THE LEARNING OF SEX-ROLE IDENTIFICATION AND SEX-TYPING BEHAVIOURS IN THE BIROM SOCIETY OF PLATEAU STATE, NIGERIA.

BY

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Z A R I A

The undersigned certify that they have read and recommended to the Faculty of Education for acceptance a study entitled "THE LEARNING OF SEX-ROLE IDENTIFICATION AND SEX-TYPING BEHAVIOURS IN THE BIROM SOCIETY OF PLATEAU STATE, NIGERIA" submitted by B.J. AGWASIM in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education (M.Ed).

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D E C L A R A T I O N

I hereby declare that this project has been written by me and that it is a record of my own original research work. It has not been presented in any application for a higher degree. All quotations are indicated and the sources of information are specifically acknowledged by means of references.

B. I. ACWASTM.

D E D I C A T I O N

I am dedicating this work to my children: Master Uzomah Agwasim and his sister, Miss Chika Agwasim.

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A B S T R A C T

Societies vary in the degree to which they train children differently according to their sexes. Some societies segregate the sexes quite early and begin training for differentiated adult roles right away. In others girls and boys receive fairly similar early training. The necessity for this study arose from the author's interest in the rich culture of the Birom people, and especially in the way the people handed down to up-coming generation some of their values as a society. Sex-role identification has far reaching consequences for all societies because it touched on the very lives of the people, and so the author wanted to see how the Birom people differentiated between the sexes.

Sex differences between males and females could be biologically or culturally determined. This has been shown to be the case by the works of several people, including Hochschild (1973); Ernest (1978); Freud (1949); and Kohlberg (1948). It was hypothesised for the study that there would be no differences between boys and girls in the patterns of identification adopted, that there would be no differences between the efforts

of fathers and mothers in teaching sex-roles in Birom, and that there would be no differences between boys and girls in the acquisition of adequate sex-roles and sex-typing through artifacts.

The study itself dealt with the emerging perceptions of the Birom people, young and old, about the men and women that they know they have become, or are becoming. The study explored the ideas, definitions, explanations, and evaluations of children about the two sex categories as an index of how they themselves learn to belong. A Parent Attitude Scale Towards Sex-role and Sex-typing (P.A.S.S.S.) adapted from Hake's (1972) model and containing sixty items to find out parental attitudes as repositories of Birom cultural practices; a collection of sex-typed articles such as pots, bows and arrows, bangles and tarings, and beads to determine wtaetfoer the choices the children would make followed sex lines; and an interview schedule designed with questions to ascertain to what extent children answered questions on sex-role and sex-typing were the instruments used for the study. Two hundred parents and fifty of their children from five groups of Birom village settlements "Scattered" around Bukuru, Heipang and Barkin Ladi were involved with the study.

The results showed that in Birom society there was a clear differentiation between males and females with specific sex-role expectations for the two sexes. The ideology that supported sex stratification in Birom society tallied with Nemerowicz's 1979) assertion that this ideology was still fundamentally rooted in Biology - which has "Blessed" men so much so that it has equipped them for almost all social roles, while females have not been so "Blessed". The study also revealed that in Birom society there was an image of the work world as a tough, physically taxing environment not only limited to the child's mind, but also to the adult, and that "work" was not something enjoyed; it was vissioned as a burden borne better by the strong, the masculine.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title page	i
Approval Page	ii
Declaration	iii
Dedication	iv
Acknowledgement	v
Abstract	vi
Table of Contents	ix
List of Tables	xii
List of Appendices	xiii

CHAPTER ONE

1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	Statement of the Problem	4
1.3	Objectives	4
1.4	Hypotheses	5
1.5	Significance of the Study	5
1.6	Limitations of the Study	9
1.7	Definitions of terms	10
1.8	Assumptions	11
1.9	The Background of the People	14

CHAPTER TWO

2.0	Review of Related Literature	17
2.1	Theoretical Foundations for the Study	17
2.2	Empirical Foundations of the Study	24
2.3	Physical Differences	25
2.4	Mental Differences	27
2.5	Emotional Differences	28
2.6	The Masculine Role	30
2.7	Environmental Influences on Sex-role Identification	31
2.8	Symbolic Agents of Sex-role Socialisation	32
2.9	Results of Socialisation	33
2.10	Sex-role situation in Borno State	39
2.11	Methods Open to the Researcher for Data collection	41

CHAPTER THREE

3.0	Methodology	48
3.1	The Sample	48
3.2	The Instruments	49
3.3	The Pilot Study	55
3.4	Procedures adapted	56
3.5	Treatment of the Data	57

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 Results and Analysis of Data 58

FINDINGS FROM PARENTS AS REPOSITORIES OF BIROM CULTURAL PRACTICES AND VALUES 59

4.1 Birom Parents Conception of Sex-role 59

4.2 Other areas of difference Identified by Birom parents 62

4.3 Male Superiority 73

4.4 The Process of Learning sex-role and sex-typing in Birom Society 75

FINDINGS FROM BIROM CHILDREN WHO NEED TO ACQUIRE ACCEPTABLE BIROM CULTURAL VALUES 79

4.5 Children's perception of sex-role and sex-typing in Birom society 79

4.6 Male-Female competence 87

4.7 Right and Wrong jobs 88

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 Summary, Conclusions, & Recommendations 94

5.1 Summary 94

5.2 Conclusions 95

5.3 Recommendations 96

REFERENCES 97

APPENDICES 102

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES:

1.	Existence of Sex-role	59
2.	Roles played by boys and girls in Birom society	61
3.	Who punishes misbehaviour most?	65
4.	Sex chosen to work	69
5.	Reasons for Choice	70
6.	Sex of responding child	81
7.	Scores of items chosen by sexes	83
8.	Scores obtained from Activities List	85
9.	Male or Female Competence scores	88
10.	Men and Women in right jobs	89
11.	Men and Women in wrong jobs	90

LIST OF APPENDICES

A.	Questionnaire for Parents	102
B.	Materials for children	111
C.	Articles presented to children	112
D.	Diagram of map of Jos	114

CHAPTER ONE

1.10 INTRODUCTION

Human beings are profoundly social. They are deeply influenced by and involved with other people. All people throughout history share a common biological heritage. Yet groups of people differ from one historical period to another, from one geographical area to a neighbouring one, from one racial or ethnic group to another, from one sex to the other. Most of these differences occur because of differing social conditions or environmental influences.

According to Roma (1981) people are adaptable and learn to modify their behaviour, thoughts, feelings, and attitudes according to the requirements of their culture. Every society trains its young to function within its own view of the world and according to the rules and regulations that control their "world". Every society tries to raise its young so that they will accept the ideas and values of that society. The process that insures the next generation's adherence to the society's ideas and values is socialisation.

Most people eagerly participate in the process of socialisation: they want to fit in, to be like other people in their social world. This is especially true of children who are constantly trying to make

sense of the world around them; their socialisation experiences prepare them for social roles they will be expected to assume as adults. Social role varies depending on social categories such as sex, race, ethnicity, and society; sex is one of the most basic and important social category.

Sex has heavily inclined towards biology, for example, if the only differences in the expected behaviour of men and women were that women, and not men, would menstruate, give birth, and nurse children, then sex would be only a biological category. However, almost every society has fashioned a division of labour around sex that goes far beyond child birth and nursing. Following from their biological ability to bear and nurse children, women in most societies are expected to be responsible for the care of children. Beyond the expectation that women will nurture their children, variations on sex-roles for women and men are truly astounding. Human societies in their many forms and variations have begun with the biological differences between the sexes and embroidered wholly different definitions of sex-roles. In many societies, identical sex-role definitions exist, especially as is shown at the moment of conception, which later gives rise, perhaps, to the moment in life that has the

greatest impact on the future development of any human being, when at birth, there is an announcement, "it is a boy" or "it is a girl".

Also, it is possible, in many instances, to see two children, a boy and a girl playing the game of "house". If one is curious and observes closely, one will notice that one of the two children, the girl, plays the "mummy". She is busy cooking "something" on an imaginary fire; she cleans and arranges the "house" and takes care of the "babies" (dolls). The boy, on the other hand, pretends to have gone out to work, as he puts his hat on and goes out with a stick. A minute later he comes home, sits at "table", and says he is hungry, "where is food?" The children are showing the results of sex-typing, the process by which children acquire the behaviour and attitudes regarded by the culture as characterstically masculine or feminine. It is obvious from these behaviours that the girl has absorbed one value of her society, the belief that a woman's place is in the home. The boy has accepted the notion that adult masculinity involves leaving the house to go to work, and returning to eat the food that a woman has prepared.

Other definitions of sex-role have been shown to exist. Mead (1935) did a study of some three primitive tribes in New Guinea.

She found that the transmission of sex-roles to the children in the three tribes differed widely. Among the Arapesh, a mountain people, children were drilled to accept that the behaviour of the sexes was similar. They were taught that both sexes were gentle, non-competitive, passive, and above all, nurturing. "To the Arapesh, the world is a garden that must be tilled.... that the yams, and the dogs and the pigs and most of all, the children may grow". Continuing, Mead (1935) said among the Mundugumor, children were only minimally attended to and had to learn to fend for themselves in line with the culturally-ascribed unisexual aggressiveness. In the society violent fights broke out between people regardless of sex and very little love or nurturance was expected from anyone. Among the Tchambuli, children learned that women did most of the hunting and fishing, and took initiative in economic and social matters; men were expected to be gentle and unaggressive and given to self-adornment.

1.20 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

It is on the belief that different societies have different definitions and descriptions of sex-role that the goal of the study is to identify and explain the processes by which Birom children found in Heipang,

Bukuru, and Barkin Ladi areas of Plateau State, Nigeria are socialised into sex-roles.

Therefore, the present study is an attempt at identifying the processes of learning sex-role identification and sex-typing behaviours in Birom society as a representative community in Plateau State.

1.30 OBJECTIVES

The specific objectives of the study are:

a. to find out whether sex-role and sex-typing behaviours exist in Birom society.

b. to identify the categories of sex-role and sex-typing behaviours existing in Birom society;

c. to identify processes of learning sex-role and sex-typing in Birom society;

d. to identify the roles played by parents, siblings, and the society in terms of sex-role and sex-typing learning;

e. to assess the functions of artifacts and other cultural materials in the acquisition of acceptable sex-role and sex-typing behaviour in Birom society.

1.40 HYPOTHESES

1. There are no differences between fathers and mothers in teaching sex-roles to the young ones in Birom society.
2. There are no differences between the aspiration of boys and girls to identify with models contiguous with their sexes in Birom society.
3. There are no differences between boys and girls in the patterns of identification adopted.
4. There are no differences between boys and girls in Birom society in the acquisition of adequate sex-roles and sex-typing through artifacts and other cultural materials.

1.50 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The researcher's interest in the Birom society was kindled during his service year as a youth corper (1979/80) when, in the company of other corpers and students he undertook an educational tour of the areas of the Biroms. The tour lasted three days with the students studying the processes of tin mining in the area. The three days were full of expository cultural displays by the inhabitants, which heightened our spirits and made our tour enthralling.

Ngwobia-Uka (1972) had reported about these cultural displays and said that he was attracted to the Birom society when he read about a description of a colourful ceremony organised in respect of their market day. In that ceremony, the rich culture of the people and adherence to the past was enticing.

Harris (1969) has reported the great archaelogical discoveries made in the valleys and plains of the Biroms. Of great importance in the discovery were art discoveries of which the Nok terracotta were quite instructive. He concluded that the Birom people and their history represented the rich past of the inhabitants of the area. They live in communities which have been stable over time and have since provided material for study and research. As a stable community, the Biroms are regarded as representative of the Plateau inhabitants.

The present study has therefore arisen from an interest in the rich past of the Biroms recognised and reported by many authors (Harris, 1979; Ngwobia-Uka, 1972). Also since many researches have been carried out there the inhabitants won't exhibit research-shy attitudes which have burdened several researchers in Nigeria. Of the numerous researches carried out among the people, this one intends to find out how questions of sex-role and sex-typing together with other

forces shaped the lives of the Biroms, and helped to forge the peculiar sex-role characteristics of the Birom people endowed with a beautiful past history.

