3 months to 4 years old are enrolled in different kindergarten classrooms, creatively decorated in appealing patterns. The rooms are decorated with bright and colourful pictures comprising images of animals, alphabetical letters, cartoon characters and other interesting iconic representations that can easily capture the children's attention. Beds, television, video players, educational cartoon and children rhyme CD's, toys of different shapes and colours, storybooks, infant nursing bags, toiletries and different food packs in diverse shapes and colours are commonly arranged in different segments of the rooms. A nanny and an assistant are usually assigned to each of the classrooms with a minimum of five children.

In some of the studied areas, as soon as the parents parked their cars at the gate, nannies and their assistant or cleaners usually rush down to escort or walk children into their centres. Quite often, some younger children do cry and are unwilling to release their parents (especially the first timers) but they are gently forced from their parents' grips with affirmative gestures while they are mollicoddled. They (infants) are sometimes fondled to sleep or are urged to be actively involved in early morning assembly or classroom activities like, singing, dancing and praying (Plate 36).



Plate 36: Toddlers observing early morning devotion on the assembly ground of a private nursery and primary school. (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2012).

Back in the classrooms, toddlers are involved in different learning activities with the aids of electronic media devices. They often jump around, calling their teachers to see to all the happenings around them. They eat, sing, dance and sleep until closing hours. But babies are laid on the bed, fed (when hungry), cleaned up (when they defecate), cuddled to sleep and monitored from time to time.

In most of the schools visited (nursery, primary and secondary), formal education is viewed as one of the critical element in child-rearing practices. Here is the comment of one of the secondary school teacher:

... Education is one of the major keys that can easily open up successful doors to people in our present day society. It is one of the major legacies which good parents should not deny their children. This is why teachers and school authorities support and enhance child-rearing values in children (Personal communication).

School teachers and child-care workers focus on children's educational training and their primary objectives are provided through different learning processes. Aside from this, they are also proactively interested in children's social behaviour. Children's involvement in social misconduct like violence, disrespect, stealing, fighting, use of obscene words and early intimate engagements, among others, are discouraged within the school premises and they are corrected through counselling, admonition and light physical punishments. Other significant punishments are based on structured disciplinary measures, usually employed by the schools authorities, while good moral conduct is encouraged and re-echoed on a daily basis through addresses or speeches given on the assembly grounds.

The dominant disciplinary measures often employed in most of the private nursery and primary schools are friendly rebuke, simple punishments like instructing the children to stand up and close their eyes for a short time. The use of physical punishment is usually discouraged in almost all the private schools, but in public schools, it is highly emphasized and encouraged along with other disciplinary measures ranging from simple to very complex punishments, particularly in secondary schools.

In most of the private nursery and primary schools observed, children are not assigned any general task of cleaning the school premises but some of the children in private secondary schools are commonly involved in picking pieces of paper around the school premises whenever they are late to school. Cleaning activity in the private schools observed are carried out by paid workers while children in public primary and secondary schools are compelled to be actively involved in most of the school cleaning activities because government hardly makes arrangements for this in the school funds, as stated by some of the teachers. As such, the children are saddled with the cleaning of toilets, sweeping, weeding of the school premises and such tasks are usually assigned in form of punishment to offending or late students.

Different types of religious, social and literary programmes are also organized in schools and child-care centres on daily, weekly or monthly basis to educate and train the children religiously and socially (Plate 37). Such socio-educational activities often take place within or outside the classrooms and are fused with academic teachings to develop a macro-component of child-rearing practices within the learning institutions.

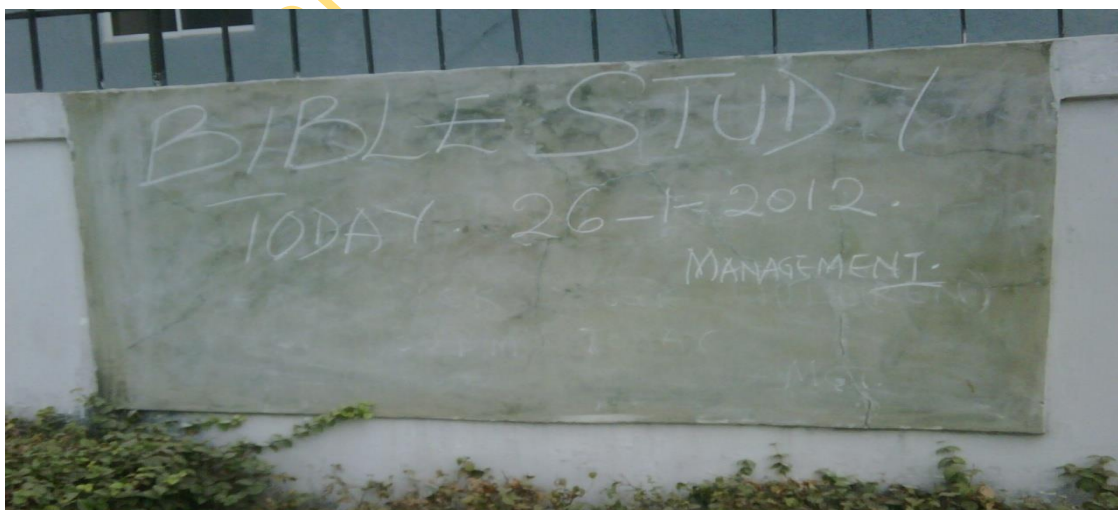


Plate 37: A notice board announcing weekly religious programme to parents in a private school. (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2012)

In sum, school teachers and child-care workers perform a combination of basic care and educational teaching and they advocate for improved moral standards in children's social

conduct. Through these activities, they assist parents in re-moulding social values in children and helping the parents in the enculturation of their children.

In most of the religious institutions studied, children usually worship in separate buildings close to the adult place of worship. They are taught and monitored by Sunday School teachers in different age group classes. Services and teachings are usually conducted in English language in most of the Pentecostal churches while Yoruba language serves as the medium of communication in the Quranic schools or mosques. Religious teachings are infused through varied doctrinal stories. Similarly, true-life experiences, events and fictions are also combined to impart exemplary knowledge in morality teaching. All this reinforces children's religious beliefs and enculturation values. Children's engagement in different socio-religious activities, such as Bible or Quranic quiz and recitations, play acting, singing, and choreography; often help them to develop interest in forming a social network of friends which aids the mastery of how they relate with people in general.

Religious teachers often employ both authoritarian and authoritative patterns of disciplinary measures in order to inculcate societal values into the children. Children are also instructed to be God-fearing, prayerful, respectful, obedient, tolerant and friendly to all the people around them. However, the principal objective behind these religious teachings is to help develop children's spiritual lifestyle while the secondary objective is to help remodel children's moral character in order to compel them to be of good behaviour not only at home but also outside it. Such religious training serves as supplementary training that correct and build upon other customary child-rearing values which have been inculcated in children right from home and school.

The child-rearing training employed in the foster home visited is guided by religious principles. As such, the orphaned and delinquent children under foster care are trained to be God-fearing, prayerful, tolerant, confident, good-hearted, appreciative, obedient, disciplined, respectful and friendly to people in general. They are also trained to be thrifty in the use resources given to them. Some of the children have clear understanding of admonitory glances or paradoxical expressions that call their attention to behavioural indiscretion. Most of the children communicate in English language but few have better understanding of their mother tongue and can speak Yoruba language fluently. The combination of authoritarian and authoritative disciplinary patterns is employed in the foster home studied.

4.7 Our Opinions Count: Children's View

The “give and take” with the children participants often starts with the questions relating to how their parents' occupations have been affecting their upbringing. For instance, many of them disclosed that they always have difficulties in coping with different situations that surround their parent's busy working schedules. This is the situation with the children whose parents are engaged in formal occupations. They hardly see their parents before departing for school in the morning, and they also return home very late. Some stated their mothers or fathers travel frequently and hardly spend quality time with them while some of these parents (mostly fathers) reside outside Nigeria. As such, the children are always at the mercy of house helps and schoolteachers.

The situation is however different among the children whose parents are engaged in informal employment, in that their parents are responsible for their upbringing and the school teachers only complement their efforts. This is made possible because the fathers and mothers are engaged in different occupations and one of them has more time to spend with the children than the other. These children also assist their parents in their work after school hours while some are even enrolled in vocational training in areas of craft, tailoring, automobile repairs among others, which they learn after school hours and on weekends. In this way, many of them are prepared for post-school economic independence.

On the issue of parent-child interaction, the children of the elites easily and freely communicate without restraint from their parents. For instance, some said they often reply their parents during controversial arguments, while few are involved in such acts because they wanted to justify their innocence or to express their grievances and opinions. Therefore, some see nothing wrong in interjecting when being addressed by elderly persons. Based on this view, some intentionally stay in the living room when there are visitors around but when instructed by their parents to leave, they obey. From this perspective, the issue of how versed the children are in the art of understanding admonitory/correctional glances and paradoxical expressions arises and their level of understanding ranges from poor through average to very good. This is the case because some are trained to decode such expressions by their parents, while few learnt it through observation and the others were not trained at all.

The adopted language of interaction in most of the children's household is noted to be English language but a few sometimes code-mix or switch codes. Some of them can also speak Yoruba language fluently but they prefer to speak English language more often. Interestingly, when those with such claims of being able to speak Yoruba language are called upon to provide proof, they do so in ill-formed expressions and wrong intonation.

In response to whose disciplinary patterns they mostly prefer between their fathers and mothers, majority of the children chose their mothers while few opted for their fathers. The reasons for such preferences revolve round mother's understanding, empathy and lenient nature while most fathers are strict and conservative within reasonable contexts. Despite such preferences, some of the children, however, indicated their parents often discipline them for wrong behaviour, disobedience and poor academic performance. Some similarly stated that their parents are inaccessible for confidential interaction that has to do with private issues like sex education. However, such neglect often resolves into misconduct on the part of the children, which the parents in turn oftentimes frown at with disciplinary measures.

The children also cite modernization as accounting for the changing norms of greeting and relating with the elderly. For instance, some of the children (Plate 38) believed their parents are more lenient than their grandparents in relation to the cultural significance of kneeling or prostrating themselves while greeting because they are better educated. Some of the children find it difficult to address young people that are older than them with the respectful term "e" which reflects seniority. Instead, they often communicate in English language which does not differentiate who is younger from the senior.

As to identification with Yoruba socio-cultural history, most of the children practically have no knowledge of this while only few can identify with Yoruba culture. This outcome accounts for the way some of them are brought up, which failed to accommodate socio-cultural training both at home and in school. This is because both the parents and school authorities consider the children's academic pursuit more important based on the view that it ensures their socio-economic status better than any other built on the indigenous system. The children's school schedule is overcrowded to the extent of not accommodating cultural studies. For instance, most of the schools officially close around 3:30pm but the children, on the average, often attend extra classes that are either made compulsory or enforced by their parents as from 4:00-6:00pm, daily. Some are also involved in private classes popularly called "table lessons" with individual subject teachers during break times. In this case, few of the children are of the view that their parents enrol them in these extra classes because they want to intentionally keep them within the school premises until the later part of the evening without showing much interest neither in their academic performance or what they were taught in school. Therefore, majority of the children only fulfil the righteousness of registering but usually consider the exercise as trivial.

However, being involved in this overcrowded exercise makes most of them tired as from 2:00pm, and their level of assimilation is often on the low side. But the teachers hardly

pay much attention to the situation. Similarly, subjects like History, Yoruba and Geography that can educate them about their socio-cultural background are either no longer in the curriculum or are made electives. Hence, most of the children are not satisfied with the way the school curriculums are designed but are not given the opportunities of airing their views. Their parents are, however, given the privilege of visiting the schools once a term, during open days, or Parent Teachers Association (P.T.A.) meetings, in order to find out about their children's performances and to lodge complaints about the observed shortcomings. But only few parents attend because of their busy schedules at work. The following comments are extracted from the comments of these children, mostly from secondary schools.

My dad and mum work in banks but my dad was posted to Lagos and he only comes home once in two weeks while my mum comes home late on daily basis. Due to their busy working schedule, they both decided to enrol my siblings and me in different boarding schools. My school is closer to our house but my mum had never been around to inquire about my welfare. We only see twice, when she comes to drop me during resumption and when she comes to pick me during vacation. Apart from not being accessible to them, my basic needs are oftentimes neglected, thereby reducing me to the act of beggary in the hostel. As for my dad, he was later retrenched at his working place and he travelled out of the country without making solid arrangements on how my school fees would be paid or how my basic needs would be provided. Since, he is no longer around to provide for my needs and my mum is struggling to cater for the family, I cannot fault her actions but I am always sad, moody and I hardly concentrate in class. There are times when I need to discuss some private and pressing growing up issues with her but I always resolved into talking to my friends or teachers.

----13-year-old JSS3 female student.

My mum is a trader while my father is a politician. They are both very busy people and they hardly spend any quality time with us, the children. When I realized that I am always sad after returning from school, I entreated them to enrol me in a boarding school which they did. Although, I now have people around to play with but am not always satisfied with the way we are treated in the hostel. We do not eat what we feel like eating and we are only confined to a space while all our activities are placed on schedule listings. It is definitely not home like and I should not have been there, if my parents have been willing to create some time out of their "no time" to spend some quality time with us at home.

-----14 years-old JSS3 female student.



Plate 38: Interview session with some schoolchildren during participant observation in a private secondary school. (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: *Fieldwork*, 2012).

There is a fifteen years old boy in my class (SSS 3). His father has been residing abroad since his birth while his mother works as a bank manager. Based on his mother's busy work schedule and her fixed resumption and closing time at work, she is hardly home to monitor her son. Being the only child, he has everything at his disposal but none of his parents are around to monitor or caution his behaviours. Thereby, he oftentimes invites his friends to bring their girlfriends to his house and they are exposed to diverse forms of immoral acts. The busy mother has never for once caught his child during such activity because she believes by having easy access to all his needs and being comfortable, her child will never misbehave in her absence. Interestingly, in terms of academic performance, the boy happens to be the ring leader of all known dullards in the class. One day, the boy and his friends ran out of luck when they were traced and arrested in his house on the accounts of being cult members and he and his cohorts were dismissed from school.

--- As narrated by a 16 years old SSS3 male student.

My parents are the very, very busy type and they hardly stay at home to cater for us. My mother is a career woman who leaves for work very early while my dad travels a lot. But we do have a maid who takes care of my siblings. My house is designed ensuite, so I don't get to greet or see my parents whenever I don't feel like it. The cultural protocols of curtsying or prostrating are out of it in my house because my parents do not attach significance to it. If I am being smeared by an elderly person because of an ignorant act and I often cannot withstand it, thereby, I always react against it. Although, such disrespectful acts are often frowned at but I always felt I did the right thing. I do not prostrate when greeting because it is not encouraged in my home. I only communicate my greetings via words and not through actions. I hardly use the respecting Yoruba terms while greeting or communicating with young-elderly people; instead I greet or address them in English language. I do not know

anything about Yoruba history. All I know is that my origin can be traced to Yoruba ethnic group and I have a name to prove that as well but I do not know the historical origin of my congenial family compound nor my oriki (praise pedigree), the basic Yoruba history and traditional religion. The adopted language of communication in my home is English language but we code mix or code switches at times

----- 15-years old SSS 2 male student.

I am speaking on behalf of many of my female colleagues. While growing up as teenagers, there are different prompting issues about sex and menstrual education that is often neglected by our parents. Maybe discussing such issues with us they think might not be ideal but the winds of information we are exposed to do have basic impacts on our lives. For instance, we spent bulk of our days in schools, where the only meaningful association we have is with our peers. As such, the only alternative we have is to interpret and solve such confronting issues with our level of understanding.

---- 16-years old SSS 3 female student.

It was also observed that most of the children have little or no knowledge of Yoruba traditional religion, simply because they are brought up to view it as an abominable topic. Hence, their knowledge is based on what they see in the movies, marketplaces and on the streets, especially in relation to herbs, rituals, sacrifices, incantations and chants, etc. Thus a lot of them are completely ignorant of trado-religious beliefs. They only know the foreign religions (Christianity and Islam). All the children attend different religious ceremonies once or twice weekly, but some of the Christians attend monthly night vigil and revival programmes in the company of their parents. They are of the view that their involvement in such religious activities is a vital part of their upbringing, and they give different reasons in support of this position, e.g. "To know more about God and my religion", "To grow up in Christ and to grow up in wisdom and knowledge", "To know what is right or wrong", "To move closer to God"; "To avoid evil arrows in life", "Prayers are an essential part of growing up needs". However, a few of them feel that taking religion too seriously is sometimes unnecessary and time-wasting, as can be seen in the following reactions:

I was to attend our weekly Bible study programme in church one day but I decided not to because I have to write my homework. During the latter part of the evening after the programme, our church pastor came to my house and when he saw me writing, he said, "You did not come to church for the bible study?" I said yes because I have to write my homework. So, he concluded by scolding me, saying, I am backsliding and I would soon become the devil's child. I felt so bad and I was asking myself, must it always be church activities at all times?

---- 16 years old, SSS2 female student.

Most of our younger siblings always dress in trousers and tank tops without covering their heads to church and people never raises their eyebrow about their mode of dressing. That is, people hardly condemn such acts on their parts. But I am always confused when adults oftentimes express their disapproval about dressing in trousers. So, in my confused state of mind, I always say to myself, if they know it is wrong, why are the younger ones dressed in such clothing?

----13 years old, JSS 3 female student.

Clearly, there is an issue here in relation to how children view the fashion debate. For instance, the children's disposition to dressing is influenced by mass media and digital technology like the internet, cell phones, and cable television stations which have exposed them to foreign ways of life. As such, they oftentimes perceive whatever is being projected in media as the most trendy and civilized way of doing things, including how they ought to dress, behave, walk and talk when they are in the midst of their peers. Nevertheless, the children offer different reasons for their positions on the issue, even though their reasons are nested within the same stream of logic. For instance, some of them said that since most of their clothing was provided by their parents, and most of their parents do not see anything wrong in their sense of fashion and the clothes they wear, then they do not think their values are misplaced. But there are some of the children who feel that it is right to dress modestly.

On a final note, majority of the children expressed a preference for scolding or admonishment rather than being subjected to corporal/physical punishments in the event of disobedience or indiscipline. Some of them expressed their opinion on this matter in more or less the following words: "When I am corrected, I behave rightly but when physically punished, I am not usually remorseful about the wrongs I committed." However, some prefer both forms of correctional measures.

