

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF
MOTHERHOOD IN MATRILINEAL, PATRILINEAL AND COGNATIC
KINSHIP SYSTEMS IN KADUNA STATE, NIGERIA**

BY

**Christiana Cecilia DAVID-KANTIYOK
PhD/FASS/05133/95-96**

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE
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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA**

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work in this dissertation entitled: **A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF MOTHERHOOD IN MATRILINEAL, PATRILINEAL AND COGNATIC KINSHIP SYSTEMS IN KADUNA STATE, NIGERIA** is written by me under the supervision of Professor S.A. Nkom, Dr. J.M. Hellandendu and Dr. A.J. Oluwabamide in the Department of Sociology, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. To the best of my knowledge, this dissertation has not been written or submitted for the award of any degree anywhere else. All sources of information from related literature are duly acknowledged by means of references.

.....
Christiana Cecilia DAVID-KANTIYOK

.....
Date

CERTIFICATION

This dissertation entitled: **A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF MOTHERHOOD IN MATRILINEAL, PATRILINEAL AND COGNATIC KINSHIP SYSTEMS IN KADUNA STATE** by **CHRISTIANA CECILIA DAVID-KANTIYOK** meets the regulations governing the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

.....
Prof. S.A. Nkom
Chairman, Supervisory Committee

.....
Date

.....
Dr. J.M. Hellandendu
Member, Supervisory Committee

.....
Date

.....
Dr. A.J. Oluwabamide
Member, Supervisory Committee

.....
Date

.....
Dr. Y. K. Gandu
Head of Department

.....
Date

.....
Prof. A.Z. Hassan
Dean, School of Postgraduate Studies

.....
Date

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the Almighty God whose infinite mercy, gave me the grace I needed to remain focused and determined to the end. It is also dedicated to the eternal memory of my late loving husband **Mr. Baba S. Akau** for the dedicated care he showered on us during his life time.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FGD	-	Focus Group Discussion
IAC	-	Inter-African Committee
ICPD	-	International Conference on Population Development
IDR	-	Institute for Development Research
IPD	-	Pelvic Inflammation Disease
LGA	-	Local Government Area
MMR	-	Maternal Mortality Rate
NDHS	-	National Demographic Health Survey
RVF	-	Recto Vaginal Fistula
UNFPA	-	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	-	United Nations Children Education Fund
VVF	-	Vesico Vaginal Fistula
WHO	-	World Health Organization

ABSTRACT

This study is centred on motherhood experiences among the Gure of Lere Local Government Area, the Hausa of Babban Dodo Ward in Zaria city and the Kaninkon in Jema'a Local Government Area. The matrilineal, the cognatic and patrilineal systems of kinship systems predominate among the Gure, the Hausa and the Kaninkon respectively. The study compares motherhood experiences across these three kinship systems. A sample of 264 mothers, made up of 107 Gure, 100 Hausa and 57 Kaninkon women was surveyed. Their ages ranged from less than 15 to 54 years and above. These included mothers who are at the early stages of their reproductive career and those that have grown up children who are old enough to cater for their aged mothers. In addition to the survey, FGDs and IDs were conducted with selected mothers. The study revealed that all mothers had expectations of one form of support or another from their children. Similarly, in various degrees, mothers experienced one form of abuse or another from their husbands and children. A comparison of the expected and actual support received by the mothers showed that in all the studied kinship systems, the expected support exceeded what was provided. There was no significant difference in the amount of food that Hausa and Gure mothers received from their children, but Kaninkon mothers received higher proportions of food, clothing and financial support than the Gure and Hausa. Most children of the Kaminkon mothers live within the community and farm with their parents. They organized their peer groups from time to time to work on their mothers' farms thereby, producing sufficient food for them. However, the Kaninkon mothers received the lowest proportion of care for younger siblings than Gure and Hausa. In view of the reality of not realizing the kind of support the mothers expected from their children, and the lack or inadequate provision by their husbands, all the mothers devised strategies to meet their material needs depending on their economic environments. The strategies included seeking for jobs, sale of labour, engaging in petty trading, engaging their children in hawking and transactional sex. The study concluded that across the three kinship systems children were valued for their services which were realized in different ways and that across the kinship systems some grown up children assisted while others abused their mothers. Mothers are also faced with abuses like sexual exploitation by traditional healers, starvation during food scarcity as well as blame by husbands for children's misdeeds. The study recommends the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women, and that children rearing should be a shared responsibility.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Central to this study are issues of child bearing, child rearing and the practice of motherhood and their consequences on the mothers. Child bearing and child rearing occupy a central position in the society because procreation assures the society of its continuity. Consequently, motherhood is regarded by the larger society as a crown for womanhood. In the Nigerian context, Obienyem (2010) stated that there are many reasons that suggest that motherhood is a crown for womanhood. This is due to the fulfillment of the expectations of having children for future security.

Soon after marriage the urge is to beget children and raise families. With the coming of children, women assume the responsibilities of bringing them up. The honour and celebration of motherhood is not limited to the family, but extends to various institutions, and it takes different forms. For example, citing the centrality of the position of motherhood in the society and particularly, in Nigeria, Obienyem (2010) reported that Christian organizations set apart certain Sundays to celebrate motherhood. Thus, motherhood is considered dignified, sacred and worthy of celebration because of its importance to the moral fabric of the society.

Motherhood, much as it is a source of joy, also constitutes a source of pain for women. The World Health Organization (WHO, 1994a) for example, sees motherhood as a source of joy, fear, pain, love and a lot more. For many Nigerian women and women

in other developing countries, childbirth comes at a very high price. It is a leading cause of death for women worldwide. In Nigeria, reports have shown that every 10 minutes, a Nigerian woman dies as a result of complications of pregnancy and childbirth, and hundreds of thousands more are disabled in birth-related processes annually (WHO, 1994a).

Statistics from the World Health Organization (WHO, 2007) reveal that a woman in Nigeria has 1 in 18 risks of dying in childbirth or from pregnancy-related causes during her life time which is higher than the overall 1 in 22 risks for women throughout sub-Saharan Africa. Bankole, Sedgh, Okonofua, Imarhiagba, Hussain and Wulf (2009), estimated that in Nigeria, a woman's life time chance of dying during pregnancy, childbirth or postpartum period is 1 in 18. The World Health Organization (WHO, 2009) estimated that every year, as at then, 59,000 Nigerian women died of childbirth (Bankole *et al.*, 2009).

According to the Nigerian National Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS) (2008), the maternal mortality rate in Nigeria was 545 per 100,000 live births. Nigeria therefore, was ranked as the country with the second highest maternal mortality rate in the world (cited in Ogbebo, 2012). Olapade and Lawoyin (2008) noted that pregnancy and childbirth are normal physiological processes bringing a joyful experience to individuals and families. However, in many parts of the world, pregnancy is a perilous journey, a risky and potentially fatal experience for millions of women, especially in developing countries.

In a report on improving maternal health as well as the new born and children's health, the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA, 2000) enumerated the key issues affecting maternal and child health. Poverty is seen as a major factor contributing to the high rate of women's and children's deaths. Poverty, combined with the women's inability on their own accord to seek health care, hinders women from developing their potentials in the society. Decision making is crucial to reproductive health but mostly, women are left out in such decisions. For instance, in 2005 only 1 in 4 women of child bearing age in Nigeria, reported that they were involved in making decisions about their own health care. The statistics were generally similar regardless of whether the women were married, as reported by Bankole, Sedgh, Okonofua, Hussain, Imarhiagba and Wulf (2009).

According to UNFPA (2000), the most recent data as of then, suggested that Italy, Sweden, and Luxembourg were the safest countries in terms of maternal health while Afghanistan, Central African Republic and Malawi were the most dangerous. This currently also applies to the Nigerian society where mothers suffer high maternal mortality as reported by Ogbebo (2012). The natural mortality rate at childbirth, where nothing is done to avert maternal death, was estimated at 1,500 deaths per 100,000 births by UNFPA (2000).

This study seeks to compare the consequences of motherhood in three kinship systems which include matrilineal Gure, Patrilineal Kaninkon and cognatic Hausa, with regard to child bearing, child rearing and the experiences of mothers as they bring up their children.

1.2 Perceptions of Motherhood

In discussing motherhood, Garland (2012) stated that there is a wide range of commitments that can be associated with motherhood. He further stated that motherhood can bring joy greater than anything one can ever think of, and the same can be said of pain and sorrow. Fritsch (2010), on the other hand, described motherhood as the state of being a mother, the qualities or spirit of being a mother. She added that motherhood can be a blessing as well as being frustrating and tiring.

In their perception of motherhood, Baggett, Carta, Greenwood, Buzhard and Walker (2012) listed ten different ways of assessing motherhood. That is, whether individual women become mothers through biological means or by adopting, the ten descriptions apply to both. They include:

Mother is love, mother means daddy does not come first in mummy's life, mother often means in public sphere, that women can never be right about anything, motherhood is becoming more accessible to more women and it is a complicated state of embrace. It is not easily undertaken, the act of motherhood is often the spiritual centre of a woman's being, motherhood is for better for worse, motherhood is an individual and variable profession and its practitioners often feel the need to explain their methods and outcomes, motherhood is often a contradictory emotional state; it is blamed when there is a feeling of guilt and more loving when disguised as a mother, motherhood is a nurturing act performed by female mammals.

Motherhood could be viewed both biologically (where a woman carries a pregnancy to term, and bears a baby) or socially (where a woman carries out socially prescribed roles of child's upbringing). This study explores the biological views of motherhood, in which only mothers who carried pregnancies to term and gave birth to children constituted the research subjects of study.

Where motherhood is considered a desirable attribute, the preparation for its roles starts as soon as a girl is born. The ritual of her initiation into the motherhood role is

the first set of rituals performed on her. According to Hellandendu and Kantiyok (1995) during a Focus Group Discussion on harmful traditional practices in Zaria, the discussants opined that if the girl child is put through the experience of female genital mutilation, in most cases, it is to make her a chaste mother and to prepare her for safe motherhood, believing that the removal of the clitoris is to prevent it from touching the head of her baby when she is giving birth, thereby saving the baby from death.

In her study on violence against women in Kaduna metropolis, Kantiyok (1994) found that culture prescribes acceptable characteristics for the girl child in anticipation that she will eventually become a chaste mother. Culturally, the girl child is socialized to eat, talk, walk, sit, dress and smile in particular ways. In addition, she devotes her time and energy to domestic chores to assist her parents while preparing herself for future motherhood roles.

These tasks are carried out willingly and happily by the girl child until the anticipated age of fulfilling the biological expectation of reproduction that would change her marital status is attained. That is the age of marriage and subsequent childbirth and children's upbringing which signify the ultimate fulfillment of a woman's expectations in her matrimonial home as a mother.

The first evidence of chastity identified in a woman is the proof of her virginity at marriage. The proof of virginity and the subsequent ability to become a mother (especially of male children) makes a woman feel more dignified. It also earns her respect and political strength in her husband's home; she is also able to participate in decision making in her affinal family.

For women, the desire to become mothers in the Nigerian context is fueled by the hope that children will fulfill the tasks culturally assigned to them to relieve their aged parents of those responsibilities that old age will no longer allow them to continue to shoulder. The economic benefits of having children as documented by Caldwell (1976) identified services, money, goods and guarantees as the expectations of the society from children.

In line with Caldwell's documentations, Nigerian cultural context demands that children should fulfill expectations such as taking care of parents at old age, continuing the lineage and family name, strengthening their parents' marital bonds, taking care of their younger siblings, providing food, shelter and clothing to the needy in their families among other expectations (Berkel, 1998).

The thought of losing the benefits that children are expected to provide for the parents threatens childless women in their matrimonial homes. In addition, challenges from anxious husbands and affines over delayed fertility, make childless women develop anxiety, such that would send them to various hospitals and traditional healers in search for solution to their infertility and its social implications which could be devastating (Hellandendu and Kantiyok, 1995).

Nicolson (1994:202), in reporting about the devastating effect of childlessness, stated that those women who are not opportuned to have children are considered failures and unfeminine, especially in patriarchal communities where children form the bedrock of the family. The experiences of mothers in procreation is cherished for continuity of the society and the expectations of children's contributions. For example, in the Nigerian

social context, children are valued for various reasons which could be economic, social or political. In affinal relationships for instance, women who have children gain better acceptance and fairer treatment than childless women. During some sessions of FGD in a study on single motherhood in Kwangila, Zaria by Hellandendu and Kantiyok (1995), it was reported that women who do not have an experience of raising children are not consulted on serious issues pertaining to community and traditional matters.

Economically, children could constitute a source of wealth to their parents, and the kinship ideology dictates the patterns and extent to which the wealth is obtained from the children. Wealth here as referred to by Caldwell (1976) includes money, services, goods and guarantees. The wealth flow under the matrilineal ideology takes a different pattern from that of patrilineal ideology because of the differences in the children's allegiance to their line of authority/descent. In a matrilineal kinship system, the children belong to their mother's lineage headed by their mothers or grand mothers or brothers.

Therefore, they trace their descent to their maternal relations. They would transfer their services and wealth to their maternal uncles, aunts and others within their maternal line and the children inherit from maternal uncles. On the other hand, children from patrilineal kinship system trace their descent through their paternal uncles and aunts. Besides social and political economy of parenthood generally, children ease the workload of mothers by assisting them with household chores, baby-sitting, petty business, farm work, settling disputes between parents, and helping to

stabilize their parents' relationships. In abusive marital relationships where mothers are battered, abuse is minimized when children grow up and start to intervene.

1.3 The Roles of Mothers

According to Garland (2012), the moment that there is a confirmation of a new life developing in the womb (pregnancy), most women begin to be more cautious and to protect the little one inside. On the duties of motherhood, Garland (2012), wrote that the jobs that mothers do vary with families and cultures. Generally he stated, mothers have roles to play for humanity, providing nourishment and safety for their children. A mother's work is not complete until her child is fed, loved, and made as comfortable as possible.

Beyond the provision of basic needs of food, shelter, and love, he stated, mothers often take on other pivotal roles in the family. The mother often offers support and protection not only to the baby, but to all the family members. Mothers also tend to be the ones who set limits and make decisions on behalf of the children. The mother could consult the father of the children but ultimately, mothers know their children best and can determine what is best for them (Garland, 2012).

Historically, the role of a woman according to Lange (2002), was confined mostly to being a mother and a wife. Women were expected to dedicate most of their energy to these roles, and to spend most of their time taking care of the home. In many cultures, women are assisted in performing these roles from adult female relatives, such as their grown up daughters, sisters in law or their own mothers. But since the late 20th century, the role of a father in child care has been given more prominence and social

acceptance in some Western countries, with more women going into paid jobs fathers are now getting enlightened on the need to assist in children's upbringing (Lange, 2002).

Women who served in prominent mother-related religious activities such as mothers' day among others, are glorified. Major world religions which have specific religious laws or spiritual canon regarding mothers include Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. Some examples of honouring motherhood include the 'Madonna' or 'Blessed Virgin Mary' for the Catholics, the Hindu mother 'Goddess' and 'Demeter' of the ancient Greek (Lange, 2002). They revere these by honouring and glorifying the personalities involved by paying homage, fast and pray fervently by confessing their sins.

A very important role of mothers is that of protecting their children. Often times in the process of protecting their children, mothers however, also get traumatized by the same children they are protecting or from those who assail the children. Obiyenyem (2010) for example, reported that some Nigerian male children regard insolence and waywardness to their mothers as a show of manliness. Therefore, respect for mothers is disregarded. Since the upbringing of the children is widely regarded as the responsibility of the mother, mothers are mostly blamed for the misdeeds of their children. Obiyenyem (2010), further highlighted historical instances in which mothers' own children injured or killed them. This study will unfold what motherhood roles entail for mothers in the study areas.

Motherhood and Career

Mothers have special anatomical composition in the social world which is rooted in nature, particularly, those of motherhood which differ from those of their male counterparts as fathers. It is an undisputable fact that the difference between men and women are ultimately rooted in biology. On the other hand, some researchers are of the view that the differences between male and female gender roles are largely socially constructed and should be overcome or minimized. Some of these perspectives are discussed below.

Abbot, Wallace and Tyler (2005:5), have viewed biological and physiological differences as the basis for an ideology of sexual difference serving to justify and maintain women's inferior social position to this. They further argued that from the Marxist perspective, patriarchy is seen as trans-historical, with men exercising power over women in most societies, though taking specific forms in capitalist societies. Hence, women's "productive" labour limits their access to wage labour which is what moves them to get married, following the ideology of marriage and motherhood as women's primary role. Many girls therefore, see their destiny as wives and mothers.

It is also observed that young women are no longer deceived by the images of life portrayed in women's literature, but have very realistic ideas of what married life might hold for them. They no longer see marriage and motherhood as their only goal in life as more women are becoming educated and employed (Abbott, Wallace, and Tyler. 2005:130). Women however, still desire to have children and those who have the children are defined in terms of their roles as mothers and care givers. This is because, regardless of their career and working status, women tend to spend more of

their time caring for their children than men do. The societal idealization of motherhood infers that men are often excluded from the care of new born and very young children, despite that, some countries like Sweden and Norway have introduced one month paternity leave to encourage men to play more roles in children's upbringing, although mothers still take the lead (Abbott, Wallace and Tyler, 2005:165).

Hence, motherhood is often considered as a vocation for women. This is more emphasized in the former communist states for examples, which had argued that women ought to remain at home and care for their children as a patriotic action since it is women that sustain their population and labour force. According to (Abbott, Wallace and Tyler, 2005) when there is infant and child mortality, it is considered as an act of negligence on the part of mothers. Therefore, the idea of motherhood as full time vocation has shaped the thinking of the majority of women.

1.4 Statement of the Research Problem

As earlier stated, child bearing, child rearing and the practice of motherhood and their consequences, are the key issues in the study. Motherhood is regarded as the fulfillment of womanhood and a source of joy in the society. Besides providing the children's material needs, mothers ensure the protection of their children as much as possible. In the process of mothering, they get into conflict with their husbands, their own children, neighbours and several others, the effect of which could devastate the mothers' health physically and psychologically.