Furthermore, the present study about the learning of sex-role identification and sex-typing behaviour of the Birom child is significant in the sense that it would provide, in addition, an insight into the child development processes of the Nigerian child in the areas of sex differences being considered and so provide a focus of attention to the Nigerian child by those interested in children.

Besides, the result of the study will provide information on how Birom children acquired acceptable sex-role and sex-typing behaviours as a representative group of the Plateau inhabitants in the areas being investigated, and providing a base and structure for comparison with the other sex-role and sex-typing learning processes of other cultures that may be different.

The findings could be of help to social scientists child psychologists, and other experts on children, especially as there are a dearth of books in the area about the Nigerian child.

1.60 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

One is that the study will be restricted to five village settlements around the Jos metropolis. This is a limitation because the choices of a bigger number would have provided a wider area of coverage, but given the intensity of the operations involved in the data gathering, this would not be possible.

A further limitation of the study is that the Birom people used for the study have had contacts with western education and have white collar jobs, a situation which could influence their judgements, even though they have stable community life (just as it is questionable whether any society in Nigeria can be said to be original and unaffected by extranuous circumstances).

The age levels (school age) chosen for the study is limitation because at this age several socialisation agencies must have been at work to make them acquire the much sex-role concepts they have had at the age levels.

Another serious limitation of the study would be the intensity of people's feelings about role segregation which could be strongly pervasive. A feeling of bias could be inferred by a non-behavioural scientist unlikely to accept these intense feelings as natural

and so of no consequence to the findings as determined by the answers the respondents would give to questions. To highly reduce the effect of this limitation, only the child's ability to identify "sex appropriate" artifacts, attributes, or tasks would be measured, especially as the study is the one that is going to test the success of traditional sex-role socialisation.

The biases could be mitigated also by insisting that only sample evaluation of sex linked attributes (positive or negative) will be asked for. Only the child's sex-role concepts will be elicited (by the criteria adopted in arriving at them as shown in the methodlogy). The intention is not to "prove" that a sex stratification structure exists in an objective world, but to glimpse from children the cultural images that exist in their cognitions.

1.70 DEFINITION OF TERMS

a. Society: this word will be used in this study to mean a people possessing the same cultural roots.

b. Sex-role: those specific roles performed by the different sexes and their internalisation by the sexes.

c. Sex-typing: behaviour or things that can be identified with the different sexes.

d. Fulani: nomadic herdsmen found all over Nigeria with their cattle.

e. Artifacts: something made or used by people like simple tools.

f. Stereotype: ideas and beliefs now unchanging and formalised

g. Ideology: ideas in the nature of qualities attributed to reapers of rewards to make inequality palatable to all.

1.80 ASSUMPTIONS

It will be assumed in this study that the various religions like Christianity, Islam, Animism, Traditionalism, and Atheism to which the Birom people variously belong will have the same sex-role ideas.

1.90 THE BACKGROUND OF THE PEOPLE

Who are the Biroms?

The Biroms are a distinct group of Nigerians who inhabit the areas around Jos where extensive tin mining had been carried out.

Despite the extensive inroads made by the processes of civilisation, the people have managed to keep some aspects of their culture unfettered. This situation had given rise to a lot of studies, one of which is this attempt at studying their sex-role habits.

According to Iloeje (1974), no community ever exists by itself. They must live, mingle, and interact with others in many areas of communal living. This is why a brief look at the area the Biroms occupy would be made at this stage of the study. The culture of a people will include material aspects of culture, which will be provided by the surroundings and things the surrounding would provide. These also influence the way the people see things, since some of the things found in the surrounding are sex-typed. For this, a brief look at Plateau State would be made.

A BRIEF LOOK AT PLATEAU STATE

a. Location of Jos

According to the Nigerian Atlas for Social Studies by Philip (1977), Jos is the capital of Plateau State of Nigeria and lies within longitudes 8 and 9, east of Greenich Meridian and Latitudes 9 and 10 north of the equator. Bukuru, Barkin Ladi, and Heipang are outlying areas of Jos and are the homes of the Birom people used for the study.

b. Population and size

Iloeje (1974), quoting the 1963 census figures officially being used in Nigeria, said that the population of Jos is 100,000 and 100 persons per square kilometre.

Among the population, christianity is the common religion because of reasons of the historical development of Nigeria. The Jos area was one of those places in the North where the Sudan Interior Mission worked relentlessly to convert the pagans. Besides, there is a considerable number of Muslims and animists who inhabit the place.

c. Climate and Vegetation

The climate is much more pleasant than that of the surrounding plains and Jos town has come to be regarded as holiday and health resort for European nationals working in Nigeria.

There is a low relative humidy, less than 25%, in November to March. Rain falls in six months, between April and October, with July and August as the rainest months. The rain comes in thunderstorms of high intensity, particularly at the beginning and towards the end of rainy season. The distribution of rains is irregular, being 3.5 inches at Jos airport area within four hours of rainfall, 1.8 inches at Shen in central Jos and 0.8 inches in other outlying districts.

The present day vegetation is a product of centuries of destructive exploitation of the original woodland, now replaced by open grassland. In most areas, what is seen is grassland, except around household farms and compound lands. Small groves of trees are found fringing woodlands and bamboo thicket may still be found along valleys of the more isolated stream, and these relics of vegetation confirm the existence in the past of a vegetation of extensive savannah woodland.

d. Economic Activities

(i) Mining in Jos Plateau

Mining and smelting of tin like the smelting of iron by primitive methods were known to the people of Jos Plateau and surrounding districts long before British occupation of Nigeria.

In 1904, mining started commercially and has continued ever since. The products of the mining fields were exported. Paddocks and reservoirs created as a result of the excavations have made these areas a "lake district" which can be seen all over Jos.

(ii) Farming in Jos Plateau

According to Udoh (1978), initially primitive farming techniques were adopted although changes have occurred in this sphere..

The procedure adopted is farming by shifting cultivation adopted by households. They grow "acha" (hungry rice), millet, and root crops such as yams and cocoyams.

Guinea corn and maize are also grown. Cassava, potatoes, and lettuce have been introduced of late. Traditional farming is organised by the head of each compound and much of the land cultivated is under the control of the compound head who ttakes charge of the common granary. Members of the household also have small plots allocated to them personally, but are all entitled to rations from the central barn when individual supplies are exhausted. Supplies for grain for making beer, which is a favourite drink, comes from the central granary. Communal land tenure is being replaced by individual ownership and buying and leasing of land is now common place. There is recent development of building isolated huts in distant farmlands. Generally, the people make-up for their food needs by depending on supplies from neighbouring areas.

(iii) Cattle (livestock) rearing

The Jos Plateau provides the finest grazing land in Northern Nigeria and is very attractive to Fulani pastoralists. They carry on mixed farming as they settle in the plateau. Cropping farming is encouraged.

This is the picture presented by the area chosen for this study, an area inhabited by the Birom people.

In terms of numbers, a larger concentration of Birom people could be found, as shown earlier, in the outlying districts of Jos township, such as Bukuru, Barkin Ladi, and Heipang areas.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

In this chapter, a review of the literature related to the study would be made. The review would first of all take a look at the theoretical foundations of the study, the empirical foundations of the study, and then review the various methods open to the researcher for collecting the data of the study for analysis.

2.0 THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS FOR THE STUDY

Were differences between the males and females biologically or culturally determined? The lesson of history had been that women's role did not change, and neither did men's. Except for a few technological innovations, women and men have been performing just about the same functions within the family and society as they were for all previous times. Hochschild (1974) had labelled the politics of caste as close to the conceptualisation of sex stratification.

Social stratification had recently been recognised as a legitimate area of inquiry for the social sciences. Before the early 1970s, sex as a basis for social stratification was not considered seriously by major writers in the field (Hochschild, 1973).

Acker (1973) pointed out that indeed sex had rarely been analysed as a factor in stratification processess and structure although it is probably one of the most obvious criteria of social stratification and differentiation and one of the basis of economic, political, and social inequalities.

Hacker (1951), Myrdal (1944), and Dunbar (1970) had sketched the theoretical parameters of a stratification system based on sex. They described the system of stratification as a "closed one". Where members were recruited through birth, and a system that was highly institutionalised through values, custom, ideology, and sanctions, both formal and informal. Why could so much be predicted about people's lives just by knowing their sex?

a) The Social Learning theory

Sears (1957) formulated a theory, the social learning theory, in which he tried to explain the causes of the differences between males and females.

According to his social learning view, parental rewards and punishments caused the differences. Parents had encouraged or discouraged their children from pursuing various behaviour. From these, the child would learn that behaviours were differentially appropriate to the two sexes through direct reward and

punishment and by observation of 'live' models (e.g. parents) and symbolic ones (e.g. those in the media). The labels "boy" and "girl" were used often in socialisation and were very important in teaching sex-roles, since they would indicate to the child which behaviours, if enacted, would most likely result in reward or punishment.

For instance, the culture that placed a high premium on superior strength and strenuous physical task would raise their sons and daughter in sharply divergent ways: boys would be encouraged to be self-reliant, physically active and strong; while girls would be trained to be nurturant, obedient, and responsible.

b) The Minority group and Role perspectives theory

Hockschild (1973) has proposed by implication a minority group and role perspectives theory about the causes of the differences. According to her, women were placed at the bottom of the sex hierarchy and can, therefore, be compared with "low strata" and can be thought of as a social minority group.

One could look for manifestations of low status in personal characteristics, self images, and the expectations of women. This concept of minority group could help us to understand the relationship between males and females as they represent a dominant and a subordinate strata.

The other perspective, sex-roles, became very relevant when it was appreciated that positions in stratification hierarchies had roles attached to them that would specify the rights and the duties for the incumbents (Hochschild, 1973). She asserted that positions in any hierarchy were allocated on the basis of possession of some characteristic, when the characteristic was an ascribed one, the individual was, in Goffman's (1961) words "committed" to the role. The characteristic itself committed the individual to the role. Because of this imperative, the characteristic itself (in this case gender) carried with it social prescriptions for behaviour, rights, and responsibilities vis-a-vis individuals with different amounts of that characteristic or with the opposite characteristic. Female roles are typically those occupational or domestic roles in which women are disproportionately represented. Gender status influences greatly what is deemed as other appropriate roles.

The role definitions that attach themselves to gender status function to cancel out the possibility of entering some statuses (and thus play some roles) and make it easier to enter others. Thus gender has two consequences: it is used to award or deny entrance into other roles, and it is also the basis of a role itself.

Gender roles comprise the sex stratification structure. The roles are structured and the relationships between strata are structured. The characteristic that determines placement is rankable according to kind possessed.

Firestone (1970) emphasised a similar conceptualisation in her approach to understanding the oppression of women. She locates the source of oppression in a system of inequality, based on the biological functions of sex.

c) The biological theory

Ernest (1978) suggested in his biological theory that biological factors such as sex hormones or brain lateralisation caused the sex difference.

The essntial continuity in sex-roles across time and space has been used as a major indirect argument for a strong biological basis for sex-roles. Thus, it is argued that all soceties could not have independently "invented" the same sex-roles. If no biological disposition existed and random assignment was the rule, why not an equal split in societies with power, aggression, and economic and political responsibility being just as often found in women as in men?

The relative ease of socialising children into adult sex-roles could be explained by innate biological and temperamental dispositions that separate the sexes.

Because relatively few boys and girls have ever rebelled against the roles assigned to them, even in this day of feminine and masculine protest, it is argued that these roles had an innate component.

Therefore, based on current rudimentary evidence, it seemed reasonable to speculate that sex hormones might have an early differentiating function. Another major contribution of biology would probably come in the nature of the reproductive system itself, in the simple fact that it is the women who would conceive and produce children.

d) The psychoanalytic theory

Freud (1949) has asserted that the differences were due to anatomical differences which were an upshoot of the oedipus complex. The child would assimilate the attitude and behaviour of the same-sexual parents, many of which were related to sex-role expectations. Freud had explained that it was because of these inherent differences that made children focus interest on the genital organs and was the basic assumption as to why the boys would develop "a fear of castration" and girls would suffer from "penis envy".

e) Cognitive developmental theory

This theory held that sex differences were adjudged to come about as a natural corollary to cognitive development. The child usually made an unalterable cognitive categorisation of himself or herself as "boy" or "girl" and this judgement would organise the subsequent development of behaviours.