4.8 Child-Care Workers' and Teachers' Views

The opinions of teachers and child-care participants revealed that the involvement of most parents in formal employments has brought about a situation in which much of the enculturation role in the child-rearing process has shifted to them. This assertion is based on the conclusion that parents believe teachers and child-care workers are paid workers who take full responsibility for discharging both primary and secondary child-rearing obligations concurrently. The assumption is clearly evident in the comment of a child-care worker in a private nursery and primary school:

... because many parents have to work to make ends meet, most of them have adopted different child-rearing practices and parenting

patterns that differ from some of the ideal Yoruba child-rearing practices. For instance, the children are separated from their parents for longer periods while teachers and child-care workers take up the major portion of teaching and inculcating social values in children (personal communication).

Therefore, the role of child-care workers starts right from when the children are first dropped off at the facilities. And this period, according to most of them, is the most challenging aspect of their job. This is because the major part of their early productive hours meant for taking care of the children or teaching are often utilized to pacify the children who throw tantrums including crying, fretting, dejection or put up emotional displays that make them moody and unwilling to concentrate on any form of social, academic or sensorial activities. Having to give such emotional support usually drains them of the zeal and energy to discharge their basic duties effectively. Hence the children under their care sometimes end up being emotionally unstable and the support they are able to provide only does little in stabilizing them for minimal periods. These child-care providers therefore expressed their concerns about the wrong disposition of some parents towards the emotional health and total welfare of their children.

On this issue, most of the child-care workers are of the view that majority of the parents rarely call or visit to inquire about their children's welfare, and, quite often, some of them pick their wards late. Interestingly, some of the parents also book babysitting appointments on weekends or enrol their children in the child-care centres that have hostel facilities and operate a 24-hour service (Plate 39). Hence most of the children often end up being detached from their parents, and they gradually become emotionally attached to their care-givers.



Plate 39: A 24-hour child-care hostel facility at New Bodija. (Source: Cecilia Owolabani: Fieldwork, 2012).

Despite this failing on the part of the parents, they often blame the care-givers for any misdemeanour by their children. This sort of reaction is, however, not common among parents who are engaged in informal employments, especially the illiterates, and this observation is confirmed by the child-care workers.

The primary and secondary school teachers are also of the opinion that most working parents hardly monitor their children's behaviour and this attitude results in the raising of spoilt, undisciplined and ill-mannered children enrolled in most private schools. As stated by one of the teachers:

... some of the children behave very badly and when their parents realize they are out of control, they always come running to the teachers with the assumptions that teachers can transform their children's conduct through disciplinary means overnight. Whereas, such behavioural deviances have been noticed early by the parents but often ignored or they were too permissive in addressing it. These parents need to know the situation cannot be controlled by the teachers alone because our roles are supplementary but they play the key role in their children's socialization (Personal communication).

Reacting to such parental impressions, some teachers promise to help out but they often end up with little or no assistance. Although, some try to enforce discipline when correcting the children, they are not usually encouraged by the parental outburst that accompanies the aftermath. That is, the parents who authorize the teachers to discipline their wards often come back to complain, challenge or express resentment and this situation is perceived to be more rampant in private schools.

The teachers also confirmed some of the issues raised earlier by the students in relation to how the extra coaching which extends to the latter part of the evening is not effective because both teachers and students are often fagged out after the regular academic activities. Hence such extra classes only benefit a few independent go-getters among the participating children.

Generally, these secondary socializing agents see their jobs as challenging, stressful, confusing and thought-provoking, among others. There is hardly anyone among them who does not find it interesting and engaging because of its need of continuous exhibition of patience, tolerance and perseverance. Disciplining the deviant children through different corrective strategies like counselling, having private reparative interactions with students and parents, giving open social and admonitory speeches on the assembly ground, light physical

punishments, scolding, cautionary advices and presentation of seminars on different social issues as the occasion demands, also go a long way in making their tasks endurable.

In sum, most of the child-care workers and school teachers viewed their child-rearing and enculturation roles as secondary obligations that can only be achieved on a minimal level while the crucial components of child-rearing and socialization process are believed by them to be the responsibility of parents, a notion that clearly affirms the Yoruba saying, “*Ile la ti n k’eso rode*” (home training is a fundamental factor in children’s upbringing). Based on this reality, the next subdivision presents case studies on some of the children participants’ home training.

4.9 Rays on the ‘Everydayness’ of Child-Rearing Related Events Witnessed in the Field

Event 1

An asthmatic 13-year-old girl, who is attending one of the private schools covered in New Bodija, was ill and her mother, who works in a bank, was alerted about her child’s condition. Owing to the critical nature of the child’s illness, the school authority monitored the first-aid treatment administered to the child by the class teacher. But when her situation deteriorated, she was rushed to a nearby hospital. Her mother was called upon and was instructed to report at the hospital. The researcher was not informed of what transpired within the confines of the hospital pertaining to the girl’s ailment and the kind of medical attention she needed but noticed neither the child’s mother nor father was around for close to five hours. Having waited for the parents for close to eight hours, the school principal suddenly became agitated about the situation at hand and started complaining about the mother’s nonchalant attitude towards her child’s welfare. During this incident, he disclosed that the father lives abroad and could not be reached. After that heated moment of frustration, the child finally gave up the ghost and her mother did not show up at the scene until a few minutes to 8 o’clock which was her closing hour. She, of course, ended up staging the drama of acceptance of fault by wailing profusely.

Event2

As the shaft of early-morning sunlight was splitting the clouds around 10 o’clock, on a Monday morning, the researcher walked into the premises of a child-care centre in Jericho. As she made her entry, a terrified child-care worker rushed out of one of the infant classes with a convulsing baby. With fear and great feelings of anxiety, other co-workers and

teachers (with the exception of the proprietor who was out with the school bus) rushed out from their respective classes and started praying over the quivering child. Interestingly, no one thought of either alerting the mother of the 5-month-old baby or rushing her to the nearest hospital for close to ten minutes. When they later realized the danger lurking around, one of teachers rushed across the road to seek the assistance of a neighbour who helped them transport the baby to the nearest hospital.

Event 3

The researcher was waiting for an interview with one of the child-care workers (at a child-care centre in Old Bodija), who was on the after closing-hours baby-sitting shift. A 6-month-old baby, whose closing time has been scheduled for 7:00pm, was left in the custody of the frustrated child-care worker with a security guard. Unable to fulfil her initial mission with the woman, the researcher joined the worried, angry and very tired workers waiting for the child's mother. The mother later arrived in a very restless mood around 8:00pm and started apologizing for picking her child late. She later explained that she had rushed home from her working place to arrange her family's dinner and while parking the car, it dawned on her that she had forgotten to pick up her child.

Event 4

A fifteen-year-old boy, living in one of the houses the researcher stayed in at New Bodija, came back from school on a weekday and started preaching the gospel of Christ in a bizarre manner to everyone present in the living room. His attitude was strange and funny to all present but none of us gave it a serious thought. In the middle of the night, the panicked voice of Toye (the boy's cousin) woke everyone up and we were all shocked when we saw Steven (the boy) quibbling over some biblical doctrinal minutiae at the pitch of his voice while he was naked. When he realized we were all standing by observing his strange behaviour, he ran towards the main entrance leading to the gate. We all ran after him in a mad rush and he was captured and immediately taken to the hospital. After responding to some medical treatment for three days, he later disclosed the genesis of his conduct thus:

I have been observing that my private part often 'stands' at night for over three months now but whenever I tried to force it down, it would be difficult for me to do. So I narrated my ordeal to one of my classmates who showed me a pornographic movie on his phone. I then discovered the solution to my mid-night problems but could not confide in my 'born-again' parents or any girl to help out because it is often preached in our church that being involved with girls is a sin. With no one to help or explain my ordeal to, I started sleeping close to my

cousin, who observed and understood my intentions. He promptly reported me to my parents who scolded me and warned me against such sinful act, without educating me on what to do whenever my manhood stands up. I later became friends with a girl in another school who is also a born-again Christian. While we were returning from school one day, she told me of how she is always attracted to her female friends sexually, and I also confided in her concerning my problem. She then informed me her mother once told her it was Satan, who usually implant such feelings into born-again Christian youths and that we needed to go and cast out the spirit somewhere. On our way back from school the following day, we headed towards a stream and she started chanting some words which I could not understand. That was the same day I came back from school and started preaching to everyone at home. During the middle of the night, I saw someone who instructed me to undress and go to the street to preach the gospel.

The boy in question ended up spending the whole of the school term in the hospital while receiving medical and psychological treatment for almost three months.

Event 5

While observing the patterns of child-rearing practices in one of the foster homes visited, the researcher noticed a three-month-old baby, whose mother usually came around on a daily basis to breastfeed him for 30 minutes. It was an act that got the researcher very curious. After some interrogative sessions with one of the workers, it was disclosed that the mother was a postgraduate student in a nearby university, and that she paid monthly fees to the management for taking care of her child. This revelation prompted interest in meeting with the child's mother personally, and when the opportunity provided itself, she personally confirmed the discovery. She, however, explained that she was a full-time student residing in the school's hostel with nowhere to keep the baby. Unbeknownst to her, as one of the workers disclosed, her child was always presented to visitors as an orphan and her monthly provision for the child's needs was often hoarded based on the proprietress's order.

Event 6

In one of the private secondary schools visited at new Bodija, a 13-year-old boy was rude to one of his teachers and was openly disciplined on the assembly ground by the school principal. During closing hours, the boy approached the teacher on his way home, informing him to get ready for his parent's wrath. The following morning, his mother came to the school with her orderlies. Surrounded by 3 soldiers while her son led the procession, the teacher having been identified on the assembly ground, the mother started to rave with anger. In the process of pacifying her, while the teacher in question was instructed by the school

principal to apologize, the woman slapped the teacher twice. After disrupting the school activities for close to an hour, she instructed her son to go into the classroom but the school principal stopped the boy from entering. The mother immediately placed a phone call to the proprietor of the school, who instructed the principal to grant the child entry into the classroom because he has already paid the term's school fees.

Event 7

A 16-year-old boy in one of the family units observed at Beere, went to school late, after he had been warned by his father to leave for school early. After a few hours, he returned home with a bleeding head. When his father spotted him from afar, he rushed to the frontage of the face-me-I-face-you building with a cane and started instructing his son to return to school. The few neighbours around tried to pacify the father, advising him to listen to the wounded child before sending him back to school. He refused to heed their advice, while the boy reluctantly went back to school. On his return, we all learnt he was flogged by the school principal for coming to school late and the cane mistakenly hit him on the head. He, however, left the school in anger, and with the intention of reporting the principal to his father, who he had hoped would follow him to the school to rebuke the principal.

4.9 Starting Out/ Fieldwork Experience

Filled with deep thoughts on having limited amount of money that could take care of basic daily needs and being unsettled about how residency periods or visiting hours with people she had little knowledge about would turnout, this researcher set out on a Sunday afternoon for her planned fieldwork trip in April, 2011. Leaving home with the thought of moving from house to house in order to reside with, or visit, 'different strangers', this was for her quite an exciting experience in itself and it suddenly dawned on her that she had ventured on a difficult task.

The participant observation fieldwork exercise commenced with the studied participants residing in the chosen study areas and the point of departure was Oluyole Estate. A light shower of rain welcomed her at Mobil Bus Stop, Ring Road, (the major link to Oluyole Estate) at some minutes to 1:00pm. While wondering on how she would be received, she alighted from a motorcycle popularly called '*Okada*' and walked towards the gate of her first adopted home. After spending a few anxious minutes at the gate waiting for her host, it was finally opened and she was ushered into a big compound with a pathway leading to a massive living room. The introductory phase with all the members of the household started in earnest and she was served her welcome meal after so much persuasion. After a brief

familiarization with everyone present as an act of establishing a friendly bond, one of the children was later instructed to take her to the guest room. While stepping into her temporary room, she knew she had been given permission to proceed on her research. However, with the exception of the welcoming rain, the problem of taking off in every one of the homes she resided in in the highbrow areas was similar to what she experienced in her first port of call.

After having stayed for five months in some of the observed homes, the researcher proceeded to the others on a sunny Sunday afternoon, the first port of call being Beere. Having met her once and sighting her from afar, the children of her first host rushed down the street to welcome her and assisted with carrying her luggage. Amidst so many greetings and inquisitive glances from their relatives, friends and neighbours, her little friends ushered her into their one-room apartment. Water was served while one of the children was sent to get a bottle of soft drink. She similarly reciprocated the receptive gesture by offering some canned drinks and snacks she brought with her to the children; but the items were given to their mother out of courtesy. This gesture strengthened the friendly bond between the researcher and all the family members. And with plenty of joy, she was once again welcomed and assured of their cooperation and hospitality throughout her one-month stay.

This researcher's setting-out experience in all of the homes she resided in and with the family units observed was similar in so many respects. But she was welcomed in different exciting and respectful ways. As for the hosts in the visited homes, she was gladly accepted by them and they were all highly cooperative, hospitable and friendly as well.

Staying with the elderly parents in some of the homes she lived in as a participant observer was quite interesting and fun-filled. Interacting with them, including those that were randomly sampled in the not-lived-in homes was mesmerizing, intellectually challenging, demanding and time consuming. Interestingly, they were more receptive than all other younger participants that crossed the researcher's path during the study, and soliciting their assistance and cooperation was not in any way challenging.

Cut off from her private world for nearly 20 months and residing with different families and spending her spare time visiting different homes, schools, baby care facilities/organizations and religious institutions in two dissimilar environments, she was able to, in a gradual manner, build a bond (through friendly rapport) with many individuals via her active participation in household activities and her inquisitive interactions. Her involvement in such activities gave her open access of observance into the participants 'out of the way' everyday child-rearing practices, and were used as tools for winning her host's trust.

During the fieldwork, she was given the opportunity of having first-hand contact with the happenings that envelop working parent's family life in relation to the way their children are reared. This privilege raises a thought which never came to mind before this researcher embarked on the field trip. The thought is wrapped around a conceived reality which indicates that an individual's goal in life can only be accomplished based on his/her virtue, patience and interactions with 'others' and that a successful event can only be achieved if everything associated with it is in tandem and coherent. Hence, this researcher's involvement in the participant observation fieldwork is in itself an advanced school of life that was filled with great young and old teachers.

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CHAPTER FIVE

DISSCUSSION: THE CHANGING CHILD-REARING PRACTICES AMONG YORUBA PARENTS IN IBADAN

5.0 Preamble

Evidence from the data presented in the last chapter demonstrates that the parents in the study areas have adapted their child-rearing practices to continuous changes through time. Hence an interpretative and comparative analysis is applied in this chapter to realize the aims and objectives of the study and to uncover the common plots/themes underlying the changes indicated across the narratives presented in chapter four. This section also elicits, captures and reflects on the personal worldviews of the parents on how they create, share and make cultural meanings/values out of their adopted child-rearing practices. Inductive reasoning is also utilized to comparatively identify the common categories of cultural values in the past and present and to scan the data for variable relationships which aided the development of the analytical typologies used in the interpretation of findings. According to Goetz and LeCompte, this analytical method is called for so as to “focus on identifying categories and on generating statements of relationships” (1984:182).

The presentation of findings is situated within a number of themes that emerged from the broad contents of the data laid out in Chapter Four. The first phase of analysis is set to ascertain the changes in the child-rearing practices by comparing the ‘past’ against the ‘present’ in relation to obedience, respect, morality, responsibility, enculturation and adoption of Yoruba as a medium of communication, among the Yoruba parents in Ibadan. The second phase examines how socio-economic transformative process in the city of Ibadan shaped the shifts in the child-rearing practices, among the literate and illiterate Yoruba parents, who are engaged in ‘formal’ and ‘informal’ occupations. The assumption of the study in this regard is that socio-economic transformation is accompanied by pervasive cultural changes in relation to child-rearing practices among working parents. Therefore, this supposition is tested by analyzing the narratives in the data presented in order to make the cultural change visible. Finally, the unified theoretical perspectives serving as the guiding horizons in the study are employed in interpreting the data presented.

5.1 Assessment of the Changes in Yoruba Child-Rearing Practices in Ibadan, Nigeria

It is apparent that parents’ childhood recollections reflected more of adopted traditional models of Yoruba child-rearing practices which were located within the context of

extended, communal and fosterage systems. With the joint efforts and the involvement of most of the parents in conventional or informal occupations like trading, marketing, farming, crafts/skilled works (either as full or part time jobs), the favourable opportunity of being fully involved in children's enculturation training was institutionalized. Similarly, their choice of parental occupation also made the task of caring, nurturing and creating strong parent-child bonding relationships easy. In short, communal socialization characterized this phase.

In terms of obedience practices, the parents predominantly embraced the authoritarian parenting pattern in inculcating respect and obedience values in children. The approach was characterized by restrictive and punitive child-rearing principle that produced high expectations of conformity and compliance to guiding rules, regulations and boundaries among the children. Thereby, the children's adherence to obedience training was mostly enforced with stern disciplinary methods like the use of physical punishment, the act of withholding basic needs or demands, rewards and praise. The use of these corrective measures aided the demand of rightful conducts from the children, and they in turn, learnt to act right through self-discipline in order to avoid punishment. Natural vulnerability to refutation of punitive sanctions was scarcely recorded and children were more sensitive to physical and admonitory punishments than others. The manipulative punitive factors acted as stimulants that validated the assertive parental authority that was devoid of questioning or negotiation on the parts of the children.

Respect was instilled through fear and enhanced with courteous training in relation to curtsy and postural greeting forms, use of respectful phrases, reverence for the elderly and seniors, which is the exhibition of decorous modesty. These behavioural practices formed part of the prominent and conventional models of child-rearing values, regarded by the parents as the distinguishing characteristics of Yoruba culture, and as such, their children were trained to imbibe and portray the respect norms in their behavioural attributes.

It is also noted that religion and belief systems served as the supplemental cognitive contents that helped instil moral values into children, but morality training was not emphasized through frequent attendance of religious ceremonies. Instead, parental monitoring and scrutiny of children's conducts and character formation was mostly employed. By so doing, the parents were able to correct children's misconducts early enough. Moreover, parental expression of approval and support for children's enculturation practices in relation to their involvement in outdoor relaxation activities aided the regurgitation of every learned responsibility practices that has to do with domestic and social skills training.

Likewise, the prevailing child-rearing practices embraced by the parents are rooted in the children's cognitive acquisition of Yoruba language which served as the starting basis of the children's upbringing and acculturation process.