While some mothers are assisted as they play their maternal roles, others are saddled with responsibilities that should not be solely theirs. Although mothers share in their experiences of bearing children, the extents of their experiences differ with locations and kinship systems. Based on this, this study compares motherhood among the patrilineal Kaninkon, the matrilineal Gure and the cognatic Hausa in Jema'a, Lere and Zaria Local Government Areas of Kaduna State respectively. Consequent on this, a number of questions are asked to guide the study:

- i. What are the similarities and differences in the experiences of mothers in the three different kinship systems?
- ii. What is the nature of stress that mothers suffer from their husbands and their own children?
- iii. What are the differences and similarities in the responsibilities and expectations associated with motherhood, and what strategies have mothers evolved for coping with their frustrations and material needs in the different kinship systems?

1.5 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The general aim of the study is to compare motherhood experiences and their consequences in patrilineal, matrilineal and cognatic kinship systems in Kaduna State.

The specific objectives of the study are;

- i. To compare mothers' experiences across the kinship systems in terms of the expectations of support from their children, the rewards they expect from having children which include being taken care of by children at old age, taking care of younger siblings, by older children, providing food for the family, building a good

house for the family, protecting the family from external attacks and strengthening their parents' marital bonds.

ii. To investigate the differences and similarities of the mothers' expectations, and achievements in terms of the expected benefits and the actual benefits they received from their children.

iii. To investigate the nature of burdens borne by mothers as they bring up children. These include lack of enough sleep, taking care of husbands and children single-handedly, facing confrontation from neighbours when children misbehave, being blamed by husbands over children's misdeeds, going through starvation during food scarcity in order to feed the children, being denied sexual pleasures when breastfeeding to ensure adequate childspacing, sexually being exploited by traditional healers, putting up with trauma due to own children's misconduct and being assaulted by their own children.

iv. To assess the nature of the mothers' experiences of abusive acts inflicted on them by their own children. These include: battering, verbal abuse, children's disobedience and other form of emotional abuse, stealing from mothers, misuse of mothers' funds, leading armed robbers to mothers, and conniving with mothers' adversaries.

v. To investigate the measures taken by mothers to meet their financial needs in the light of general economic hardship and poverty.

vi. Based on the findings, to recommend ways of mitigating the challenges of motherhood within the three kinship systems.

1.6 The Study Area

This research is a comparative study of the consequences of motherhood in three different kinship systems, namely; matrilineal system in Gure community in Lere Local Government Area; cognatic Hausa system in Babban Dodo ward in Zaria Local Government Area; and patrilineal system in Kaninkon community in Jema'a Local Government Area of Kaduna State.

Gure is approximately 40 kilometres from Saminaka which is the headquarters of Lere Local Government Area. Marriages among the Gure are mostly ethnically endogamous. However, exogamous marriages are contracted without prohibition. Gure is a rural, predominantly Christian matrilineal community whose economic activities are mainly farming and rearing of small animals at subsistence level. White collar jobs are restricted to those working in the health centre, the Christian Bible School, primary and secondary schools. Some Gure females are engaged as cleaners, teachers and clerks, in the aforementioned work places.

In farming households, Gure women maintain their own personal farms. The farmlands are given to them either by their own husbands or by their own maternal relations. Mothers use proceeds from their farm produce for themselves and their children, while reserving some for consumption to complement what their husbands supply them. Being a matrilineal community where inheritance is through the maternal uncles and aunts, women also reserve their belongings for their maternal relations' children who may need their help. Gure is surrounded by other villages with whose residents they exchange goods and services on their various market days.

Kaninkon is an ethnic group in Jema'a Local Government Area. The community where the research was conducted (Angwan Fari), is approximately five kilometres from the local government headquarters which is located in Kafanchan. Kafanchan is an urban area with secondary schools, colleges, hospitals, banks, School of Nursing, College of Education, a satellite campus of Kaduna State University (KASU), large hotels, and other commercial ventures. Some women are employed in one or the other of these establishments, but majority derive their livelihood from subsistence farming.

The location of Angwan Fari close to the Local Government headquarters makes it possible for some community members to be employed in various capacities in some of these institutions in Kafanchan depending on their aptitudes and skills, and levels of educational attainment. Kaninkon community practices farming at subsistence level. Food crops like groundnuts, maize, yam and cassava, among others, are cultivated by the heads of households. Although women do the bulk of the farm work of planting, harvesting, processing and marketing, the proceeds belong to their husbands. The women control what they realize from the backyard gardens, especially vegetables and local beans which they grow.

Since kinship in Kaninkon is traced through patrilineal descent, male superiority is glaringly exhibited. Even small boys claim superiority over old women. The Kaninkon inter-marry with other ethnic groups like Bajju, Atyab, Fantwam, and Kagoro among others who are also patrilineal. Kaninkon women, in addition to marketing their husbands' farm produce, hawk for large-scale business people thereby earning some

money for themselves. These women have low level of formal educational attainment despite availability of schools, because the practice of male preference places their female children at a disadvantageous position so that their education is given less attention. The Kaninkon, like Gure, are predominantly Christian with a good number of widowed and divorced mothers who single-handedly fend for themselves and their children. Although Kaninkon are highly polygynous, widow inheritance is very rarely practiced because the men do not want to inherit other children.

The Hausa ethnic group for this study lives in Zaria City. Zaria is an urban area, and Babban Dodo Ward, where the study was conducted is the headquarters of the Zaria Local Government Area and the Zaria Emirate. The kinship system is cognatic in nature. The culture prefers marriages among consanguineal relations, which leads to a high rate of parallel or cross marriages between first cousins. By implication, the children born in such marriages are related both maternally and paternally to their kins. Kinship is traced through both paternal and maternal descent.

However, being predominantly Muslims, inheritance of biological fathers' property has an upper hand, but where a man adopts his sister's or brother's child, the child gets a share of the foster parents' property only on condition that he/she is given while the owner of the property is still alive or where there is a will written. As prescribed by Islam (Omram 1992).

The majority of the young and middle aged women engage in home bound businesses. Their children hawk their goods for them. Post-menopausal women engage in outdoor economic activities like hawking, frying bean cakes, begging, doing household chores

for wages among others. Being an urban area, economic activities for the men mostly include trading, and white collar employment. Those who are not employed in formal organizations engage in semi and unskilled works such as mechanic work, commercial driving, loaders of goods at motor parks, or load carriers. The traditional Islamic ethos demand that the husband provides everything that is needed in the home. If in his absence, the wife spends her money on household needs for any reason, including feeding the family members, he is expected to refund the money. Adherence to the ethos however, depends on specific situations such as health conditions and employment status of the husband. Divorce and re-marriage are very common. Widowhood is rare because women who lose their husbands get married as soon as possible after the Islamically prescribed three months period of mourning if she is proved not to be pregnant at the time of her husband's death. A pre-field visit and interactions revealed that widowhood is minimal since every widow is expected to marry as soon as the mourning period is over, except for older women whose children are grown up and can take care of them (Inter-African Committee, 2000).

1.7 Significance of the Study

Researchers like Oluwabamide and Eghafoma (2003), Idris *et al.* (2010) among others, who have conducted studies on reproductive health, maternal mortality and child health, have done so mostly at the level of safe motherhood which emphasizes safe pregnancy, safe delivery, care at the health centre and breastfeeding. The actual expectations and experiences of the mothers in the upbringing of their children which is the focus of this study have scarcely been studied especially in across kinship systems. Hence, the study will give comparative standpoints across kinship systems

for subsequent studies. This study adds knowledge to the public and helps researchers who may wish to go into studies on the experiences of motherhood. It will also be of importance to policy makers to address the need for involving fathers and mothers alike in children's upbringing and thereby lightening the burdens of mothers caring for children alone. The study will also help the researcher to go into deeper and wider scopes of studies that relate to parenting in ensuring healthier society, and better assessment of the situation of children's upbringing and their implications for individuals and the larger society.

The study therefore, is worth conducting in order to create a wider range of involvement in intervention studies by researchers who are interested in eliminating the factors that make childbirth and childbearing unhealthy for mothers.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

A review of literature on motherhood experiences will increase the understanding of the prevalence of the consequences of motherhood across cultures and kinship systems. The literature is reviewed on the following sub-topics:

- Health consequences of child bearing and child rearing for mothers
- The burden of broken homes and single-parenthood on mothers
- Kinship and motherhood
- Government policies on motherhood

2.2 Health Consequences of Child Bearing and Child Rearing for Mothers

In as much as motherhood is highly valued and prized in all cultures, it has been a leading cause for women's infirmity and complications related to pregnancy and childbirth as well as one of the leading causes of morbidity and mortality for women of reproductive age especially in the developing world. At the global level, it has been estimated that about half a million women die each year from pregnancy related causes, 99% of them in the developing countries (Camdessus, 1995:10).

The social roles and experiences of mothers vary greatly across locations. An organization known as Save the Children UK, has ranked the countries of the world

and found that the Scandinavian countries are the safest places to give birth, whereas countries in sub-Saharan Africa are the least safe to give birth (Save the Children Report, 2006).

According to Omran (1992), maternity complications are determined by various social factors which include the age at which women begin and stop child bearing, the interval between births, the total number of pregnancies in a woman's life time and the economic, religious, educational and family circumstances in which the woman lives.

Pregnancy and childbirth could result in tears in the vagina, and urethral walls, leading to urinary and faecal incontinence, a prevalent condition in many developing countries. It is estimated that every year, more than 150 million women become pregnant in the developing countries. Almost 500,000 of them die of pregnancy related causes and 50 million will suffer significant complications including vesico-vaginal and recto-vaginal fistulae.

According to WHO (1994b), seven million prenatal deaths occur annually, usually as a result of maternal health problems. Most of these occur in the developing countries. WHO (1994a), also reported a technical working group on maternal health and safe motherhood programme which stated that pregnant women in Africa and Asia are faced with a risk of up to 200 times more maternal deaths than those living in industrialized countries. Due to the high fertility rates in developing countries, the life time risk of maternal mortality in Africa may be as many as 1 in 22 compared to 1 in 6,000 in Northern Europe.

In 1997, UNFPA reported that more than 585,000 women died each year from pregnancy related causes. For each death, at least 13 women suffered from serious threats to their health especially in the developing countries. Whereas, according to WHO (1989), in the countries where emergency care is more accessible and fewer women die, just about 3,000 women may suffer ill health from pregnancy related causes for each maternal death. Those that survive, suffer high prevalence of chronic Pelvic Inflammatory Disease (PID) and secondary infertility.

According to Guenther and Brandrup (1993), where there is ill health in a woman, pregnancy is to be avoided. However, unplanned and unwanted pregnancies occur, thereby, threatening the lives of women. They stated that unwanted pregnancies have dramatic consequences, usually more for the mothers than for the fathers of the children. Many women thus resort to clandestine abortions, causing an estimated 300,000 deaths worldwide per year. UNFPA's Report (1997), stated that about 70,000 women die each year as a result of unsafe abortion.

In some Nigerian cultures, especially among the Hausa and Fulani, women are encouraged to have children in the privacy of their homes based on a cultural requirement that a woman should deliver her first child in her mother's house. These socio-cultural practices are harmful to such new mothers. Consequently, deformity and often, death result from obstruction and complications that cannot be remedied. Some pregnancies end up with macerated babies which leave the mother in an unsatisfactory emotional condition. The most risky of such pregnancies include pregnancies before the age of 18 years and after the age of 35 years, too closely spaced

pregnancies and too many pregnancies. These result in complications like anemia, eclampsia, malnutrition, and VVF/RVF (UNFPA, 1997:19).

Kullima, Kawuwa, Geidam and Mairiga (2010), in a study of trends in maternal mortality in tertiary institutions of learning, reported that Nigeria was globally ranked 2nd after India with an estimated number of maternal deaths being 58,500 in 2005. In Africa, Nigeria had the highest maternal mortality ratio of well over 1,000 per 100,000 deliveries. According to Harrison (1997), the northern part of the Nigeria is the worst hit, with an estimated maternal mortality ratio of 2,151 per 100,000; 2,337 per 100,000 and 2,420 per 100,000 deliveries in Sokoto, Makurdi and Kano respectively.

From another institutional study in Jos, in Northern Nigeria, Kullima, Kawuwa, Geidam and Mairiga (2010) found that though the maternal mortality ratio was lower for the northern region; there was a significantly increasing trend over just four years at different periods, rising from 450 per 100,000 in 1990 to 1,060 per 100,000 deliveries in 1994. Zozulya (2012), identified eclampsia as the most common cause of maternal mortality in northern Nigeria, while haemorrhage and unsafe abortion constituted the common causes of maternal mortality in southern Nigeria.

In a study on the state of political priority for safe motherhood in Nigeria, Shiffman and Okonofua (2007) reported that despite having only 2% of the world's population, Nigeria contributes 10% of the world's maternal deaths. Each year, as many as 60,000 Nigerian women died due to pregnancy-related complications.

According to a report of UNFPA (2000) on improving maternal health, most Nigerians are poor, and most of the poor are women living in rural areas where maternal mortality rates are more than twice those of urban areas. Many of them cannot pay for their health care services. Hence, women, new born and young children in Nigeria continue to die due to poverty.

Early marriage and too closely spaced pregnancies are among the factors that threaten the lives of Nigerian women. Obinna (2012), in her report on Safe Motherhood as a need for accessing quality prenatal and delivery services, recalled a case of Maymuna who, at the age of 15years, was forced into marriage to a 65-year old husband who, like Maymuna, could neither read nor write. Maymuna got pregnant but could not get help at the right time when contraction started. She developed haemorrhage and eventually both she and her baby died. She estimated that in Northern Nigeria, 53,000 women and 250,000 newborn babies die mostly as a result of preventable causes. These causes can partly be prevented by educating men and women on maternal health issues and equipping the health centres.

Another case reported by Obinna (2012), was that of a 22-year old Joy, a First School Leaving Certificate holder who got married at the age of 20 years. A year later, she gave birth to her first baby. The following year, she was pregnant again but developed complications during labour due to short spacing of her pregnancies. Such errors require that enlightenment campaigns should be intensified on the need for spacing pregnancies.

Shiffman and Okonofua (2007), in their advocacy on the opening of a policy window for safe motherhood in Nigeria, stated that Nigerian safe motherhood advocates confront adverse health and political conditions that create high mortality levels, even by sub-Saharan African standards, which make their work particularly challenging. A 1999 study as reported by Shiffman and Okonofua (2007), estimated a maternal mortality rate (MMR) of 704 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births. They concluded the socio-cultural factors that emphasize having children within the confines of the home need to be discouraged.

In the year 2000, the World Health Organization ranked the performance of Nigeria's health care system 187th among 191 United Nations member States (WHO 2000). Agunbiade (2012), in assessing Nigeria's maternal and child health statistics worldwide, reported that the maternal and child health statistics are among the most challenging problems faced globally.

2.3 Harmful Cultural Practices Affecting Childbirth and Child Rearing

Smith (2004), in his work on contradiction in Nigeria's fertility transition, gave a number of rationales behind having large numbers of children. The reasons included love of children and the need to have at least one son, the importance of having children to perpetuate one's name or lineage, having enough children to ensure diverse set of prospects for offspring survival, and the hope that investment in having children would provide assistance in old age.

UNICEF (2007), in its situation analysis of Nigerian infertility/demographic transition reported that in all Nigerian cultures, a high premium is placed on children. A

marriage with children is said to be fruitful while that without children is unfortunate and a source of calamity for the couple. In addition, children are an important sign of individual's worth. In the event of infertility the absence of children is an undoing of the couple. The woman bears the brunt of the misfortune, often leading to social disgrace and divorce.

Culture plays an important role in determining what mothers go through. After going through the rigors of pregnancy and childbirth, mothers are faced with the culturally prescribed rigors of child socialization. The process of socialization especially in the Nigerian context usually lasts for a long time, and the roles widen with every stage. These roles often result in frustration and depression. According to Baumslag and Michels (1992), this problem is very much experienced in developing countries where husbands expect their wives to bear as many children as they (husbands) wish because of the bride wealth paid for their wives. The more children mothers are able to bear the better for them.

The experiences of mothers are worse where son preference is involved. The practice of son preference affects women's health. For example, Oluwabamide and Eghafoma (2003), in their study on eradicating harmful cultural practices in Uyo, Akwa Ibom State of Nigeria, found that preference for male children plays a major role in devaluing of female children. Son preference according to them originated from the patrilineal kinship system where fathers were expected to have as many helping hands as possible on their farms. The effect of male child preference on the health of mothers is much and it results in high rate of mortality, low growth rate for girls who are given less attention, and psychological imbalance for mothers who do not have male

children (Haughton and Haughton, 1995; Ogunbodede, 2004). Often, the lives of women are threatened by cultural expectations. The expectations of the husbands to have many children combine with some other socio-cultural practices to threaten the lives of women.

2.4 The Burden of Broken Homes and Single Parenthood on Mothers

The issue of broken homes has become a burden to mothers as they bring up their children. For instance in Algeria, women who raise children alone face extreme economic and personal difficulties. Under the Islamic Law, especially in Algeria, when a man divorces his wife, the custody of the children is granted to the mother. But the man takes the children any time he feels that she is not raising them 'properly'. She has to stay close to him spatially so that he can check on her as often as he wishes. Consequently, her freedom to either move to another location or establish a new life pattern is denied (El-Sa'adawawi, 1990). In Nigeria, the custody of the children is decided by the law depending on the children's ages and situations, without restriction on the mother's movement. In the case of widowhood however, the deceased husbands' heirs in most cases, are only interested in the properties of the deceased to be inherited including the wife for co-lateral males' members.