Kohlberg (1948) said that because gender used to be the only fixed general category into which the child could sort itself and others, it took on tremendous importance in organising the child's social perceptions and actions.

A boy or girl would learn what activities, opinions, and emotions were considered masculine or feminine. They learned that dominance and aggression were male characteristics while nurturance was a female trait.

2.1 EMPIRICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE STUDY

2.1 Sociology and Socialisation

Sociology had changed dramatically in the past decade or so. Sociologists (Ernest, 1978; Hapland, 1973; and Swardloff, 1975) had provided an ever increasing diversity of empirical and theoretical approaches that advanced our understanding of the complexities associated with socialisation.

Recent developments in sociology paid particular attention to the way in which roles were differentiated by gender, following the abundant evidence that very m many aspects of human behaviour were not "given" but "made" by the Socialisation process of a given society.

Ernest (1978) had defined socialisation as a process of learning to behave in the way in which other members of the society expected one to behave. If, for instance, one grew up in Marakesh, one learned how to speak the Barber language and, perhaps, how to ride a camel, weave a rug, and drive a hard bargain at the market, peculiar characteristics of the Barbers.

He asserted that an important component of socialisation was learning the behaviour that was appropriate to one's identity as a male or female.

Socialisation began at the moment of birth, "continued in the nursery, with its pink and blue wall paper, and in the play room, which might be strewn with dolls and trucks.

Freud (1978) indicated that Biology determined, not only one's behaviour, but also one's place; that because of their bodies, men and women developed different needs and abilities and performed different roles in society.

Swordloff (1975), pointed out that anatomical differences between men and women had an important bearing on behaviour, although some degree of this masculine and feminine behaviour was learned.

2.2 PHYSICAL DIFFERENCES

The sex of the infant was determined at the moment of conception and depended on a pair of chromosomes, the structures in the cell that carried the heredity - bearing material in the genes. According to Green (1978), each human cell contained twenty-three pairs of chromosomes, one chromosome in each pair coming from the maternal side, and the other coming from the paternal side.

Two types of chromosomes usually determine sex-X and Y. The female egg cell always contributed an X chromosome, the male sperms cell could contribute

either a X or a Y chromosome, which determined the sex of the embryo. If the configuration of an egg cell at fertilisation was XX, the embryo would develop as a female (Swerdloff, 1975).

In addition to sex, there were other characteristics, such as colour blindness which were determined by the sex chromosomes and were, thus, said to be sex-linked. Most of the genes for the traits were carried on the X-chromosome. Females possessed two X-chromosomes, and if one of them carried a gene for a defect, the same gene was not likely to be present in the matching X-chromosome, which was capable of actually masking the defect.

Swerdloff (1975) insisted that males had no matching X-chromosome and their Y-chromosome could not mask an X-linked defective gene. Thus, nearly all sex-linked defects were carried by females but appeared only in male. Once the embryo was formed, its sexual development depended on the presence or absence of male hormones, or chemical substances in the blood called Androgens. If androgens were present, a small embryonic protruberance would develop as a penis. If androgens were not present, it would develop as clittories. If something went wrong before birth in an embryo with an XY chromosome patterns, the baby would be born with female sexual characteristics but would not become a fully developed female without the aid of androgens or female hormones (Swerdloff, 1975).

Beyond these anatomical differences were the many social cultural, and psychological factors that determined and individual's gender or socialised sex-role.

2.3 MENTAL DIFFERENCES

It was hard to determine mental differences between the sexes from intelligence tests, but one area in which boys and girls had been demonstrated to differ was that of spatial reasoning and analytic ability and the capacity to pay attention to visual details and discard the irrelevant while abstracting a single element that would help solve particular spatial problem.

Kagan and Moss (1962) illustrated the differences in an experiment in which subjects were given pictures of objects and pictures of people in a variety of postures and dress and were engaged in different activities. They were asked to group pictures that belonged together. Girls were more likely to form functional groups such as a nurse, a doctor, a wheel chair, whereas boys were more likely to form analytic groups based on a common detail, such as the position of the arm or leg.

Eleanor Maccoby (1963) suggested several explanations why girls scored lower grade in mathematics than boys.

According to her, one reason was that mathematics and science were often considered a preparation for engineering and other allied professions generally considered masculine. In addition she said that girls were less analytic and tended to view subjects in a more global manner, which was not conducive to productivity in high level mathematics.

2.4 EMOTIONAL DIFFERENCES

Were the apparent differences between men and women then based mostly on emotional characteristics deriving from physical differences and stereotyped sex-roles? However, Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) made a study of some of the popular views about the emotional differences between boys and girls and men and women. They found no evidence to suggest that girls were more social, more suggestible, had a lower sense of esteem, or were less motivated to achieve than boys. The one in which they found a consistent pattern of difference was aggression. Boys were more likely to fight, to engage in mock fighting, and habour aggressive fantasies than girls, a sex difference, the researchers said was present in all cultures in which aggressive behaviour had been studied.

Altman, Irwin, and Taylor Dalmas, (1975) explained the situation differently. According to them, many of the roles men had played in society were derived from the biological function of preserving the species. The female striving was to procreate and guarantee the survival of the family. The male must be unencumbered by child bearing and child rearing because he was the protector of the family. As a result of these biological roles, each sex had developed certain qualities. The male who fathered the child became the hunter and developed fighting skills to protect the family. The female who had to bear and nurture children became passive and dependant.

Girls generally started speaking, reading, and counting earlier than boys; girls did better in Arithematic in the lower forms of elementary school (Freeman, 1973). But at the onset of puberty, girls were faced with a major crisis. They must come to terms with their emerging femininity, and they must conform to new socialisation standards which emphasised beauty and charm as a way to attract men.

2.5 The Masculine Role

"The Bible says God created woman out of Adam's rib". Whether one took the scriptures literally or not, the fates of the two sexes had been irrevocably intertwined since the beginning of the human race. "If there was a woman's problem, there was a man's problem; if women were inferior, men were superior; if women were subservient, men were dominant; if women were caught in the home maker trap, men were imprisoned in their roles as husbands, fathers, and sons". (Cottle, 1974).

At first glance it appeared as if men got all the rewards - they were at the top of the power structure in business, government, politics, the arts, and the professions. Even in the home which was traditionally a woman's domain, the man had been the head of the household. By providing the goods and services, he maintained control of the economic life of the family. Work was his burden and his salvation. Without it he felt emasculated and through it he sustained and prepetuated his power.

2.6 ENVRIONMENTAL INFLUENCES ON SEX-ROLE IDENTIFICATION

(a) The School

The school could have considerable influence on sex-role identification. The teacher could transmit sex-role expectancies by specifically indicating his or her feelings about appropriate and inappropriate behaviours. He could, for instance, discourage girls from seeking professional careers either directly by disapproval or by emphasis on marriage and child care as alternative, or indirectly by encouraging only boys in such career choices.

In the assignment of tasks in the school room, especially on a cleaning day, teachers were selective in the type of tasks to give. Harris (1969) said that boys were given active jobs like grass-outting and girls sweeping tasks. Boy presented more of the disciplinary problems in the class than girls.

(b) Peer group

Both at school and at play, the child was usually faced with a pre-exisitng peer culture with its own values and activities which might be heavily sex-typed in nature. The child was faced with a same-sex-peer group all the time. In his study of school relationships, Harris (1969) found that cross-sex friendships were usually un-common and were prevented

by the peer group, especially in the case of the male who would often disdain female companionship.

The peer culture would accentuate stereotyped features of sex-roles. Girls' activities would likely include group doll play, playing house, or jumping rope. In contrast, male activities were organised around physical activities, war games, footballing, mock fighting.....

2.7 Symbolic Agents of Sex-role Socialisation

A child was usually touched at many points by symbolically transmitted norms of sex role standards. Prominent among these were books, toys, television, and men and women in public life (whose images were often transmitted by the media).

In books, boys were shown in adventuresome roles girls in safe caretaking roles. Women were almost never portrayed as working outside the home. In one book, a Tree Is Nice by Janice Udry, she portrayed boys climbing trees, fishing, raking leaves ..... while the few girls in the book were seen as watching male activities, or helping small children.

Toys have constituted a highly sex-typed domain. Goodman and Lever (1962) saw that in a toy shop buyers were found to purchase more creative toys for boys.

Girls tended to receive toys that did not make many cognitive demands or prepared them for any occupational future.

Television was seen as a great repository of sex roles. Adventure showed most often featured males, and females were often relegated to ancillary and domestic positions. Men were often portrayed in super-aggressive roles, for instance, in detective and Western roles, where the moral of the story was that the more agrressive man usually won in the end.

2.8 Results of Socialisation

With the foregoing, it was necessary to check the psychological consequences of becoming a man or a woman.

a) Environmental differences

According to Simpson (1935), when teachers were asked to name the most creative children in their classes, they named more boys than girls. The way circumstances in the environment differentiated between the sexes was further shown in Simpson's study when he questioned children. According to him, the boys claimed that they were spanked more by their fathers than by their mothers and that offences at school merited them a more serious facial grin than what the girls received for similar troubles.

However, some girls said their mothers spanked them more and that female teachers took a more compassionate stance at boys' problems than for girls. The inference showed the influence of same-sexed parent on the development of sex-role by children, even though the fact that males spanked more was glaring in the study.

Kagan (1960) said that both boys and girls suggested that the opposite parent "kissed" them the most. The family constituted the "culture" to which most children were exposed and therefore impressions gathered from the culture could be farreaching. Because parents were cultural stereotypes, their treatment of any situation involving their children might in part be due to this role they were expected to play. Family interactions stemmed from multiple motivations and any tendency parents might have to reinforce culturally - stereotyped behaviour in their children might be outweighed by other determinants and might give off unexpected responses.

For example, Papalia (1979) found that girls in many cultures were proud of their skills and would show off their capabilities in the presence of strangers and, yet, in American society, girls learned from an early age to devalue tasks associated with the sexes.

One other study showed that preschool girls expected their adult roles would be more limited than those of the boys purely because they knew they were women and had an inclination to think of themselves as going to become in adult life mothers, nurses, and teachers, whereas the boys looked forward to a wide-range of activity, exciting and non-family oriented careers (Hartley, 1968).

Some of the reported works of psychologists showed other things about parental attitude to their children. For instance, parental attitude was in influenced by their differential attitude to the sexes of their children. Abarle and Naegele (1952) and Tasch (1953) said that fathers reported different expectations for boys and girls or sons and daughters and said they participated in more activities with their sons than with their daughters.

Harper (1975) showed that males were attracted to the outdoors, while females spent more time in sheltered areas, which the author claimed might be due to the higher metabolic rate of boys than girls.

b) Biological Differences

Evidence also abound to show that males were better physically equiped and undertook more risky enterprises than females. For instance, Wynne Edwards (1962) found that endogenous tendencies for males to undertake more risky enterprise for hunting large game made biological sense in view of the generally accepted principle that the potential cost to a population of accidentally losing a male (child) was less; that a stable population was more dependent upon the number of females, and that, other things being equal, the number of males might vary more radically without severely threatening the ability of the population to maintain itself, a strong biological tendency to maintain sexual differences.

Therefore, given the greater expendability of the males, since they undertook more risky enterprises, and assuming that camps tended to serve as safe protected sites in an otherwise hostile environment, another benefit would have derived from the males' activity would have provided a screen of expendable individuals about the periphery of the camp in the same way that young Japanese monkeys provided an outside perimeter for the females and the infants who congregated at the centre of the group (Harper, 1975).

Thus the greater centrifugal movement of males would have maximised their oppurtunities to be successful hunters, and at the same time, provided early warning or buffer zone around the periphery of the group, while the more centripetal tendencies of the female would have caused them to remain in areas of greater safety. Groups in which these patterns did not exist, or were reversed, presumably, would have been more at risk biologically and, therefore, would have been at a reproductive disadvantage.