With this training, the Yoruba child-rearing values are strictly inculcated into the developing children. The employment of firm parental control as a means of instilling the ideal values in children, aided the upbringing of more respectful, obedient and responsible children with higher standards of positive conduct, good moral character, discipline, independence, and competence in cultural understanding. This probably explains why many of the elderly parents, in their different educational, occupational and socio-economic statuses, often prefer the traditional child-rearing practices over the modern patterns. Many reasons such as the stringent nature of enforcing rules and regulations, the inculcation of norms and belief system that are built on an undiluted set of values and the communal socialization systems, among others, are adduced for such preferences. Such impressions cannot be disputed because of the emphasis placed on the positive attributes that are linked to the adopted conventional practices, but it is also apparent that the model yielded more of timid children. Likewise, the aspiration for children's participation in formal education was on a very low rating while most of the children were basically trained as skilled artisans, traders, marketers and farmers among others. Similarly, parts of the reasons ascribed for the preferences have been altered by the continuous changes in socio-economic processes occurring in the city. For instance, there has been a prominent shift in the structural extended family, fosterage and communal system to a more nuclear family system, changes in acculturation process, modifications in parent's literacy, occupational and socio-economic status, and alteration in working arrangements.

Therefore, such traditional impressions are prone to opposition from other generations of parents, but instead of forming a critical opinion out of the elderly parents' beliefs, it would be better to resolve that their children were mostly reared with the prevalent ideals of Yoruba child-rearing values, inculcated via both verbal and nonverbal channels of observation, participation and modelling. It is, however, discovered that the effects of such internalized practices were not evaded in the children's personality when they finally assumed parental position in later years.

When most of the parents took up parental responsibilities, the ecology and demographic systems of the city were already undergoing considerable change processes. Coupled with this, the level of acculturation, parent's literacy, occupational and socio-

economic statuses, work and family life, parenting patterns, children upbringing and enculturation processes, and most importantly, the child-rearing practices, were also splitting up and fitting into the changes. Thus the child-rearing experiences of the parents underwent a shift as a reflection of mixed traditional and modern models which evolved out of their individual upbringing experiences and other dominant mainstream factors that accompanied the socio-economic and environmental transformation of the city.

With the increase in literacy and industrialization, there is a manifestation of gradual but monumental female entrance into formal employments. Trailing their mothers' path, majority of the women chose to be involved in convenient occupations that permitted greater degree of participation in their children's upbringing and enculturation processes, despite their engagements in occupations with defined working hours. As such, the women attach different priorities to their work and parenting obligations while their child-rearing role becomes the topmost priority and their income acquisition drive is placed on a lower rung in the scale of preference. Commendably enough, they engage in flexible jobs like teaching, auxiliary nursing, production or factory work, trading, marketing and skilled work that have clearly defined working hours with the provision of sufficient time for the fulfilment of their primary parenting responsibility.

Nevertheless, the traditional extended, communal and fosterage system of child-rearing practice is also a dominant practice, but the family system started evolving gradually to its nuclear or 'nuclear within the extended' family structural pattern. With this development, many of the parents experienced partial denial of assistance from extended family support networks. For instance, many biological parents residing within or outside consanguineous family compounds became fully responsible for the provision of their children's basic needs while some of the child-rearing costs commonly taken up by extended family members were gradually reduced. Thus, the increased involvement of mothers in non-traditional jobs, also marked a contraction of the child-rearing support networks built around female members of the extended family, giving way to reliance on only close-knit relatives, 'sibling chains', neighbours, friends and schoolteachers.

With the ongoing social change process flourishing through the influence of socio-economic transformation, the Yoruba child-rearing practices were also adapting to cultural changes by splitting and fitting into the diffusing and advancing western child-rearing patterns. As such, the issue of how strictly traditional or liberal the parents should be while choosing their child-rearing practices started to emerge just as the foreign cultural elements

were creeping in. In other words, with the adaptation to western child-rearing practices, the concerns of parents shifted to the choice of adopted patterns of instilling child-rearing values. However, with the influence of most of their internalized beliefs, childhood child-rearing experiences and other individual preferential factors, 72.6% of the parents, as gleaned from the survey, opted for the traditional ideals of child-rearing practices. However, some of the adopted practices were combined with other diffusing practices that are deemed beneficial to the cognitive and social development of their children, mostly in relation to formal educational training. This aided the development of different but peculiar child-rearing practices across the educational, occupational and socio-economic statuses of the parents. As such, the dominant parenting patterns among the parents fall into the two distinctive categories of authoritative and authoritarian models. While most of the literate parents adopt more of authoritative pattern, the illiterates predominantly embrace the traditional authoritarian pattern which is slightly altered. Although the parental recollections fit into more than one characteristic of adopted child-rearing pattern, the common approach is characterized by a balance of both demanding and responsive upbringing.

Generally, their children are not only trained with stern disciplinary measures but also guided through extensive verbal give-and-take approach that helped develop healthy attitudes, positive conducts and formation of good moral characters in the children. Adopted patterns of obedience, respect, disciplinary and responsibility practices are similar to their childhood child-rearing experiences but more enforced with communication and punitive means. Firm limits are also set to control negative actions and to clearly state expectations. As such, most of the literate parent's children learnt how to communicate confidently with free access to appropriate outlets of solving problems and they are able to explore issues with empathy, self-reliance and boldness.

Despite the growth in the establishment of religious institutions, children's religious training is not based on frequent attendance of religious ceremonies but viewed as an integral part of children's moral and disciplinary training. Similarly, enculturation, in respect of the involvement of children in outdoor and playgroup activities under close parental scrutiny, is highly encouraged, while moral conduct and character formation are also closely monitored. In addition, there is an emphasis on the quality of children's formal educational training because parents had started considering literacy as a key to understanding the world. On the other hand, the accessibility of information to children through school activities and peer group associations aids the gradual increase in their displeasure with some disciplinary sanctions and the cultural norms they are trained with. For instance, boarding and day schools have started

assimilating children into the dominant school environment by forbidding them to speak their mother tongue. This realization has prompted parents to always interact with their children in Yoruba language as often as possible. The inevitability of the heightened parental interest in children's educational training, however, prompts diverse conflicting cultural values in children's social conduct, but, in turn, motivates the conscious act of vigilance and introduction of strict disciplinary sanctions that are relatively employed by parents to enforce children's adherence.

From most indications, it is evident from the parent's childhood recollections that it is becoming more challenging to raise children unlike in the past, due to the apparent socio-economic and environmental changes which started influencing the shifts in child-rearing practices. Nevertheless, the parents still consciously attached much importance to the Yoruba child-rearing values transmitted to them in the past and with conscious efforts, majority of them scrutinized, adjusted and incorporated the traditional ideals of Yoruba child-rearing values within the western child-rearing practices that is predominantly adopted, even when such Yoruba cultural ideals are not rigidly specified within the society at large. Communal efforts through the assistance of close relatives, siblings, neighbours, friends and well-wishers also help inculcate the conserved but refined child-rearing values into their children and this is confirmed by close to 90.0% of the respondents.

On the other hand, the parental accounts reflecting on the dominant child-rearing practices of today revealed massive shifts from the preceding patterns. With the increase in females climbing from conventional and clerical jobs to the highest echelons of professional and managerial positions in formal and informal employments, there is a profound adjustment in working arrangements, the amount of time parents expend in work, children's upbringing and enculturation process, and their adopted models of child-rearing practices. As such, the elites dominantly patterned their adopted child-rearing practices around the western child-rearing ideals, comprising of four distinctive mixed models of detached, permissive, authoritative and authoritarian patterns, while majority of other parents commonly embrace the combination of authoritative and authoritarian models.

With respect to medium of communication adopted, the predominant pattern of choosing Yoruba as the language of communication by yesteryear's parents has been altered among today's parents, who now adopt English as the preferred language of interaction with their children. Although in some households there is code-mixing and code-switching occasionally between English and Yoruba, a majority of the children cannot speak Yoruba fluently. This trend has, however, aided the production of Yoruba children who dominantly

lack deep understanding of both languages and are mostly incompetent in speaking and writing the languages, and, as such, they are culturally alienated.

Obedience practices, characterized by stringent adherence and devoid of children's negotiation and questioning among preceding parents have been transformed to liberal patterns predicated on communication, reasoning and explanation. This adopted model is mostly set on teaching children about obeisant expectations which are guided by explicit rules and setting of firm limits. This pattern is also observed to be dominant among the elite parents, child-care workers and private schoolteachers while a mixture of strict and free-handed models was confirmed by 74.2% of the respondents to be prevalent among other parents and the public schoolteachers. With the employment of such novel patterns, most of the children exhibit different characters or dispositions that reflect over-pampering, as a result of the over solicitous attention granted by some of the parents and commercial secondary socializing agents. Regardless of such situations, most of the children still relatively accord respect to seniors, elders or authority, are obedient, loyal, polite, submissive, and exhibit good moral etiquette, among others. But such anticipations are enforced based on the preference of individual adopted parenting pattern.

Respect values, which normatively reflect in courtesy greetings, use of respectful phrases, fear of the elderly and avoidance of eye contact in the past, have yielded grounds to western greeting norms and conducts like handshaking, boldness, fearless attitude and shunning of respectful phrases. This transformation is reflected more among elite children and about 78.0% of the respondents confirmed this. In short, the Yoruba ideal of kneeling and prostrating oneself as indications of respectful courtesy greetings is diminishing among a majority of the children and this is encouraged by most of the parents/elderly. The act of addressing those advanced in age through respectful phrases reflecting seniority has also decreased mostly among elite children. Other wrongful social conduct such as rudeness, shouting at the elderly, disrespect and indecent dressing are also on the increase among the children.

Inculcation of moral values in children has also predominantly shifted from utilization of disciplinary checks and less reliance on religious teachings, to higher reliance on religious precepts and minimal attention on disciplinary admonishment. This model is more paramount among overtly religious Christians and some literate and illiterate parents, who also employ both patterns for instilling moral teachings, as confirmed by 74.6% the respondents. The act of communicating through admonitory glances or calling children's attention to correctional acts via coded paradoxical expressions are not often employed in most of the elite homes and

are not often clearly understood by a majority of other children. In addition, children's basic needs are provided by such parents on a must-have basis, even if such needs are asked for in financially trying times. Hence some of the children find it difficult to endure difficult, trying times and they are rarely aware of such financial inconveniences. On the other hand, a majority of the children are highly inquisitive, outspoken, smart and reasonably intelligent, based on the encouragement of unrestrained freedom of expressions by the parents.

Responsibility practices centring on children's training in domestic and practical skills have been profoundly transformed among the elite parents, whose children are mostly trained to participate less in domestic activities while relying on the services of domestic helps. However, a majority of other parents dominantly trained their children to be more functional and this was supported by 85.4% respondents.

Enculturation practices have been modified in different aspects. For instance, religious training is becoming dominant due to children's attendance in religious activities and more parents rely on doctrinal teachings for moral and disciplinary breeding. In terms of mode of dressing, majority of the children prefer foreign to traditional attires but such choices also depend on what their parents can afford. Children's involvement in leisure and recreational activities has also shifted from outdoor and neighbourhood engagements to indoor and visitation to recreational facilities, while 62.8% of the respondents affirmed the mass media and digital technologies are used as supplements. The greater level of parents' participation in children's upbringing has yielded ground to lesser engagement while teachers and child-care workers have assumed central socialization roles with measurable support from sibling chains, communal and extended family system. On the other hand, the commercial secondary socialization agents minimally fulfil their assumed central child-rearing roles and this is contrary to the expectations of most parents, especially the elite, who assume teachers and child-care workers will take care of their children's basic upbringing and moral instruction.

However, majority of the children are dissatisfied with the way their school curriculums are designed without being open to alternatives like creative or entrepreneurship syllabus. Similarly, participation in extra-classes till late evenings and the act of scrapping or making some subjects like History, Yoruba and Geography electives, instead of being enforced as compulsory courses that can infuse both historical and socio-cultural values, are infuriating to the children. As such, the children believe schools and child-care centres have not been very effective in boosting their cultural and historical consciousness. Regardless of the shortcomings, educational training has recorded a great shift from lower to higher

quantity of children's enrolment in schools and the quality of educational standards has also increased with the production of highly intelligent and smart children, in its relative applicable terms.

The changes recorded within the last two decades of Yoruba child-rearing practices are, however, linked to the rise of industrial and service economy within the city and this shift is relative across the different occupational, literacy and socio-economic statuses of the sampled parents. For instance, with the increase in industrialization which offers wider employment opportunities to women through the passage of time, the classic pattern of male provider and female housewife stereotypes is becoming a bygone and women's attainment of near-equality in both formal and informal employments dramatically continues to unfold. Although this trend was initially groundbreaking for women, later on it started manifesting in part as an abrupt decline in the mother's participation in children's upbringing. There is also a considerable decline in the role of traditional extended family and communal systems in providing child-rearing support networks, and an increase in the formation of a conspicuous nuclear family system which promotes the individualistic approach to child-rearing pattern and decrease in reproduction.

Again, the striking increase in the adoption of western values and modifications in the level of parental participation in both formal and informal occupations also go a long way in determining the patterns of child-rearing practices adopted by the parents. This alteration also enhanced the evolvement of the variable models of child-rearing practices.

In addition, parental occupation and socio-economic statuses of the parents, similarly, impinge on the variables of individually adopted child-rearing practices and parenting patterns. For instance, most of the illiterate parents, engaged in formal and informal employments, commonly embrace the combination of authoritative and authoritarian patterns, comprising higher traditional ideals of Yoruba child-rearing practices and lower degree of western child-rearing values. On the other hand, the elites do combine the detached, permissive and authoritative models with higher degree of western child-rearing ideals and lower ratings of Yoruba child-rearing values.

Nevertheless, the influence of socio-economic transformative processes on the changing child-rearing practices also reflected positive effects in other aspects. For instance, the level of parental involvement in different occupations has triggered increase in higher income rate, access to better standard of living and social status climbing. Such accomplishment, as noted, requires fewer struggles to attain by the parents, unlike in the past.

Another positive factor is linked to children's character formation. Moreover, today's children are noted to be mostly independent minded, fearless and daring in terms of reasoning and decision making rather than being timid and fearful. The children are also fast learners and they can internalize practical skills quickly through observational processes with the aid of mass media and digital technologies. The negative effects include the falling and eroding state of the distinctive value systems ascribed to the different Yoruba child-rearing practices, the children's upbringing and enculturation process which is largely attributed to western acculturation and parental occupations. Others are adoption of or preference for naming children with English and religious names, indulgence of indecent dressing in public places, nonchalant attitude in displaying immoral sexual acts in public places, inability to speak or lack of understanding of Yoruba language by some of the children, lack of cultural consciousness and knowledge about the history and culture of the Yoruba social group [on the part of the parents and their children]. Hence one can conclude that socio-economic transformations have wrought both positive and culturally unfit changes in Yoruba child-rearing practices.

5.2 Evaluation of the Meddling Paths between Socio-Economic Transformation and the Modifications in Yoruba Child-Rearing Practices in Ibadan

The data presented so far have revealed relative modifications in the child-rearing practices adopted by the sampled parents through the influence of socio-economic transformation. The alterations, as noted are however linked to the changes associated with the rise in industrial and service economy within the city. Otherwise stated, the increase in parental involvement in formal occupational activities serves as the central socio-economic transformative factor, inducing pervasive and profound changes in the people's work and parenting experiences, which in turn influence changes in the child-rearing practices. For instance, with the increase in industries which offers wider employment opportunities to parents, most especially women, the classic pattern of male provider and female housewife stereotypes is becoming a bygone, and women's attainment of near-equality in both formal and informal economic sectors dramatically continues to unfold. With this groundbreaking trend for women, there is a gradual and abrupt decline in the central parenting roles in children's upbringing and there is also a considerable cut-down on the traditional extended family and communal system of child-rearing support networks. What is on the increase is the formation of the nuclear family system, decrease in reproduction and individualistic approach to child-rearing obligations.

However, regardless of the dominant roles women play in terms of generating income that helps take care of their family needs, which also flows back into the city's socio-economic development, the society still depends mostly on women to be the stakeholder in child-rearing responsibility. As such, one of the major challenges that accompany women's triumphal entry into the wider employment opportunities lies in the alteration of working patterns that are compounded by time constraints. Therefore, parents no longer spend quality time with their children and their primary child-rearing responsibilities are transferred to various commercialized child-care workers and schoolteachers. Hence, majority of the working Yoruba parents within the city of Ibadan now depend on house helps and secondary socialization agents in child-care centres, religious institutions, foster homes and schools, to take over their primary parenting child-rearing roles, in combination with their own secondary socializing roles.

On the other hand, most of the sampled secondary socializing agents astonishingly revealed that they hardly meet up to such parental expectations since the central child-rearing obligations are not customarily assigned to them. Even when they try to substitute for such primary responsibility in the children's life, it is always impossible for them to help rear the children like their parents would naturally do, and such deficiency cannot be replaced since their main role is to reinforce what has already been taught in the homes. Moreover, they also have their biological children who similarly needed their parental attention. As such, they can only help to develop the cognitive system of the children and, in extension, educate parents about their children's developmental needs but sadly enough, majority of the parents hardly attend such forums when invited. The children respondents also pointed out the flaws indicated by the substitute secondary socializing agents. For instance, 74.8% of the children respondents rely on the mass media and notions from digitally-mediated technologies to fill in the gap for such deficiencies. Invariably, this medium of enculturation has been contributing increasingly to the children's conflicting 'self-conviction' and their involvement in wrongful socio-cultural conducts.

Western acculturation similarly plays a major influential role in the modifications of the Yoruba child-rearing values. For instance, the elite dominantly adopt a variable of parenting pattern that often overlooks children's misconduct, undisciplined acts, negative mannerism, and disobedience, among others. Such negligence can also be ascribed to the involvement of the parents in inflexible working arrangements which often separate parent and child for longer hours, and so undermine close monitoring. As such, in an attempt to make up for the deficient responsibility, most of the parents hardly employ physical

punishment for correcting their younger children's misconduct which are often purposefully condoned in order to provide a permissive growing-up environment for the children. Similarly, most of the children have acculturated to the act of speaking more English at home and within the school environment. In addition, the scanning of the subjects slated in the school curriculum of the observed senior secondary pupils also revealed there are no educative subjects, grounded in the understanding of the history and cultural repertoire of the city, state, nation and the Yoruba cultural group. The availability of such educative study could have assisted the younger generation to be more knowledgeable about their cultural place in the world.