Widowhood is therefore another source of unpleasant experience for mothers. Hellandendu and Kantiyok (1995), in their study of widows of immigrants as single parents in Zaria found that widows who have children faced worse conditions than those who did not have. In most cases, the late husband's properties are confiscated by the late husband's relatives while the widow has to engage in either petty trading, sale of labour, farming, prostitution or other jobs to take care of the children.

The situation is worse where large numbers of children are involved, especially when the widow was not willing to be inherited by her late husband's kinsmen. Oloruntimehin (1994), for example, in her study of widows in Ibibio families, reported that if the widow does not accept to be inherited by one of the late husband's relatives, she is asked to vacate the family compound with her children. On the other hand, in some parts of Rivers, Cross River and Akwa Ibom States, a widow cannot re-marry even if she wants to, because she hails from the same place with her deceased husband. For a non-ethnic widow, the properties are all taken away from her. She is expected to take her children to any place she wants to live and fend for them. In any case, the widow is forced against her wish to either stay within the family or forced out of the family with the children. By implication, the widows are exposed to economic difficulties in their bid to raise the children.

Single girls who become pregnant and bear children, face the hardships of child rearing and the expectations of motherhood. In some cases, girls who become single parents abandon the babies for the fear of anger/rejection by parents (who try to save the image of the family), and violence by the fathers of the babies who shun responsibilities. However, prison sentences for baby dumpers are passed on such mothers who are termed murderers but not on the fathers of the babies who dump both mothers and the babies (Oloruntimehin, 1994).

2.5 Institutional Biases against Mothers

Women are faced with negative conditions in various societal institutions when they are playing their motherhood roles. Some government policies on reproduction create negative conditions in health care institutions for women of reproductive age. For

example, in countries which are faced with the problems of overpopulation, like India and Egypt, a married mother who violates the laid down laws on the number of children she should produce, is punished by the government, but the father is not punished. El-Sa'adawawi (1990), in her report on working mothers in erstwhile Egypt, stated that, a working mother is deprived by law of maternity benefits and other rights such as promotion, periodic salary increase among others. In the bid to control their fertility, mothers are also faced with constraints that constitute obstacles for them.

In the Arab countries for example, a woman might be told that the government encourages contraception and family planning and yet, faces numerous obstacles such as economic, social, cultural and religious hindrances to contraception. As a result, most women of reproductive age in Arab countries live in anxiety, for fear of another pregnancy and a burden of a new child to care for (El-Sa'adawawi, 1990). Generally, women who bear children are handicapped regarding reproductive health decision-making. The women are left on their own to deal with the problems of getting the contraceptives which they know very little about, taking them and suffering the side effects. Whenever an unwanted pregnancy occurs, the woman is faced with the danger of going through abortion, under unsuitable conditions without adequate medical care, given that abortion is not allowed. There is also the problem of high hospital bills to pay in those societies where reproduction is regulated.

In some countries where there are no laid down laws on the number of children a family should have (but where the government desires to reduce the population), contraceptives are provided to women without their consent. For example, a South African woman narrated her ordeal that:

When you gave birth in a hospital, the doctor would give you a contraceptive injection without asking you whether you wanted it, or how many more kids you wanted to have. In cases where desired contraceptives are lacking and unwanted pregnancies occur, the women received negative sanctions from the health care providers (Berer M., Ravindram T. K. S. 1999:10).

Similarly, a midwife who had been working in a Health section of a Detention Centre in South Africa described how women were allegedly coerced to be injected with Depo-Provera, and how there seemed to be no counseling on the possible side effects of the drugs (Berer and Ravindram,1999:10). Thus some of the problems faced by mothers are caused by health care providers.

Some health care providers are so unfriendly with their clients that expectant mothers find them uncaring, rude and unsympathetic. Consequently, they prefer to be attended to by Traditional Birth Attendants, thereby risking serious complications for mothers and their babies. For example, Biego (1995) in Mfuh (2009) in a study conducted in Tanzania, found that 21% of the women delivered at home because of the rudeness of health staff, even though they thought that delivery in a health facility was safer.

Religious institutions play significant roles in the experiences of mothers. In the Nigerian social context, some religions preach against the use of artificial contraception, thereby encouraging unwanted pregnancies. For example, Catholicism emphasizes calendar method which requires knowing the periods that are safe and their signs. Most users are non-literates so it does not work for them. Even the Traditional Religion and traditional healers are not left out in exploiting the ignorance mothers, thereby, subjecting them to untold hardship. According to El-mouelhy (1990:10), traditional healers are known for playing on the ignorance of mothers on

reproductive issues. For example, high fever among children is attributed to unfaithfulness by mothers, which confers stigma of unfaithfulness on such mothers.

Where contraceptives fail and pregnancy results, it could be devastating for mothers.

For working mothers for example, the impact of pregnancy is both physical and psychological. Early pregnancy could be accompanied by nausea and excessive salivation thereby causing loss of weight and poor health. The work schedule may be disrupted by ante natal clinic attendance which makes some bosses hostile towards the pregnant mother to be. Some women may be victims of pregnancy complications necessitating absence from work while away for treatment. Pregnancy problems, labour and certain changes occur during Labour and delivery ultimately resulting in hormonal changes which give rise to emotional instability and sometimes post-natal depression.

This situation is made worse following an arduous labour and ultimate delivery by cesarean section, which in turn necessitates absenteeism from work for a long time. The mothers affected often lose their chances of promotion and training. Maternity leave itself has always been a controversial issue which reduces the women's chances to be employed. Those women who are employed in developing countries are denied some benefits because it is assumed that they are not as productive as men (Ogedengbe, Giwa-Osagie, Usifoh and Solanke, 1998).

The world's poorest women are not merely poor; they live on the edge of subsistence. They are dependent economically, politically and are legally powerless. As mothers they are caught in a life cycle that begins with early marriage and its various negative

consequences which often lead to death in the process of giving birth (El-mouelhy, 1990: 10). According to Greer (1999), in Britain, despite the good prospects, one out of four children is facing the challenges of poverty. A mother, who is bringing up her children with the proceeds of her labour, comes under scrutiny as if she is a paid employee. A mother who cannot cope would take the children to care centres. The mothers are terrified into admitting that they are having difficulties in bringing up the children. Consequently, the children are taken away.

Institutional violence contributes a lot in exposing mothers to reproductive hardship, for example in institutions of learning, especially in secondary schools where some teachers and students sexually harass and impregnate female students, the girls are expelled as a result of which their future is rendered hopeless. Those of them who carry the pregnancy to term, suffer single parenthood while others who attempt abortion may die or get deformed. However, since there is no policy that strongly defines men's punishment, those who impregnate the girls are indifferent to the girls' plight and continue their career undisturbed (Engel, 1987:794).

Like other institutions, religion emphasizes the roles of mothers. From the Christian perspective, children are a gift from God. They are entrusted into the hands of their parents for a purpose. Mothers are expected therefore, to be faithful caretakers in all respects. Mothers have greater roles to play in the lives of their children than fathers (Kanda, 1994). According to this researcher "religion places men and women in different divine positions, with different roles. According to Kanda (1994), the Letter of St. Paul to the Galatians (Galatians 3:28) states that "so there is no difference

between Jews and Gentles, between slaves and free people, between men and women, you are all one in union with Christ Jesus". This dissolution of patriarchal hierarchy that gives equal value to women and men was however countered by the same St. Paul's letter to Timothy that:

Let a woman learn in silence with all submissiveness. I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over men; she is to keep silent. For Adam was formed first then Eve and Adam was not deceived but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor. Yet woman will be saved by child bearing (The Holy Bible, 1 Timothy 2: 11-15).

By implication, the roles of a woman are those of passivity, submissiveness and silence as in the case of some cultural expectations that have been mentioned by St. Paul's letter to Timothy which require that a woman should be able to bear all pains without complaints. She is only recognized and loved if she is able to bear children. Hence, mothers readily bear any pain that comes with childbearing and child rearing. The Martyr syndrome makes them ready to die for the sake of children.

According to Osuala (1990), the Old Testament law defines a 'woman' as ritually impure and excluded from any contact with men and sacred places during menstruation and after child delivery, yet the message that continues to come across the pulpit, from male preacher is that women's primary vocation is motherhood; a calling unmatched by the vocation for men to fatherhood; that careers for women are allowable for economic necessity. Women are socialized to believe that their role is that of motherhood, and the more children a woman has, the more attached and faithful the husband will be, and the more secured the woman will feel.

Institutional biases against mothers are extended to Health Centres where mothers seek help, as in a case of a 28-year old diabetic mother of 5 children in Nicaragua for

whom other contraceptive techniques were unsuitable except tubal ligation. Four hospitals she visited rejected her demands for reasons ranging from non-availability of the services, to prohibition of the procedure for religious reasons. She eventually died in childbirth (Osuala, 1990:5). This shows clearly that the society and significant others contribute to the problems of mothers. These problems are believed to be culturally created, and are perpetuated through the judiciary, another institution used against mothers. Baumslag and Michels (1992), in their study of the involvement of the judiciary in marital issues in America, recounted a story of a woman who found her three year old daughter being sexually molested by her husband. The court she reported to, did not believe her. The judge called her paranoid, even though the child had gonorrhoea. She took the child and fled but was apprehended by the authority. Her former husband was given the custody of the child. She was allowed only occasional visits. She realized that mothers were often punished as they attempted to protect their children.

2.6 Maternal Mortality in Northern Nigeria

Between 2003 and 2007, it was estimated that Bauchi State recorded one of the highest maternal mortality rates in Nigeria. This constituted 1,547 deaths for every 100,000 live births. The State is considered one of the most backward in the country in terms of quality health care, which experts attribute to social, cultural and economic factors including gender inequality in accessing food among other things (Orude, 2013).

According to the report of a health worker, as a case study of a mother of five children in Bauchi named Khadijat, who expressed the sufferings of pregnant women,

Khadijat narrated that “our women are really suffering. Some have to be brought here on donkeys during labour, and before they get to the hospital, they have lost so much blood and they die” It was believed that most maternal deaths could be avoided in northern Nigeria Orude (2013).

Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (2011), identified the main causes of maternal death especially in Northern Nigeria, and were optimistic that those causes could be avoided. The causes included deaths due to sepsis, eclampsia, ante-partum and post-partum haemorrhage and obstructed labour. According to the report, Northern Nigeria is one of the most dangerous places in the world to be an expectant mother. However, women who have had pre-natal care have a much better chance of delivering their babies safely. Reports from the delivery ward of Murtala Mohammed Specialist Hospital in Kano, Northern Nigeria, argued that the life and death of a mother and child depend on more than just the expertise of the medical staff. Another factor as stated, was whether or not the women have received pre-natal advice which is considered very significant.

The lack of pre-natal advice and ante-natal care leaves some mothers with macerated babies. Figures from UNICEF (2007), show that the number of women who died from pregnancy-related causes between 2005 and 2009, was 100, 000 per live births. Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (2011), cited Columbia University on maternal and newborn health in Northern Nigeria and they identified cultural beliefs and birth practices as contributing factors to maternal morbidity. These practices and their effects are more pronounced in the Northern parts than in the southern parts of Nigeria.

However, the reality remains that for the educated and wealthy individuals, maternal death is much lower than for the poor who are the majority. The highest proportion (53.2%) of maternal deaths compared to other deaths according to Idris, Tyoden, Ejembi. and Taylor. (2010), was found in the age group between 20 and 24 years. This was documented by their study on estimation of maternal mortality, using the indirect sisterhood method in three communities in Kaduna State of Northern Nigeria. The findings within this age group could be related to the realization that they were within child bearing age. It was also reported that low level of education was a contributing factor in maternal mortality, since knowledge empowers people to make informed choices about their health, the lack of it keeps mothers in dependency.

2.7 Kinship System and Motherhood

The first proposition in the explication of kinship system is that in the beginning, humanity lived in a state of sexual promiscuity. Lineage therefore, could be reckoned only through the female line according to the mother right. Secondly, the promiscuity excluded all certainty of paternity, thereby making lineage only traceable through the female line. The third proposition is that women as mothers are regarded as the only definitely ascertainable parents of the younger generation; therefore, they should be treated with a high degree of consideration and respect. Fourthly, that the transition to monogamy where the woman belongs exclusively to one man, implied the violation of a primeval religious injunction (violation of the ancient traditional right of another man to the same woman). This transition according to Engel (1884) transferred the mother's right to father's right (Mtika and Doctor 2001).

According to Nicolson (1994), it is the process of actually giving birth and caring for a baby that changes the women's sense of themselves, their values and beliefs. In essence, motherhood has been part of most women's identities since childhood although many did not know what motherhood was like until they became mothers. It then follows that the fact of becoming a mother is not a surprise for any woman because it was anticipated. What was never anticipated by the women who looked forward to becoming mothers was the chain of additional responsibilities and duties which limit their power in both public and private sector, subjecting them to men's rule especially in patriarchal societies where the legal and traditional power over women and children is held by men.

Although women's dependency has been associated with patriarchy, the powerlessness of mothers is not only restricted to the patriarchal system. Even in matrilineal communities, women are lower "culturally" in status than their brothers, therefore less influential in the social organization. Although every kinship system defines its ideology; mothers' experiences are similar everywhere but at different proportions. They are influenced by certain factors and conditions under which they play their motherhood roles. For example, in a report on the social conditions of contemporary motherhood, it was argued that contemporary motherhood exists within clearly prescribed social contexts.

According to Obienyem (2010), in most cultures, married women are expected to have children, and most of them desire to fulfill that expectation. Those who do not have children may be seen as odd or abnormal, whether they fail to conceive by choice or through infertility.

The different ideologies dictate the acceptable features of each kinship system. For example, Murphy, Steers and Stritto (2001), in their study of son preference in rural China, found that son preference is a feature of the patrilineal family system found in many countries in East and South Asia. In these families, adult sons stay with their aged parents and cater for their welfare while the daughters marry into their husbands' households to continue their husbands' lineages.

Mtika and Doctor (2002), saw kinship as a kind of network and ties, as conduits for resource pooling and wealth exchanges. They are mechanisms by which people solve their problems, and ensure that the kinsmen adhere to and respect the obligations and norms of the kins groups. In their report on matriliney, patriliney and wealth flow variations in rural Malawi, they stated that under matrilineal system, children usually transfer more wealth to their maternal uncles and aunts (maternal relatives). The reverse is the case under patrilineal system.

They concluded their report by stating that, with changes in the mode of production, the expectations of marriage and motherhood contradicted the experiences of mothers as well as the flow of wealth. For example, the individualistic behaviour that emerged from the privatization of production and consumption activities shows that lineage systems have little influence on transfer of wealth (mtika and Doctor 2002).

Other influential factors affecting the flow of wealth include the effects of migration, unemployment, harsh economic conditions, access to education among other factors which influence the systems thereby, affecting the norms and values of the society. The findings of Mtika and Doctor (2002), further revealed that mothers in industrial

and non-industrial (urban and rural societies) are oppressed; hence, dissatisfaction which in turn affected their mental health. On the African family and the changing status of women, Wuriara (1997:140) in his study on African Family and the Status of Women's Health, reported that the roles that women play in the society have direct consequences on their health. The environment within which they operate also aggravates or reduces their health risks in addition to the implication it has on their social, personal identity and rights.

They may have particular responsibilities but not the accompanying rights to choose how the mother or whether to mother all. Where mothering becomes actualized, motherhood carries with it certain power, responsibilities and satisfaction that child-rearing brings as well as the boredom, hard work and pain. The practice of mothering entails daily experiences of child care associated with tasks which can be difficult and may lead to depression and unhappiness.

2.8 Theoretical Framework

Theories from emotional, experiential and political perspectives have been useful in assessing the way maternal roles are constructed and executed. Psychoanalytic theories for example, examine the mother's unconscious actions in bringing up her children, as it explores her deep attachment to her children, the mother's actual experience of child rearing is identified as well as the way the society and culture affect motherhood.

From the standpoint of psychoanalysis, Freud (1949), described the mother as the child's primary love object and the parent most responsible for its optimal development. He argued that in the early years of his life, the male child maintains close relationship with

the mother. As time goes on, oedipal conflict sets in. at such period the boy child renounces the love of his mother in the fear of his more powerful father, thereby, shifting his attachment to his father, or appearing to be doing so.

Similarly, the girl child follows suit. She also moves away from her mother who now appears to be powerless and to some extent, castrated. The ideas of Freud about the difference between male and female behaviour laid a foundation for many other theories on motherhood. Despite the fact that the psychoanalytic theory and psychological experiences of the mother, brought about by the oedipal detachment are important in explaining the situations of mothers, they do not explore all that there is in motherhood quest, and the implications of being a mother. The seeming rejection of the mothers by their children never makes them change their minds on striving to have children at all cost.

In view of this, the Martyr syndrome of Olusanya (1989), is considered most appropriate for the study of motherhood with regards to mothers' experiences of joy and burdens accorded by child- birth and child rearing. This framework suggests that the expected benefits of having children outweigh the costs or consequences of socializing them in the society.

The martyr syndrome presupposes that Africans have high values of socio-cultural needs for children based on the expected benefits of procreation. The primary benefits expected are those of perpetuating the family name and the continuity of the society which would be extinct if there is no procreation. In family union, children give social and psychological satisfaction to parents, especially the mother; she is considered more

blessed and more attached to her matrimonial family than a childless woman. Under this, the hardships of having children are immaterial to mothers, especially when it is viewed in the context of morality that God will provide for the children. In turn, she must perform her procreative function even if it will cause her own death.

In most (if not all) Nigerian communities, and particularly in the Hausa community of Zaria, children provide the most important bond between a man and his wife. Child bearing therefore becomes a matter of life and death (Godswill, 1998). By implication women would still give their lives for children, that is, the martyr syndrome motivates women to do all that they can to be procreative even if the expected benefits of having them are not met (Olusanya, 1989). The martyr syndrome therefore, is most appropriate theory in explaining childbearing and motherhood in matrilineal, patrilineal and cognatic kinship systems.