According to Harper (1975) the foregoing showed the tendency for individuals to congregate in groups following their sexes and therefore provided a suitable analogy for the existence of mankind, sex - differences in preschool children's tendency to play in unsheltered areas. An argument might be presented that natural selection might have favoured the development of such sex differences in man.

c. Occupational Differences

Hartley (1968) published an article in Sussman's Source Book in Marriage and Family in which she reported her experimental findings in the areas of sex-role and sex-typing.

First, children (N = 157) were asked to explain to a culturally ignorant "person from Mars" what girls/women, boys/men needed to know and be able to do.

Of all items reported for women, 64.5 percent were related to traditonal domestic activities. As a second method, the children were asked to identify "who uses this (does this, goes here) when shown a series of 147 pictures depicting objects, places, or situations that represented "most of the major aspects of living" (N = 134.8 and 12 years olds); again, a clear pattern of sex-role definition emerged. Of the items consensually assigned to women, 68 percent were home and family-oriented. The comparable proportion for men was 26 percent. She said that "our subjects were almost unanimous in assigning to men exclusively, tasks like building roads, repairing cars, and fixing plumbing. (i) He reported some degree of frustration with the way the female role was perceived by girls (N = 91). When asked whether women liked or disliked activities depicted in 135 pictures, 76 percent of those 37 activities assigned to females were seen as definitely positively evaluated by women, 11 percent were definitely disliked. Of those 53 activities assigned to males 76 percent were judged to be definitely disliked by women and 9 percent were seen as liked and those rated less than defnitely liked constituted the bulk of domestic activity scrubbing floors, tidying a room, washing dishes, washing clothes, vacuuming and ironing.

ii) Girls (N = 91) tended to parallel, in their own feelings, their perceptions of women's feelings about the activities assigned to them. Of the 135 activities, girls took the same position they had assigned to men on 96 of them anticipated more disliking on 19, and more liking on 15. The more disliked were almost all in the area of working for money, the more liked referred to certain household tasks and masculine types of recreation.

iii) Women were seen as disliking work slightly more than men. Boys saw men as more dissatisfied with their work than girls. Using the same instruments, children (N = 168) were asked if the adults liked their work or not 45 percent thought the women disliked it, 39 percent thought the men disliked it.

2.9 Sex-role Situation in Borno State

According to Cohen (1967) children in Borno State, Nigeria were often reminded at every oppurtunity of life's occupation which tended to agree with their sex-types. Boys were usually called "small boys" and girls "small girls", or "three heads", referring to the three-pronged hairstyles of prepubescent Kanuri girls of Maiduguri descent. Boys and girls were different clothes and began soon to associate with members of

their own sex, and to carry out chores that were specifically for boys or for girls at an early age.

In play groups based on sex, they wandered freely about the village or neighbourhood of the city ..... and the girls came quickly under the authority of the women of the household, especially their own mothers.

Cohen (1967) reported that from the Kanuri mother the girl learned the intricacies of food preparation, carrying water, and the ever present task of grinding millet by pounding on a large wooden mortar. . . . They (boys) began to gather firewood, helped with farming, ran errands, gathered grass for a horse, if there was one, tended the goats and sheep of the compound, learned the family dry season occupation. The pressure to learn these skill was slow but definite. Punishments were rare but severe; for example, a young boy was beaten for continually omitting to gather grass for his father's horse, a skill a boy should have at six or eight.

Sometimes, play took in both sexes and was complex than simple imitation. For instance, for several days a large group of young children from the age of five through eight organised a "wedding". The "bride" and the "groom" are chosen and were various kindreds, the best men, the leading women.

Care was taken to practise as many of the details of adult virgin wedding, including mock impregnation, in this case with a small doll.

When fathers were away, a group of children played 'house', appointed "fathers" , "wives", and "children". "Wives" looked for their "husbands" on such occasions. Boys left home for religious instructions and girls did not.

2.10 METHODS OPEN TO THE RESEARCHER FOR DATA COLLECTION

Kerlinger (1973) had assorted that to implement the general plans for research, method of data collection must be used and that there had always been a mutual interplay of "problem and method". Methods differed widely in what they could and could not do and that users should be able to choose the methods suited to their problems.

What then would be the methods of data collection that would suit the type of research envisaged? To answer this question, it was necessary to see the methods in operation for data gathering:

(a) Interviews and Interview Schedules

Kerlinger (1973) had proclaimed that the most ubiquitous method of obtaining information from people was to interview them; and it was used by all kinds

of people for this purpose; lawyers and their clients, physicians and their patients, admission officers and their candidates.....

Interviews and schedules (questionnaires) were quite direct. This was both a strength and a weakness. It was a strength because a great deal of information needed in social scientific research could be got from the respondents by direct questions, and this strength would be used in this research enormously because the information required from the Birom people used for the study were matters of everyday experience which the people would be willing to give. For instance the way an adult would see his role as a male or female would not be difficult to say.

However, Kerlinger held that for some information of a more difficult nature, the respondents might be unwilling, reluctant, or unable to give, such as information about income and sexual relationships, given the nature of our society where questions of income rekindle ideas about tax. But this research would not be concerned with such questions.

Interviews if properly planned could obtain a great deal of information; it had flexibility and could be adaptable to individual situations and could be used where no other method would be adequate.

The interview method was best for researches with children, like the present study. One great quality it had in this respect was that an interviewer could know whether the respondent, especially a child, did not understand a question and could within limits repeat or rephrase the question.

The major shortcoming of interview was that it wasted a lot of time, which was why the researcher had taken time to train the research assistants to be able to assist in doing the job in one month when it was intended to carry out data collection exercise.

(b) Objective tests and Scales

According to Kerlinger (1973), objective methods of observation were those in which anyone following the prescribed rules would assign the same numerals to objects and sets of objects as any one alse. An objective procedure was one in which agreement among observers was at a maximum. Observer variance was at a minimum. All methods of observation were inferential: inferences about properties of the members of sets were made on the basis of the numerals assigned to the set of numbers with interviews, tests, scales, and direct observations of behaviour.

Inferences made by using the objective methods of observation were usually lengthy despite their seeming directness.

Such methods permitted a high degree of inter-observation agreement because subjects made marks on paper, the marks being restricted to two or more choices among alternatives supplied by the observer. From these marks on paper, the observer would infer the characteristics of the individual and sets of individuals making the mark.

In one class of objective methods, the marks on paper were made by the observer or (judge) who looks at the objects of measurement and chooses between given alternatives. Inferences were also made about properties of observed object or objects from the marks on paper. The main difference hinged on who made the marks.

Types of objective measures were Intelligent and Aptitude tests, personality measures, Achievement tests, Attitude scales, and value scales. Since the research on the learning of sex-role identification and sex-typing behaviour in Birom society was trying to obtain information about what happened in Birom in the areas being considered, objective measures would be inadequate.

(c) Projective methods, Available materials, and Content analysis

Men would project themselves into anything that they did (Kerlinger, 1973). According to him, if you watched a man walk, examined an artist's paintings, studied a professor's lecture style, observed a child play with other children or with toys and dolls, in all these ways human beings would express their needs, their drives, their styles of life, etc. If we wanted to know a person, then we could study "what he does, and the way he does it".

Men also would put part of themselves, their work, their attitudes, and their culture in the materials that they created and stored. Letters, books, historical records, art objects, artifacts of all kinds expressed the life society and culture of man.

Thus, personal and societal productions of man, the materials deliberately stimulated by scientists and the materials produced in the course of living and recording could be used as sources of data in the use of projective methods and available materials and their analysis for purposes of scientific research.

The idea of projection could be used in drawing pictures, writing essays, finger paints, playing with dolls and toys, choosing them, role playing, hand writing, telling stories in response to vague stimuli.

This technique would be used to find out children's perception of gender when they were given sextyped artifacts to choose from.

(d) Observations of Behaviour

Kerlinger (1973) stated that everyone would observe the action of others. We would look at other persons and listen to them talk. We would infer the characteristics, motivations, feelings, and intentions of others on the basis of these observations. This day by day kind of observation of most people would be unsatisfactory for science. The social scientist must also observe human behaviour, but he must be dissatisfied with the inadequancy of uncontrolled observation. He would seek reliable and objective observations from which he could draw valid inferences.

Two modes of observation were watching people do and say things and asking people about their own actions and the behaviour of others. It was important to note that critical to observation was the observer himself - because he must digest the information derived from his observations and then he would make inferences about constructs. The strength and weaknesses of the procedure would lie in the observer's powers of inference. The strength was that the observer could relate the observed behaviour to the constructs or variables of study.

A weakness of the method was that the observer could make quite incorrect inferences from his observations.

Because the respondents also provided oppurtunities for observation, this procedure would be adopted in arriving at conclusions. Thus, while administering the questionnaire observations would be made of the things they were working with, or had, or the attires they were in, etc. For this an observation schedule would be drawn up.

(e) Sociometry

Sociometric devise indicating a number of methods of gathering and analysing data on the choice, communication and interaction patterns of individuals in groups would not be used because the essence of the study would be realised by questioning individuals in groups.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the methodlogy adopted for the study would be discussed under the following major headings: the sample, the instruments used, the pilot study, the procedures adopted, and the treatment of the data.

3.1 The Sample

Five groups of Birom village settlements were used for the study. These groups were situated some distances away from Jos township, in Bukuru, Heipang and Barkin ladi. The total consisted of 230 parents and 50 of their children. The five groups of settlements were chosen by ballot out of the ten settlements earmarked for the study. Each settlement had between 500 and 1500 inhabitants. The smaller units that dotted the entire place were not used for the study.

The respondents were freely chosen on the basis of their willingness to become the subjects of the study. The research itself was conducted with the help of six research assistants, five of whom were picked on the basis that they hailed from the settlements used for the study. Because these assistants came from those settlements, it was not difficult to establish rapport with the families and proceeeded to announce our interest.

Some objected on the grounds that they were busy, had businesses in the town, or had some meeting to attend. In this way, the researcher got the 280 subjects used for the study.

In each village settlement, an average of 50 questionnaires were administered. In all 200 questionnaire which were properly completed were used for data analysis.

Only school-age children were used as the subjects for interview. Their age fell within the 6+ to 12+ age range, which was when, according to Piaget (1952) children were capable of performing the "concrete operations" of forming logical groupings or categorisations, although Skolnick and Skolnick (1971) noted that children as young as 18 months were absorbing and making sense out of information about and experiences with the two sexes.

3.2 The Instruments

There were three instruments used for the study. The three were all relatively unstructured to allow the subjects to respond in their own way, as a way of molding the respondents' (especially the children's) thinking. Although even asking the most general questions could in some way structure the respondent to think in a particular way, such thinking might not interfere with

the conviction he might have about what the roles of the sexes could be - a situation which could mitigate any suspicions of biases on the part of the researcher. On that score and with that understanding, three instruments were developed and used for the study.

The first instrument used was a Parent Attitude Scale Towards Sex-role and Sex-typing (P.A.S.S.S.) adapted from Hake (1972). The questionnaire was self-designed on the basis of the one used by Hake.

It was felt that open-ended interview administered in questionnaire form would serve the best purpose because it would tend to elicit responses freely from respondents. With this in mind the questionnaire was designed to find out parental attitudes as repositories of Birom cultural practices toward sex-role and sex-typing to determine what usually obtained in the society we would find Birom children.

Jacklin et al. (1973) found that children played with sex-typed toys and engaged in sex-typed activities. Fagot (1978) found that girls preferred dolls and soft toys to carry, ropes to swing in, and plates to serve foods in; and boys preferred to play with blocks, spears, and ride "horse" and manipulate objects. He found that boys received more social pressure against "inappropriate" sex-typing of articles than did girls.

On the basis of this finding, the researcher made a collection of articles which had been sex-typed by the group of research assistants with respect to their culture to ascertain the choices the children would make. (The children would be free to make whatever choices they wanted) and all that the researcher was interested in was noting the consistency with which their choices corroborated the articles already sex-typed).