It was similarly found out that the age-long requirements for senior secondary school (SSS) students to mandatorily study English language, Mathematics and Yoruba language have been restructured by the school management board with Yoruba language being relegated to an optional status. Similarly, Yoruba language has been deleted from the academic curriculum of some of the child-care, nursery and primary schools observed. Instead, alternative social programmes in which children are involved in termly cultural performances that exhibit material culture are frequently organized, thereby turning the children's cultural knowledge about self-convictions to cultural performance and spectacle. An ironic instance of such a programme was displayed on the nation's public television station when some young children dressed in different Nigerian attires were hosted at the presidential villa. One of the kids was beckoned to greet the invited foreign dignitaries in Yoruba language but the child could not utter any words of greetings in her mother tongue. The situation was a pathetic display, aired to both local and international viewing.

With such developments, it is apparent that parents, secondary socializing agents and government will end up producing literate younger generations who have been alienated from the substance of their existence and identity. This point is further buttressed in the utterance of a nursery school student who usually identifies herself by saying: "I am not *Oyinbo* (a white personality), I am English and Yoruba." It is then not surprising that the younger generations will not be fully equipped to relate their educational literacy to their immediate society and cultural identity because by being intellectually, mentally and culturally alienated from their existence, it might be very difficult for them to display their full potentials in the local and global economic marketplace of distinct ideals and innovations or pass on the distinctive cultural values to their own children, in the nearest future. The children might also end up becoming "fakes" of the western "originals" their parents and government seek to imitate, without having deep cultural understanding about both entities.

However, the foregoing discussion does not imply that socio-economic transformation of the city of Ibadan is not associated with positive child-rearing outcomes. In this respect, the study also found out that the arbitrary acts adopted by majority of the parents in formal and informal employments, which commonly grant children immunity to strict disciplinary measures, is associated with effective parent-child interaction, children's cognitive development and the growth of independent reasoning minds in today's children. The interviews and questionnaire respondents also revealed a consensus that the level of changes in parental occupations have triggered increase in professional employment rate, higher income rate and access to better standard of living and lifestyles, among the Yoruba parents which has in turn aided the increase in parental emphasis on the quality of children nurturing rather than the quantity of children to be raised. Similarly, the opinion poll of the participants also revealed large family size often hamper the attainment of children's quality educational training and as such, a large and growing number of working parents now regard a family size of three as ideal as against having many children in the past. Surprisingly, the quality is however linked to the cost of rearing, providing for, and promoting children's welfare and children's education; but this is not highly reflected in the quality of children's upbringing which is attached to the ideal of Yoruba child-rearing practices.

The availability of different types of technologies in the society through the aid of socio-economic transformative processes, similarly has made a wide variety of supports available to the working parents and their children, despite the diverse pros and cons attached to them. For instance, the fastest global diffusion of media and digital technology make today's children able to access positive social, educative, informative/entertaining images and educative information at almost any time and anywhere, causing them to feel caught in a global electronic web. But the same devices also have negative effects on majority of the children, who have turn addicts, time wasters and imitators of negative social vices that transgress the societal moral or civil ideals. Examples of such misconduct include indecent dressing in public places (especially the prevalent act of "sagging" by both boys and girls), nonchalant attitude in displaying immoral sexual acts in public places, speaking with imitated "fake" foreign accents and gestures, being clad in weird clothing and hairstyles as seen in both boys and girls, negative behavioural attributes, among others.

Hence, it is apparent that the socio-economic transformative processes, which are currently and continuously transforming the city of Ibadan, have not excluded the Yoruba child-rearing practices from its web and have produced profound changes in the cultural

sphere. Although some of the changes are unquestionably for good, others have been clearly culturally unfit. However, one can only conclude that most of the contemporary Yoruba parents in Ibadan are experiencing challenges in terms of combining parenting roles with working obligations under tough socio-economic developmental pressures, and this imbalance is in turn affecting their children's upbringing. Yet the parents are the proactive, resilient agents and creators of changes in the Yoruba child-rearing practices.

5.3 Comparative Appraisal of Modifications in Yoruba Child-Rearing Practices

The changes recorded in the Yoruba child-rearing values of the "past" versus those of the "present" clearly reveal that the antecedent Yoruba parents (especially women) were more involved in informal occupations which afforded them the opportunities of being fully involved in their children's upbringing and enculturation process. Their adopted child-rearing practices were characterized by conventional and distinctive Yoruba value system. However, with the diffusion of western ideals into the society, adoption of the practice of infusing Yoruba child-rearing values with selected western child-rearing ideals has produced thin changes in their children's upbringing. However, while many have imbibed this imbibed worldview, others find this incursion from the west undesirable, and many of them are unable to embrace the modifications in the cultural practice. On the contrary, the succeeding socio-economic transformative processes prompted an increase in employment opportunities and higher rate of women's participation in non-traditional jobs, triggered adjustment in working arrangements and the amount of time today's parents expend in their children's upbringing. Hence, in the present city of Ibadan, there is a decrease in the level of parent's involvement in their children's upbringing and enculturation.

Similarly, the demands of the daily work routines, reflected in working longer hours, evening/nights/weekends, inflexibility in working hours within formal organizations, and having to go to work early and close too late, in the present time, have made parents' child-rearing roles quite challenging. The demanding situation has also been preventing parents from spending enough quality time with their children. Thus the bulk of primary parental responsibilities are transferred to child-care workers and schoolteachers, with little assistance from "sibling chain support", neighbours, close relatives and religious institutions. This situation has resulted in individualistic institutional child-rearing approach, lenience in obedience training and lower moral standards in respect of social conduct formation, discipline, responsibility and independence training, among most of the children. This is quite unlike in the past when parent's primary child-rearing responsibilities were accomplished

through collective approach, backed up with ‘sibling chain support’, extended, communal and fosterage family systems that encouraged firm disciplinary training and higher moral standards which invariably produced socio-culturally acceptable conduct, disciplined, responsible and independently competent outcomes in children.

Of importance too, is the fact that today’s parents are also more interested in their children’s intellectual and educational development and they always want to do more to encourage formal educational training than the parents did in the past, a situation that has some negative effects on the enculturation of their children unlike in the past. For instance, the adoption and understanding of Yoruba language in both oral and written forms were more enforced in the past than in the present. Likewise, children’s adherence to child-rearing training that instilled respect, obedience, morality, responsibility, among other things, were enforced through more prominent monitoring, observatory, admonitory and punitive correctional measures in the past. But a total of 86.0% of the respondents affirmed that most of today’s parents, especially among the elite, do not attach much importance to their children’s moral upbringing values. Similarly, the use of physical punishment in correcting young children’s misconduct is grossly overlooked. Whereas, in the past, parents hardly ignore deviations but have strong belief in the philosophy of “spare the rod and spoil the child”, which was usually employed right from when the children were in their tender ages.

However, children’s adherence to obedience training was enforced in the past through stern disciplinary methods, denial of basic needs or requests and rewards; and praise and such corrective measures aided the demand of rightful conducts from their children at all times while the children in turn, learn to act right through self-discipline and avoidance of punishment. Children were also more sensitive to both physical punishment and admonitory expressions. Thereby, natural vulnerability to refutation of punitive sanctions was barely recorded in the past and self-assertive parenting authorities were devoid of questioning or negotiation on the parts of the children. On the other hand, children’s susceptibility to obedience and disciplinary sanctions is more rampant among today’s children, which is often indicated through their individual impression about being knowledgeable to discern between what is right and wrong within their own experiential understanding. Other considered factors are negative peer-group pressure, assertive egotism and the condoning and promoting of undisciplined act by some parents, media and digital technological influence. However, most of the children from very strict homes do not question their parents’ disciplinary sanctions; instead they would subject themselves reluctantly to any disciplinary act while grumbling

during or after such checks. The present-day children are, however, more sensitive to admonitory expressions than physical punishments.

Enculturation practice in respect of religious teaching through different belief systems, in the past and present, serves as supplementary cognitive contents that help instil disciplinary and moral training in children. It also aids the shaping of children’s socio-cultural conducts and character formation. Although the contemporary training is more emphasized through regular patronizing attendance in religious institutions and engagement of children in diverse religious activities, these had lower patronage in the past. Ironically, there is a higher recording of wrongful moral and social conducts among present-day ‘religious institutional attending’ children in comparison to the past when children’s patronage of religious institutions was on the minimal level.

Finally, the expression of support and approval for children’s involvement in outdoor and neighbourhood playgroup activities aided the regurgitation of every learned domestic and social skill of children under parental scrutiny in the past, while the practice is mostly encouraged in the present by the illiterate parents. The comparative framing of both “past” and “present” findings is summarized in table 17.

Table 17: Comparative Framing of Past and Present Findings

Categories of Findings	Past	Present
Parental Occupation/Participation	Engagement in occupations with flexible working arrangements aided full participation in children’s upbringing and enculturation process.	Engagement in occupations with fixed working schedules, results in lower participation in children’s upbringing and enculturation process.
Adoption of Western Ideals	Minimal acculturation of western ideals of child-rearing practices.	Maximum acculturation of western ideals of child-rearing practices.
Formal Educational Training	Lesser and average emphasis on children’s formal educational training	Greater emphasis on the quality of children’s formal educational training and encouragement of children’s intellectual and educational development.
Language of Communication	Yoruba language was the dominant medium of communication and was enforced as children’s first language.	English language is mostly adopted as the medium of communication and first language.

Obedience Training	Obedience was checked and corrected with strict monitoring, admonishment and physical punitive measures.	Obedience training varies with parent's socio-economic and educational status standing.
Moral Training	Adoption of strict disciplinary measures aided the production of good moral conducts in children.	Adoption of permissive and lenient disciplinary measures resulted in the production of children with lower moral conducts.
Respect Training	Respect values are reflected with courtesy greetings respectful phrases, fear of the elderly, and avoidance of eye contact.	Courtesy greetings have yielded grounds to handshaking, boldness, fearless attitude and shunning of respectful phrases, mostly among the elite's children.
Religious Training	Lesser reliance on religious teachings for disciplinary checks and inculcation of moral values.	Higher reliance on religious precepts for disciplinary checks with minimal reliance on disciplinary admonishments.
Responsibility Training	Involvement in domestic and practical skills was enforced and it produced independently competent outcomes in children.	Involvement in domestic and practical skills varies with parent's socio-economic and educational status standing.
Enculturation	Enculturation responsibility was fulfilled with greater support from extended, communal, fosterage and 'sibling chain supports', while minimal assistance was rendered by commercial socialization agents.	Bulk (in relative terms) of enculturation obligations have been transferred to commercial secondary socialization agents, while minimal assistance is gotten from extended family members, 'sibling chain support', neighbours and foster homes (in rare cases).
Participation in Religious Activities	Lower patronage in religious activities with higher rate of good moral and social conducts.	Higher patronage in Christianity and Islamic religious activities with higher rate of immorality and social misconducts.
Vulnerability to Punitive Sanctions	Susceptibility to punitive sanctions was barely recorded and parenting authorities was devoid of questioning.	Vulnerability to punitive sanctions is rampant and disciplinary acts are sometimes frowned at through grumbling acts.

5.4 Comparative Assessment of the Shifts in Child-Rearing Practices among Yoruba Parents Working within the Formal and Informal Economic Sectors

The sampled illiterate parents, who are engaged in informal occupations, are either gone from home for specified hours or all through the day but they often have more hands with respect to communal, kinship, friendship, neighbourhood and sibling chain supports, who assist with their children's upbringing. The support networks are also functional based on their children's ability to roam within the neighbourhood where their families and other familiar adults can observe, monitor, admonish or correct their misconducts. On the other hand, the children of the elite parents, who are engaged in formal and informal occupations, are generally restricted in fixed physical mobility and they are often unable to explore common experiences outside the home, school, religious institutions and the larger parts of their environments. This contrast aided the outcome of the prevalent individualized child-rearing pattern among the elite parents. It similarly promoted their reliance on domestic helps, (who assists with child-care and other related duties), child-care workers, schoolteachers as well as religious institution for their children's upbringing training and enculturation.

Thus, the establishment of strong communal ties within the neighbourhood of some of the unlettered parents in formal and informal employments aided the retention of some conventional Yoruba child-rearing values in their children's upbringing and enculturation. Although there are displays of necessary adjustments that fitted their adopted practices into the already modernized child-rearing practices, they dominantly infused average degrees of western ideals which are in contrast to the elite parents in formal and informal employments. This ethnographic observation prompted the interpretation of the comparative child-rearing findings which is summarized in table 18. However, it should be taken into consideration that this table represents the findings of the monitored "everyday" child-rearing practices among the sampled parents and it can only be related to the period covered in the study. Things are in a flux, in this regard.

Table 18: Comparative Framing of the Findings among Parents in “Formal versus Informal” Employment

Categories of Findings	Literate Parents in Formal and Informal Employments	Literate/ Illiterate Parents in Formal and Informal Employments	
		Literate Parents	Illiterate Parents
Parenting Patterns	Authoritative Permissive Detached Combination of Authoritarian/Authoritative	Authoritarian Authoritative Combination of Authoritarian/Authoritative	Authoritarian Authoritative Combination of Authoritarian/Authoritative
Parental Participation	Lower/Average degree	Higher/Average degree	Higher/Average/ Lower degree
Child-Rearing Values	Lower ratings of Yoruba values, infused with higher degree of Western ideals.	Higher ratings of Yoruba values infused with average degree of Western ideals	Higher ratings of Yoruba values infused with average/lower degree of Western ideals.
Models of Child-Rearing Practices	Adoption of English language as the medium of communication.	Adoption of English language as the medium of communication.	Adoption of Yoruba, language as the medium of communication and English Language for children’s status show off.
	Liberal model of enforcing obedience training.	Combination of stringent and liberal models of enforcing obedience training.	Stringent pattern of enforcing obedience training.
	Lower ratings of disciplinary checks and employment of higher degree of religious doctrinal teachings for moral training.	Combination of disciplinary checks and religious doctrinal teachings for moral training.	Higher ratings of disciplinary checks and employment of lower degree of religious doctrinal teachings for moral training.
	Non-enforcement of Yoruba values of respect training.	Compel Yoruba values of respect training.	Enforcement of Yoruba values of respect training.
	Lower/average ratings of children’s involvement in domestic activities and responsibility training.	Higher ratings of children’s involvement in domestic activities and responsibility training.	Higher ratings of children’s involvement in domestic activities and responsibility training.
	Higher emphasis is placed on educational training.	Higher/average emphasis is placed on educational training.	Higher/Average emphasis is placed on educational training.

	Lower rating of children understands recriminatory glances and paradoxical expressions.	Higher/Average rating of children understands recriminatory glances and paradoxical expressions.	A higher rating of children, understands recriminatory glances and paradoxical expressions.
	Regular and habitual attendance in religious institutions.	Regular attendance in religious institutions	Regular attendance in religious institutions
	Children habitually dress in western attires and in traditional attires, occasionally.	Children are dressed on equal footings of western and traditional attires.	Children are habitually dressed in traditional attires than western attires.
	Involvement in indoor and outdoor recreational activities.	Involvement in indoor and outdoor recreational activities.	Involvement in outdoor, open space neighbourhood and playgroup recreational activities.
	Patronage or visit to recreational places.		
Disciplinary Measures	Admonishment	Admonishment	Admonishment
	Rebuke	Rebuke	Rebuke
	Restrictions	Restrictions	Restrictions
	Threats of using corporal punishment	Threats and use of corporal punishment	Threats and use of corporal punishment.
	Communication.	Communication.	Physical punitive measures are dominantly employed.
	Physical punitive measures are predominantly avoided.	Physical punitive measures are dominantly employed.	
Methods of enforcing adherence to disciplinary training	Lenient corrective measures.	Combination of strict and lenient corrective measures.	Strict corrective measures.
	Short time denial of needs or requests.	Denial of basic needs and requests.	Denial of basic needs and requests
	Insistence on rightful conducts through communication.	Insistence on rightful conducts at all times through communication and disciplinary measures.	Insistence and demand of rightful conducts at all times through strict disciplinary measures.
	Praise and reward	Praise and reward	Praise and reward
	Children's self-discipline	Children's self-discipline	Children's self-discipline

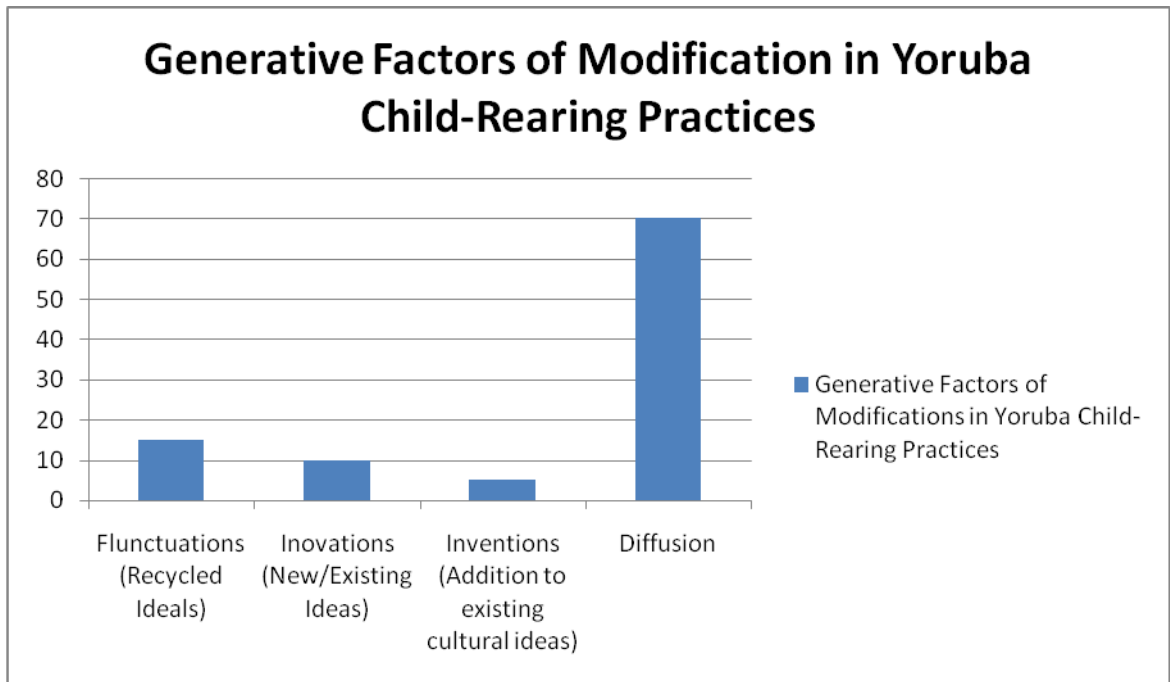
	Restrictions of movement and approval of use of digital technological gadgets.	Restrictions of movement, use of digital technological gadgets and corporal punishments	Corporal punishments
Children's vulnerability to disciplinary training	Questioning or negotiation of disciplinary decisions. Refutation to punitive sanctions (in relative degrees).	Devoid of questioning or negotiation of disciplinary decisions. Refutation to punitive sanctions (in relative degrees).	Devoid of questioning or negotiation of disciplinary decisions. Refutation to punitive sanctions (in relative degrees).
Accessibility/ usage of mass media and digital technologies	Higher accessibility to mass media and digital technological gadgets.	Average accessibility and usage of mass media and digital technological gadgets.	Average and minimal accessibility and usage of mass media and digital technological gadgets.
	Higher usage of digital technological gadgets.	Average usage of digital technological gadgets.	Minimal usage of digital technological gadgets.
Reliance on secondary socialization agents	Bulk of assistance from house helps, child-care, workers, school teachers and religious institution teachers.	Average assistance from child-care workers, school teachers, religious institution teachers, and 'sibling chain support system.	Bulk of assistance from extended, communal and 'sibling chain support' system.
	Minimal assistance from kin group, 'sibling chain support' and foster homes (in rare cases).	Minimal assistance from extended family and communal system.	Minimal assistance from child care workers, school teachers and religious institution teachers.
Features of Children's Character and Behavioural Formation.	Relative ratings of rudeness.	Relative ratings of rudeness.	Relative ratings of rudeness.
	Relative ratings of disrespect.	Relative ratings of disrespect.	Relative ratings of disrespect.
	Relative ratings of immorality.	Relative ratings of immorality.	Relative ratings of immorality.
	Higher/Average ratings of over pampering.	Average ratings of pampering.	Lower ratings of pampering.
	Hardly sensitive to difficult financial situations.	Highly/Averagely sensitive to difficult financial situations.	Highly sensitive to difficult financial situations.
	Relative ratings of inquisitiveness.	Relative ratings of inquisitiveness.	Relative ratings of inquisitiveness.