Bachofen (1975), in demonstrating the mothers love, stated that their love is unconditional and their goodwill can be taken for granted. He further reiterated that for many millennia, in many parts of the world, women did, and still bring up very fine children without the help of the men. This goes to explain more about the burdens borne by mothers as they bring up children as quoted in Bachofens's write up:

Mom has taken a terrific beating in the past few years, being blamed for everything, from crime in the streets to slumps on Wall Street. But the truth remains that mom is still by far the greatest influence for good in the life of every child, especially of her son (Bachofen, 1975:115).

From this standpoint, the Martyr Syndrome has an upper hand in the mother-children relationship. Freud (1935), described a mother as the child's primary love object. Bachofen (1975), opined that one hardly thinks of a great man in history who was not

either fatherless entirely, or was cut-off from his father for one reason or another as to have had no contact with him in his formative years. Even in classical myths, he stated, heroes and gods are reared exclusively by their mothers.

The psychoanalysis is strongly emphasized on the subconscious attitudes of mothers in bringing up children. It is also established that even in patriarchal society where the rights of the father are dominant; the young child instinctively regards the mother as the supreme authority. Children have to be taught how to love, honour and respect the father, a task usually assumed by the mother. If the children fail in the expectation of love for the father, the mother is blamed. For instance, the child-mother's love stands the test of time, and operates in a world of violence as the divine principle of love, peace and union. That is, in the event of unpleasant marital relationship, the love for children makes the mother more willing to remain in the relationship, thereby, cultivating love for her unloving husband.

This study is, consequently, based on the martyr syndrome perspective. This perspective conforms with the findings of a study conducted by Kantiyok (1995) among the Bajju women on their experiences of child birth and child rearing. The respondents opined that “a mother vulture dies on her eggs”, meaning that they would rather die in childbirth than in childlessness.

The study on social consequences of motherhood in the three Local Government Areas of Kaduna State highlights the experiences of mothers in childbirth, child rearing, the

joy and pains, the benefits and trauma that follow from the burdens borne by the mothers.

Besides the health and socio-economic consequences, mothers experience violence directed by husbands, neighbours, significant others and the children themselves as they struggle to cope with the roles of motherhood. Despite the hardship that majority of mothers go through, the expected benefits of having children outweigh the freedom from hardship by not having them.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The research is a comparative study of the consequences of motherhood in three different kinship systems namely, a matrilineal system in Gure settlement in Lere Local Government Area; a cognatic system in Baban Dodo Ward in Zaria Local Government Area; and a patrilineal system in Kaninkon settlement (Angwan Fari) in Jema'a Local Government Area, all in Kaduna State. The methodology chapter presents types and sources of data, description of the instruments for data collection, methods of data collection, sampling methods, methods of data analysis and problems encountered in the field.

3.2 Types and Sources of Data

The types of data collected for the study included quantitative data, collected through a survey questionnaire administered on mothers and qualitative data collected by the use of Focus Group Discussion (FGDs) and In-depth Interviews (IDIs).

3.3 Instruments for Data Collection

The instruments used for data collection included questionnaires for the survey, an interview guide, and an FGD guide. The questionnaire was administered to obtain quantitative information on the socio-demographic characteristics of the mothers, and what the mothers faced when they were bringing up children. For example, the roles they played and the forms of hardship they faced. In addition, expectations of care

and gifts from their grown up children as well as what they actually received. The instrument was also meant to investigate the strategies that the mothers used in order to cope with their additional material needs across the kinship systems. The in-depth interview guide was used for collecting information on the experiences of mothers during the upbringing of their children. The gifts and services they received from their grown up children and the general view of the value of having children and the assistance they received from the children.

3.4 Methods of Data Collection

Survey

The sample size for the study was 264. There were 100 respondents from the cognatic, 107 from the matrilineal and 57 from the patrilineal kinship systems respectively. The sample size for each of the kinship system was based on the availability of eligible respondents (mothers) required for the study.

In-depth Interviews

The essence of the in-depth interviews was to document particular cases of motherhood experiences by the respondents, these focused on various forms of emotional, physical abuses and violent acts directed by either their own children, their husbands, or traditional healers or neighbours on account of their being mothers to children who either needed to be treated for ailment, misbehavior to neighbours. The outcome of the aspects of mothers' experiences and the factors that led to them were of interest in the study.

Focus Group Discussions

Three sets of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted with mothers aged 25 years or younger, 26 to 40 years (most of them, still giving birth), 41 years or older (most of them post-menopausal women for each of the three kinship systems). A total number of nine sessions of FGDs were therefore conducted among the three kinship systems. Each session comprised of 10-12 discussants. The essence was to find out whether having children gives women the desired advantages that are expected to accompany childbearing or otherwise in each kinship system among the various age groups.

3.5 Sampling Methods

Quota sampling techniques was used in selecting the sample of the survey. The sampling was based on the availability of the respondents. The respondents were obtained by demarcating the study area and having a list of mothers in all age categories to be involved. For example, mothers who have brought up children, from various educational levels, occupational levels and from different religious affiliations.

Hausa Cognatic Kinship System

There are eight gates leading into Zaria City which are very important in defining the demarcations of the wards in the city. The gates are known as Kofar Doka, Kofar Kibo, Kofar Jatau, Kofar Kuyanbana, Kofar Gayan, Kofar Kuna, Kofar Bai and Kofar Galadima. Each of the areas (gates) is demarcated using the name 'Anguwa' to separate one section from the others. By the use of random sampling the gates (Kofa) were selected in order to sample some anguwan (wards) within the domain of Babban

Dodo ward. The 'Kofar' meaning 'gate of' included Kofar Doka, Kofar Kibo, Kofar Bai, Kofar Kuyanbana. From the 150 women that were assembled, 100 mothers were selected for the study on account of their experiences of childbirth and children's upbringing.

Kaninkon Patrilineal and Gure Matrilineal Kinship Systems

In Jema'a (Kaninkon) and Lere (Gure) where the streets are poorly defined, the houses were systematically selected. In some cases, sons live in family compounds with their wives. In such cases, all mothers who had children were selected. That is, selection was based on availability, because the women were not readily assembled at a given place and time due to the various economic ventures that they engage in. that is why availability was a strong alternative for the sampling.

3.6 Selection of Mothers for Focus Group Discussion

The mothers who participated in the FGDs were selected, and the selection was done through the help of women leaders of the communities with the approval from the male ward heads (Mai'angwa). This was done to build more confidence in the participants and to voluntarily seek their consents as well as create more rapport.

The village heads and other influential community members were consulted for identification of the respondents for in-depth interviews which was based on availability of mothers who have had personal experiences of childbearing, child rearing in position to have received the benefits of having children and experienced one form of abuse or another. For the case studies of mothers' experiences with

abusive husbands and children, some affected mothers provided the information and in some cases, relations and neighbours did.

3.7 Methods of Data Analysis

The quantitative data were analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 17. The survey was analyzed by the use of SPSS using frequency distribution tables with percentages and bivariate tables to compare the situations in the three kinship systems. The FGDs were transcribed and triangulated along with the in-depth interviews to present case studies. This was to complement the findings from the survey on various objectives of the study.

3.8 Problems Encountered in the Field

One of the problems was that of repeated visits before obtaining information, especially in Gure and Kaninkon communities because of the mothers' involvement in farming and other economic activities that take them out of their communities.

Being rural communities where women engage in farm work all the year round, (clearing the farm after harvest during dry season), and cultivating and planting during the rainy season), getting women's attention in Gure and Kaninkon areas was difficult. There were several visits before meeting some women at home to obtain the information desired. However, direct contacts could be made either with males or females, unlike in Zaria where the tradition restricts communication with women directly except through the use of male household guides during mobilization.

Another problem was that in the research communities, it took the researcher a lot of time to convince the people that this research is purely an academic exercise because there was a strong belief that it was a government sponsored program aimed at empowering women. To this end, some of the women accepted and opened up while others did not, those who refused to open up were therefore replaced.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS ON THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF MOTHERHOOD IN MATRILINEAL, PATRILINEAL AND COGNATIC KINSHIP SYSTEMS IN KADUNA STATE, NIGERIA.

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is focused on the analysis of the data obtained from the field work. The findings are presented in sections which include the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents; the value attached to having children, the expected and real support received by mother from their children; the comparison of the support that the mothers received from their children; across kingship system, the burdens borne by mothers while bringing up children; abusive acts perpetrated by children against their own mothers; and the measures taken by distressed mothers to cope with their financial needs across the kinship systems.

Questionnaires were administered to compare the experiences of mothers in the three kinship systems. There were 100 for the cogatic Hausa, 107 for the matrilineal Gure, and 57 in the patrilineal Kaninkon, bringing the total number of the survey to 264. The respondents, were drawn from varying age groups, marital statuses, religious affiliations, educational levels and occupational categories. In addition to the survey, in-depth interviews and Focus Group Discussions were conducted in each of the three study communities in order to obtain qualitative data to supplement the quantitative data. The in-depth interviews were meant to document particular instances and forms of mothers' experiences.

In the presentation of the findings both monovariate and bivariate analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data were used. The interpretative analysis of both the

quantitative and qualitative data is also done. The socio-demographic characteristics of respondents are presented in frequency tables. Case studies of instances of abuses and favours are cited using fictive names for comparing the roles and experiences of mothers in the various kinship systems and bear no relationship to the names of people who are involved.

4.2 Socio-demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Table 4.2: Socio-demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Option	Hausa (Cognatic)		Gure (Matrilineal)		Kaninkon (Patrilineal)		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Age								
Less than 15 years	6	6.0	3	2.9	2	3.6	11	4.2
15-24 years	16	16.0	14	13.1	7	12.3	37	14.0
25-34 years	29	29.0	32	29.9	19	33.3	80	30.3
35-44 years	15	15.6	23	21.5	15	26.3	53	20.1
45-54 years	17	17.0	11	10.3	9	15.8	37	14.0
Above 54 years	17	17.0	24	22.4	5	100.0	46	17.4
Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0	264	100
Marital Status								
Married	61	61.0	66	61.7	40	70.2	167	63.3
Widowed	16	16.0	17	15.9	6	10.5	37	14.8
Divorced	12	12.0	10	9.3	5	8.5	27	10.2
Single	-	-	11	3.7	2	3.5	13	4.9
Separated	6	6.0	8	7.5	4	7.0	18	6.8
Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0	264	100
Education								
No formal education	18	18.0	17	15.9	8	14.0	43	16.3
Islamic/Qur'anic	29	29.0	8	7.5	1	1.8	38	14.4
Primary	23	23.0	40	37.4	16	28.1	79	29.4
Some secondary	12	12.0	15	14.0	9	15.8	36	13.6
Completed	9	9.0	17	15.9	11	19.3	37	14.7
secondary	7	7.0	7	6.5	6	10.5	20	7.6
OND/NCE	2	2.0	3	2.8	6	10.5	11	4.2
Degree								
Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0	264	100
Occupation								
Unemployed	51	51.0	38	35.5	25	43.9	114	43.2
Petty trading	11	11.0	26	24.3	8	14.0	45	17.0
Civil servant	14	14.0	9	8.4	13	22.8	36	13.6
Self employed	12	12.0	29	27.1	9	15.8	50	18.9
Private sector	8	8.0	5	4.7	2	3.5	15	5.7
Farming	4	4.0	-	-	-	-	4	1.5
Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0	264	100
Religion								
Islam	85	85.0	23	21.5	1	1.8	109	41.3
Christianity	14	14.0	79	73.8	56	98.2	149	56.4
Others	1	1.0	5	4.7	-	-	6	2.3
Total	100	100.0	107	57	100	100.0	264	100

Ages of Respondents

According to the table showing the respondents, more respondents, (6.0%) in the cognatic Hausa kinship system became mothers at less than 15 years of age as against 2.9% and 3.6% in matrilineal Gure and patrilineal Kaninkon respectively. The disparity could be explained by the cultural expectation and practice of early marriage among the Hausa community.

Mothers aged 25 to 34 years formed the majority of the respondents across the kinship systems. There were 29 (29.0%), in cognatic Hausa, 32 (29.9%), in matrilineal Gure and 19 (33.3%) in patrilineal Kaninkon. This age group is at the peak of children bearing age, hence the formation of high proportion of the respondents across the study areas.

Marital Status

Across the kinship systems, married mothers formed the highest proportions of the respondents, 61 (61.0%) in cognatic Hausa kinship system, 66 (61.7%) in matrilineal Gure, and 40 (70.2%) in patrilineal Kaninkon. Widowed and divorced mothers form similarly lower proportions than the married mothers across the kinship systems, through higher in proportions than separated mothers.

There were similarly significant proportion of single mothers in 11 (3.7%) in matrilineal Gure and 2 (3.5%) in patrilineal Kaninkon respectively, but there was none in cognatic Hausa kinship system. This suggests that although single motherhood is frowned at across the three kinship systems, it is stigmatized by matrilineal Gure and patrilineal Kaninkon than in cognatic Hausa kinship system, which explains why single mothers owned up in the Gure and Kaninkon potential single mothers in

cognate Hausa kinship system are married off before they become single mothers in order to avoid shame and ridicule.

Level of Education

The table on the levels of education shows that the proportions of mothers with no formal education were similar across the three kinship systems, 12 (18.0%) in the cognate Hausa, 17 (15.9%) matrilineal Gure, and 8 (14.0%) patrilineal Kaninkon respectively. The cognate Hausa kinship system had the higher proportion of mothers with Islamic education, 29 (29.0%) as against 8 (7.5%) and 1 (1.8%) in matrilineal Gure and patrilineal Kaninkon. Generally across the three kinship systems, there was a high level of illiteracy. Only 9 (9.0%) of the mothers in cognate Hausa, 17 (15.9%) in matrilineal Gure and 11 (19.3%) in patrilineal Kaninkon had completed Secondary School education. Those mothers with higher levels of education were insignificantly lower in proportion across the kinship systems. Hence the majority of the mothers struggled with poverty as they brought up their children.

Level of Occupation

The table shows that the majority of mothers across the three kinship systems, 51 (51.0%) in cognate Hausa, 38 (35.5%) in matrilineal Gure, and 25 (43.9%) in patrilineal Kaninkon respectively were unemployed. Others engaged in petty trading and self-employment in some business ventures. The patrilineal Kaninkon had the highest proportion of mothers who were in Civil Services, 13 (22.8%) as against 14 (14.0%) in matrilineal Gure and 9 (8.4%) in cognate Hausa respectively. The high proportions of employed mothers in Kaninkon and Hausa kinship systems are due to the urban nature of their communities. Few of the respondents were employed in the

Private Sector. They constituted 8 (8.0%) in cognatic Hausa, 5 (4.7%) in matrilineal Gure, and 2 (3.5%) in patrilineal Kaninkon.

Farming was not viewed by the respondents as women's occupation. Although mothers in matrilineal Gure and patrilineal Kaninkon engaged in farm work, the land, the produce and the proceeds belong to their husbands except the crops they grow within their backyards for family consumption. The 4 (4.0%) of the mothers in cognatic Hausa kinship system who engage in farming as an occupation, financed the activities while male relations coordinated the actual work for them. The farming so mentioned constituted poultry and rearing of domestic animals.

Religious Affiliation

Christianity and Islam were the two main religions practiced within the communities in the study areas. Islam was practiced 85 (85.0%) of the mothers in cognatic Hausa kinship system, 23 (21.5%) in matrilineal Gure, and 1 (1.8%) in patrilineal Kaninkon. There were higher concentrations of Christians in matrilineal Kaninkon 56 (98.2%) than in cognatic Hausa with 14 (14.0%), 1 (1.0%) of respondents in cognatic Hausa and 5 (4.7%) in matrilineal Gure did not indicate their religious backgrounds, though they clearly indicated that they were neither Christians nor Muslims.

4.3 Value of Having Children for the Mothers

All the mothers across the kinship systems stated that they wanted children because of the expectation that children will help them in their old age. The support that the mothers expected from their children included: Care of mothers at old age, care of younger siblings, sustaining family name, providing food for the family, building a good house for the family, protecting the family from external attacks and

strengthening the parents' marital bonds Mothers enumerated the kinds of support that they expected their children to render to them as shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Support that mothers expected from their grown-up children

Support expected by children		Ethnic Group							
		Hausa		Gure		Kaninkon		Total	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Care of parents	Yes	83	83.0	90	84.1	52	91.2	325	85.2
	No.	17	17.0	17	15.9	5	8.8	29	14.8
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0	354	100.0
Care of the younger siblings	Yes	86	86.0	87	81.3	53	93.0	226	85.6
	No	14	14.0	20	18.7	4	7.0	38	14.4
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0	354	100.0
Sustaining family name	Yes	38	38.0	38	35.5	16	28.1	92	34.8
	No	62	62.0	69	64.5	41	71.9	172	65.2
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0	354	100.0
Providing food for the family	Yes	45	45.0	32	29.9	17	29.8	94	35.6
	No	55	55.0	75	70.1	40	70.2	170	64.4
	Total	100	100.0	107	108.0	57	100.0	354	100.0
Building a house for the family	Yes	47	7.0	47	43.9	12	21.1	106	40.2
	No	53	53.0	60	56.1	45	78.9	158	59.8
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0	354	100.0
Protecting parents from attacks	Yes	87	87.0	89	83.2	50	87.7	226	85.6
	No	13	13.0	18	16.8	7	12.3	38	14.4
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0	354	100.0
Strengthening parents	Yes	22	22.0	25	23.4	8	14.0	55	20.8
	No	78	78.0	82	76.6	49	86.0	209	79.2
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0	354	100.0

The kinds of support that mothers expected their children to render for them were realized in varying proportions as explicated below:

Taking Care of Parents at Old Age

The mothers expect that their children should take care of them in old age by providing food when they can no longer farm, nursing parents when they are sick, handle financial and other economic and social responsibilities that parents can no longer deal with. Old age is envisaged as a challenging stage of life when they will not

be able to continue with activities of daily living. Mothers from Hausa (cognatic) and Gure (matrilineal) communities were similar in expecting the kinds of support they should have from their children, 83.0% and 84.1% respectively expected care. The proportion of Kaninkon mothers who expected their children to take care of them at old age was 91.2%.