So, the researcher obtained with the help of Birom assistants a bow and arrows, a matchet, a hoe, a shirt, a plastic food bowl, a set of plates, earings, bangles, beads, a 2 metres long rope, a scarf, a car toy, one large toy animal, a pot, and an empty Nido milk tin. Basically, this test was administered to find out by how much the children were aware of items regarded as stereotypically male or female as a measure of the success or failure of Birom sex-role socialisation of the Birom children. It could be argued that in agreement with Hartley (1968), children tended to play with items they were familiar with and tended to lose interest quickly on those items they did not fancy or did not make any meaning to them, and so if they had acquired sextyped concepts, the choices they would make would make sense since it was Hartley's views that children's sex-role differentiation often followed lines

of the instrumental expressive distinction as would be shown by the items of play selected.

The third instrument of research was an interview schedule designed with questions to ascertain to what extent children answered questions on sex-role and sex-typing. This was made on the basis of Stockard et al's (1980) conclusion that extensive sex-role segregation appeared in day-to-day interaction at home and at work. In this case they claimed that men mowed the lawn, changed car oils, repaired the engine, etc while women cleaned the house, cleaned the closet, cooked food and babysat. On the basis of this finding, the researcher adopted their criteria in designing the section. Besides, the researcher with the help of his assistants had rated each activity as sterotypically masculine or feminine in agreement with the position of Scotchard and his group. The interview schedule so developed had three areas, viz:

a) The Activities Section

On the basis of Stockard et al's. (1980) assertion, this section contained a list of activities. The list was read to each child and then asked: "who do you think should do each activity, men, women, or both?" Several studies have been carried out designed to measure occupational sex stereotyping by children.

The approach was to ask for a normative judgement, usually in the form of a "who should do this work" question, which the researcher had adopted (Hartley, 1980).

Stockard et al. (1980) had rates each activity as stereotypically masculine (e.g. an engineer, repair a car, repair a machine, N = 6); feminine (e.g. clean the house, be a cook, babysit, N = 5); neither masculine nor feminine (eg a teacher, drive a car, N = 6). A child scored a point each time he/she rated such activity right, but no score if rated wrongly.

(b) Male/Female Compttence Section

This section sought to find out whether children thought men or women performed certain activity better (e.g. a carpenter, a nurse, repair a bicycle, care for children) and received a point each time they said they believed women or both could perform a traditionally male activity best or males could perform female activity best

A traditional male or female activity would tally with Nemerowicz (1979) finding in which she categorised activity as traditionally masculine or feminine on the basis of the actual labour force participation by sex. Although more and more women have entered the labour force, they did not work at the same jobs as men.

Therefore, on the basis of the finding of Blau (1975), Oppenheimer (1968), and Carey (1976), children were given examples of men and women in right jobs, such as men as builders, climbers, and enginners; women as beauticians, nurses, and teachers; and also men and women in non-traditional occupations, that is, in the wrong jobs such as men as cooks, bathing baby, women as carpenters, policewomen, and women shoe makers. The researcher had ensured that each child understood what the tasks meant and the children were asked to indicate which ones they would do. A work desire score was calculated for each child by computing the number of stated work preferences.

3.3 The Pilot Study

The instruments were pretested in a pilot study which was carried out in a village settlement in Gyallesu, Zaria. The pilot study sample consisted of 15 parents (men and women) and 5 children (boys and girls).

The result of the pilot study showed that the families concerned had a segregation of roles for the sexes. The men were mainly butchers and farmers while women stayed at home to take care of the children. The boys were sent to school and the girls were not (because they would marry soon).

The pilot study clearly showed that bread winning was a fundamental component of masculinity in the culture and the sample overwhelmingly associated work for males with economic remuneration. 86% depicted men in activity usually associated with paid labour.

The result of the pilot study led to the restructuring of some questions and the elimination of others, especially those that tended to elicit ambiguous responses. Also it led to the elimination of some items in the list of articles. E.g. a rubber belt was in the original list of articles, but had to be eliminated when boys as well as girls chose it equally.

3.4 Procedures Adopted

The researcher, assisted by the research assistants visited the families at an agreed time and administered the tests. The questionnaire was administered in most cases to parents and their children, if they had school aged ones. In many cases the respondents were assisted by the researcher who explained the areas needing such explanations.

While parents responded on the questionnaire, the researcher took on the school aged children and wrote their responses. Each child was shown a bow and arrows, a hoe, a shirt, a plastic bowl, a set of plates, earings, bangles, beads, two-meters-long rope, a scarf,

a car toy, one large toy animal, a pot, and an empty Nido tin in a secluded area of the compound and asked:" If you were told to choose the articles that you like and would want to play with, which ones from this collection would you choose?"

The children were then scored for each choice correctly made in accordance with their sexes. Afterwards, the researcher read the questions in the other sections in English, sometimes translating them into Birom and Hausa languages commonly spoken in the area, and then recorded the children's responses in the spaces provided in the column for children's measures.

3.5 The Treatment of The Data

The responses on the various instruments were collated in frequencies and other statistical methods (see tables). In many cases, simple percentages were used, especially for the parents' responses.

In other cases, however, especially for the children's responses, Pearson-product moment correlation coefficient, and significance tests were used to interprete the scores.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

In this chapter, the results and commentaries arising from them will be presented under the following two phases:

I Findings from Parents as repositories of Birom cultural values.

II. Findings from Birom children who need to acquire acceptable Birom cultural values.

The phases will focus attention on the objectives of the study, which were to find out:

a. whether sex-role and sex-typing behaviours exist in Birom society;

b. the categories of sex-role and sex-typing behaviours existing in Birom society;

c. the processes of learning sex-role and sex-typing behaviours in Birom society;

d. the roles played by parents and others in terms of sex-role and sex-typing learning;

e. the functions of artifacts and other material culture in the acquisition of acceptable sex-role and sex-typing behaviour in Birom society.

Phase One:

FINDINGS FROM PARENTS AS REPOSITORIES OF BIROM CULTURAL VALUES

4.10 Birom Parents Conception of Sex-role Patterns

In their study of anxiety in elementary school children, Sarason et. al. (1960) concluded that no one to their knowledge had denied that sex differences existed between boys and girls in all cultures. On this score, it was necessary to find out whether parents in Birom culture acceded to the assertion of Saraton and his group, and so the parents were asked whether males and females performed the same, different, or mixed roles in their society. As could be seen in Table 4:1 parents in Birom culture, just as people in other cultures, said that there were different sex-roles for males and females in their society.

Table : 1

Existence of Sex-role

Type	No. of Responses	Parent
Same	-	-
Different	130	65%
Mixed	70	35%
N =	200	100%

In agreement with the assertion that differences existed in the roles males and females played in their society, Birom parents gave examples of the type of roles males and females played when they were asked to specify the roles the different sexes played. Their responses showed that in Birom society, the roles boys and girls played agreed with Hartleys (1968) finding where boys did thing stereotypically regarded as male business and girls things regarded as stereotypically female business.

Table: 2

Roles played by Boys and Girls in Birom Soci

Roles	Boys	Girls	%
Farming	24	-	12
Hunting	13	-	6.5
Househelp and cleaning	-	24	12
Cooking	-	26	13
Tending sheep	16	-	8
Breaking firewood	11	-	5.5
Babysitting	-	15	7.5
Building	9	-	4.5
Washing things	-	11	5.5
Harvesting	14	-	7
Helping mother	-	13	6.5
Helping to weed farm	-	5	2.5
Cutting grass	8	-	4
Miscellaneous	6	5	5.5
N =	200		100

In her study of children's perception of gender and work roles, Nemerowicz (1979) asked children to draw a picture of a man working and then of a woman working. The favourite category of work depicted for men was fixing cars, chopping trees, fireman, farmer.... and the favourite category of work drawn for women were housekeeping, nurse, secretary, gardening, and teacher. The activities that were drawn were traditional masculine and feminine ones and also went to buttress the responses of Birom parents. This finding showed that people generally tended to have the same conception of the type of roles males and females are expected to play in society. Thus in agreement with Oppenheimer (1968), Blau (1975), and Carey (1976), cultural patterns of sex segregation had continued to exist because individuals perpetuated them as was the case in Birom.

4.20 Other areas of differences identified by Birom Parents

To find out other areas of difference between males and females in Birom, several questions were put to parents. One question was to find out who assigned some of the roles parents had quoted as characteristically male or female.

From their responses as shown in table 3, the cultural significance of their answers was quite instructive. The role of the father was not in doubt, as the answers showed that the father assigned [illegible] roles regarded as difficult and meant for males, whereas the mother assigned roles traditionally regarded as light and feminine.

Mothers received most of the children's complaints and the reasons given for the situation were that mothers were always in the house (43.5 percent), she treated cases more promptly (13.5), and she gave lighter punishment (16.5). The father got the share he got because he had all other authority (11.5 percent), he was fair most times and was not carried away by emotions (6 percent), miscellaneous reasons had 9 percent. The responses tallied with Nemerowicz's (1979) finding in the "draw a picture" exercise she used to determine the differences between males and females. She observed that there was a consistency in the work location of the two sexes "inside" or "outside". The pictures drawn showed that the sex of the person working greatly influenced whether the children would place the individual "inside or "outside". Women were typically pictured "inside" and men "outside". She asserted that this representation reflected a vision of men as manipulators

of and controllers of the environment, as more in touch with the "outside world", as less confined in and by their sex-role related work activities.

Therefore in Birom society this vision of the male as traditionally "not at home" most of the time as a result of their type of occupation would show the reason why most of the complaints children made would go to their mothers as the one traditionally "at home" and at hand when causes of the subsequent complaints would occur.

The fact that women were "at home" most of the time and, therefore, were getting more of the complaints of children did not even confer on them the right to punish such misbehaviours as the authority to punish errors were considered masculine traits. For instance, when parents were asked: "Who punishes children's misbehaviour in a household most?", the observation in table 3 was made. It was clear that the authority to punish offences was regarded as a masculine trait.

Table: 3

Who punishes misbehaviours most

Who punishes	No of Responses	Percent
Father	85	42.5
Mother	55	27.5
Older siblings	34	17
Other relations	15	7.5
Miscellaneous	11	5.5
N =	200	100

The researcher had hypothesised that there would be no differences between fathers and mothers in teaching sex-roles to the young ones in Birom society. Although it had been shown in Birom society as had been shown by several others earlier (Blau, 1975; Carer, 1976, and Hesselbert, 1977), that the male or appropriately the father was traditionally "not at home" while the female or more appropriately the mother was traditionally "at home", the findings would create differences in the teaching of sex-roles to the young ones, thus not agreeing with the researcher's hypothesis.

The findings showed that the child learned the details of the institutionalised accepted behaviour from his parents.

The father served as a model for the boy's masculine role identification by reinforcing the boy's masculine strivings and stimulating his strive to achieve the masculine role identification. Because fathers typically spent so much time away from home, as was shown in the study, it was probably true that the small time spent with the father was of much importance in the boy's identification development. Girls had no problem with sex-role development because the mother was usually around most of the time to give the lesson.

Lynn (1959) postulated that the task of achieving these separate kinds of identification seemed to parallel the two kinds of learning tasks differentiated by Woodworth and Schlosberg (1954): the problem and the lesson. With a problem to master, the learner must explore the situation and find the goal before having an insight. In the case of the lesson, the problem-solving phase was omitted or at least minimised as "we saw when the human subject was instructed to memorise a poem or a list of nonsense syllables, to examine pictures with a view to recognising them later". The task of achieving mother identification for the female was considered roughly parallel to the learning lesson, and the task of achieving the masculine role identification for the male was considered roughly parallel to the learning problem.

It was assumed that finding the goal did not constitute a major problem for the infant learning her mother identification lesson. This was because she was around all the time to provide the lesson, since, unlike the boy she did not need to shift from the initial mother identification lesson because of the intimate personal relationship with her.

The Birom girl, just like her counterpart in Lynn's study, also learned the mother identification lesson through the mother's selective reinforcement of mother-similar tendencies in the girl, like weaving the hair done by one female on another.