	Relative ratings of being outspoken.	Relative ratings of being outspoken.	Relative ratings of not being outspoken.
	Relative ratings of smartness and intelligence.	Relative ratings of smartness and intelligence.	Relative ratings of not being smart and intelligent.

With the findings presented so far, it is apparent that the occupation, literacy and socio-economic statuses of parents impinge on how children are reared by Yoruba parents within the city of Ibadan today. In other words, children were nurtured differently in the past as against the present, and how they are brought up today reflects whether their parents are engaged in formal or informal employment, even if their parents share similarities in terms of providing for their families.

The comparative findings also established that most of the sampled illiterate parents embraced more of the conventional ideals of Yoruba child-rearing practices for their children's upbringing and enculturation, employing physical punishment to enforce adherence. On the other hand, the elite parents (in formal and informal occupations) mostly employ the infusion of western and Yoruba child-rearing practices with lesser emphasis on adherence. It is also important to note that strict parents, who place higher demand on their children's adherence without allotting room for discussion, are observed to end up with children who are incessantly accustomed to fear, inferiority complex or withdrawal into themselves. Hence, some of these children flee from homes in search of solace in places where they are often involved in diverse adventurous escapades. On the contrary, supportive authoritarian and authoritative parents mostly produce confident children with good disciplinary, moral and socially adept qualities, whereas the extremely lenient, permissive and neglecting parents, who give their jobs topmost priority, often rear emotionally detached children.

In all, it is observed that part of the changes recorded in this comparative study either occurred accidentally, by choice or were forced on the people through the dictates of both internal and external developmental factors, which Keniston (1977:13) observes to be responsible for the overall shifts in social and economic operative systems within societies. Hence, it is estimated that the modifications in this study are internally generated via 15% fluctuations (recycled ideals), 10% innovations (new/existing ideas) and 5% inventions (addition to the existing cultural ideas), while diffusion, which is enhanced by external developmental factors is responsible for about 70% of the changes recorded (Fig. 4).



(Fig. 4): The Generative Factors of Modifications in Yoruba Child-Rearing Practices

Therefore, this study confirms Keniston's (1977:13) thesis that the conceivable trend of parenting approach and child-rearing practices that appear at one time can be replaced by another that rests on the prevalent socio-economic transformative factors. As such, the next section unveils how the socio-economic modification in the city of Ibadan enhances the shifts in the Yoruba child-rearing practices, which is followed by the theoretical construal of the findings presented.

5.5 Theoretical Interpretation of Findings

In this subdivision, the analysis or interpretation of the study's findings is explanatorily unveiled in accordance with the hermeneutics of cultural materialism theory but analytically explicated with Bronfenbrenner's ecological system theory. The use of this interpretative strategy is to demonstrate how the preferred theories can be systematically applied to aid the understanding of the processes that have moulded cultural changes in the Yoruba child-rearing practices within the city of Ibadan. Therefore, the theoretical interpretations attempt to conceptualize how the basic socio-economic transformative processes is interlinked with parental involvement in employment activities, its effects on the changes in the structure of Yoruba child-rearing practices, and how the modification processes are interlinked with the environmental dictatorial context that impacts on children's upbringing and enculturation.

5.5.1 Valuation of Cultural Materialism Theory and the Transformation in Yoruba Child-Rearing Practices

From the results presented so far, it is apparent that the Yoruba people in the city of Ibadan have been making a living based on their involvement in different subsistence occupations; in particular, many of them are concerned with the production and distribution of indispensable material goods and services, within and outside the confines of the society. Hence, there is no doubt that the people's quest for sustainability through the provision of goods and services has always been initiated by the concerted socio-economic initiatives of individuals or groups of people residing within or outside the city, and that of organizations and government, which aids the city's socio-economic growth. As such, the socio-economic developmental initiatives often enacted by organizations and government through policy interventions, operate within the aim of improving the city's ecology, economy and the people's social well-being, while that of the individuals and groups of people primarily centre on bettering the city's economic growth and productivity, in relation to the rise of gross domestic profit (GDP). Hence the all-embracing concerted initiatives prompted the multiple socio-economic developmental outcomes which produced industrialization, increase in human capital, capitalist competition, social infrastructures, transportation, housing, health care systems, increase in literacy, socio-economic and occupational status ranking, changes in income rate, workplace and working arrangements, peoples lifestyles/worldviews and environmental conditions, among others, which are directly linked to what cultural materialist theorists term 'infrastructure'.

In other words, the infrastructures also termed "material realities" mould and influence the socio-economic transformative processes serving as the city's developmental indicators. Thus, going by the dictates of cultural materialism, the economic, ecological, technological and demographic generators of developmental infrastructures within the city of Ibadan play major roles in the modification of the structural norms that are characteristic of the Yoruba socio-cultural group. This prompts raising the issue of how exactly have the generative factors aiding the actualization of the listed developmental infrastructures influenced the changes in the structure of Yoruba child-rearing practices within the city of Ibadan.

The major infrastructural generative factor effecting changes in the structure of Yoruba child-rearing practices has been traced to the shifts in parental occupation and working arrangements. This alteration has made it almost impossible for most contemporary

parents to maintain a balance between work and parenting responsibility because both activities are time consuming commitments, demanding full attention. As such, combining work and parenting obligations within the developmental necessities pointing children's needs as the basic priority can be a bit challenging for the parents who want to fulfil their subsistence commitments, nurture their children and at the same time, gratifying their personal desires of being successful in their chosen careers. Invariably, the parents have to adopt different coping strategies of handling both necessitated obligations which then result in profound changes in their adopted child-rearing practices.

Similarly, the alteration within the employment sector also effect changes in the distinctive traditional Yoruba family structure which in turn influences the modifications in the extended, fosterage and communal supporting networks of child-rearing activities. This adjustment is linked to the realism that most of the extended family members and neighbours are similarly saddled with busy working schedules which rarely make them significant contributors in the upbringing of 'other' people's children. As such, the cultural components of the conventional child-rearing values has been lost with the partial malfunctioning of the extended, fosterage and communal family systems that created an open market for domestic helps, child-care workers and schoolteachers, who have assumed the central child-rearing roles. However, the commercial secondary socialization agents, as observed, do not often meet up with the parent's expectations for their children's upbringing; therefore, their roles are a far cry from those once played by extended, fosterage and communal family system in the past.

Another transformative factor linked with the influence of generating economic infrastructure is reflected in the process of western acculturation that is accompanied by the rise in literacy, industrialisation and service economy, increase in income rate, changes in socio-economic status, and the parent's individual child-rearing worldviews. All these changing priorities aided the parental shifts from subsistence security to different levels of increasing emphasis on subjective well-being and quest for higher social class climbing which in turn influenced the changes in Yoruba child-rearing practices.

Therefore, going by the aforementioned interpretative explanations through the theory of cultural materialism, the thesis of this study is that socio-economic transformative processes are accompanied by profound cultural changes, interlinked with systematic modifications in the basic Yoruba child-rearing practices within the city of Ibadan. Similarly, the socio-economic transformative processes are associated with the shifts from the absolute

traditional norms and values of Yoruba child-rearing practices (that are variable and status path dependent), towards the western ideals which are increasingly rational, tolerant, trusting, and participatory. In addition, despite the evidence of the monolithic cultural changes evaluated, the persistence of some distinctive cultural values of Yoruba child-rearing practices is still recorded. However, the depth of the interactive influence of the economic, technological, and environmental infrastructures on the contemporary Yoruba child's upbringing and enculturation is analytically assessed within the complex layers of Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory in the next subsection.

5.5.2 Appraisal of Ecological System Theory and the Shifts in Yoruba Child-Rearing Practices

From the initial theoretical explanation of the study's findings, it is obvious that the Yoruba in Ibadan, just like every other human group in any given society, have always been struggling throughout different generations in history, to use the understanding of their environment for development initiatives that are often driven by survival needs to enhance the growth of their society. Hence, as the society is continuously developing into a more complex form, the survival and developmental quests are also evolving to include means of restructuring every interconnected structure within the environment. As such, this section of the thesis analytically explained how the development of all the complex hierarchical structures (through Bronfenbrenner's environmental classification) within the city of Ibadan influence the survival quests of Yoruba parents within the last two decades and in turn effect changes in their current children's upbringing, enculturation process and child-rearing practices.

The ecology of Ibadan, as the host of different economic sectors, has provided diverse means of subsistence occupations supporting and enhancing parents' capacity to care, nurture and provide for their children's psychological developmental needs. However, as the parents are struggling to meet up with the actualization of these needs, both the parents and their children's interaction within the larger environment become more complex through the four structures outlined in the ecological theory as the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem (see fig 3, page 71).

Starting with the microsystem, any child born into a Yoruba family unit in the city of Ibadan has been automatically fixed in this system which is the immediate and the smallest layer of the larger structure of the environment. Through the microsystem, the developing child's biological and psychological attributes which are made up of the body, brain,

emotional, cognitive and behavioural subsystems, aid him/her to perceive and interact with the next layer of the structure within the larger environment which is termed the mesosystem.

With the aid of the family, comprising of parents and extended family members, child-care workers, religious institution and school teachers, neighbours and other members of the society, the developing child learns how to interact and fit into the society. Of all the grouping in the mesosystem, the family unit happens to be the closest, most intense and most durable structure the child primarily relies on for the input of affection, nutrition, security, health care, acquisition of language and belief systems, among other things that determine how the various inborn subsystems of the child will function and develop effectively. As such, the inputs aided by interactions, are usually established through behavioural related feedback within the family setting. However, taking into account that most of today's Yoruba parents are neither the archetypical stay or working-at-home parents nor stay-at-home mothers and working fathers; but that both parents spend more time at work than at home; the interactive and inputting channels of bonding and linkage between parent and child are becoming greatly hindered. With the knowledge that being separated from their children could force parts of the subsystems in the children's microsystem to undergo gradual process of nervous breakdown that might be destructive to their biological, cognitive, emotional and social developmental processes, the parents have to connect with the other structures within the mesosystem for child-rearing assistance. Thus, as early as 3 months to 2-3 years old, depending on the varied occupational status of the parents, children are contractually enrolled in commercial child-care centres and schools as the 'premature' family products, and are prone to developing relationships with other adults and peer groups outside their immediate family environment. Interestingly, the amount of time the children end up spending in the alternative environments and the relationships they are exposed to carry real weight that is critical to their cognitive, emotionally and social developmental needs.

On the other hand, the relationship children are exposed to via the religious institutions is similar to that of the child-care centres and schools but often serve as a source of developing children's moral and disciplinary values. However, there is a great variation in the intensity of religious belief system from family to family, with some relating casually and observing major activities while some are deeply involved in religious dictates that are basically connected to their worldviews. Similarly, other people living around the children's neighbourhood, either as extended family members, neighbours or friends, also assist the parents with their child-rearing obligations but this depends on the level of closeness and definition of the relationship between the child's parents and such people.

Nevertheless, without the proper adults' monitoring and supervision, either by the parents, extended or immediate family members, child-care workers, religious institutions and schoolteachers, neighbours and the children's accessibility to quality parenting, punctuated with interactions and emotional attachment, the children often scout for alternatives in inappropriate persons or places, which usually give rise to the social problems of lack of self-conviction and anti-social behaviours. With such breakdown in the mesosystem, the children end up not having adequate guidance to explore and interact effectively with the structures located within the next layer of the environment, the exosystem.

The entirety of the structures located within the exosystem, comprising the community, society, and culture, interestingly, provide the parental occupations that aid the breakdown in the fulfilment of parenting and child-rearing obligations within the mesosystem. The exosystem, similarly, provide the values, material resources, and every other contextual operating structure within the mesosystem, which also aids the development of all subsystems in the children's microsystem. In other words, it is the community (where the children reside) that dictates the cultural child-rearing values with which the children are brought up, it provides parental occupations that create the breakdown in the cultural values and the parents accessibility to the secondary commercial socialization agents, who assist with the children's emotional and cognitive development, either by sharing or not, in the parental concerns on the best means of rearing the children in conformity with the cultural norms. In addition, the community and society also provide all the resources that enable the subsystems of the child's mesosystem to flourish and develop.

In a nutshell, the function of the society and community within the exosystem is to prescribe the ideal cultural child-rearing practices, provide employment, legislation, and financial resources that create the circumstances through which the parents (as a family), child-care workers, religious and school teachers function within the environment. In other words, it is the society (community) in which a developing child resides that dictates and regulates the laws governing parents' chosen occupations, their working schedules, the wages attached to their different literacy levels and acquisition of trading income, and the policies governing the running of child-care facilities, schools, religious institutions and the family welfare programmes. Similarly, the length of a typical parent 'employee' workday is also largely governed by societal custom, even if the working place is located in different socio-economic status driven communities. Likewise, the laws that govern family obligations

towards their children and how children ought to be reared and cared for are also the outcomes of societal set values. Yet, it is the same society that provides the means of subsistence via the influence of socio-economic transformative processes and the financial safety net employed by the parents to provide the needs of their children and to also enhance both the human and socio-economic growth of the city of Ibadan.

On the other hand, the cultural structure which is fitted into the exosystem dictates the beliefs concerning family, school, religion, community, society and the child-rearing practices. Whereas, the developing child in the microsystem learns about his/her cultural norms by either interacting with the people (parents, families, child-care workers, teachers, extended families, and neighbours) located in his/her immediate environment or by observing, perceiving or learning the normative cultural practices from other structures located in the meso-exo systems. As such, the Yoruba cultural values are passed on from one generation to another, via all the structures in the meso-exo systems and the developing child receives them in turn. One of such cultural value is attached to parent’s primary child-rearing obligation, and the recent transformation of this to secondary commercial socialization agents is viewed by many in the Yoruba cultural group as culture negative. As such cultural beliefs have real power in affecting all the ecological structures indicated in the environment of the developing city of Ibadan, as illustrated in the adapted Brofenbrenner’s ecological system theory (Fig. 5).

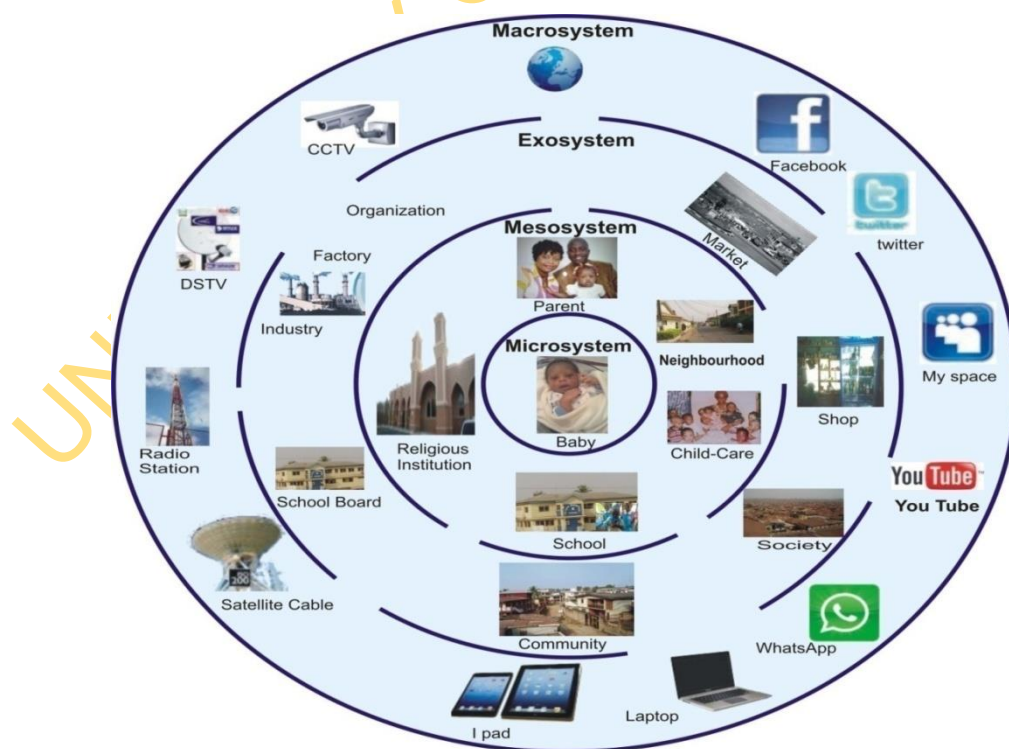


Figure 4: Illustration of Today’s Situation in Ibadan: modified after the Brofenbrenner’s Ecological System Theory (Source: Paquette and Ryan, 2001:1).