The discussants stated that it is a common practice in the patrilineal Kaninkon for old couples to live separately although not necessarily divorced. It is common for the eldest son to build his own house and move in with his nuclear family and his mother and leave the father with his younger wife/wives. During the sessions of FGDs, it was revealed that there is an adage in Kaninkon which states that “marriage to a husband precedes that to one’s children.” This is based on the custom that children, at a certain point in life take over the care of their mothers from the fathers. This practice is rare in the matrilineal and cognatic kinship systems where other relatives like uncles and aunts of various degrees of descents in the cognatic kinship) and brothers and cousins in the matrilineal kinship system are involved in taking care of distressed ever married females who are for one reason or another, no longer living with their respective husbands.

One of the elements of taking care of parents at old age includes taking care of younger siblings which otherwise would be done by age parents. The respondents across the lineage systems were similar in their expectation that their older children would take care of their younger siblings. The proportions were 81.3% (Gure), 86.0% (Hausa) and 93.0% (Kaninkon). The effect of patrilineal system which looks upon women and children as dependents of the head of the family especially in rural

communities makes Kaninkon mothers depend on adult children who are capable of shouldering responsibilities of taking care of their younger siblings. This accounts for the higher proportion of Kaninkon mothers who expected their children to take care of younger siblings than mothers in the cognatic and matrilineal systems.

Sustaining Family Name

Every family expects its members to be sustained, perpetually which is the strategy for sustaining the society. However, only a total of 34.8% mothers in the study saw sustaining family name as one of the benefits of having children. There was a significant difference in the way Kaninkon patrilineal lineage expected the sustaining of family name from the Gure and Hausa kinship systems respectively. The proportion of mothers from Kaninkon who expected their children to sustain family name was only 28.1%. The Hausa cognatic mothers had the highest percentage (38.0%), followed by Gure, (35.5%) in their expectation that their children should sustain the family name. Kaninkon is a purely patrilineal lineage system whose children take up their fathers' names invariably. In the Gure matrilineal and Hausa cognatic kinship systems, some children often adopt the mothers' brothers' names who brought them up.

It is however, to be noted that cognatic Hausa has had long established royal titles to which people were appointed by ascription. In the cases of Gure, chieftaincy titles had also existed which they acquired under Zazzau emirate. Kaninkon only started acquiring chieftaincy titles in the year 2001, with the creation of new Chiefdoms in the southern part of Kaduna state. Ascriptive titles therefore are associated with the desire to sustain the family name. All these kinship systems require children who will sustain the family names as well as the chieftaincy titles. There was no significant difference between Hausa and Gure in the expectation of sustaining family name.

Provision of Food for the Family

Another support expected by mothers in the study from their children is the provision of food for the family. The Hausa cognatic community has the highest proportion of mothers who had expressed this expectation (45.0%). The Gure (matrilineal) and

Kaninkon (patrilineal) communities were similar in their expectations, 29.9% and 29.8% of the mothers respectively. The dominant economic activities of Zaria, an urban area, farming, trading and hunting seem to influence the mothers' expectations in this regard.

Due to the urban nature of the cognatic community in Zaria, virtually every kind of food item has to be bought. Children are expected to assist their parents with food to complement what the parents can provide. On the other hand, Kaninkon (patrilineal) and Gure (matrilineal) communities being rural, dwellers engage in farming, thereby producing most of the foodstuff by themselves. Since men and women alike have the portions of the farm produce, the expectation of food from their children is of less significance than in the cognatic urban community.

Building a Good House for Parents

Among the expectations enumerated by the respondents is to have their children build good houses for them. The proportion of Hausa and Gure were similar in their expectations of houses to be built for them by their children (47.0% and 43.9%) respectively and Kaninkon (21.1%). Being an urban area, some of the Hausa families in Zaria live in rented houses and so appreciative of having their own personal houses built by their own children. One of the discussants in Zaria stated that the pride of every parent is to point to a personal house built by his or her children. The Kaninkon live in a rural setting where members live in their own personal houses, hence, the limited emphasis on providing shelter by their own children. In the matrilineal Gure community where children belong in their maternal kin groups, children may not

necessarily be interested in building houses in their fathers' places of residence. However, with the gradual transformation where children are identifying more with their paternal families, they are expected to contribute in providing shelter for their parents when feasible.

However, changes in social and economic situations make children from patrilineal and matrilineal kinship systems build their own separate houses rather than building in either of parents' family compounds. Besides, with the trends of certain events like inter-ethnic conflicts, religious crises, land disputes, and political career pursuits, more children prefer to identify with their paternal families in accordance with the dominance of the patriarchal ideology in Nigerian politics. Consequently, political aspirants' eligibility is measured by the level of contribution they render in their fathers' village like the construction of roads, schools, and the empowerment of groups among others. Building one's house in one's territory is an important indicator for identifying with one group which is considered politically and socially desirable.

Protection from External Attacks

One of the supports that the respondents expected from their grown up children is to protect them from external attacks. This in essence, is an upward transfer of services. In all the study areas, the proportion of women who expected protections was high (87.0%) in the Hausa cognatic community, 83.2% in Gure matrilineal community and 87.7% in Kaninkon community. In crisis situations, old people lack the strength to fight or protect themselves. This is regardless of kinship system. The fear of attack on mothers is real in the face of the numerous armed robbery and sporadic ethno-religious

crises and intra-communal civil strife's that have ravaged Lere, and Jema'a Local Government Areas in the 1990s as revealed by Godswill (1998). The grown up children are those who strategize in all respects to ensure that their territories, relatives and belongings are protected; hence, the high proportion of mothers across all the kinship systems who expect their children to protect them. This expected service from children constitutes an upward transfer of rewards.

Strengthening Parents' Marital Harmony

Some of the respondents in all the study communities expected that their children would strengthen their marital relationship which forms a base for their marital stability. The expectations were similar in Hausa community (20.0%) and Gure community (23.4%). It is the belief of the mothers in the study that children constitute a bond that reduces divorce and the tendency for domestic violence among other functions.

The expectation varied in Kaninkon community, a proportion of only 14.0% of the mothers expect. This difference is influenced by the patrilineal ideology where women occupy lower positions regardless of their motherhood statuses. In the course of the FGDs the discussants did not see any difference in the treatment of mothers and those who do not have children. The discussants even stated that some childless women are treated better. The notion that mothers and fathers are united by children is not therefore, applicable. For example, childless wives may be preferred by husbands who have had children and are primarily interested in romantic love. There are instances of wives/mothers whose husbands abandoned them with their children as in the case of Azumi. As narrated by a discussant in Kaninkon.

Azumi was a 46 year old mother of six children in unqwan Fari Kaninkon patrilineal Kinship village. Her husband Mallam Ali took a second wife, a childless widow at the time of marriage. The deceased husband of the widow was well-to-do, from whom the widow inherited a good portion of the late husband's estate, including a house. Mallam Ali moved from his house to live with his bride, leaving Azumi his wife to fend for her children alone.

In other instances, grown-up male children built their own houses and move their mothers to live with them as in the case of Zabiya. A 64 year old mother of eight children, Zabiya in the Hausa cognatic kinship system was the first wife of Mallam Zubairu. Her husband had three other wives who were still fertile. Zabiya's first son was a wealthy business man. He decided to build his own house outside the family compound and moved with his family and his mother with the consent of his father. Her other children were grown-ups and were all on their own. Such cases according to the discussants occurred frequently because some fathers had formed the habit of moving away from their homes to live elsewhere with other women. In the case of Zabiya, her son provided a shelter for her and reduced the marital conflict between her and her son's father.

4.4 Actual Forms of Assistance Rendered to Mothers by their Children

There were many forms of assistance which the mothers in the study communities expected from their children. While some of such expectations were never realized, others were received in various degrees. The actual percentage of mothers who got the various expected forms of support are shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Actual Forms of Support Mothers Received from their Children across Kinship Systems

Actual benefits		Ethnic Group							
		Hausa		Gure		Kaninkon		Total	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Providing food for family	Yes	14	14.0	16	15.0	12	21.1	223	84.1
	No	86	86.0	91	85.0	45	78.9	42	15.9
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Financial assistance	Yes	43	43.0	48	44.9	42	73.7	131	49.6
	No	57	57.0	59	55.1	15	26.3	133	50.4
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Providing clothing	Yes	9	9.0	12	11.2	8	14.0	235	89.0
	No	91	91.0	95	88.0	49	86.0	29	11.0
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Care of young siblings	Yes	5	5.0	6	5.6	1	1.8	252	95.6
	No	95	95.0	101	94.4	56	98.2	12	4.5
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Providing shelter	Yes	4	4.0	2	1.9			258	97.7
	No	96	96.0	105	98.1	57	100.0	6	2.3
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		

Provision of Food

A similar proportion of respondents 14% in Hausa community, 15.0% in Gure and 21.1% in Kaninkon received assistance of food. Hausa had the highest proportion of mothers who expected food, but had the lowest proportion of the mothers who reported actually being given food by their children. The individualistic nature of the urban community in which everyone fends for oneself and the economic hardship may militate organization of the children to have enough for themselves and be able to have space for their mothers.

Kaninkon mothers had the highest proportion (21.1%) of those who were given food assistance because of the proximity. They live within the community and the children farm for themselves and also for their parents. Perhaps, mothers were assisted in food production by their children. Although some of the children who live with their

parents hardly have money to give them, they assist them with unpaid family labour on the farms in the rural areas. Children in Kaninkon and Gure communities could organize their peer groups to work on the farms of their mothers.

Care of Young Siblings

Taking care of younger siblings was one of the expectations of the respondents from their children. This was done in negligible proportions for mothers who received this form of assistance across the kinship systems; Hausa (5.0%), Gure (5.6%) and Kaninkon (1.8%) Ability to take care of the younger siblings would depend on the ages of the older siblings and their material possessions. In any case, there was no significant difference in the proportion of mothers who reported receiving this form of assistance across the kinship systems. Another factor could be the general economic hardship which affects the ability of children to assist, considering that older siblings may not even have enough for themselves.

Provision of Shelter

Although the provision of shelter by children was expected by 35.5% of mothers across the three kinship systems on the whole, only 2.6% realized it. In the Hausa community 4.0% received the assistance of shelter, 1.9% of the Gure respondents got it, while there was none in the Kaninkon community. Most Kaninkon and Gure respondents live in their personal houses built on plots of land they hold in perpetuity in accordance with the customary law of land occupancy. Even those received by the Gure mothers hardly went beyond repairs of old leaking roofs. The Gure elites tend to

acquire personal plots of land to build modern homes for their individual families instead of building in the compound on family lands.

4.5 Actual Forms of Supports Rendered to Mothers by their Children across Kinship Systems

The expected and the actual forms of support that the mothers received varied across the kinship systems as shown in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Comparison of the Supports Mothers Received from their children

Expected and Actual Support Received by mothers		Ethnic Group					
		Hausa		Gure		Kaninkon	
		No	%	No	%	No	%
Providing food	Expected	45	45.0	32	29.9	17	29.8
	Actually Required	14	14.0	12	11.2	8	14.0
Taking care of younger siblings	Expected	86	86.0	87	81.3	53	93.0
	Received	5	5.0	12	11.2	1	1.8
Providing shelter (good house) for the family	Expected	47	47.0	47	32.9	12	21.1
	Obtained	4	4.0	2	1.9	-	-

Table 4.5 shows that while 45 (45.0%) of the Hausa mothers expected the support of provision of food from their children, only 14(14.10%) of mothers received food support from their children. Thirty-two (29.9%) of Gure mothers expected support of food, but only 12(11.2%) of the mothers got the support. Among the Kaninkon ethnic group, 17(29.8%) expected food support but the actual proportion who got it was 8(14.0%).

Taking Care of Younger Siblings

Care of younger siblings was one of the supports that mothers expected from their children. The proportion of Hausa mothers expecting this was 86% while the actual

was 5(5.0%). Eighty-seven (81.3%) of Gure mothers, expected their children to take care of their younger siblings, however, only 12(11.2%) of them got the assistance. Similarly 53(93.0%) of Kaninkon mothers expected their children to take care of their younger siblings, but only 1(1.8%) of the mothers got the support. From the qualitative data, although the mothers in the study did not receive the assistance from their children in large proportions, they were satisfied that they had children even if they received nothing at all.

Providing Good Shelter for the Family

Providing good house for the family was another expectation by the mothers. Those who expected their children to provide good houses for them in Hausa community were 47(47.0%), 47(43.9%) in Gure, and 12(21.1%) in Kaninkon. There was no significant difference in the proportions of expectations between Hausa and Gure mothers. Kaninkon mothers were the least in the expectation of good houses.

a. Financial Support

Among the kinds of support that some of the mothers received from their children was financial support. Those mothers from the Hausa cognatic kinship system who received support from their children were 43 (43.0%); 48 (44.9%) from Gure, and 42 (73.7%) from Kaninkon. Kaninkon mothers had the highest proportion of support, followed by Gure mothers, and the least Hausa mothers.

The proportion of Kaninkon mothers could be explained by the argument of discussants in Kaninkon; being a patriarchal system, men frown at their children, especially the males who render support to their mothers more than their fathers. The children therefore, would rather secretly give money to their mothers to buy whatever

they want with it. The trends of the discussions from Gure and Hausa Kinship systems were similar to the opinion of the Kaninkon discussants even though they had lesser proportions than those of Koninkon. They all opined that fathers feel envious if they observe that mothers receive more gifts from their children.

b. Clothing

The gift of clothing was another kind of support received by the mothers from their children in similar proportions. In the Hausa cognatic Kinship system 9 (9.0%) of the mother got the support of clothing, 12 (11.2%) in Gure, and 8(14.0%) in Kaninkon.

The FGD in all the studied kinship systems revealed that the gifts of clothing either to the mothers or siblings were periodical, mostly at festivals like Christmas, Sallah and Easter. At intervals of these festivals, children living in the cities may visit home and give gifts of used clothes.

4.6 Factors Affecting Actualization of Expectations

Very small proportions of mothers across the kinship systems realized the supports expected from their children. In cases of some parents, having only girl children, or abnormal male children among other factors, constitute hindrances to the actualization of the expectations of parents in these regards. A Kaninkon mother of 5 girls who were all married gave an example during FGD, of how the girls all got married in the village and none of them was educated. The only male among them was a drug addict. She therefore had children but none could provide her with the expected material assistance.

It is a general expectation also that children should take care of their old parents. Mothers in the study anticipated this kind of care which could be in forms of financial assistance, food supply, taking care of aged and sick parents, fetching firewood to keep parents warm (mostly in Kaninkon and Gure kinship systems) and leading old and disabled parents to beg for alms (mostly in the urban Hausa cognatic kinship system).

Parents expect that their children should protect them during external attacks. This is a demand which cannot be measured except in times of crisis. During such times, ability of the children to protect their mothers depends on their mental sanity ages, knowledge, strategies and skills among others. However, the children render assistance in other areas of domestic activities.

Besides the quantifiably measured forms of assistance provided by children, younger children render assistance such as baby sitting, fetching water and firewood, cooking and washing for mothers while they engage in other activities, running errands for mothers both within and outside the home, keeping them company and maintaining the mothers' hope of better future life. These cut across the study communities' kinship systems. The expectations of taking care of parents at old age, protecting the parents and strengthening the parents' relationship are very strong across all the kinship systems.

Regardless of kinship ideologies, values placed on children and the benefits expected from them are traditionally the same. In any case, although there were high

expectations of strengthening the marital bonds of parents by children across the kinship systems, the FGDs revealed that grown up children especially in patrilineal kinship system could intervene in conflicts between their parents by taking away one of them, particularly the mother. This is more prevalent where their mothers had problems with co-wives (step-mothers of the children).

Asabe for example, a 68 year old mother of nine children in Kaninkon was the first wife of Antso, a farmer. She had a co-wife who troubled her often. Her son, Tanko took her to his house and started a business for her. In the Hausa cognatic kinship system however, it is rare for children to take their mothers away except where the mothers are widowed and are too old unwilling to marry. In the Gure matrilineal kinship system where children belong to their maternal kin, the children would hardly take decision about their mothers without their maternal relations' consent.

4.7 Burdens Borne by Mothers while Bringing up Children

The mothers had different kinds of burdens which they bore while they were bringing up their children and even at the adulthood stage of their children. The nature of burdens noted to have been borne by the mothers included lack of enough sleep, taking care of husband and children, confrontation by neighbours when children misbehave, blame by husbands for children's misdeeds, giving up your food for children during food scarcity, enforced sexual pleasure for compulsory unwanted pregnancy, sexual exploitation by traditional healers, singlehandedly providing for children, trauma due to children's misconduct and assault by the mothers' own children. These burdens which the mothers bore without regretting having the children

are all indicators of the martyr syndrome. Table 4.7 shows the burden borne by mothers when bringing up children.