Hartup (1962) did a relevant study concerning parental imitation in children aged 3 - 5, in which he correlated sex-role preference in the Brown IT scale (Brown, 1956) with the degree to which the doll play showed the child doll imitating the same-sex parental doll and then concluded that girls became feminine partly as a result of the tendency to imitate their mothers more than their fathers.

On the other hand, it was assumed that finding the goal constituted a major problem for the boy in solving the masculine role identification problem. When the boy began to be aware that he did not belong to the same sex category as the mother, he must then find the proper sex-role identification goal and then

he must shift from the mother to this one. According to Hartley (1959), and also as was found in the present study, the desired behaviour was rarely defined as something the child should do, but rather negatively as something he should not do or be anything that the parent or others regarded as "sissy". Thus, the boy must either stumble on the right path or bear repeated punishment without warning when he accidentally entered into wrong ones.

Thus, in Birom society the children conformed with the assertions of Lynn (1959), Hartup (1962), Maccoby (1959), Woodworth and Schlosberg (1954), and Brown (1956) in their pattern of learning of the culturally ascribed sex-roles of their place. This agreement did not conform with the researchers hypothesis that there would be no differences between boys and girls in the patterns of identification adopted. This view was given credence because of the fact that Birom fathers were "outside" of the home most of the time and because of the fact that fathers received less of the complaints made by children (20 percent). On the other hand Birom mothers were "inside" (of the home) most of the time, received more of the children's complaints (66.5 per cent), and were responsible for providing girls items of behaviour to be imitated and restraining or warning

the boy about things he should not do "because boys did not do such things".

Therefore, for the Birom child, it should be assumed that in learning the appropriate identification each sex was acquiring separate methods of learning, which were applied subsequently to learning tasks generally and, thus running counter to the researcher's hypothesis that there would be no differences between fathers and mothers in teaching sex-roles to the young ones in Birom society.

Table: 4

Sex Chosen to Work

Sex chosen to work	No. of Responses	Percent
Male	141	70.5
Female	3	1.5
Both	39	19.5
Either male or female (no difference)	17	8.5
N	200	100

Parents were asked to specify whom they would hire to repair their houses if they had a choice to choose between male/female masons and carpenters.

141 parents aaid they would prefer male mansons and carpenters while only 3 (or 1.5 percent) (as against 70.5 percent choice of males).

A perusal of the reasons given for the choice of males would show that there was some agreement about the primary reason women could not do things. The reason given for the choice of men for those jobs seemed to suggest that women lacked the energy required for such jobs. This was a physical limitation showing that what they were lacking was power, museles, toughness, nerve and energy to do such jobs.

Table: 5

Reasons for Choice

Reason	No of Responses	Percent
Males more competent	93	46.5
Only males do such jobs	57	28.5
Hard work is for males	31	15.5
Recently females help males in these jobs	15	7.5
Miscellaneous	4	2
N =	200	100

The assertion that the "women's" place is in the home" has had historic linkage, and in many cultures where sex differentiation was pervasive, this assertion was rigidly applied (Boverman et al, 1972). On account of this it was found necessary to find out the position in Birom society.

Although the responses showed that the "women's place was in the Kitchen" in agreement with Broverman et al (1972), it was clear that Birom women also worked in occupations that took them outside the "home" like in teaching, nursing, selling food; these occupations tallied with Openheimer (1968) and others' assertion that these occupations followed those in which women predominated.

As repositories of Birom culture, it was necessary to find out from parents what the cultural expectations were for boys and girls. The cultural expectations would seem to tally with parental expectations for their children. You find that the cultural attributes and functions stereotypically assigned to the feminine role were less highly valued than those associated with the masculine role. For instance, while males were regarded as intellectual, competent, adventurous, and skilled in wordly affairs, females were characterised as passive, dependent, and illogical individuals who

were restricted to household and childcare duties (Brovermen et al, (1972); Kohlberg, (1966). This assertion agreed with the customary expectations for males and females in Birom society.

Birom parents said that the customary expectations for males in their culture were; heads of house-holds, owners of farm lands, killers of animals, order givers, men full of strength and courage, while females were expected to be obedient to males, care for children, cook, and mourn for dead husbands. It was glaring from these responses that in Birom society, the expectations for females would agree with the statements of Broverman et al, (1972) and Kohlberg (1966) that such expectations were those which the males highly devalued.

All through their responses, parents showed a clear vision of the cultural expectations for males and females and made no mistake in pointing out the things expected of males and females. They even showed this vision in the play things boys and girls were expected to play with. Hartley (1968) had said that children tended to play with items they were familiar with and tended to lose interest quickly on the items that made no meaning to them.

In Birom, the boys were expected to play with things considered suitable for the male in terms of the feelings pervading all through the culture that masculine things required nerve and strength to accomplish and girls were expected to play with things considered suitable for the female in terms of the feelings pervading all through the society that such feminine things did not require the expenditure of energy as those of the males. On this basis boys played with footballs, old tyres, wheels, catapult and rubber, and masks which were items designated suitable for the male, whereas the females played with seeds which they threw about, tins (used as pots), bangles, cards, ropes, and threads.

4.3 Male Superiority

In Birom society, the superiority of the male was emphasised at every oppurtunity. For instance, when Birom parents were asked about the lineage system adopted in Birom, there was a 100 percent response to the effect that the lineage system is patrilineal. The reasons given for the situation were that the males paid the dowry (73 percent) and were the head of the family (27 percent). Another reason given was the unanimity in their response that it was usually the woman who moved to a man after marriage, thus confirming the superiority of the Birom male.

Other areas that showed male superiority in Birom could be seen in their responses when they were asked to say why males were superior. For instance, males were superior because it was they who fed the females, provided money for the upkeep of the home, were heads of their families, and the males did not fear like women. The reasons why males felt superior to females could be seen to tally with the equation of masculinity with strength and nerve as shown by Nemerowicz's study (1972). In Birom society, this same recourse to strength and nerve could be said to be the basis used to determine the superiority/inferiority index of the sexes under consideration and had been shown to have permeated every aspect of Birom life. It was this feeling that made the Birom frown at the idea of males and females holding meetings together.

Harris (1969) suggested that in a harmonious society, both males and females provided services needed for the well-being of the community. This was true in Birom society. The snag was that the services provided followed sexual lines with the males building bridges, townhalls, wells, dispensary, repairing and building roads while the females cleaned the market, the town hall, and the churches. Besides, the cultural position of males and females was further shown when parents

said that women could not be village heads, could not be chiefs, and could not be ward heads in Birom.

4.4 The Process of learning sex-role and sex-typing in Birom

Freud (1938) felt the new born brought the germs of sexual feeling which continued to develop and then "succumb to a progressive suppression.... in an attempt to conform by an increased learning of the attitudes and behaviours typed by the adult culture as sex-appropriate", such a development was seen as the product of adult labelling and reinforcement of role appropriate behaviour and of identification with sex-appropriate parental behaviour.

The belief therefore was that there were "natural" developmental trends which were some how structured by cultural norms and were products of cognitive development. According to Kohlberg (1966) and Zigler (1967) the fact that sex-role concepts had physical dimensions suggested that the formation of sex-role identity was in large part the comprehension and acceptance of a physical reality, the cognitive structuring which led the child to make a categorisation as a male or female. This cognitive categorisation was basically a cognitive reality judgement which a child acquired between the ages of 3 and 5, specifically bout age 4.

The cognitive theory according to Zigler (1967) was some thing like this. "The boy is told he is a boy. He then wants to do boy things and the presence of masculine model is rewarding."

It was clear that from the context of Birom society, some form of social learning could be said to be taking place. As could be identified from the responses of Birom parents, Birom children, when born, were already placed in a sex stratification structure and were learning both the content of the accompanying sex-roles and the cultural rationalisations for different sex-role expectations and rewards characteristic of Birom society.

The awareness of stratification based on sex was of crucial importance and the position in a stratified system would influence the perception of the system (Huber and Form, 1973); Centres, 1949; Landecker, 1963; Sonnet and Cobb, 1977). As was seen, the responses of Birom children interviewed showed they were aware of the stratification in their society, which was statistically significant at $P < 05$.

According to Nemerowicz (1972), the organisation of perceptions regarding men and women began early as with other early learnings, particularly ideological learning, which was a potent force for behaviour. The child as a member of Birom society would seek to be informed by his/her visions of Birom society and which in sex-role learning, parents and other elders and peers amply provided.

The Birom child was born into an ideology which parents perpetuated. That ideology had created a hierarchy operating and rewarding one stratum more than the other and providing reasons to convince adherents on why the inequality must persist. For instance parental reasons for holding that males were superior to females included the fact that they (males) paid dowry, fed women, and women moved to their houses after marriage.

The Birom child was born into a society in which ideological supports for sex stratification were so pervasive that he/she could do nothing about it, but learned to conform to the norms. On the other hand, the churches assigned women to take part in singing in choirs (25 percent), keeping church clean (18 percent), collection and cleaning of church vestments (22 percent), teaching in Sunday schools (14 percent),

keeping hair covered while in church (16 percent), and miscellaneous (5 percent).

Regardless of the specifics of these pieces of ideology, the fact still remained that in all cultures, as was true in Birom culture, the child must live and grow in the ideologies that pervaded social institutions and public policy, and confirmed women as secondary to men, evil or weak, morally or intellectually, child like, incompetent, domestic and expressive. Men were primary, had a strong sense of social justice and analytic ability, embodying the standards of adulthood, were work-oriented and competitive.

These ideological supports ranged from theological, through legal, to scientific explanations. The Judeo-Christian doctrine legitimated gender inequality in many ways. These included the conceptualisation of God in masculine terms; the story of the creation of woman from man as an after thought, to provide help and companionship for men, the depiction of woman as morally weak and responsible for the loss of human paradise, and specific instructions regarding distinct roles for the sexes including the subordination of wives to their husbands. This ideology was reflected in the current partriarchal structure and practice of religious institutions, found in Birom society.

In Birom society, christianity was the dominant religion as 89 percent of those responding were christians, 8 percent were traditionalists, and 3 percent did not indicate. Excepting the spiritual churches which had women pastors (4 percent) and women church agents (3 percent), none of the other big christian churches had women pastors or priests (93 percent).

The religion assigned such roles to men as preaching (19 percent), collection of church offerings (12 percent), becoming pastors and priests (28 percent), choir masters (15 percent), organising church activities (11 percent), catechists (6 percent).

Phase two:

FINDINGS FROM BIROM CHILDREN WHO NEED TO ACQUIRE ACCEPTABLE BIROM CULTURAL VALUES.

4.5 Children's perception of Sex-role and Sex-typing in Birom Society

Children have acquired some degree of awareness of happenings in their society before they entered school. Some of the knowledge they have gained have happened as a result of traditional education, which was mainly through imitation and was basically self-acquired. Parents and elders only occassionally intervened "to induce the desirable physical and mental attributes that made for efficiency", (Evans, 1970).

The data the researcher had on children's perception of sex-role and sex-typing sought to obtain from them the cultural images that existed in their cognitions. The sample of children chosen for interview fell within the 6+ to 12+ year old range, which was when, according to Piaget (1952), children were capable of performing the "concrete operations" of forming logical groupings or categorisations. And because Nemerowicz (1972) found that the impact of gender was more readily seen in the allocative function, it was anticipated that the inequality would, in large part, reflect the allocative function, ie the manifest differentiation of male and female work roles in their society.

So, one of the researchers concerns then was with children's perceptions of man and woman as workers. According to Nemerowicz again children's conceptualisations of work and workers were part of the developmental process that was presumably occuring simultaneously with the development of ideas about sex roles as Skolnick and Skolnick (1971) noted that children as young as 18 months were absorbing and making sense out of information about and experiences with the two sexes. These two sets of cognitions appeared to be complementing each other.

Children have explicit ideas regarding the appropriate behaviour of males and females. Hartley reported that contrary to popular belief (in the mid 50s) children exhibited no confusion regarding sex-role content. Their beliefs were in accord with traditional adult definitions of the female role as domestically oriented, the male role as oriented to labour-force participation. Thus, on this basis it was necessary to find out to what extent Birom children perceived difference between the sexes and the nature of these differences.