So far, there is no doubt that the ecology of Ibadan has gradually transformed from a largely traditional agrarian society into a modernized and industrializing city via the influence of different socio-economic transformative processes that are also reactive to either local or international events. It is also apparent that most of the people's distinctive cultural value systems, including that of the child-rearing practices, have recorded changes, both in the past and present of the Yoruba parents working in the developing city. Nevertheless, the different degrees of the socio-economic transformative processes are, however, linked to both local and global influences which are connected to the last layer of the environment termed, the macrosystem.

The diffusion of global events via mass media and digital technology, and the impacts of the diverse forms of local and global socio-economic transformative processes taking place within the city, are also constantly influencing the changes, rippling through all other systemic structures (the developing child, family, school, religion, community, society and culture) located within the totality of the environment. In other words, it is the macrosystemic layer of the environment that stirs up transformations in every other layer of the systemic structures of the Yoruba socio-cultural group, in the city of Ibadan. Therefore, as the global or local socio-economic transformative processes are influencing changes in the city of Ibadan, so also are they effecting both negative and positive transformative impacts on the Yoruba child-rearing practices, which in turn have effects on the cognitive, emotional and social conduct of the child.

Hence, the totality of the modifications in the cultural practice and the children's behavioural formation are conceptualised on the levels of parent's participation in the city's economic growth via their chosen occupations. This is regardless of the fact that the involvement of parents (family) in the developmental processes of the city's economic growth has also enhanced the acquisition of financial resources with which the basic child-rearing needs of their children are provided. Other negative impacts are linked to the conception that parents spend more time at work while devoting lesser time to child-rearing responsibilities, and this often results into parent-child emotional detachment, break down in fundamental interactions, emotional care, quality upbringing and lesser involvement in children's enculturation process. All of these impacts are conceptualised as the causative factors exposing the developing child to negative experiences, influenced via interactions with peer groups or other adults in child-care facilities, schools, religious institutions and the neighbourhood, as well as the influence of mass media and digital technology.

Interestingly, the financial resources generated by the parents are also invested into the development and running of child-care centres, schools, religious institutions and foster homes. In addition, the parent's tax payments are also used for the execution of the society's socio-economic developmental policies and projects. Aside from these, the developmental contributions of the parents also influence modifications in the operational worldviews of the child-care facility operators, schools, school management boards and religious institutions; which invariably impact on the types of services, teachings, opportunities and policies that will be helpful to the psychological, emotional and social developmental processes of the developing child. Likewise, the level of the city's development also informs the creation of variable child-rearing practices, characterised by different environmental factors. For instance, the illiterate parent's predominantly rear their children in poor environments that constitute the immediate community of the developing child. Thereby, the environmental state of the community often determines the different child-rearing practices with which the child is brought up and how he/she interacts with the society at large. The same goes for a child who is reared in a cultured environment.

Finally, a developing Yoruba child often learns, perceives and observes the cultural norms of his/her socio-cultural group via the inputs, interactions and behavioural related feedback of all the contributive socializing agents in the family (home), child-care facilities, school, religious institution, community and the society at large. It is however difficult for the working parents to spend quality time with their children in order to fulfil such primary parenting obligations because the global developmental factors have effected profound changes in their working arrangements. Therefore, the degree of the parental input in the children's social development varies with the kind of occupation they are engaged in and also the type of supporting network they rely on for child-rearing assistance. Likewise, with the influence of the global developmental factors impacting on the school system, the children's educational curriculum is tailored around western ideals while little attention is given to culturally incline academic activities. Perhaps, this oversight might be based on the societal conception of saddling parents with the primarily responsible of inculcating cultural knowledge in children's upbringing and enculturation.

Regardless of such beliefs, a majority of the parents opted for the infusion of both western and Yoruba ideals in their dominantly adopted child-rearing practices without having cultural understanding about the foreign entities and little or no knowledge about the roles culture has to play in their children's upbringing and enculturation. Thus, with the

modification in today's Yoruba child-rearing practices, majority of the children lack self-conviction that can aid their full cultural interaction within and outside the society. Thus they become the "fakes" of the western "originals" they seek to copy, through the combinative efforts of their parents, families, schools, religious institutions, community and the society at large. The children are also influenced by the conflicting value messages which dominant foreign culture (Western) communicate through mass media and digital technologies that create the crises of cultural identity in them. Similarly, parents are hardly present to monitor, regulate and correct the unhealthy value messages which their children are exposed to via media and digital technologies which may promote among children social conduct transgressing both the moral and social values of the Yoruba socio-cultural group: for instance, the culture of success or 'win-at-all-cost', model messages of dishonesty, cheating, manipulation, back stabbing, lying, deception, greed and impunity. Likewise, the children are strongly influenced by materialistic values and popular culture which often results in anti-social values, immoral character and low self-esteem.

Going by this analytical explanation, it has been established that the changes that ripple through all the socio-economic systemic structures of the city of Ibadan have stirred up transformations in the developmental layers of the entire societal landscape, which, in turn, effected changes in the educational, occupational, socio-economic statuses, lifestyle, standard of living and the child-rearing practices among the Yoruba parents in the city. Thus, the ecological theory analytically explains how environmental developmental factors, via both internal and external sources, effect the shifts in the Yoruba child-rearing practices in the city of Ibadan.

Nevertheless, the concluding thesis is that, since the global developmental factors effect changes in the ecology, economic, social, and cultural practices in the city of Ibadan, and the people and government are taking great pains to safeguard the economy and physical environment from the damage done, little or no resources have been spent to provide similar precaution or to correct the damage done to the functioning socio-cultural structures within the environment. And even when it is apparent that the operative economic system in the city has shifted from an agrarian model to industrializing and service model, yet the working arrangements and work ethics for parents are still rigidly fixed, resulting in conflicting work and parenting roles. Thus the parents make up for their inadequate parenting roles by transferring the bulk of their child-rearing roles to commercial substitutes but one may ask: Are these alternatives functionally successful? The reality is that the imbalance in work and parenting obligations is imposing continual challenges and stress on the parents, while their

children, on the other hand, are seeking for replacement to the inadequacies through inappropriate media, places and people, with such alternative measures giving rise to negative cultural conduct among the children. How then can work, parenting responsibilities and cultural development be balanced in the city of Ibadan? The answer to this question is provided in the concluding chapter of the study.

5.6 Overview

Through this chapter, the study has been able to evaluate the changes in the Yoruba child-rearing practices. It similarly demonstrates the effects of socio-economic transformative processes on the shifts in Yoruba child-rearing practices in the city of Ibadan. The analytical framing of findings specifically availed us the opportunity of understanding the inevitability of alterations in the ways the literate and illiterate Yoruba parents, engaged in formal and informal occupations, rear their children. The descriptive analytical framing of the study, however, concludes that the interaction between all the complex systemic structures functioning to promote the generality of development in the city of Ibadan has bi-directional influences on the changing Yoruba child-rearing practices.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION

6.0 Preamble

This chapter presents a recapitulation of the salient issues that emerged from the study. It also capsulizes, by way of a concluding statement, the landscape of the dynamics presented in the discourse, while suggestions on creating an equilibrium between the conflicting work and parenting obligations for the advancement of cultural development are likewise conveyed. Recommendations for further studies within the same thematic concern are also laid out.

6.1 Summary of the Study

So far, the study has ethnographically evaluated the changes in Yoruba child-rearing practices with regard to obedience, respect, morality, responsibility, enculturation and adoption of Yoruba as a medium of communication. The shifts in the cultural practice are assessed through the influence of socio-economic transformative processes shaping the development of the city of Ibadan, South-Western, Nigeria. To this end, its accounts are penetrated with an interpretation undertaken from the perspective of cultural materialism and ecological system theories to ascertain how the shifts in socio-economic transformative processes and the ecology of Ibadan influenced changes in Yoruba child-rearing practices. It similarly, evaluates the breakdown in distinctive Yoruba child-rearing value systems and the cultural identity of the Yoruba child.

The findings established that the Yoruba child-rearing practices, which were conventionally predicated on distinctive cultural value-system, have always been marked by continuous changes. As such, the antecedent parents consciously scrutinised and modified their adopted child-rearing practices to fit into the developing socio-economic milieus of the city, without dis-embedding the cultural values attached to the practices, even when such values were not rigidly specified within the society at large. This conscious conservative effort was, however, achieved via the communal back-up of close and extended family members, sibling-chain support, neighbours, friends and well-wishers.

However, in the course of evaluating the modifications in today's situation, the findings indicate that the same developmental milieu experienced by the antecedent parents has advanced into a more complex form. In that, as the city of Ibadan progresses developmentally, it became necessary for the parents to adapt their child-rearing practices to

suit the situation. As such, Yoruba parents have to adjust to the novel working arrangements, revolving around perceptions like ‘never bring parenting or family concerns to the office’, ‘you have to put in long hours to record lots of sales, or before you can be productive in your employment’. These unspecified working principles, automatically structured out the tighter working schedule that gives little room for parent’s full participation in their children’s upbringing. As a result, the parenting role has to be placed on the back burner while working obligations became the primary goal and the shift in priority has led to an imbalance in work and parenting responsibility.

With the negative correlation in the parents work and parenting responsibility, a booming marketing opportunity emerged for the child-care and private school establishments within the city. Thus, the bulk of the parent’s child-rearing responsibilities were basically transferred to the commercial secondary socializing agents, especially by the parents who are engaged in formal employments while few and some of the illiterate ones rely on the minimal communal, extended family and sibling chain-support assistance.

Having transferred the bulk of their child-rearing obligations to different secondary socializing agents (who help nurture, socialize, educate or combine all the stated roles) to enhance their children’s cognitive and social development, the realization that the children are not only growing up in a society that is progressing economically but are also being socially reshaped with both local and global transformative influences, sets in. For this reason, the parents have to change their children’s upbringing orientation by adopting novel models of child-rearing practices that enhance their children’s adaptation into the overall transformative process shaping the development of the city and beyond. As a result, obedience practices, which were conventionally characterised by stringent adherence devoid of children’s negotiation and questioning, have transformed to liberal patterns which are predicated on communication, reasoning and explanation, a situation that is dominant among children of the elite. Likewise, respect values, which normatively reflect in courteous greetings with respectful phrases, fear of the elderly and avoidance of eye contact, have also yielded grounds to handshaking, boldness, fearless attitude and shunning of respectful phrases by most of the elite’s children.

Similarly, the inculcation of moral values has shifted from the use of disciplinary checks and less reliance on religious teachings, to higher reliance on religious precepts and employment of minimal disciplinary sanctions. This novel model is however linked to the overtly religious parents while majority of the elite and illiterate parents also combine both patterns for instilling moral values in children. Responsibility practices centring on children’s

domestic and practical skills training have also transformed among the elite parents, whose children were dominantly trained to participate less in domestic activities while relying on the services of domestic helps. Moreover, the normative pattern of adopting Yoruba as the language of communication has been altered among both the literate and illiterate parents, who prevalingly adopt English as the preferred language of interaction with their children. This observable trend has aided the production of Yoruba children who lack deep understanding of both languages and are mostly incompetent in speaking and writing the languages, and, as such, are culturally alienated. Finally, enculturation practices have been modified from higher degree of communal, extended, fosterage support system and greater level of parental participation in children's upbringing to lesser engagement, while teachers and child-care workers have assumed central socialization roles. The change in the enculturation process is also generally influenced by the mass media and digital technology.

In summation, all the novel child-rearing practices indicated are, however, created through the infusion of variable degrees of western and Yoruba child-rearing ideals, which have produced a breakdown in the longstanding Yoruba child-rearing values and the collective cultural identity, among the Yoruba children.

6.2 Recommendations

At this point, the question asked earlier in the concluding part of Chapter Five, that is, how can work and parenting responsibilities be balanced in the city of Ibadan in relation to the enhancement of economic and cultural development, is addressed. Likewise, how new value orientation in child-rearing practices can be promoted via family responsive support policies is also a point of focus. Based on accounts that the Yoruba child-rearing practices have been changing continuously to accommodate the shifts in the city's socio-economic transformation, the study suggests the necessity of modifying working arrangements, which is perhaps the greatest stimulant creating the challenges of maintaining effective balance between work and parenting obligations and, in turn, the changes in the cultural practice. To this end, the following propositions are proffered:

1. **Combination of Job Sharing and 'Flexitime' Work Plan:** The working arrangement that requires an employee to be present at the office during a specific period can be combined with job sharing (a voluntary working arrangement in which two people can share working responsibilities for one full-time position); a lasting solution can thus be proffered to the conflict between work and parenting obligations. The infusion of this work plan into corporate and government

employment policies will enable the married parents, who are engaged in formal employments, to share their working responsibilities with unmarried employees. The arrangement will also aid working parents to preselect their resumption and closing hours, which will be adhered to for a predetermined length of time. As such, the parents working in formal employments can re-arrange their work hours to accommodate their parenting duties.

2. **Permanent Part-Time Employment Work Plan:** Another considered alternative for parents working in formal sectors is the permanent part-time employment. With this fixed work plan schedule, parents, especially nursing mothers, will experience less parenting stress and they will have the opportunity of developing their career and professional skills while having sufficient time for parenting. It will be an embracing alternative because most of the parents in formal employments will prefer it to either working full-time or leaving the workforce. It will also result in the provision of more jobs for many unemployed parents.
3. **Telecommuting Work Plan:** The introduction of this work plan, which involves the act of performing job-related work at a site away from the office and electronically transferring the results to the office or other locations, can also enable parents in formal employments to spend more time with their children. With the aid of telecommuting, parents can work at home, and this flexibility will theoretically allow them to spend more time on parenting. The plan will also free employers from the obligation of providing child-care centres within working environments. It will similarly allow parents to take care of their infant babies and toddlers at home while working at the same time. They can also work while on maternity leave, stay current on their jobs and careers, and remain at home for longer periods until their babies are old enough to be transferred to child-care workers.

The introduction of these three flexible working plans as proposed could aid the decrease in the level of inter-role conflicts for working parents and promote a better balance between the demands of work and parenting obligations. All the suggested working plans also have many potential advantages, including more efficient use of time and space, more work with higher quality, reduction in occasional absences, possibility of eliminating costly

job benefits like cafeteria services, child-care centres, increased in commitment and decrease in turnover, among others.

If a balance in work and parenting responsibility is achieved, then there will be sufficient time for parents, who are engaged in different types of occupations, to consciously instil more of cultural values into their children through the different variables of the adopted models of the already modern child-rearing practices. This effort will then aid the development of cultural consciousness and self-awareness among parents and their children, who will in turn employ their cultural knowledge to facilitate socio-economic and cultural development within the city in the nearest future.

In reference to the creation of family responsive policies, the following are recommended:

4. **Family Involvement and Cultural Continuity Policy:** Families, comprising of parents and children, have been popularly acclaimed to be the bedrock of the society and there is no doubt about regardless of the variety of ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Based on this reality, high quality programmes, reflecting the unique value system of child-rearing practices which are peculiar to different cultural communities, should be incorporated into child-caregiver and school curriculums. Such programmes should also compel child-caregivers to organize special enculturation educative events that will include the children's family members in the classrooms, thereby encouraging them to be part of their children's formal socialization learning process. As such, child-caregivers will strive to respect cultural differences by using the children's native language as a medium of communication, whenever necessary. To assist the suggested parental efforts, there should be academic curriculum that will aid the transformation of all elements of cultural epistemology such as philosophy, belief systems, religion, indigenous language and history into redemptive academic discourses from nursery through secondary schools. By integrating such subjects into the educational system, the children's intellectual and everyday existence will be embedded largely in the knowledge, traditional values and cultural priorities of the society.
5. **Worker's Assistance Programmes (WAPs) Policy:** Educative programmes can be created to enlighten parents who are involved in different types of occupation on how to cope and balance work and parenting responsibility. For

instance, counselling on the importance of child-rearing values, how to deal with conflicting work and parenting stress, how to inculcate cultural training in children's upbringing and enculturation, and parent qualitatively in the face of western incursion (which this study have found out to be an essential factor of development and progress) among other topics, can be organized as seminars or workshops in working establishments, and presented in playlets that can be transmitted through the mass media or staged in marketplaces and other popular public arenas.

This lay-out on how to balance work, parenting and cultural development in the city of Ibadan will be a redemptive departure from the parents' obsession with rearing their children as civilized western caricatures, and will also aid the pursuit of raising children to be truly modern, via the intellectual facets of the Yoruba child-rearing values, as an anchor for modernity. If these changes can be effected in organizations and government family-responsive policies, the Yoruba parents engaged in formal and informal occupational activities within the city of Ibadan will be able to extricate themselves from the morass of western child-rearing values which has produced "fakes" of the western "originals" in their children.

So far, the study has evaluated the changes in some aspects of Yoruba child-rearing practices through the influence of socio-economic transformative processes shaping the development of the city of Ibadan, South-Western, Nigeria. To this end, it has penetrated its account with an interpretation undertaken from the cultural materialist and ecological system theories perspectives.

Insofar as the study does not evaluate how parental occupation impinges on the overall pattern of children's social behaviours, it is imperative that another research should take up the task of unearthing this issue. Similarly, other efforts of study can concentrate on the influence of mass media and digital technologies on children's social behavioural formation, that is, on how powerful and toxic the value messages which children have unregulated access to via mass media and digital technologies have been influencing their social life, worldviews, behavioural and character formation, educational performances and how parents can raise what can be termed 'Generation Tech' (generation of technologically informed children) within a modernized indigenous cultural context.

It will also be interesting to investigate how parental reliance on commercial secondary socializing agents in the likes of child-care workers and schoolteachers has been

compensating the deficiencies in their children's upbringing. Likewise, it will be most fruitful if such an investigation could give some of its attention to how the school board system has also been contributive to the deficiencies in child upbringing. The effectiveness of contributions from religious institutions can also be focused on in future research.

Finally, much study needs to be done in other communities within the city of Ibadan, and the investigation should be extended to other parts of Oyo State, other states and the nation in general, to see if the inferences made in this study are generic to the Yoruba people or not.