Table 4.7: Burdens Borne by Mothers when Bringing up Children

Nature of Burden		Ethnic Group							
		Hausa		Gure		Kaninkon		Total	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Lack of enough sleep	Yes	44	44.0	69	64.5	44	77.2	157	59.5
	No	56	56.0	38	35.5	13	22.8	107	40.5
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Disproportional care of husband and children	Yes	76	76.0	61	57.0	44	77.2	181	68.6
	No	24	24	46	43.0	13	22.6	83	31.4
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Confrontation by neighbours when children misbehave	Yes	78	78.0	68	63.6	51	89.5	197	74.6
	No	22	22.0	39	36.4	6	10.5	67	25.4
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	110.0		
Blame by husbands for children's misdeed	Yes	46	46.0	33	30.8	34	59.6	113	42.8
	No	54	54.0	74	69.2	23	40.0	151	67.2
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Starvation during food scarcity	Yes	29	29.0	22	20.6	16	28.1	67	25.4
	No	71	71.0	85	79.4	41	71.9	197	74.6
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Forced sexual abstinence	Yes	6	6.0	15	14.0	12	21.1	33	12.5
	No	94	94.0	92	86.0	45	78.9	231	87.5
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Sexual exploitation by traditional healers	Yes	14	14.0	40	37.4	19	33.3	73	27.7
	No	86	86.0	67	62.6	38	66.7	191	72.3
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Single handedly providing for children	Yes	32	32.0	29	27.1	18	31.6	79	29.9
	No	68	68.0	78	72.9	39	68.4	185	70.1
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Trauma due to children's misconduct	Yes	26	26.0	22	20.6	15	26.3	63	23.9
	No	74	75.0	85	79.4	42	73.7	201	76.1
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Assaulted by own children	Yes	13	13.0	12	11.2	4	7.0	29	31.2
	No	87	87.0	95	88.8	53	93.0	235	268.8
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		

Lack of Enough Sleep

Lack of enough sleep by mothers when they are bringing up children cut across all the three kinship groups. As many as 44.0% of Hausa (cognatic) mothers, 64.5% of Gure (matrilineal) mothers and 77.2% of Kaninkon (patrilineal) mothers reported that they experienced lack of enough sleep when they were bringing up their children. Kaninkon has the largest proportion of mothers who experienced sleepless situation, followed by Gure mothers. Hausa mothers had the least proportion. Factors responsible for poor sleep for mothers generally include waking up at night to breastfeed babies, infants who cry unduly at night, unavailability of helping hands (from relations and the insufficiency of breast milk to satisfy the baby, among other factors. In a situation where the mother is alone with the baby in the room without any helping hand, the mother stays awake most of the time to take care of the child. Generally, the demands on the mothers to attend to the needs of the children reduce their ability to sleep well. Gure and Kaninkon are rural in nature. No speculations factors such as insufficient breast milk and lack of enough. Among other factors affect both mother and baby.

Exploitation of mothers by their own children

Some of the mothers were exploited by their husbands their children, especially in cases where the husband was unemployed or had disability. There were 76.0% in Zaria Hausa community, 57.0% in Gure and 77.2% in Kaninkon. A large proportion of Kaninkon mothers experienced the problem of single handedly taking care of their children and their husband. This reflects the patriarchal system where male gender roles are transferred to women.

The case of Hadassa in Kaninkon illustrates taking care of children single handedly. Hadassa was 42 years old mother of four children a married petty trader in Jema'a Local Government Area. She was doing very well in her business. Her husband, Nanu a civil servant, suddenly decided to resign his appointment without consulting with his wife. He remained at home doing nothing. Well knowing that his wife will give him every food she prepares for the children. The family depended on Hadassa's business. In addition to this dependence Nanu connived with their son who was always in his mother's shop so that he would be giving him money secretly. The business eventually collapsed and the husband moved to another town and left her to fend for herself and the four children. She could not pay the shop's rent and therefore, was evaded. The Hausa mothers were next in proportion of those who single-handedly took care of their children and husbands. An example of such cases is that of Tsalma in Zaria.

Tsalma, a 54 year old mother of 6 children was married to Mallam Audu, a civil servant. She was a very successful business woman. She became wealthy and built houses, bought land and shares, Audu later lost his job, so both Audu and the children depended on Tsalma. One day, five of the Tsalma's children conspired against her with their father and asked a sorcerer to destroy Tsalma's business. They believed that if she got too wealthy, she would look down on their father. The sorcerer did what they wanted and Tsalma's business collapsed. The children later confessed what they had done after the family had gone through a very serious financial distress.

A large proportion of Gure mothers had assistance from husbands and relatives. The effect of patriarchal grip on mothers bars them from getting help from their husbands who instead, blame the mothers for what they are not able to provide. For example,

during one of the FGD sessions an example was cited of Lantana in the patrilineal Kaninkon who was accused of neglecting her husband by not giving him food when food was scarce. Shuaibu, Lantana's husband would not provide. One day Lantana got some food just enough for the two children they had, she herself did not eat, but she was blamed for not preparing food for Shuaibu, and was labeled a mean wife.

Blaming Mothers for Children's Misdeeds and for Children's ill Health

Patriarchy expects mothers to remain at home and take care of the children. Often mothers are blamed when children misbehave. Across the kinship systems fathers, shun taking care of children, but resort to blaming mothers when children misbehave. Blame by husbands for children's misconduct was one of the experiences of the respondents. Consequently 46.0% of Hausa, 30.8% of Gure and 59.0% of Kaninkon mothers said that their respective husbands had been blamed them for the children's misdeeds.

An example of cases a mother who was blamed for children's misdeeds was that of Phelomina from Kaninkon. Philomina, a 38 year old mother, Philomina had four children. She was often beaten by her husband, Jacob, for allegedly not restraining her children from disobeying him. He always blamed Philomina each time neighbors complained to him about their children's misbehavior in the community.

Besides blames for children's misdeeds, mothers are also blamed for children's ill-health. Even in the Hausa cognatic and Gure matrilineal kinship systems, the propinquity of patrilocal residence exacerbates the way mothers are frequently blamed for children's ill health. For example, both the FGDs and IDIs revealed that when a

child has fever especially while still breastfeeding, it is attributed to alleged extra marital sexual affairs by the mother of the child. In Kaninkon community, an example was cited by an FGD discussant, of Habiba a 42 year old mother of 5 children who was alleged by a traditional healer to have been engaging in extra marital sex when she took her child to him for treatment. The diviner attributed the etiology of Habiba's child's ill-health to its mother's illicit sexual involvement with other men.

The findings on the burdens borne by mothers when bringing up children also revealed instances of sexual exploitation of mothers by traditional healers across the study communities. The usually false blames of sexual promiscuity one alleged by the mothers are often resorted to by the traditional healers as black mails to make the mothers yield to the healers own demands for sex, from the mothers.

The rate at which the blames are apportioned to mothers is, to a larger extent determined by the practices of the various kinship systems. In the matrilineal Gure, fathers concern themselves more with children who belong to their mothers' uterine relatives. Gure men are culturally required to bring up their sisters' children, hence the low proportion of blame of mothers by the husbands.

Confrontation by Neighbours when Children Misbehave

Mothers' chains of relationships place them at high risks of blames and confrontation. For example, the position of a mother as a wife, in-law, worker and neighbor, among others, places her at a risk of blames and confrontations that could be traumatic.

Across the kinship systems the instances of blames and confrontation of mothers for children's misconduct were quite high and the percentages were significantly different due to the nature of socialization. Patrilineal Kaninkon had the highest proportion (89.5%) of mothers who were confronted due to their children's misdeeds. The patriarchal expectations of the mothers to play great roles in the socialization of children render mothers liable to blame by offended members of the community when children misbehave. In the patriarchal system, men play minimal roles in socialization of children. They participate more in socializing the male children, while the female children are left to be socialized by their mothers. The mothers therefore are exposed to blames and confrontation because of the role of socialization assigned to them. Next to kaninkon in the proportion of confrontation were the mothers in Hausa cognatic kinship, system (78.0%).

The influence of patriarchal expectations in the cognatic urban Hausa community makes such confrontations more frequent than in the matrilineal rural Gure, with 68.6%. In the Hausa cognatic kinship system, children have contact with relations of both paternal and maternal families. Therefore, there are diffused roles in socialization. The children interact freely in family relationships and businesses among other spheres. In the process, they err, and the mothers are confronted. In Gure matrilineal kinship system, the children are socialized by uterine relatives and the mothers. Socialization of children is mostly, done by maternal uncles thereby making interaction between mothers and children less frequent. The basis for mothers' blames is therefore minimal.

Starvation for children during Food Scarcity

Mothers who reported that they starved for children during food scarcity were 29.0% in Hausa community, 20.6% in Gure and 28.1% in Kaninkon. Mothers give more priority to children and husbands than themselves when food is insufficient. Children are considered first because they cannot endure hunger the way adults would. Besides, hunger can make them sick and put parents in financial and emotional problems. In some instances, the husband might be given priority while the wife starves. The argument of some of the FGD discussants for giving the husbands priority in food sharing is, so that their husband will have enough strength to go out to fend for the family.

A case was cited during the FGDs in Kaninkon of Madam Biang who took ill and was taken to a medical doctor for diagnosis and treatment. The doctor examined her and diagnosed that she was malnourished and starving. Biang was a widow catering for her seven children alone. Food was scarce at the time of her illness. The little food she got was shared among her children while she stayed without food or had too little to eat. In fact, her deceased husband has surviving brothers who do not cater for her welfare and the children's.

Another case cited was that of Talle in the Hausa cognatic kinship system. Talle was a 54 year old mother of eight children. Her husband Mallam Tanko was a truck driver who was away most of the time, leaving Talle with little or no food. She worked hard to fend for the children although she herself starved most of the time. She is a full-time housewife. Talle usually went to her relatives to beg for what she will use to sustain

the family. At times she is regretted marrying Mallam Tanko. When the condition gets worse, Talle was forced to start petty trading at home with the little monetary gifts and loans she got from her relatives. Some of her children could not attend school for lack of financial support.

Long Periods of Post-partum Abstinence for Fear of Unwanted Pregnancy

Long abstinence from sexual intercourse was another complaint of the mothers in the study. The proportions across the kinship system were 6.0% (Hausa), 14.0% (Gure) and 21.1% (Kaninkon). Most of the time, women among the Kaninkon are at the receiving end. A Nursing mother is considered dirty in Kaninkon traditionalists and some religious sects. Their husbands therefore would not want to have sexual intercourse with them. Instead, the husbands satisfy their sexual drives with other women to whom they shift their attention sexually and materially, while their wives are deprived of both sexual and maternal needs. While Islam prescribes a minimum of 40 days for post-partum abstinence it lasts as long as two years in both the patrilineal Kaninkon and the matrilineal Gure. The essence of post-partum abstinence is to enable the child grow in good health and to let the mother regain her strength before another pregnancy. However, adherence to it depends on individuals and the situations and circumstances surrounding the baby's upbringing, for example, poor or good health of the mother and the decision of both mothers and fathers of the babies.

Sexual Exploitation by Traditional Healers

In the process of raising children, health problems may arise thereby making mothers take their children from place-to-place looking for solution to their children's health

problems. Some traditional healers take advantage of such mothers to exploit them sexually. Fourteen per cent (14%) of mothers in Hausa community experienced sexual abuse from traditional healers, 37.4% in Gure and 26.9% in Kaninkon. Being in rural areas, Gure and Kaninkon mothers most often take their children to traditional healers which expose them to sexual exploitation. The demands for sex from mothers of sick children, by traditional healers is said to be commenced by accusing the mothers of sexual promiscuity. This is often followed by a prescription of having sex with the mother of the sick child as part of the remedy for the child's sickness as the case of Celina illustrates:

Celina was a 41 year old mother of four children, from Jema'a Local Government Area, an Atypa, married to a Kaninkon man. She narrated how she took her 'bewitched' child to a Kaninkon diviner for treatment. In the process, the diviner told her to have sex with him, if her son was to be healed. Desiring to save her son, she gave in but became depressed afterward. The child did not recover in spite of the sexual intercourse prescribed and the child died. The Kaninkon community is aware of such practices but no sanction is meted to the diviner. Instead, if they are caught in the act, the woman is sanctioned either to pay fines or be divorced but little or nothing is done to the healer. The general findings show that across the study lineages, mothers were exploited by traditional healers. While some mothers speak out, others may not due to fear of the outcome of the revelation.

Providing for the Children Single-Handedly

There were cases of respondents who reported that they single handedly provided for children's need. They constituted 32.0% (Hausa), 27.1% (Gure) and 31.6%

(Kaninkon). Hausa women ranked highest which is contrary to the Islamic injunction that their husbands provide all their material needs. Economic hardships make some Hausa men desert their families and move to unknown destinations leaving the wives to fend for themselves and the children. Kaninkon mothers are also saddled with many responsibilities which they bear as characteristics of patrilineal imposition of male gender roles on women.

A case was cited in Kaninkon, of Mallam Barau who deserted his family in Kafanchan and went to work in the rubber plantation in southwest geo-political zone. His wife Aina, a mother of nine children had to fend for the children unassisted. The discussants in Hausa cognatic kinship system also cited the case of Adama whose husband Aminu left her for many years for themselves to fend for her six children. Adama was a hospital attendant. She decided to wait for her husband Aminu. When he comes back, the husband refunded all the money that she spent on the family saying Muslim wife is not expected to spend anything to cater for the family welfare.

Psychological Trauma Inflicted on Mothers by Own Children

Twenty six per cent of mothers in the Hausa community, 20.6% in Gure and 26.5% in Kaninkon community reported that they were traumatized by their own children's misconducts. For example, verbal or emotional abuse, refusal to do house hold chores, conspiring against mothers, among others. Proportions of Hausa and Kaninkon were similar, 26.0% and 26.3% respectively, while a lower proportion of Gure mothers, (20.6%) experienced trauma.

When asked what having wayward children imply for a mother, it was opined by the discussants across the study communities that:

We are often despised by members of our own families and outsiders. We are blamed by nearly everybody especially our husbands, for failing to socialize the children well enough. Most often, we go to bail the children from police stations. We live in poverty as we struggle to meet the needs of the children and the same children misuse our resources.

In the course of the FGDs' the discussants opined that there are implications of motherhood in every marital status occupied by a mother. All discussion groups agreed that it is more advantageous to rear children in the husband's house than anywhere else. The argument was that when members of the family live together, the husband will know the child's misbehaviour and very likely render a helping hand. Another reason they gave was that those who had complaints against the children would normally approach the child's father first, thereby, shielding the mother from the initial shocks.

Examples of cases of trauma due to children's misconduct included the cases of Maryamu in Gure and Tsalma in Baban Dodo. Maryamu a 34 year old mother of five children in Gure was accused by her in-laws, of failure to discipline her children properly, when her husband took ill. She was blamed for her children's misconduct. They were worried that Mallam Bala, Maryamu's husband was not assisted by his children on the farm. In fact, this is a norm in the matrilineal Gure community. Otherwise he would not have fallen sick. They beat up Maryamu, sent her away and shared the children among themselves; they denied her access to her sick husband. Only the younger wife was left to take care of him. The kinship system in Gure matrilineal system most likely influenced the behaviour of the children who saw

themselves as belonging to their maternal families thereby playing down the need to farm with their own father. The fact that Maryamu was from a different ethnic group (Mwagavul) was equally a contributing factor since her tribe is not matrilineal.

4.8 Experiences of Abusive acts Against Mothers

There are elements of patriarchy in each of the three kinship system which subjects women generally to the authority of men. In all the systems no husband would want his wife to have an upper hand over him. The children therefore could be used to retard the progress of their mothers. The respondents' children participated in one kind of abusive acts or another against their mothers. While some connived with their fathers, others did so with friends or relatives (both consanguineal and affinal). Table 4.8 shows the nature of abusive or subversive acts directed by the children against their mothers.

Table 4.8: Abusive acts perpetrated by children against their own mothers

Abusive Acts/Subversive		Ethnic Group							
		Hausa		Gure		Kaninkon		Total	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Battering of own mothers	Yes	17	17.0	14	13.1	16	28.1	47	17.8
	No	83	83.0	93	86.9	41	71.9	217	82.2
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Verbal abuse	Yes	8	8.0	9	8.4	3	5.3	20	7.6
	No	92	92.0	98	91.6	54	94.7	244	92.4
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Emotional abuse	Yes	64	64.0	74	69.2	41	71.9	179	67.8
	No	36	36.0	33	30.8	16	28.1	85	32.2
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Refusal to assist with work	Yes	38	38.0	33	30.8	20	35.1	91	34.5
	No	62	62.0	74	69.2	37	64.9	173	65.6
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Stealing from mothers	Yes	36	36.0	24	22.4	24	42.1	84	31.8
	No	64	64.0	83	77.8	33	57.9	180	1
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		68.2
Misuse of funds	Yes	5	5.0	7	6.5	1	1.8	13	4.9
	No	95	95.0	100	93.5	56	98.2	251	95.1
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Leading robbers to mothers	Yes	24	24.0	20	18.7	11	19.3	55	20.8
	No.	76	76.0	87	81.3	46	80.7	209	79.2
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	59	100.0		
Conniving with mother's adversaries	Yes	7	7.0	1	0.9	–	–	8	3.0
	No.	93	93.0	106	99.1	–	–	256	97.0
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0				

The joy of some mothers for having been blessed with children is destroyed by their own children who plot to harm them. Table 4.8.1 further shows the abusive and subversive acts directed at mothers which include, battering, verbal abuse, emotional abuse, refusal to assist with household chores, stealing from mothers, misuse of funds, leading armed robbers to mothers and conniving with mothers' adversaries. These are discussed below at length.

Battering

The proportions of mothers who were battered by their own children were negligible, 17.0% for Hausa, 13.1% for the Gure and 28.1% of Kaninkon mother. Table 4.8 shows that a higher proportion of Kaninkon mothers experienced battering than mothers in the other kinship systems. A similar proportion of mothers among the Gure and Hausa were subjected to this form of abuse. Patrilineality exposes women to violence even from some of their own children who see their mothers as being inferior and would want to demonstrate their male superiority which they learn from men including their own fathers as in the case of the son who connived with his father to destroy his mother's business. This implies that no mother was battered.

Juliana was a 52 year old Kaninkon widowed mother of four children. She was non-literate. She engaged in casual jobs such as working for people on their farms and doing household chores in the homes of wealthy people. With her little earnings she bought a piece of land and built a house in which she lived with her four children three of whom were males. A man indicated interest in marrying her. One of her children told the mother to sever the relationship and not to allow the man into the house any longer. She explained that she needed the man to help her pay their school fees.