The first thing the researcher did was to see if the children could establish their sexes, and put the following question, "are you a boy or a girl?" Sometimes, it was necessary that research assistants asked this question in Birom or Hausa language. All the children were able to establish their sexes as shown in Table 23 by X^2 calculations, which were significant $P < 05$ level.

Table: 6

Sex of Responding Child

Age	Boy	Girl
6+	8.8	7.8
11+	0.8	0.8

X^2 test of significance; $P < 05$

So, it was overwhelmingly clear that by the age of 6+ children were familiar with their sexes as boys or girls in Birom society. To buttress this fact more fittingly, a collection of the following items was presented to each pupil; local bow and arrows; matchet, hoe; shirt; toy animal; small pot; baby dolls; plastic bowl; plates; earing; bangles; beads; ropes and scarf, and were told,"if you were asked to choose the articles that you like, which ones would you choose?" The following responses were noted to see whether those artifacts and material aspects of culture played any significant role in the acquisition of acceptable sex-role patterning, especially as they tended to be sex-typed (Lavatelli et al, 1972).

Table 7

Scores of items chosen by sexes

Items	Boys	Girls
Bow and Arrow	78	22
Matchet	64	36
Hoe	57	43
Shirt	87	13
Cap/hat	92	8
Car toys	56	44
Toys animals	76	24
Small pots	11	87
Baby dolls	9	91
Bowls/plates	36	64
Earings	-	100
Bangles	4	96
Beads	16	84
Rope	35	65
Scarf	2	98

N = 50 X = 12.63 X = 17.10

r = 0.71 r = 0.84

Statistically significant by items chosen by sexes $P < .01$

There was a product-moment reliability coefficient of 0.71 for boys and 0.84 for girls, statistically significant at the .01 level. Although the ability of boys and the girls to choose items contiguous with sex-stereotypes corresponding with their sexes was quite significant, the higher score for girls tended to reflect Gordon's (1965) assertion that both male and female infants learned to identify with the mother. But that boys, and not girls, must shift from this initial identification with the mother to masculine identification.

The girl had had the same sex-parental model for identification (the mother) with her more than the boy had the same sex model (the father) with him. Much incidental learning took place from the girls' contact with her mother which she could apply directly in her life. This was believed by Gordon to be responsible for the edge girls had by having higher scores than the boys.

This finding also portrayed the fact that sex-role concepts have physical dimensions, suggesting that the formation of a sex-role identity was in large part the comprehension and acceptance of a physical reality rather than a process determined by sexual fantasies (Lavetelli et al, 1972).

This suggested that the researcher's hypothesis that artifacts and other aspects of material culture would have a significant effect on the acquisition of sex-role attitudes since these artifacts and material culture were pervasively indicative of the sexual categorisation to which their users identify, was proved right. This could suggest why bangles and earings were significatly used by females and bow and arrows and caps were used by males.

Table: 8

Scores Obtained from Activities List

Activities	Correct Prediction (Males)		Prediction (Both)		Correct Prediction (Females)	
	6+	11+	6+	11+	6+	11+
An engineer	16	19	2	5	3	5
Fix car	14	23	5	2	4	2
Repair machines	17	24	3	-	5	1
Clean house	6	2	4	2	18	18
Be a cook	4	5	7	3	17	14
Go to market	3	-	4	2	19	22
Sell vegetables	5	3	5	4	18	15
Be a teacher	7	8	8	8	9	10
Drive a car	4	4	7	16	10	9
Go to farm	10	10	11	5	9	5
N = 50 $\bar{X}$ = 1.72		$\bar{X}$=1.96		$\bar{X}$=1.12		$\bar{X}$=2.02

Correlation coefficient between age and prediction was

$r = 0.41, \quad P < .001$

There have been several studies designed to measure the presence of occupational sex stereotyping by children. The studies have confirmed that children were still sex-typing activities along traditional lines as noted by Hartley (in mid 50s).

As table 8 showed, there were significant differences in the prediction of work depending on the age of the child predicting. The younger children's prediction followed traditional lines where particular activities were stereotypically male or female, whereas the older children followed the more modern trends where an accepted intermixture of activities for males and females was the vogue.

The findings clearly demonstrated that children's perceptions and knowledge of the world of work were influenced by their conceptions of sex-appropriate roles. Children envisioned different kinds of work for men and women and boys tended to depict particularly traditional sex-stereotyped activities. This finding agreed with Charles Hobert's (1968) finding in a study of marital interaction and responsibility in terms of egalitarianism where he found that English and French speaking Canadian male students tended to be traditional in their interactions with their wives who tended to be egalitarian, to move in line with the current wave of women liberation.

4.6 Male - female competence

Hasselbert (1977) suggested that occupations might be sex-stereotyped. Because of this suggestion, it was necessary to find out whether Birom culture recognised this segregation of work by sex. To find out this, the children were asked whether they taught men or women could perform certain activities better (example, be a carpenter, be a nurse; repair a bicycle; care for children) and scored 1 point each time they said they believed women or both could perform a traditionally male activity best.

Table 9

Male or Female Competence Scores

Activity	Description	Male	Female
Be a carpenter	Positive	40	1
	Negative	-	2
	Neutral	1	2
	Mixed	2	2
	N	43	7
Fix a bicycle	Positive	22	-
	Negative	-	20
	Neutral	2	2
	Mixed	2	2
	N	26	24
Be a cook	Positive	13	17
	Negative	1	-
	Neutral	3	3
	Mixed	6	7
	N	23	27

Table 9 contd

Look after the sick	Positive	15	25
	Negative	3	2
	Neutral	1	-
	Mixed	2	2
	N	21	29
Care for children	Positive	4	33
	Negative	1	-
	Neutral	-	-
	Mixed	6	6
	N =	11	39

r = 0.27, statistically significant at $P < .01$

Responses were coded as shown in table 9, positive, negative, neutral, and mixed. Males rated male activities more positively than females who received sometimes low scores, sometimes high ones. Females rated those doing female work higher. It was clear that both sexes rated the work of performers of their own sex higher, with boys doing so more consistently than girls. This finding supported Haug's (1975) conclusion that males, as compared to females, tended to denigrate traditionally female occupations..... while there was prestige accorded to male domains.

4.70 Right and Wrong Jobs

This section was intended to see whether the children's perception of work roles persisted when the roles of men and women changed deliberately.

To do this, children were given examples of men and women in the right jobs such as (Men - Builders, climbers and engineers; Women = beautician, nurses and teachers) and also men and women in nontraditional occupations, that is in the wrong jobs such as (Men = cooks, bathing baby, and Women = carpenters, police-women, and womensboe-makers and asked to state whether each was correct or wrong. The following responses were noted: (Table 10).

Table 10

Men and Women in right jobs

Job	M/F	Wrong = 0	Correct = 2
Engineer	M/F	-	34
Builder	M/F	-	26
Climber	M/F	-	32
Beauticians	M/F	-	44
Nurses	M/F	-	36
Teachers	M/F	-	48

N = 50

$\bar{X}$ = 4.4

r = 0.23

Significant at $P < .05$

The responses further revealed that children were clear in their minds at ages 6+ and 11+ who should perform what activity.

For instance it was clear to them that following sex-stereotyping a male was suitable as an engineer and a female as a nurse. Table 11 also agreed with what Sher iffs and Jarret (1953) found.

Table 11

Men and Women in Wrong Jobs

Job	Wrong = 2	Right = 0
Men cooks	38	-
Men bathing baby	42	-
Men teaching	14	4
Women judge	36	-
Men nurse	24	-
Police women	22	-
Carpenter women	44	-
Women Taxi driver	20	-

N = 50 X = 4.9

r = 0.26

Significant at P < .,25

According to them, men and women shared the same stereotypes about the two sexes. This arose because through the reinforcement of the culture's highly developed system of rewards for indications of masculinity and punishment for signs of feminity, the boys' early learned identification with the mother who was

always "at home" as shown earlier in this study eventually weakened and became more or less replaced by later learned identification with a culturally defined, somewhat stereotyped role (masculine).

This supported the researcher's hypothesis that there would be no difference between boys and girls in their identification with sexes continuous with their sexes, because as shown in table 10 and 11, their ability to indicate roles culturally determined for men and women and their ability to indicate roles culturally determined for men and women were statistically significant at the 0.05 level ($P < .05$).

Consequently, it showed that Birom children tended to identify with a cultural stereotype of the masculine role, whereas females tended to identify with aspects of their own mothers' role specifically, a situation that agreed with Lynn's (1959) finding. And when the children were asked to say what they usually did in a "typical day measures", all the children showed visions of activities that tallied with the culturally defined sex-role contiguous with their own sex-role which by analysis of variance, revealved a situation statistically significant at $P < .001$.

In agreement with some of the findings of the study, the researcher observed that in most families where questionnaires were supplied, it was the males who came out to receive the researcher and such husbands were accompanied by the boys. The women were 'inside' with their daughters and only came out in several instances when the men asked their wives to serve his visitors with "kola" and water or drinks. It was observed that the woman would come, bow to us, and leave immediately to carry out the instructions, agreeing with the findings of Cottle (1974) Nemerowicz (1979), and Altman, Irwin, and Delmas (1973).

Girls were seen playing together most of the time and usually one was seen plaiting the hair of her friend who usually sat close by. Cohen (1967) had said that girls were usually referred to as "three heads" referring to the three-pronged hair-styles of pre-pubescent Kanuri girls of Maiduguri descent, a situation that paralleled the finding in Birom.

As in Borno State (Cohen, 1967), children in Birom had the same fantasies and showed the same understanding of masculinity and femininity because it was observed that in playing the "hide and seek" game, the boys did theirs separately from the girls and when the boys built "houses" with sticks and wet mud, girls were usually by

their side supplying the materials, while the boys did the actual building. Such "houses were referred to as "our house".

The girls were more afraid at the approach of a masquarade than the boys, and showed more contempt for the face masks used by masquarades, because it was observed that while girls would not touch the masks, the boys tried them on..

Kanuri girls learned the intricacies of food preparation, carrying water, and the ever-present task of grinding millet from their mothers (Cohen, 1967). This situation was observed to be the same among the Biroms. The girls were seen close to their mothers all the time in Birom and accompanied them to the market place. They carried some goods in the evening when their mothers were returning from the market. The boys were seen receiving instructions from their fathers.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATION

5.10 SUMMARY

"The institutional world requires legitimation, that is, ways by which it can be explained and justified" (Berger and Luckman, 1966 pg. 61). Therefore this has been a study of the legitimations for one form of organised social stratification by sex as was the case in Birom society. To study the processes by which this stratification is passed from one generation to another, questionnaires, interview schedule, and children's measures were used extensively, and were administered to two hundred and fifty parents and their children.

The study has shown that in Birom society, there was a recognition of physical differences of activity as a result of sex differences. In general, the study showed that Birom men worked "outside" the home and women did housework for their families "inside" the home. The traditional view that regarded man as "worker" and the woman as "housekeeper" was strong among the people. It was also clear from the findings that certain artifacts and other material culture were heavily sex-typed and their use heightened the perception of the people about the different sexes.

It was also found that this differentiation persisted all through the society and that children were expected to conform to ideals and did conform, indeed to these norms as early as the age of six.

5.20 CONCLUSIONS

The researcher is making the following conlusions from the study:

1. Parents were important repositories of cultural practices in Birom society and played the most important roles in the acquisition of acceptable sex-role behaviour in Birom society.
2. Children acquired appropriate sex-roles as ascribed by the culture foremost from their parents and subsequently from the society at large and from artifacts.
3. The Birom people recognised differences in the physical activities engaged in by the two sexes.
4. All through Birom society, the differences between males and females were pervasively pursued and were shown in speech, cloth patterns, and behaviour styles.

5.30 RECOMMENDATIONS

The author is making the following recommendations based on experiences gathered from the study.