6.3 Conclusion

Conclusively, the study provides evidence that Yoruba child-rearing practices, which are predicated on a distinctive cultural value-system, have been marked by continuous changes through the influence of socio-economic transformative processes, shaping the basic structural development of the city of Ibadan. This situation indicates that parental involvement in the city's socio-economic change processes led to the imbalance in work and parenting obligations, which in turn aided the modifications in the Yoruba child-rearing practices and value systems. Therefore, the study opines that there is the need for the parents to come to the realization that paying full attention to their occupational obligations and participating minimally in their children's upbringing and enculturation process, can have a long-lasting impact on the city of Ibadan's socio-economic advancement, and, more importantly, on their children's present and future outcome. In other words, as the parents are contributing fully to the socio-economic development of the city, they have not been regular or actively present in their children's upbringing and the effect can indirectly snuff out the Yoruba cultural values out of their children's upbringing experiences. In this way, this situation can result into a production of future successors to labour force with little or no self-consciousness about how to develop, produce and market their distinctive cultural products to the global world.

On the other hand, it is possible to argue that the secondary socializing agents have always been attending to the missing upbringing needs of children, yet, the reality on the field evidences that the child-care centres, schools, religious institutions, extended family members, neighbours, friends and sibling chains supports can only secondarily assist with the children's upbringing process because their main function is to reinforce what has already been taught in the homes. Interestingly, the secondary socialization agents similarly attested to the literal truth of performing limited roles which is also confirmed by the children in the

field accounts. Thus, it is apparently clear that no matter the amount of efforts put in place by secondary socializing agents, who are produced by the society to balance the lapses in the parents child-rearing obligations, they cannot replace the paramount parental roles in the children's upbringing experiences.

This problem needs to be looked into by the society because the success or failure of the city as a developing and civilized society also depends on how well the parents can transmit socio-cultural values to their children, who will in turn transmit the messages to other generations. These values, of course, transcend the marketplace but are necessary for demanding a rise in the quality of the children's productive and cultural developmental contributions to the society. Hence, parents who are engaged in formal and informal employments, could be helped so much more through the provision and implementation of organizational and family-responsive support policies and programmes that can aid substantive balancing of daily routines of parenting and work life, which will in turn produce new value orientations in child-rearing practices.

The point being made by this study is that, training children to become effective members of a society is one of the most difficult and challenging task to be accomplished by busy parents in a developing society that is open to both local and global influences. Nevertheless, this responsibility must be met because it is an essential factor that will add up to the city's development and progress in the future. But the responsibility cannot only be fulfilled by rearing their children to be 'modernized' western caricatures who are alienated from their socio-cultural root and identity. Instead the parents need to scrutinize the conventional Yoruba child-rearing practices in connection with the diffused foreign ideals in order to infuse modernization into the already-modern culture, to create novel but civilized child-rearing practices that will reflect the inherent Yoruba cultural values in their children's upbringing and enculturation. This initiative will definitely promote a sense of self-consciousness in the Yoruba children and will also expose them to the significance of the cultural values that have been in transmission from past generations. Therefore, a co-operative effort between the parents and all the different secondary socializing agents is needed to inculcate the Yoruba cultural values that will conserve and enhance the Yoruba culture to be in accord with the city's socio-economic transformation. This will go a long way to aid the transmission of the distinctive Yoruba child-rearing values by this generation to the succeeding generations to come.

It is, however, noted that the involvement of parents in the socio-economic transformative process acting as the infrastructural generative factors is the major initiator of

the changes in the structure of the Yoruba child-rearing practices, as fully understood by the research participants. And their elaboration of this complex situation confirms the anthropological hunch which posits that people, regardless of their absorption in it, can give evidence of their capacity of understanding their culture in ways which show that they see it as something constructed or developed over time and in accordance with the changing conditions of their environment. Similarly, the thrust of the study is capsulized by advancing the view that economic gain is perhaps the greatest stimulant for culture change and that each society can create its own 'modernized' cultural concepts without dis-embedding the indigenous cultural values from the people's world of existence, which is yet to happen in Ibadan.

The study conclusively submits that the totality of the socio-economic transformative processes shaping the development of the city of Ibadan has produced profound changes in the Yoruba child-rearing practices. The other view also taken is that the imbalance created in work and parenting responsibility, under the influence of socio-economic transformative processes, rippled changes in the Yoruba child-rearing practices and across the entire complex and multiple social structures with which the Yoruba child does not have direct interaction but which indirectly contributes to his/her upbringing and enculturation. The study, therefore, recommends alternative measures of balancing work and parenting responsibility in relation to economic productivity and cultural development.

The totality of the study embodies an intellectual contribution to the body of knowledge which has grown around Yoruba and, by extension, Nigerian child-rearing literature and the anthropology of child-rearing discourse through its exploration and evaluation of the changes in this cultural practice through the influence of socio-economic transformative processes. In addition, it is a useful ethnographic documentation reconstructed to serve as an educative medium about the roles of parents and government in infusing the development of self-awareness in children's upbringing, school educational curriculum, and work and parenting practices in order to advance cultural development and a balance in work and parenting responsibilities.

APPENDIX 1

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES ANTHROPOLOGY DEPARTMENT

NOTIFICATION OF SELECTION AS A RESEARCH RESPONDENT FOR THE DOCUMENTATION OF A Ph.D RESEARCH DISSERTATION ON THE YORUBA CHILD REARING PRACTICES

Dear Sir/Madam,

This is to notify you that you have been selected as an interview respondent that will be participating in a Ph.D academic research evaluating the cultural changes in Yoruba child-rearing practices in the city of Ibadan.

The aim of the research is to provide a more detailed analysis on the Yoruba child-rearing practices as a culture that is continuously adapting to change. Likewise, to assess the special world of the today's Yoruba children, more particularly the specific features of it that may help us to understand the process through which their social conducts are been shaped and how their future adult personality as parents might be formed. The findings generated from this fieldwork research will be utilized in documenting the data of the researcher's Ph.D dissertation.

In order to collate a qualitative and quantitative data on the discourse, a consent form has been prepared to seek your informed consent, which is to inform you of the basic idea of what the research is about and to indicate what your participation will involve. Please, do take your time to read the consent form carefully and to understand all accompanying information. It will also be of great help if you can endeavour to fill your personal data in the space provided below:

PERSONAL DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

Name _____ Sex _____
Address _____
Name of Residence _____
Local Government of Residence _____
Telephone No. (Optional) _____
Age _____ Religion _____ Education Status _____
Occupation _____ Employment Status _____
Employment Sector _____
Number of Children (M) _____ (F) _____
Ages of Children (M) _____ (F) _____
No. of Months/Years of Working and Residing in Ibadan _____
Husband or Wife's Name _____ Age _____ Religion _____
Education _____ Occupation _____ Employment Status _____
Employment Sector _____
Who Resides in Your Household _____

APPENDIX II

Consent Form

Sir/Madam; you have been orally requested to participate in a Ph.D academic research that will explore the modifications in Yoruba child-rearing practices among working parents within the city of Ibadan. Based on the fact that you have verbally accepted to be part of the research participants, this consent form has been prepared in order to inform you of the nature of your involvement and it has to be studied and endorsed by you in respect to the ethical principle of the researcher's discipline of study. Thank you for your understanding.

If you consent to be part of this academic study your involvement will include the following:

1. Accommodating the researcher for a period of time as a participant observer (If your household has been chosen for participant observation purposes).
2. You will be interviewed by the researcher or research assistants on one occasion.
3. The interview will be arranged at your convenience and in your home.
4. The maximum length of the interview will be one hour.
5. To be sure that your words are captured accurately the interview will be audio-taped.
6. The audio-taped interview will be transcribed for the purposes of analysis of the information you provided. Your name will not appear on the typed interviews. All the data (audio-taped and transcribed) will be shredded after the completion of the study.
7. There are no benefits (material, financial or otherwise) for being part of this study and the study will be done at no cost to you.
8. After the completion of the study, the researcher will be very happy to share the findings of the study with you.
9. The data collated from of this study, including photographs will be documented and presented in the researcher's Ph.D research dissertation.

Thesis Title: Changing Child-Rearing Practices among in Yoruba Parents in Ibadan, Nigeria.

Researcher: Cecilia Siki, OWOLABANI

Institution: University of Ibadan

Faculty: Institute of African Studies

Department: Anthropology

If you agree to participate in this study, please fill the consent form below and note that by appending your signature on this form, you have indicated a satisfactory understanding of all information regarding your participation in this academic research and have agreed to participate as a respondent. Please be informed that your participation is informed by your

consent and you are also free to withdraw from the study at any time. Thus, feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

If you have further questions concerning issues related to this research, please contact the researcher via this e-mail address and phone number: ceciliaforhumanity@yahoo.co.uk 08034743746.

Participant's Name:

Participant Signature: _____

Date: _____

Researcher's Signature: _____

Date: _____

Note: A copy of this consent form will be given to you for record or reference purpose.

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN LIBRARY

APPENDIX II

Interview Questions for Parents

PERSONAL DATA OF INTERVIEWEE

Name _____ Sex _____
Address _____
Local Government of Residence _____
Telephone No. (Optional) _____
Age _____ Religion _____ Education Status _____
Occupation _____ Employment Status _____
Employment Sector _____
Number of Children (M) _____ (F) _____
Ages of Children (M) _____ (F) _____
No. of Months/Years of Residence in Ibadan _____
Reason(s) for Residing in Ibadan _____

Husband or Wife's Name _____ Age _____ Religion _____
Education _____ Occupation _____ Employment Status _____
Employment Sector _____
Who Resides in Your Household _____

Interview Questions

1. What was it like during your growing up years?
2. In what ways has your parents contributed to your being a parent?
3. As a parent, what is it like training your child/children?
4. How can you describe the kind of parental pattern you employed while training your child/children?
5. What is your parental role in training your child/children?
6. Do your extended family members, the society, schools, government etc have any role to play towards the training of your child/children?
7. Does religion play any role towards the training of a child? How?
8. Do you attend religious activities such as night vigil with your child/children? How can you relate such activities with the Yoruba culture of child rearing practices?
9. Do you have a house help? What is his/her role towards the training of your child/children?
10. What are the important Yoruba cultural child rearing values which you have inculcated into your child/children? Please, share your experience with us.
11. What is the adopted language of communication in your household?
12. What language do you use while communicating with your child/children? Why did you adopt that language?
13. Can your child/children speak Yoruba Language? How eloquent?
14. Do you communicate with your child/children with disciplinary body language? How well do your child/children understand the use of such signs?
15. Do your child/children obey and respect you?
16. Has your child ever replied you in a rude manner during an argument? Please, give an instance?
17. What are the Yoruba socio- cultural beliefs and value systems that you have employed while training your child/children?
18. Who or what has influenced the formation of the cultural beliefs and value systems you used while training your child/children? In what ways have they influenced you?
19. What other factors have influenced your parental pattern of bringing up your child/children?

20. Were you able to adhere to the Yoruba cultural beliefs and value systems of child rearing practices while training your child/children in Ibadan?
21. In what ways have you been influenced by the Yoruba culture while training your child/children?
22. What is the description of your work?
23. Can you describe your daily routine before going to work during working days?
24. Why do you work?
25. Does your work have an impact on your parental duties and to what degree?
26. Do you think that parental involvement in labour force can result into negative influences on the behaviour and mannerism of their children?
27. Where do you keep your child/children when you are at work?
28. What time do you normally pick up your child/children from their care givers or schools?
29. How do your child/children cope when you are not around to take care of their primary social and psychological developmental needs?
30. Do you perceive the norm of parents transferring their primary roles of caring for their children to care givers and Schools as a means of giving other “people” the permission to define their children`s thoughts and behaviours and indirectly defining their future as they deem fit?
31. Have you ever dropped your child/children at any care centre hostels during the weekend?
32. How frequent do you attend social functions during the weekends and who takes care of your child/children when you are at such social functions?
33. Can you please state the amount of time you spent at home with your child/children while carrying out your parental responsibilities and describe the kind of activities you are usually involved in during such periods.
34. Have you ever compared the mannerism of your child/children to yours while you were growing up? What is the difference? Please cite some descriptive instances.
35. What do you think is the causative factors behind such behaviours?
36. Has any child ever insulted you? What were your reactions and conclusion about the home training of such a child? Give an instance, please.
37. Do you think children`s accessibility to electronic media, internet facilities and usage of electronic gadgets has been impacting on their behavioural attitudes?
38. With the way the present day children are being trained, what do you think would be the outcome of these children when they become adults and parents in the future?
39. Do you think they would be able to preserve, strengthen and contribute to the cultural integrity of the Yoruba child-rearing practices? How?
40. To what extent do you think that the socio-economic development of the city of Ibadan have been affecting the culture of child rearing practices among the Yorubas?
41. Do you think that the nation`s economic development in terms of women`s involvement in labour force have been affecting the Yoruba culture of child rearing practices? How?
42. Please describe any difficulties/conflicts you might be experiencing as an employed parent (at home and work) that have been affecting the social and psychological developmental needs of your child/children.
43. Please describe any other problem you might have encountered while training your children as an employed parent. (Employers support, governmental support, societal support environmental influence, technological influence, etc.)
44. In what ways have you been able to resolve such concerns/difficulties/conflicts?
45. In what ways has your extended family members, the government, society, schools, health care professionals (nurses, social workers, physicians and psychologists) assisted you in while training your child/children?
46. How can the society, government, employers of labour, schools and health care professionals be of assistance to you in terms of training your child/children in culturally acceptable ways?

Name of Interviewer _____ Date _____ Signature _____

APPENDIX V

Interview Questions for Children

PERSONAL DATA OF INTERVIEWEE

Name _____ Sex _____
Address _____
Local Government of Residence _____
Telephone No. (Optional) _____
Age _____ Religion _____ Educational Status _____
Parent's Occupation: Mother _____ Father _____
Parent's Employment Status: Mother _____ Father _____
Parent's Employment Sector: Mother _____ Father _____
Parents Religion: Mother _____ Father _____
Parent's Educational Background: Mother _____ Father _____
Number of Siblings (Male) _____ (Female) _____
Age(s) of Siblings (Male) _____ (Female) _____
No. of Months/Years of Residence in Ibadan _____
Reason(s) for Residing in Ibadan _____

Who Resides in Your Household _____

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What time do you normally go to school?
2. Why do you go to school?
3. What time do you normally close at school and what time do you normally get home?
4. Do you spend more time in school than at home? Why?
5. How often do you see your parents in a week? Why?
6. Do you see your parents before going to school, when you return from school and before sleeping at night?
7. What is your communication like with your parents?
8. Which of your parents is often present at home? Why?
9. Which of your parent do you call on for help when you are in trouble? Why?
10. To which of your parents do you show more respect? Why?
11. Do you participate in your house chore activities? Why?
12. Do you greet your parents? How do you greet them and how often?
13. Do you obey their instructions?
14. Do you reply them when you are being scolded? Why?
15. Have you ever replied your parents rudely during arguments? Please, cite an instance.
16. Have you ever been reprovved whenever you do this? How Often?
17. Have you ever insulted an elderly person when you were being disciplined or reprovved for doing what is wrong? What was your parent's reaction? Give an instance, please.
18. How do you greet those that are older than you?
19. Do you have older and younger siblings? How do you address them in terms of according respect to their age difference?
20. How does your parent discipline you whenever you do something wrong? Describe an instance.
21. Who else can discipline you apart from your parent? Why?

22. What is the adopted language of communication in your household?
23. What is the adopted language of interaction between you and your parent?
24. Can you speak Yoruba Language? How eloquent?
25. Do you participate in any extra academic classes after the regular School hours?
26. What time do you normally begin your extra academic classes after the regular School hours?
27. What is the percentage of your level of assimilation during the extra academic classes?
28. Does your parent seek your opinion before enrolling you for such extra academic classes?
29. Do you think there is a need for enrolling you for extra academic classes? Why?
30. What is your opinion concerning students involvement in extra academic classes after the schools regular hours?
31. Do you think that parental consent to children's involvement in extra academic classes after the regular school hours is an act of using primary and secondary schools as an extension of day care facilities where they can keep their children till close of work?
32. How often does your parent visit your school to enquire about their welfare?
33. Who takes care of you and your siblings when your parents are not around?
34. How do you cope when your parents are not around to take care of your primary social and psychological developmental needs?
35. Do you think that your parent's involvement in their works have been impacting on their parental duties?
36. How can you describe the ways in which your parent's work has been impacting on your social and psychological developmental needs?
37. Does your parent rely so much on religious doctrines and practices for your obedience and moral training? Please indicate the percentage of your parent's reliance
38. How often do you attend your religious institution in a week?
39. Why do you attend your religious institution?
40. Do you attend religious activities such as night vigil and other activities with your parent?
41. Do you think that such activities are part of your growing up needs?
42. Have you ever been scolded or disciplined for not attending such religious activities? Give an instance.
43. What can you say about the activities that go on in your religious institutions?
44. Do you allow your teachers and religious instructors to discipline you?
45. Can you describe the type of discipline you receive at home, in school and in your religious institution whenever you do something wrong?
46. Do you socialize with your neighbour's children? When and what do you normally do?
47. What do you do during your free and leisure time?
48. How often do you use your technological and electronic gadgets?
49. Why do you use them?
50. How many hours do you normally expend in a day for viewing T.V programs?
51. Do you have access to digital or cable T.V? Yes
52. What are your best T.V programs?
53. Why do you watch such programs?
54. Do you have access to internet facilities?
55. How often do you surf the internet in a day or week?
56. Why do you use the internet?
57. Do you think that the use of technological gadgets, internet and electronic Medias have been affecting your attitudinal and behavioural patterns?
58. What have you been able to learn as a child about the Yoruba culture of training children and how did you learn this?
59. How inquisitive are you about the Yoruba cultural norms and values of training children? Describe an instance
60. Where do you spend most of your time during the day?

Name of interviewee _____ Date _____ Signature _____

APPENDIX VI

Interview Questions for Secondary Socializing Agents in Schools, Religious Institutions and Child-Care Centers

PERSONAL DATA OF INTERVIEWEE

Name of Institution _____
Address _____
Local Government Area _____
Telephone No. (Optional) _____
Name of Interviewee _____
Age _____ Religion _____ Educational Status _____
Occupation _____ Employment Status _____
Employment Sector _____
No. of Months/Years of Residence in Ibadan _____
Reasons for Residing in Ibadan _____

Interview Questions

1. How long have you been working in this Institution?
2. Could you please give a rough estimate of the total number of children in this Institution and state their age differences?
3. What role(s) does your Institution play in training children to be morally upright?
4. What is your experience of training children from different ethnic and socio-cultural background?
5. Do you train and socialize these children according to their different ethnic and socio-cultural background? How?
6. How early do parents drop their wards into your care?
7. How do the children cope physically, emotionally and psychologically when their parents are not around to take care of their needs?
8. Have you ever recorded any anomaly of some parents coming late to pick their wards?
9. How frequent is/are such anomaly?
10. Who usually pick the child/children during closing time?
11. Can all the children in your care speak their native language (Mother tongue)?
12. Do you train the children with the use of disciplinary body language?
13. Do you communicate with the children with disciplinary body language?
14. How can you describe the present day children's understanding of the use of disciplinary body language?
15. Does your institution have any impact on the children's mannerism and obedience training?
16. Please, describe how your institution has been impacting on the children's mannerism and obedience training.
17. How can you describe the ways in which your institution has been impacting on the social and psychological developmental needs of the children under its care?
18. How often do the children in your care take part in your institutional cleaning activities?
19. Does your institution rely so much on religious doctrines and practices for the moral training of these children? Please state the percentage of your institutional reliance
20. How can you relate such religious activities to the Yoruba culture of child rearing practices?
21. How do you cope with the children's individual negative behaviourism or mannerism?