The children who had imbibed the patriarchal culture kept quiet as if agreeing with her. On the man's next visit, they beat him up and pushed their mother out of the house. The man left and their mother could not continue to pay the children's school fees. The children stopped going to school. The marriage did not take place. The relations of the late husband supported the children's action because they did not want her to leave the family. She eventually went to live in her natal family house. The mother's involvement with the man who wanted to marry her, was due to her concern about her children's education and welfare which she could not provide alone, the children saw the man as their father's rival whom they must fight, not minding whether their education continued or not.

Next to the Kaninkon mothers being battered were the respondents from the Hausa cognatic kinship system (17.0%). In the Hausa cognatic kinship system, the survey on battering showed that a high proportion of mothers were battered by their own children as against the FGD in which the mothers opined that the children fear mothers' curses, therefore, a child cannot raise a finger against his mother. They opined that Hausa children respect their mothers more than their own fathers. Gure mothers were the least battered. The violent children may be cautioned by their maternal uncles and aunts against battering their sisters or else their assistance to the children may be withdrawn. For example, the maternal uncles and aunts who take care of children exercise some control over the children. If the children maltreat their mothers, they could decide not to take care of them.

Verbal Abuse

Some of the respondents were verbally abused by their own children. However, there were no significant differences in the frequencies of the verbal abuse. Eight per cent (8.0%) of the Hausa mothers were verbally abused, 8.4% in Gure and 5.3% in Kaninkon also experienced abuse. The lowest proportion in Kaninkon conflicts with the highest proportion of battering occurring among the same set of mothers (28.1%). However, verbal abuse most likely precedes battering. In any case both verbal abuse and battering are elements of patriarchy as illustrated by the case of Talatu, one of the mothers in the study who narrated the story.

According to Talatu, a 48 year old mother of four children in Kaninkon community, Jema'a Local Government Area:

As a widow, I went into business of buying and selling and became well to do. One day while I was on a business trip, my 19 year old son Nufi, was not expecting me back that day. I came back in the night to find my son and his girlfriend on my own bed. My complaint yielded me verbal abuse in addition to emotional abuse and disrespect. I reported the case to the elders in the family. My son was merely warned but no serious sanction was meted out on him.

Emotional Abuse

In emotional abuse children despise their mothers. The respondents reported instances of emotional abuse directed against them by their own children across the study communities. Among the Hausa community for example, 64.4% of the mothers experienced emotional abuse. There were 69.2% of the mothers who experienced emotional abuse in Gure, and 67.3% in Kaninkon community. However, there was insignificant difference in the levels of emotional experiences, with Gure matrilineal

community having the highest proportion, followed by Kaninkon patrilineal community, and the least (though also high), the Hausa cognatic community.

A case of emotional abuse was that of Hajara. Hajara was a forty-two year old mother of two sons in Kaninkon patrilineal community. She was 32 years old when her husband died. Hajara lived with her relations thereafter but later got married to another man while the children remained in their late father's house. Hajara told her story as follows:

I lived with two sons for ten years after the death of my husband. I then decided that I would marry. My children opposed my decision and monitored any potential partner who visited me. One day, a man who had proposed marriage to me came in. My 18 year old son stripped himself naked before the man and me in protest to our relationship. I could not stand the scene, so I left the house to my parents' house to take away the pain. Whenever I am in my deceased husband's house, I always think of the ordeal. It is sympathetic indeed.

Refusal to Assist with Household Chores

Some children refuse to assist their mothers with their house hold chores. There were similar proportions of mothers across the kinship systems who reported such experiences. Thirty eight per cent (38.0%) of the mothers in Hausa community experienced refusal of children to assist them. Similarly, 30.8% of the mothers in Gure and 35.1% of those in Kaninkon reported similar experiences. The patrilineal Kaninkon community is second in the high frequency of children who refused to assist with house chores. The males see household chores as female gender roles with which they should not get involved. There are however, similar trends in children's behaviour across the kinship system. Male and female children alike shun responsibilities in some respects across all the kinship systems.

Stealing Mothers' Belongings

While some children were in the habit of refusing to assist with household chores, others were in the habit of stealing and selling their mother's properties. The proportions of the experiences were 42.1% in Kaninkon, Hausa (36.0%) and Gure (22.4%). Mothers in the Hausa community were next to the highest proportion of children who stole from them. They constituted 36.0%, with significant difference from those in Gure. Mothers in the Hausa cognatic kinship system engaged mostly in petty businesses. Therefore money was what their children stole from them mostly. Kaninkon mothers had the worst experience of children stealing from them, 42.1%. The children mostly stole their farm produce and sold them either in the market or exchanged them for alcoholic drinks at drinking joints.

Men in patrilineal Kaninkon regard their wives as part of their properties. Therefore, all that a woman has should belong to her husband. They therefore appropriate whatever they feel they want to possess from their wives as a matter of right. The male children learn from the adult men to misappropriate their mothers' properties by any means. Although none of the study communities is free from pilfering by children in the Gure matrilineal community has the lowest frequency. Maternal uncles, aunts, and some fathers join hands in the discipline of the children, thereby curtailing some of the deviant behaviours.

Directing Armed Robbers to Mothers

Some of the respondents' children connived with armed robbers to rob their mothers of their valuables which they could not access ordinarily. As many as 24.0% of the respondents in the Hausa community had experienced armed robbery perpetrated by

their own children. There were 18.7% of similar cases in Gure, and 19.2% in Kaninkon community. The urban influence may be responsible for the high proportion in Zaria and the second high frequency in Kaninkon community, a sub-urban community in Kafanchan. In some instances, the robbers were not armed but they use toy guns and other forms of threat to subdue their victims at home or on the way from the market, having been fed with information by the mothers' own children. The case of Unmi illustrates instances of children leading armed robbers to their mothers.

Unmi, a 45 year old mother of one son in Kaninkon bore an only son after ten years of marriage. Her husband Musa took another wife and maltreated Unmi when she did not have more children. In frustration, she divorced him and contracted two subsequent marriages in search of children, to no avail. She finally resigned to her fate and settled down with her only child. She became a wealthy business woman. One night, her son led a gang of armed robbers to her home. The robbers raped her and made away with her fortune. The son was apprehended by the police who sent him to the judiciary. He was tried and convicted but was released after few years.

Conniving with Mothers' Adversaries

Some of the respondents said that their children connived with their mothers' adversaries against them. There were 7.0% in the Hausa community, 0.9% in Gure community, but none in Kaninkon community. This suggests that in an urban community, it is not surprise that children could be influenced to connive with their mothers' adversaries. Accessibility to arms, easy transportation, and access to good businesses make money available for the purchase of arms among other things.

Gure matrilineal community had as low as 1.0% of such connivance and none in Kaninkon community. However, the discussants and informants enumerated cases of connivance against mothers in Kaninkon community. They cited instances of connivance across the kinship systems which included stealing foodstuff and ingredients from the mothers and giving neighbours, leaking mother's secrets to her adversaries, stealing mothers' clothes and to other items and giving them to those who may use them for rituals against the mothers among other acts. Children even stole their mother's money and gave their friends or neighbours. One of the discussants in Hausa cognatic kinship system (Mairo) cited an example of her neighbour (Hafsatu) who was in need of money but could not ask her for help. She instead, lured Mairo's daughter to steal the money from her mother for her. The daughter was caught and the case was reported to the police. Hafsatu was fined and released with strict warning to desist from such act.

Misuse of Funds

There were reported cases of misuse of funds by children of the respondents five per cent (5%) of mothers in the Hausa community, 6.9% in Gure and 1.8% in Kaninkon communities). A higher proportion of Gure mothers had the experience of misuse of funds followed by the Hausa mothers and the least, Kaninkon mothers. Although only a few mothers mentioned misuse of funds by their children in the survey, the Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and the in-depth interviews revealed a high prevalence of cases of misuse of funds by children. Jummai was one of the discussants whose children misused her funds.

Jummai, an indigene of Gure was a 46 year old mother of five children. She was divorced, and living on her own and taking care of her children. She was interested in educating her children. Two of them had gained admission to higher institutions of learning. She provided all that they requested for. Unknown to her, one of the children had been withdrawn from the university in his second year of study, but he remained in the campus with his friends and was always going home to collect money from her, purportedly for his annual registration, upkeep, books and project. He, at a point in time, claimed that he had graduated. It was when he failed to go for NYSC that the mother started to investigate why he could not go. She went to the university only to find out that he had been withdrawn from the university since the previous three years.

4.9 Measures taken by Mothers to cope with their Financial Needs

Most of the mothers had numerous needs to meet for themselves and their children such as clothes, food, payment of school fees for children, medical bills, among others. The mothers devised various strategies, to cope with their numerous needs and those of their children. Table 4.8 shows the respondents' strategies for coping with their numerous needs across their kinship systems.

Table 4.9: Measures taken by materially distressed mothers to cope with their financial needs across the kinship systems

Measures taken by mothers		Ethnic Group							
		Hausa		Gure		Kaninkon		Total	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Seeking employment	Yes	27	27.0	22	20.6	14	24.6	63	23.9
	No	73	73.	85	79.4	43	75.4	201	76.1
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Getting educated	Yes	16	16.0	22	20.6	11	19.3	49	18.6
	No	84	84.0	85	79.9	46	80.7	215	81.4
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.,0		
Sale of labour	Yes	15	15.0	24	22.4	10	17.5	49	18.6
	No	85	85.0	83	77.6	47	82.5	215	81.4
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Petty business	Yes	51	51.0	56	52.3	32	56.1	139	52.7
	No	49	49.0	51	47.7	25	43.9	125	47.3
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Sending own children to hawk	Yes	34	34.0	12	11.2	3	5.3	49	18.6
	No	No	66.0	95	88.8	54	94.7	215	81.4
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Engaging in transactional sex	Yes	1	1.0	4	3.7	1	1.8	6	2.3
	No	99	99.0	103	96.3	56	98.2	258	97.7
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Keeping male friends	Yes	3	3.0	9	8.4	5	8.8	258	6.4
	No	97	97.0	98	91.6	52	91.2	17	93.6
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Engaging in birth control	Yes	92	8.0	25	23.4	19	33.3	52	19.7
	No	100	92.0	82	76.6	38	66.7	212	80.3
	Total		100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Engaging in begging	Yes	5	5.0	1	.9	1	1.8	7	2.7
	No	95	95.0	106	99.1	56	98.2	257	97.3
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		
Depending on relations	Yes	11	11.0	11	10.3	2	3.5	24	9.1
	No	89	89.0	96	89.7	55	55	240	90.9
	Total	100	100.0	107	100.0	57	100.0		

Table 4.9 presents the strategies devised by the respondents to cope when materially distressed. The strategies included both short and long term such as seeking for employment, getting educated, sale of labour, petty businesses, getting children to hawk, engaging in transactional sex, keeping male friends, engaging in birth control,

engaging in begging and depending on relations. Each of the strategies is discussed below.

Seeking Employment

As many as 27.0% of the mothers in the Hausa community resorted to seeking employment. The percentages for Gure and Kaninkon are 20.6% and 24.6% respectively. A higher proportion of mothers sought employment in the urban areas of Zaria (Hausa) and (Kaninkon) peri-urban area than the rural community of Gure. The cognatic Hausa urban and peri-urban patrilineal Kaninkon engaged more in job seeking than the matrilineal rural Gure mothers who had limited chances of getting white collar jobs due to limited number of formal organizations/institutions. The case of Bilki illustrates engaging in job seeking for upkeep in Zaria.

Bilki, aged 42 years got married at the age of 15 years. At the age of 39, she had given birth to 9 children and had experienced 2 still births and 4 miscarriages. She was worried about the number of children she already had but she had no access to family planning. Her husband, Umaru was a driver by profession. He sometimes stayed away from home for several of weeks at a time while Bilki worried about how to provide for the children. She took up a job of washing plates at a restaurant in order to fend for herself and the children. Her burden did not weigh her down she said, because some of her children went begging to get their own food.

Getting more educated (Skill acquisition)

While some of the respondents sought employment in order to cope with their needs, others chose to acquire skills for more gainful employment. More mothers (20.6%) in

Gure went for vocational training to acquire some skills in hand work followed by 19.3% of Kaninkon and 16.0% of Hausa mothers. More mothers in the rural Gure matrilineal kinship system sought to acquire education, followed by the peri-urban Kaninkon patrilineal kinship system. Fewer mothers in the Hausa cognatic urban Zaria sought education.

Engaging in Odd Jobs

In order to cope with their financial needs, some of the mothers decided to sell their labour to wealthy individuals for wages. Gure, being a rural community, has the highest proportion (22.4%) of mothers who occasionally worked on the farms of big time farmers during the farming season. Eighteen per cent (18.0%) of Kaninkon mothers sold their labour either by working on the farms of wealthy individuals or hawking farm produce for wealthy farmers and getting certain percentages of the proceeds. Those Hausa mothers in Zaria community (15.0%) who sold their labour did so mostly in restaurants where they washed plates and cleaned the environments for wages.

Engaging Children in Hawking items or Petty Businesses

Some of the respondents across the kinship systems engaged in petty businesses which enabled them cope with their financial needs. As many as 51.0% of the Hausa women engaged in petty businesses. The mothers in Gure matrilineal and Kaninkon patrilineal kinship systems who engaged in petty businesses constituted 52.3% and 56.1% respectively. The proportion of mother's who were engaged in petty businesses were similar across the kinship systems. While some of the mothers did the businesses by

themselves, others got their children involved in hawking goods for them. As many as 34.0% of the mothers in the cognatic kinship system, 11.2% of matrilineal Gure mothers and 5.3% of the patrilineal Kaninkon mothers engaged their children to hawk for them. The high frequency in the Hausa community is due to the tradition of purdah which restricts most women of child bearing age to the home while very old women and children go out to hawk their wares.

Engaging in Transactional Sex and Keeping Male Friends

Transactional sex was one of the strategies of the respondents, 1.0% in Zaria, 3.7% in Gure and 1.8% in Kaninkon devised the strategy in order to meet their financial needs. Table 4.10.1 shows that, Gure has the highest percentage of mothers who engaged in transactional sex. To the respondents, the concept of keeping male friends was a milder expression of transactional sexual relationships. The proportion of those who kept male friends was 3.0% of Hausa, Gure 8.4% and Kaninkon 8.8%. Male friends were maintained for meeting occasional financial needs. It differs from those who do full-time sex work as a means of livelihood.

Transactional sex is neither traditionally acceptable nor religiously approved. It is not commonly discussed by those who engage in it. However, the economic hardship makes them engage in it discreetly. Keeping male friends is practiced across all the lineage systems. It is done secretly but in traditional settings like Gure and Kaninkon, the husbands and others may know but they pretend not to. Assistance is rendered by the male friend in cash or in kind such as providing money, food or organizing for farm work for the female friend. Besides engaging in transactional sex by some of the

mothers for periodical financial assistance, others engaged in keeping secret male friends who could finance their businesses and meet their other needs as they arise.

Engaging in Birth Control

Birth control was one of the strategies that the respondents used in order to have the number of children that they could comfortably cater for. Those who engaged in birth control were 8.0% in Hausa cognatic kinship system, 23.4% in Gure matrilineal kinship system and 33.3% in Kaninkon patrilineal kinship system. Table 4.7 also shows that more Kaninkon mothers engaged in birth control than mothers in other kinship systems. While mothers in Gure and Kaninkon said that their husbands approved of birth control, those in Zaria cognatic system were skeptical in the discussion. However, what actually obtained was that some of the mothers used contraceptives secretly, while some husbands organized for family planning for their wives without letting them know.

The discussants varied in their views on the implications for having many children. While some of the respondents, especially the discussants in Zaria did not consider any number of children as being too many, mothers in Gure and Kaninkon stated that having many children leads to psychological trauma, violence against the mother, inability to train the children and starvation in times of food scarcity.

Mothers in Gure and Kaninkon used modern birth control methods as coping strategies, while some Hausa mothers used child-bearing as their own means of obtaining some of their material needs in Zaria. For example, the Hausa tradition requires that gifts be showered on mothers at the naming ceremonies of their babies.

The desire to receive such gifts spurs some women to continue having more children. For them, children are instruments for gifts to be given to them during naming ceremonies. Even the special foods provided for mothers during the puerparium and clothes for herself and the new born baby serve as incentives for bearing children for some mothers.

One of the case studies, Talatu who was struggling to take care of the nine children she already had, got pregnant against the doctor's advice. When asked why she got pregnant again, she explained that all her clothes were worn out and her husband would buy new clothes for her only for a naming ceremony. She therefore opted for having another child hoping that her husband and other relatives would give her gifts.

In the traditional settings of Kaninkon, certain roots and herbs are used both as treatment for infertility and as birth control methods, so also in Gure. In most cases, they are used by women who have had many children and who wish to stop childbearing entirely. On the other hand, mothers in the Hausa cognatic kinship system enumerated during FGDs, the methods of birth control that are used by many of the mothers. These include talisman, spermicides, incantation on padlock, blue (the type used for washing white clothes), water used to wash purposeful writing on slates among other methods. The use of religion rather than kinship issue is only common in Hausa cognatic kinship system. However, with increase in awareness of modern methods of contraception, the use of talisman is reduced as opined by the discussants.

Engaging in Begging and Depending on relations

Begging is among the strategies that some of the mothers used in order to cope with their financial needs. Although there is no significant difference in the rate at which mothers engaged in begging, a higher proportion of mothers in Hausa community engaged in begging, 5.0% as against 0.9% in Gure and 0.9% in Kaninkon communities. The high percentage in Zaria reflects the tolerance of begging in the Hausa tradition as a means of livelihood (*bara*). While some of the mothers begged outside their immediate households, others depended on their relations for survival. These constituted 11.0% of Hausa respondents, 10.3% of Gure respondents, and 3.3% of Kaninkon respondents.