1. More Birom women should be allowed to go to school. This will make them acquire skills that will enable them help their husbands in their homes.
2. Sex stratification as was found in the study has survival value in that it identified the roles males and females played for the good and harmony of the society. In this respect, children should be made to acquire sex-role identification properly to enable them become adjusted individuals.
3. Tacit adherence to sex-role standards, as was the case in Birom society, should be relaxed so that more areas of cooperation between the sexes could be created. For Example, 1 percent of the respondents had said that if men and women were allowed to hold meetings together, the cross "fertilisation" of ideas that would result would benefit the society.
4. The world at large and Nigeria in particular is experiencing a narrowing of the sex differentiation gap resulting in men and women fitting in properly in each of others activity, a situation that is enhancing the awareness of the society. The Birom people should begin to narrow the gap of sex differences in their area.

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APPENDIX A

DEPARTMENT OF VOC. & TECH. EDUCATION

AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY

ZARIA.

Dear Respondent,

I am a post graduate student in the above University, specifically in the Department of Vocational and Technical Education. I am interested in finding out how children learn about the roles of men and women in society.

I will be grateful if you will give me your kind cooperation in answering the questions which follow as honestly as possible.

Your answers will be kept strictly confidential and if you so desire the findings of the study will be made available to you.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

Basil Agwasim.

INSTRUCTIONS:

Please, answer the questions as clearly as you can. Some of the questions will require you to tick ( ) the information which agrees with your position and others will require you to fill-in your responses. As much as possible, directives would be given to help you respond fittingly to the questions.

--------oooooo----------

Personal Information:

Ethnic group/clan _____

Sex: Male/Female (tick)

Occupation: _____

Marital status: (Please, tick the one that applies)

a) Married _____

b) Unmarried _____

c) Divorced _____

d) Any other _____

If married, number of wives _____/husbands_____

Number of children:

Boys_____

Girls _____

Educational Background: (Please tick)

a) primary level _____

b) Secondary level _____

c) College or post secondary level _____

d) University level _____

e) any other (specify) _____

f) _____

Ordinal position in your family of orientation:

(please tick)

a) First born

b) Middle born _____

c) Later born

1. In your place, would you say the roles of boys and girls are: (please tick)

the same _____

different _____

mixed _____

2. Explain or specify some of the roles boys and girls play in your area:

boys _____

_____

girls _____

_____

3. Would you describe how these roles are assigned to them:

_____

_____

4. When children have complaints which of the two, father/mother (tick) attends to these complaints more.

5. Kindly suggest why you think children choose the person they do:

_____

_____

6. When you talk of you children, say in giving instructions, do you consider their sex (explain).

_____

_____

7. Who punishes misbehaviour of children most in your family (tick)

Father _____

Mother _____

Older children _____

Any other (specify) _____

8. If you wanted to repair your old house, please state whether you would hire male masons/bricklayers and carpenter _____

_____

9. or female masons/bricklayers and carpenters

_____

10. When should women work? _____

11. What is your religion? _____

12. What does your religion specify that you should do during worship? _____

_____

13. What does your custom expect from people in terms roles: Men _____

_____

Women _____

_____

14. What customary situations affect:

Male _____

Female _____

Both _____

15. What does your custom expect:

Men do to help society _____

Women do to help society _____

16. Describe the type of play things children use in your place: Boys _____

_____

Girls _____

_____

17. In your custom is the lineage system:

- patrilineal (towards the man) _____

_____

- matrilineal (towards the woman)

_____

18. Any reasons for the trend? & _____

_____

19. In marriage who moves into the house of the other?

Male/female (tick)

20. Any reasons for this? _____

_____

21. In your tradition, where do you place males:

superior to women _____ Yes/No (tick)

inferior to women _____ Yes/No "

Females - superior to males _____ Yes/No (tick)

inferior to males _____ Yes/NO "

22. Are there any reasons why this is so? _____

_____

23. What is the traditional occupations of males and females in your place (tick)

- going to clear bush - M/F
- going to harvest - M/F
- hunting - M/F

- tending sheep - M/F
- cooking food - M/F
- repairing the house - M/F

Indicate any others _____

_____

24. In your place do males and females hold village meetings together ?

Yes/NO (tick)

25. Are there any reasons for the situation?

_____

26. What community services are provided by:

Males _____

_____

Females _____

_____

27. Any reasons for this male/female division in the provision of such community services _____

_____

28. What other differences can you identify between males and females in your custom? _____

_____

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR BIROM CHILDREN

(It is intended that a research attendant ask the questions in the language the children understand and then write down the children's reply to the following questions).

1. Age _____
2. Sex Male/Female (tick)
3. Attending School Yes/No
4. Who do you think should do each activity:

   Men, Women, or Both:

   a) be an engineer _____
   b) fix a car _____
   c) repair machines _____
   d) clean the house _____
   e) be a cook _____
   f) babysit _____
   g) go to market _____
   h) sell vegetables _____
   i) be a teacher _____
   j) drive a car _____
   k) go to the farm _____

5. Why do you think could perform certain activities better - Male/Female.

   a) be a carpenter _____
   b) fix a bicycle _____

c) be a cook _____

d) look after the sick _____

e) care for children _____

6) Identify those who, in your thinking are in the right jobs or in wrong jobs:

(en and Women in traditional occupations)

a) Engineers _____men _____Yes/No

b) builders _____men _____Yes/No

c) climbers _____men _____Yes/No

d) beauticians _____women ____Yes/No

e) nurses _____women _____Yes/No

f) teacher _____women _____Yes/NO

(Men and Women in nontraditional occupations)

a) cook _____men____Yes/No
b) bathing baby____men___Yes/No
c) teaching_____men____Yes/No
d) judge _____men____Yes/No
e) dentist _____women___Yes/No
f) policewomen____women____Yes/NO
g) carpenterwoman_____woman___Yes/No

7. From morning to night what would you be doing?

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX B

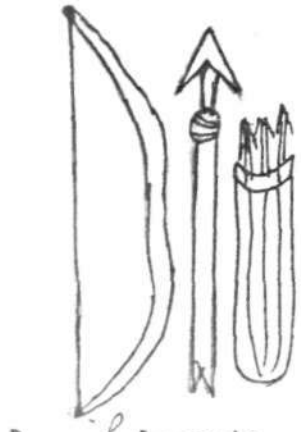
MATERIALS FOR
MATERIALS FOR CHILDREN TO CHOOSE

Age_____

Sex _____

(Children will be shown some articles and asked to choose the ones that they like. Research assistants will then tick a good for each item chosen in the spaces provided).

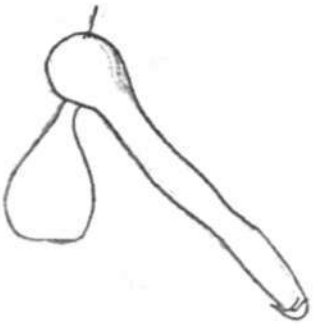
ITEMS	(tick in this space)
1. Bow and arrow	
2. Hoe	
3. Matchet	
4. Shirt	
5. Hat/Cap	
6. Car toys	
7. Toy animal	
8. Small pots	
9. Baby dolls	
10. Bowls/plates	
11. Earings	
12. Bangles	
13. Beads	
14. Rope	
15. Scarf	



Bow & Arrows



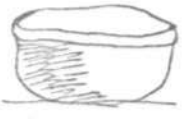
Matchet



Hoe



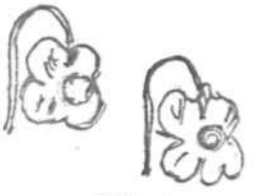
shirt



Bowl



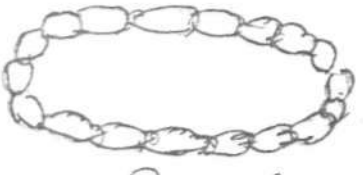
A set of plates



Earings



Bangles



Beads

APPENDIX 'C' CONTD.



Rope



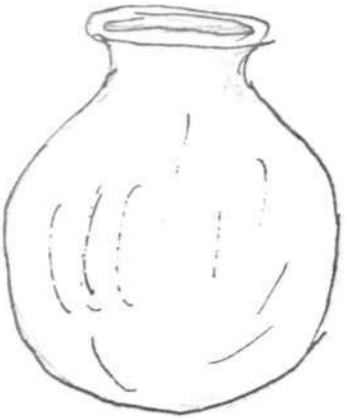
Scarf



Car toy



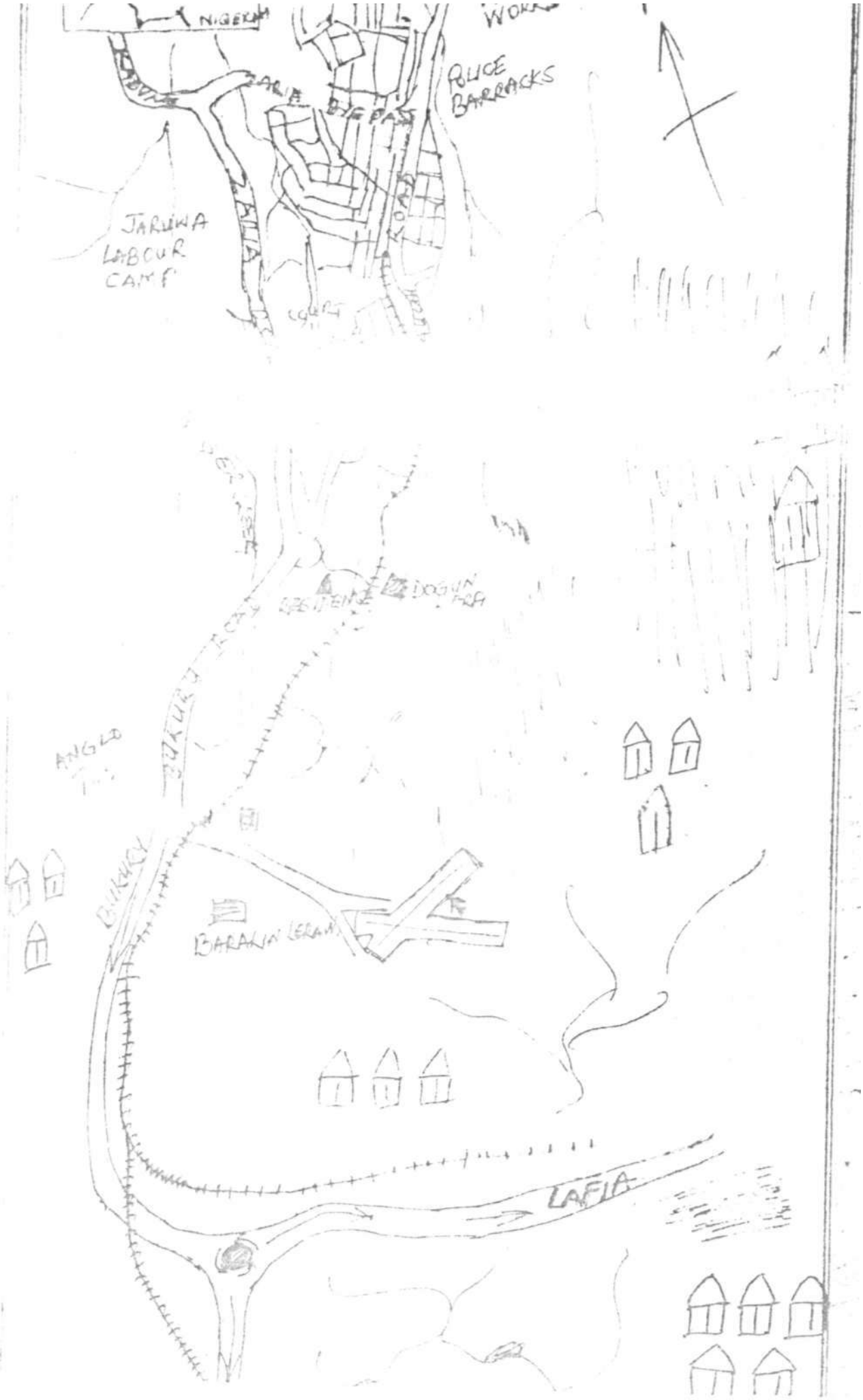
Toy Animal



Pot



Nido tin


NIGERIA
POLICE BARRACKS
JARUWA LABOUR CAMP
COURT
BUKURU
BARAKIN LERAM
LAFIA