22. Please, describe any difficulties/conflicts you might have been experiencing based on the socio-psychological developmental needs of the children
23. Please, describe any other problem you might have encountered while training the children in your institution in relation to parental support, employers support, governmental support, societal support, environmental influence, technological influence, etc.
24. In what ways have you been able to resolve these concerns/difficulties/conflicts?
25. Have you ever compared the behaviour or mannerism of the present day children to yours (during your growing up years)? What is the difference? Please cite some descriptive instances.
26. Has any child in your institution ever replied you in a rude manner or insulted you while you were scolding or disciplining such a child?
27. What was your reaction and conclusion about the home training of such a child? Please, give an instance?
28. What do you think is/are the causative factor(s) behind such behaviour or mannerism?
29. Do you think children's accessibility to electronic media, the internet and usage of electronic gadgets has been impacting on their behavioural attitudes?
30. Have you ever noticed any changes in the modern day children's behaviour and mannerism formation?
31. What do you think is/are the factors behind such behavioural formation and mannerism?
32. Do you agree that parental consent to children's involvement in extra academic classes after the regular school hours is an act of using primary and secondary schools as an extension of day care facilities where they can keep their children till close of work?
33. Do you perceive the norm of parents transferring their primary roles of caring for their children to care givers and Schools as a means of giving other "people" the permission to define their children's thoughts and behaviours and indirectly defining the future of the children as they deem fit?
34. Do you think that parents in the present day rely so much on secondary care givers to train their children on their behalf since they have been paid for the service?
35. Do the children in your institution obey and respect you?
36. How do you discipline the disobedient children in your institution?
37. Do you believe in the philosophy of 'spare the rod and spoil the child'? Why?
38. How can you describe your personal relationship in terms of affection, intimacy and interaction with the children in your institution?
39. Do you think that Yoruba parents in the contemporary times have been training their children in conformity to the traditional Yoruba cultural normative of child training practices?
40. Based on the way present day children are being trained by their parents, what do you think would be the outcome of these children when they become adults and parents in the future?
41. Do you think the children would be able to preserve and strengthen the Yoruba culture of child-rearing practices? How can this be achieved?
42. Do you think that the adaptation of different modern parental patterns of training children in this present time can have an effect on the future of the culture of child rearing practices as an integral part of the Nigerian total culture? Why?
43. To what extent do you think that the socio-economic development of the city of Ibadan have been impacting on the Yoruba culture of child rearing practices? Please state the percentage of your level of extent _____
44. Do you think that the nation's economic development in terms of women's involvement in labour force have been affecting the Yoruba culture of child rearing practices?
45. In what ways have parents, government, the society, health care professionals (nurses, social workers, physicians and psychologists) have been assisting your institution in training the children?
46. What do you think parents, the society, government, employers of labour, schools and health care professionals can do to assist your institution in terms of training children in culturally acceptable ways?

Name of Interviewer _____ Date _____ Signature _____

APPENDIX VII

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES ANTHROPOLOGY DEPARTMENT

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear respondent,

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this study. The questionnaire is mainly designed for the research purpose of documenting the changes in Yoruba child-rearing practices among Parents in formal and informal employments in the city of Ibadan. The objective of this study is to ascertain the changes and establish the effects of parental occupation on the changes in Yoruba child-rearing practices. Likewise, to evaluate the enculturation processes through which today's children's social conducts are shaped. The findings generated from this survey questionnaire will be utilized in recommending substantive culturally inclined recommendations for balancing work and parenting responsibilities.

This questionnaire contains open and closed ended questions in relation to the Yoruba culture of child-rearing practices and it would take approximately 20 minutes to be completed. Your name is not required on the questionnaire and your participation in this study is completely voluntary with no foreseeable risks associated to your response. Your responses will be treated with strict confidentiality. If you however, feel uncomfortable answering the questions, you can withdraw from the survey at any point. If you have further questions concerning issues related to this research, please contact the researcher via this e-mail address and phone number: ceciliaforhumanity@yahoo.co.uk /08034743746.

Section A: Personal Details

Please, simply mark an (X) inside the box in front of the appropriate option that best describes you.

1. **Sex:** Male Female

2. **Age:** 22-29 30-40

40-45 46-52

3. **Occupation:**

4. **Employment Status:** Employed Not Employed Other

5. **Employment Sector:** Formal Informal Others

6.

7. **Educational Status:**

O level OND/NCE HND

BSc/BA Masters PhD

Others (Please Specify)

8. **Religion:** Christianity Islam Traditional
 Others (Please Specify) _____
9. **Working Experience:** 0-9yrs () 10-19yrs () 20-29yrs () 30-39yrs () 40yrs and above () Please indicate the year _____
10. **Job Description:** Administrative () Marketing () Banking () Business () Trader () Teaching () Others (Please Specify) _____

SECTION B: Questions on the Yoruba Culture of Child Rearing Practices

Please tick the option that is closest to your experience or opinion and fill in the gaps with your honest opinion.

1. As a parent, how can you describe raising your kid(s) from infancy to their present age? It was stressfree () It was challenging () It was stressful () Others (specify) _____
2. Were you given any maternity leave at work? Yes () No ()
3. Do you have any baby care centre located within your working environment? Yes () No ()
4. How long was your maternity leave? 2 weeks () 1 month () 3 months () 6 months () Others (specify the duration) _____
5. Were you given your full salary? Yes () No ()
6. Were you assisted by any member of your extended family when raising your kid(s)?
7. Yes () No () For how long? _____
8. Who takes care of your child/children when you are at work? Extended family members () House help () Day Care workers () Foster home officers () School teachers () Religious home workers () Others (specify) _____
9. What time do you normally drop your kid(s) at school or care centers? 5am () 6am () 7am () 8am () Others (Please specify the time) _____
10. What time do you normally pick up your child/children from their care givers or schools?
11. () 2pm () 3pm () 4pm () 5pm () 6pm () 7pm () 8pm and above
12. How do you feel at work when your infant baby is with a care giver and not you? () Sad () Happy () Indifferent () others (specify) _____
13. How do you breast feed your infant child? I extract my breast milk () I visit my child from time to time during working hours at care centers situated within my working environment () My child is breastfed only when we are together () Others (specify) _____

14. Does your work have any impact on your parental duties? Yes () No ()
15. How can you describe the ways in which your work has been impacting on the developmental needs of your child/children? Negative () Positive () Please indicate the percentage of such impact_____
16. How often do you visit your child/children's care centers or schools to enquire about their welfare? Once a week () Once a month () Once per term () Once per session () Others (specify)_____
17. Do you have a house help? Yes () No ()
18. Do you allow your child/children to take part in house chores? Yes () No ()
19. Why do you allow them take part in house chores?_____
20. How often do they take part in house chore activities? Always () When the house help is not around () When am tired () Others (specify)_____
21. Do you rely so much on religious doctrines and practices for the obedience and moral training of your child/children? Yes () No () Indifferent () Others (specify)_____
22. Please indicate the percentage of your reliance_____
23. Do you attend religious activities such as night vigil with your child/children? Yes () No ()
24. Is this practice an integral aspect of the Yoruba culture of child rearing practices? Yes, it is () No, it is not ()
25. How can you relate such religious activities to the Yoruba culture of child rearing practices?_____
26. What are the important Yoruba cultural child rearing values which you have passed on to yourchild/children?_____
27. Do your child/children speak Yoruba Language? Yes () No ()
28. How eloquent? Fluently () A little bit () Not at all ()
29. What is the adopted language of interaction in your household? Yoruba () English () We code switch () We code mix ()
30. Why did you adopt this language [Please, specify your reason(s)]_____
31. Do you communicate with your child/children with disciplinary body language? Sometimes () Once in a while () Always () It has never happened

32. How can you describe your child/children's understanding of the use of disciplinary body language? Excellent () Very good () Good () Fairly Good () Fair () Poor ()
33. Have you been training your child/children through the parental pattern your parent employed while training (you during your growing up years)? Yes, I have been relying strictly on my parent's pattern () Yes, but with a little bit of modification () No, I have been employing my own pattern () Others (specify)_____
34. How can you describe your type of parental pattern? Authoritarian () Strict () Permissive () Lasser faire attitude[] ()
35. How can you describe your parenting style? Fine gardening model [weeding out negative qualities] () Traffic Model [Parents explain to their children how to behave,] () Reward and punishment () Combination of all () Combination of option_____ and _____
36. Are you aware of the modern parental practice of leaving children with care givers during the greater parts of children's developmental stages? Yes () No ()
37. Do you perceive the norm of parents transferring their primary roles of caring for their children to care givers and Schools as a means of giving other "people" the permission to define their children's thoughts and behaviours and indirectly defining their future as they deem fit. Yes () No () Please indicate the reasons for chosen your option_____
38. Do your child/children obey and respect you? Sometimes () Once in a while () Always ()
39. Has your child ever replied you in a rude manner during an argument? Sometimes () Once in a while () Always () It has never happened
40. How do you discipline your disobedient child/children? Physical punishment () Harsh admonishing words () Treats () Combination of all () The wrongs are overlooked Combination of option_____, _____ and_____
41. Do you believe in the philosophy of 'spare the rod and spoil the child'? Yes () No ()
42. Please state the reasons for chosen your option_____
43. How can you describe your personal relationship in terms of affection, intimacy and interaction with your child/children? Very close () Close () Fairly close () Not close () Others (Please Specify)_____
44. Do you know your child/children's friends? Yes () No ()
45. Do you enquire about what your child/children do while you were at work? Yes () No ()
46. How _____ do _____ you _____ carry _____
47. Do your child/children have free access to the use of technological electronic gadgets? Yes () No ()
48. Do your child/children have free access to the use of internet facilities? Yes () No ()
49. Do your child/children have access to digital or cable T.V in your home? Yes () No ()

50. How frequent do your child/children watch Television? Every day () Weekends()
Weekdays and weekends() Whenever they feel like ()
51. Do you think children's accessibility to electronic media, internet facilities and usage of electronic gadgets has been impacting on their behavioural attitudes? Yes () No ()
(Please state your opinion on this question)
52. Have you ever noticed any changes in the modern day children's behavioural pattern or mannerism? Yes () No ()
53. What do you think is/are the factors behind such behavioural pattern or mannerism?

54. What are the Yoruba cultural belief and value systems that you have employed while training your child/children?

55. Who and what has influenced the formation of your cultural beliefs and value system on the Yoruba culture of child rearing practices? (Please describe how they have influenced you.)
56. What other societal factors have been influencing your adopted patterns of training your child/children? _____
57. Were you able to adhere to the Yoruba cultural beliefs and value systems of child rearing practices while training your child/children in Ibadan? Yes () No () Why?

58. What are the Yoruba cultural values of child rearing practices that you have inculcated into your child/children? _____

59. In what ways have you been influenced by the Yoruba culture while raising your child/children? _____

60. Can you please state the amount of time you spent at home with your child/children carrying out parental responsibilities and describe your activities during such periods

61. How frequent do you attend social functions during the weekends? () Once in a while () Always () Seldom () I don't
62. Who takes care of your child/children when you are at such social functions?

63. Have you ever dropped your child/children at any care centre hostels during the weekend? Yes () No ()
64. How do your child/children cope when you are not around to take care of their primary psychological and developmental needs? _____

65. Have you ever compared the behavioural patterns of your child/children to yours during your growing up years and what is the difference? Please cite some descriptive instances _____

66. What do you think is/are the causative factor(s) behind such behaviours?

67. Has any child ever replied you rudely or insulted you while scolding such a child? Yes () No ()
68. What was your reactions and conclusion about such child? Give an instance, please _____

69. Are you aware that parents now enroll their children in extra academic classes after the regular school hours? Yes () No ()
70. Do you agree that parental consent to children's involvement in extra academic classes after the regular school hours is an act of using primary and secondary schools as an extension of day care facilities where they can keep their children till close of work? Strongly agree () Agree () Neutral () Disagree () Strongly Disagree
71. Do you perceive the norm of parents transferring their primary roles of caring for their children to care givers and Schools as a means of giving other "people" the permission to define their children's thoughts and behaviours and indirectly defining the future of the children as they deem fit. Yes () No () Please indicate the reasons for chosen your option
72. What do you think would be the outcome of the modern day Yoruba children when they become adults and parents in the future, would they be responsible parents? Yes () No ()
73. Do you think they would be able to train their children with the acceptable Yoruba cultural norms of child rearing practices in the future? Yes () No ()
74. To what extent has the socio-economic development of the city of Ibadan been affecting the culture of child rearing practices among the Yorubas? To a very large extent () A little bit () To a large extent () Not at all () I have not noticed () Please indicate the percentage of your level of extent _____
75. Do you think that the nation's economic development in terms of women's involvement in labour force have been affecting the Yoruba culture of child rearing practices? Yes () No ()

76. Please describe any difficulties/conflicts you might have been experiencing as an employed parent at home and work that have been affecting the developmental needs of your child/children _____

77. Please describe any other problem you might have encountered while raising your children as an employed parent in terms of employers support, governmental support, societal support environmental influence, technological influence, etc. _____
78. In what ways have you been able to resolve these concerns/difficulties/conflicts?

79. In what ways have your extended family members, the government, society, schools, health care professionals (nurses, social workers, physicians and psychologists) assisted you in training your children?

80. How can the society, government, employers of labour, schools and health care professionals be of assistance to you in terms of training your child/children in culturally acceptable ways? _____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND HONEST RESPONSE

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OTHER SOURCES

Akeem, 15 years old, SSS 2, male student. Personal Communication. April, 2012

Anuoluwa, 16 years old, SSS2 female student. Personal Communication. May, 2012

Baba Jeje, a 68 years old grandfather at Oluyole Estate. Personal Communication. April, 2011

Iya Agba, a 72 years old grandmother at Apata. Personal Communication. April, 2011

Iya Agba, a 75 years grandmother at Beere. Personal Communication. June, 2011

Iya Laremo, a 62 years old grandmother at New Bodija. Personal Communication. July, 2011

Iya Olole, a 74 years old, grandmother at Orogun. Personal Communication. July, 2011

Iya Pupa, a 69 years old grandmother, at Molete. Personal Communication. May, 2011

Iya, Ibeji, a 42 years old mother at Orogun. Personal Communication. December, 2011

Iya-L'remo, 67 years old grandmother at New Bodija. Personal Communication. June, 2011

Mama Agba, a 72 years old grandmother at Apata. Personal Communication. August, 2011

Mama Ayinke, a 65 years old grandmother at Ikolaba. Personal Communication. August, 2011

Mr Onanuga, 42 years old father at Oluyole Estate. Personal Communication. January, 2012

Mr. Alamu, a driver at Orogun. Personal Communication. January, 2012

Mr. Iyiola, a 40 years old father at Ikolaba Estate. Personal Communication. September, 2011

Mr. Lawal, a 42 years old father at Ikolaba. Personal Communication. October, 2011

Mr. Ogunmola, a 45 years old father at Beere. Personal Communication. October, 2011

Mr. Olasunkanmi, a 45 years old father at New Bodija. Personal Communication. November, 2011

Mr. Oni, a 48 years old father at Apata. Personal Communication. December, 2011

Mrs Ayinla, 67 years old grandmother at New Bodija. Personal Communication. June, 2011

Mrs Onaleke, 70years old grandmother at Mapo. Personal Communication. April, 2011

Mrs. Abdulsalam, a 34 years old mother at Apata. Personal Communication. October, 2011

Mrs. Ajayi, 42 years old, mother at Ikolaba. Personal Communication. November, 2011

Mrs. Atolagbe, atrader at Beere. Personal Communication. February, 2012

Mrs. Ayeni, 46 years old mother at Old Bodija. Personal Communication. January, 2012

Mrs. Ayinde, a 42 years old mother at New Bodija. Personal Communication. September, 2011

Mrs. Edunjobi, a 41 years old mother at Orogun. Personal Communication. October, 2011

Mrs. Kazeem, a 38 years old mother at Molete. Personal Communication. October, 2011

Mrs. Olashende, a 42 years old mother at Ikolaba. Personal Communication. November, 2011

Mrs. Olashende, a 42 years old mother at Ikolaba. Personal Communication. December, 2011

Mrs. Omogbemi, a 39 years oldmother at Molete. Personal Communication. December, 2011

Mrs. Omoyeni, a 46 years old mother at old Bodija. Personal Communication. November, 2011

Mrs. Oyeniya, a trader at Mapo market. Personal Communication. February, 2012

Mrs. Saka, a 68 years old grandmother at Orogun. Personal Communication. August, 2011

Oladunni, 16 years old, SSS 3 female student. Personal Communication. May 2012

Olaseni, 13 years old, JSS 3 female student. Personal Communication. June, 2012

Oyewale, 16 years old, SSS3 male student. Personal Communication. April, 2012

Pa Odugbemi, a 65 years old grandfather at Beere. Personal Communication. September, 2011

Pa Ogundipe, 69 years old grandfather at New Bodija. Personal Communication. April, 2011

Pa Ogunniyi, a 68 years old grandfather at Orogun. Personal Communication. September, 2011

Pa. Fakolade, a 73 years old grandfather at Molete. Personal Communication. May, 2011

Pa. Nasiru, 68 years old, grandfather at Beere. Personal Communication. June, 2011

Pa. Odumosu, 67 years old grandfather at Jericho Estate. Personal Communication. June, 2011

- Pa. Ogundipe, 75 years old grandfather at New Bodija. Personal Communication. February, 2012
- Pa. Olayemi, 64 years old Grandfather at Old Bodija. Personal Communication. May, 2011
- Pa. Olayemi, 72 years old grandfather at Ikolaba. Personal Communication. February, 2012
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