Mothers from matrilineal and cognatic communities depended more on relations than those from patrilineal Kaninkon. While some of the mothers engaged in one form of activity or another in order to meet their needs, others reported that they, depended on their relations who provided for them. In conclusion, the mothers in the study engaged in various money making activities to be able to cope with their many financial responsibilities.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

The study was based on comparison of the social consequences of motherhood in patrilineal Kaninkon, matrilineal Gure and cognatic Hausa kinship communities in northern Kaduna State of Nigeria. The consequences included the values of having children and burdens borne by the mothers as they bring up the children. The basis for the summary therefore, revolves around the objectives of the study.

The study found that the values of having children were similarly recognized across kinship systems. These included expectations of support from children in terms of taking care of the parents at old age, assisting with the care of their younger siblings, sustaining the family name, providing food for the family, building a house for the family, protecting the family from external attacks and strengthening their parents' marital bonds.

The proportions of the expectations were high across the kinship systems. The respondents who expected their children to take care of them at old age were 83.0% among the cognatic Hausa, 84.0% among the Gure, and 91.2% among the patrilineal Kaninkon respectively. The expectations for taking care of younger siblings were similarly high in all the study areas. The expectation of caretaking was not limited to the care of mothers, but the children were also expected to take care of their younger siblings in all the studied communities in the following proportions: The Hausa

86.0%, the Gure 81.3% and the Kaninkon, 93.0%. The Kaninkon had the highest proportion. Besides, the respondents also expected their children to sustain their families' names. However, the rate at which the mothers expected the sustenance of family name was not as high as the rate of expectation of taking care of their mothers and their younger siblings. The proportions were: 38.0% among Hausa, 35.5% among the matrilineal Gure and 28.1% among the patrilineal Kaninkon. Although the expectations of sustaining the family name were similarly low in all the kinship systems, Hausa cognatic kinship system had the highest proportion, followed by Gure and Kaninkon patrilineal kinship system respectively.

In all the kinship systems, there were expectations by the mothers of other services from the children which included providing food for the family, 45.0% among the Hausa cognatic system, 29.9% from Gure matrilineal kinship system and 29.8% by the Kaninkon patrilineal kinship system. The rate of expectation of food was higher in the Hausa cognatic kinship system, while Gure and Kaninkon kinship systems had similarly low proportions of the expectations.

Mothers also expected their children to build good houses for them. Mothers Gure had the highest proportion, 43.9% of mothers who expected their children to build good houses for them, followed by Kaninkon, 21.1%; and the Hausa, least (7.0%).

The expectations of mothers that their children should protect them from external attacks were recorded in high proportions in all the kinship system. Cognatic Hausa mothers topped this expectation 87.0%, 83.9% in Gure and 87.7% of the Kaninkon.

The mothers expressed this expectation in similarly high rates, showing how important it is for them to be well sheltered at old age.

Strengthening parents' marital bonds constituted another expectation expressed by mothers in the study. However, this expectation was not as high as those earlier mentioned. Hausa cognatic and Gure matrilineal kinship systems were similar in the rates of their expectations 22.0% and 23.4% respectively. Patrilineal Kaninkon documented the least proportion of the expectations of strengthening parental bond (14.0%). The finding shows that mothers in all the kinship systems attach value in having children hence the expectations of one kind or another.

It is one thing to have expectations, and another for the expectations to be actualized. Although mothers in the kinship systems had values attached to having children and therefore, attached expectations to those values, the benefits they realized were not commensurate with their high expectations, while some expectations never actualized, others were realized in small proportions. For instances, provision of food was realized at 14.0% by cognatic Hausa, 15.0% by matrilineal Gure and 21.1% by patrilineal Kaninkon. There were similarly low and insignificant proportions of food assistance received by the parents.

The proportions of mothers who received financial assistance were higher than those who were assisted with food. The rates were 43.3% for cognatic Hausa, 44.9% for matrilineal Gure and 73.7% for patrilineal Kaninkon (the highest proportion). Providing clothing for the family was not so much anticipated by the mother, but some

of the mothers received gifts of clothing, though, in small proportions like 9.0% in cognatic Hausa, 11.2% in matrilineal Gure and 14.0% in patrilineal Kaninkon.

Taking care of younger siblings which the mothers expected from their children was actualized in similarly low proportions in all the kinship systems. Cognatic Hausa had 5.0%, patrilineal Kaninkon had 1.8, while matrilineal Gure had 5.6%. The services were significantly low in all the kinship systems. While cognatic Hausa and matrilineal Gure received the assistance of shelter in small proportions 4.0% and 1.9% respectively, patrilineal Kaninkon mothers did not receive any.

In comparison of the expected and actual support that the mothers received, 45% of mothers from Hausa cognatic kinship system expected the supply of food, but only 14.0% of them actually received the assistance of food from their children. Similarly, 29.9% of Gure mothers expected supply of food, but those who actually got the supply were 11.2%. Twenty-eight percent (28.8%) of Kaninkon mothers expected the assistance of food supply, but the proportion of those who got it was 14.0%.

The support of taking care of siblings was actualized in low proportions in all the kinship systems. The proportions were 5.0% in cognatic Hausa, 11.2% in matrilineal Gure and 1.8% in patrilineal Kaninkon. The forms of care of younger siblings ranged from baby-sitting, assisting younger siblings with clothing, school work among others. In actualizing the expectations of providing shelter, only mothers from the cognatic Hausa and those from matrilineal Gure were assisted. The rates were 4.0% and 1.9% respectively.

The study found out that unanticipated burdens were borne by the mothers, rather than the benefits they anticipated. Lack of enough sleep was one of such burdens that the mothers experienced in large proportions. For example, 44.0% of mothers in cognatic Hausa kinship system reported that they suffered lack of sleep as they kept awake to attend to their children. There were 65.6% of mothers in Gure and 77.2% in Kaninkon who experienced lack of sleep. It was opined that accumulated sleeplessness could cause depression for the mothers. While some of the mothers were starved of food; others were starved of sexual pleasures when they were breast feeding for fear of unwanted pregnancy. Another reported form of burden borne by the mothers was that of taking care of husbands and children single-handedly. The proportions of those mothers who went through this burden were 76.0% in cognatic Hausa, 57.0% in matrilineal Gure and 77.2% in patrilineal Kaninkon. It was also found that besides the burden of caretaking, mothers were confronted by their husbands and neighbours when the children misbehaved. High proportions of mothers in all the kinship systems reported being confronted. In Hausa cognatic kinship system, 78.0% of the mothers faced confrontations, 63.6% in Gure and 89.5% in Kaninkon. Both the survey and FGD opined that mothers are often confronted when their children misbehave.

As mothers were confronted, they were blamed for their children's misdeeds. The proportions of the mothers who reported that they were blamed for their children's misdeeds were 46.0% in cognatic Hausa, 38.8% in matrilineal Gure and 59.6% in patrilineal Kaninikon kinship systems. In spite of the blames and confrontations, mothers play sacrificial roles to ensure the wellbeing of their children and husbands. One of the aspects of this sacrifice is that of starvation when food is scarce so that the

children can have enough. As high as 29.0% of mothers in Hausa cognatic kinship system, 20.6% in Gure and 28.1% in Kaninkon reported that they experienced starvation as they were bringing up their children.

On the other hand, some of the mothers were sexually exploited by traditional healers to whom they took their sick children for treatment. There were 14.0% of such exploited mothers in Hausa cognatic kinship system, 37.4% in Gure and 33.3% in Kaninkon kinship systems. The mothers were made to believe that submitting to sexual desire of the traditional leaders would enhance the recovery of the sick children.

As the mothers got exploited among other burdens borne, they also went through trauma due to their children's misconduct. The proportions of the mothers who were traumatized because of the misconduct of their children were 32.0% in Hausa, 20.6% in Gure 26.3% in Kaninkon kinship systems respectively. In addition to the trauma the mothers went through, they were assaulted by their own children. Across the kinship systems, some proportions of the mothers, 13.0% in Hausa, 11.2% in Gure and 7.0% in Kaninkon were assaulted by their own children.

Battering was one of the forms of abuses that children meted out on their mothers. Across the kinship systems, there were proportions of mothers who were battered by their own children. There were 17.0% in Hausa, 13.1% in Gure and 28.1% in Kaninkon respectively. The battering combined with the preceding verbal and emotional abuses to cause trauma for the mothers.

Some of the mothers, 38.0% in Hausa cognatic, 30.8% in Gure matrilineal and 35.1% in Kaninkon patrilineal kinship systems reported that their children, in addition to assaulting them refused to assist them with house chores, instead of helping them, they stole and sold their belongings. The proportions of mothers whose children stole from them were 36.0% in Hausa cognatic, 22.4% in Gure matrilineal and 42.1% in Kaninkon patrilineal kinship systems. In additions to stealing and selling their mothers' belongings, some of the mothers' children were in the habit of misusing their mothers' funds, thereby crumbling the mothers' businesses.

The mothers' abusive experiences directed by their own children included leading armed robbers to the mothers in addition to conniving with their mothers' adversaries. The proportions of mothers whose children lead armed robbers to them were 24.0% in Hausa cognatic, 18.7% in Gure matrilineal and 19.3% in Kaninkon patrilineal kinship systems. Similarly, 7.0% of mothers in Hausa cognatic and 0.9% in Gure matrilineal kinship systems reported that their children connived with their enemies against them.

As the mothers went through burdens and abusive acts while they were bringing up their children, struggling with scarce resources to meet their families' needs, they devised some strategies to enable them cope with the situations. Some of the mothers sought employment based on their levels and abilities. The proportion of those who got employed in unskilled areas were 27% in Hausa cognatic, 20.6% in Gure matrilineal and 24.6% in Kaninkon patrilineal systems. In order to cope with their numerous needs, some of the mothers opted for getting educated in order to acquire skills that will earn them well-paid jobs. Across the kinship systems, some proportion of mothers got enrolled in vocational training centres. There were 16.0% of them in

Hausa cognatic, 20.6% in Gure matrilineal, and 19.3% in Kaninkon patrilineal kinship systems.

While some of the mothers were getting educated, some of them engaged in selling their labours on farms of wealthy and big time farmers, washing utensils in restaurants and working in the homes of well-to-do individuals to earn money. In Hausa cognatic kinship system, 15.5% of the mothers engaged in selling their labour, 22.4% in Gure matrilineal and 17.5% in Kaninkon patrilineal kinship systems.

Similarly, 51.0% of Hausa mothers engaged in petty businesses, 52.3% in Gure and 56.1% in Kaninkon all were petty business mothers. Some of them engaged their children in hawking their wares for them.

Transactional sex deal was the option for some of the mothers. They kept male friends who assisted them when they got into financial difficulties. There were 3.0% of the mothers in the Hausa cognatic system who kept male friends, 8.4% in Gure and 8.8% in Kaninkon. The purpose is so that they would always find someone to help them out when they were in financial needs.

Some of the mothers decided to control their births by going for contraceptives. According to them having a large number of children will further compound their problems. Therefore, birth control was a better option for them.

Begging and depending on relations were the strategies devised by some of the mothers. More mothers in Hausa cognatic kinship system, (5.0%) engaged in begging than mothers in Gure, (0.9%) and Kaninkon, (0.9%). This follows from the tolerance

of begging in the Hausa community where some people engage in begging as a means of livelihood. Those who did not go out to beg simply depended on their relations for survival. They constituted 11.0% of Hausa mothers, 10.3% of Gure mothers and 3.3% of Kaninkon mothers.

5.2 Conclusion

The results of the comparative study of the social consequences of motherhood in patrilineal, matrilineal and cognate kinship systems shows that mothers across the systems value children for instrumental reasons. The benefits attached to having children and expectations of support by mothers cut across all the kinship systems. However, expectations were realized minimally by only a small proportion of mothers across the kinship systems. Most benefits and services were not realized in equal proportion as the expectation; instead, several burdens were borne by the mothers as they played their roles which are prescribed by the different kinship systems. The experiences of the mothers depend on the ideologies of the kinships system and the mothers' economic and social dispositions.

Having children liberates mothers from the trauma of childlessness. The mothers however, faced challenges of abusive acts from their own children, their husbands and significant others on account of the children. They also faced exploitation, deprivation and abuses at different levels.

The general economic recession which renders most mothers poor, with little or no assistance from others, inflicts hardships on the mothers, thereby making it difficult

for them to have their needs and those of their children met. In a bid to ease their problems, they devised strategies to meet their financial needs.

The experiences of the mothers in the study notwithstanding, for example the health implications of pregnancy and childbirth and children's upbringing, the burden borne by mothers, failure to realize the expected benefits of having children, the children's abusive acts against their mothers and the financial difficulties in meeting the needs of the children among others, mothers in the study considered having children as a mark of success in marriage.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the social consequences of motherhood which are experienced in diverse ways, it is recommended that:

1. Mothers should not be saddled with the responsibilities of rearing children unassisted, since the society places high premium on children based on the values attached to children culturally.
2. Despite the societal expectations, it should be considered that the children cannot meet all the demands of their mothers. Therefore, children should be assisted to be self-dependent and be able to support their mothers.
3. In view of the burdens borne by mothers as they bring up children, fathers and significant others should collectively socialize the children, instead of blaming mothers when children misbehave.
4. Mothers should be assisted to acquire skills, and empowered in their business endeavors to enable them handle their financial needs without stress. Those who are educated should be availed employment opportunities

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APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name of Settlement
2. What is your age? (Tick in the box as appropriate)
 - a. Less than 15 years []
 - b. 15-24 years []
 - c. 25-34 years []
 - d. 35-44 years []
 - e. 45-54 years []
 - f. 55 years and above []
3. What is your ethnic group? (Tick in the box as appropriate)
 - a. Fulani []
 - b. Hausa []
 - c. Yoruba []
 - d. Ibo []
 - e. Others (specify)
4. What is your marital status? (Tick in the box as appropriate)
 - a. Married []
 - b. Widowed []
 - c. Divorced []
 - d. Single []
 - e. Separated []

5. What is your highest level of educational attainment? (Tick in the box as appropriate)

- a. No formal education []
- b. Islamic education []
- c. Qur'anic education []
- d. Primary not completed []
- e. Primary completed []
- f. Secondary not completed []
- g. Secondary completed []
- h. OND/NCE []
- i. Degree/HND and above []

6. What is your occupation? (Tick in the box as appropriate)

- a. Unemployed []
- b. Petty trading []
- c. Government civil servant []
- d. Self-employed []
- e. Private sector worker []
- f. Farming []
- g. Cattle rearer []
- h. Craftsman/Artisan []
- i. Hunter/Fisherman []
- j. Others (specify)

7. What is your religious affiliation? (Tick in the box as appropriate)
- a. Islam
 - b. Christianity
 - c. Others (specify)
8. How many wives does your husband have? (Tick in the box as appropriate)
- a. One
 - b. Two
 - c. Three
 - d. Four
 - e. Five and above
9. What is your position among the wives? (Tick in the box as appropriate)
- a. First
 - b. Second
 - c. Third
 - d. Fourth
 - e. Fifth and above
10. Are you still married to your husband? (Tick in the box as appropriate)
- a. Yes
 - b. No
11. If no, how many marriages have you contracted before the current one?
- a. One
 - b. Two
 - c. Three
 - d. Four
 - e. Five and above

12. If you had contracted any marriage before the present one, did you have children in your previous marriage(s)? (Tick in the box as appropriate)

a. Yes []

b. No []

13. If yes, how many children did you have in each marriage you have contracted?

Number of Children

a. First marriage []

b. Second marriage []

c. Third marriage []

d. Fourth marriage []

14. How many live deliveries have you had altogether? (Tick in the box as appropriate)

a. One []

b. Two []

c. Three []

d. Four []

e. Five []

f. Six []

g. Seven []

h. Eight []

i. Nine []

j. Ten and above []

15. How many of your children have died? (Tick in the box as appropriate)

- a. None []
- b. One []
- c. Two []
- d. Three []
- e. Four []
- f. Five and above []

16. How many still births have you had? (Tick in the box as appropriate)

- a. None []
- b. One []
- c. Two []
- d. Three []
- e. Four []
- f. Five and above []

17. How many miscarriages have you had? (Tick in the box as appropriate)

- a. None []
- b. One []
- c. Two []
- d. Three []
- e. Four []
- f. Five and above []

18. Please state the ages, sexes and occupations of all the children of your previous marriages:

S/No	Age	Sex	Occupation (if adult)
A			
B			
C			
D			
E			
F			
G			
H			

19. Have you ever terminated a marriage? (Tick in the box as appropriate)
- a. Yes []
- b. No []
20. If you have ever terminated a marriage, which of the following reason(s) led to the failure of the marriage? (Tick as many as are applicable)

First Marriage

- a. My husband did not satisfy me sexually []
- b. My husband took another wife []
- c. I did not have children by my first husband []
- d. My in-laws did not accept me []
- e. My children turned wayward, there I was divorced []
- f. I did not love my husband any more []
- g. Others (specify)
21. Which of the above factors was the most important in terminating the marriage?
22. Which of the following factors led to the termination of your second marriage? (Tick as many as are applicable)
- a. My husband did not satisfy me sexually []
- b. My husband took another wife []
- c. I did not love my husband anymore []
- d. My in-laws did not accept me []
- e. My children turned wayward, therefore, I was divorced []
- f. Others (specify)

23. Which of the above factors was the most important in terminating the marriage?
24. If any, where are the children of your previous marriages? (Tick all those that are appropriate)
- a. They are living with me []
 - b. They are living with their fathers []
 - c. They are with their fathers' relations []
 - d. They are with my relations []
 - e. They are on their own []
 - f. Others (specify)
25. When breastfeeding, do/did you maintain sexual relationship with your husband? (Tick in the box as appropriate)
- a. Yes []
 - b. No []
26. If no, what are/were reasons? (Tick all those applicable)
- a. Fear of unwanted pregnancy []
 - b. Beliefs that the baby could die []
 - c. My traditions considered me dirty []
 - d. Others (specify)
27. When bringing up children which of the following problems do/did you experience? (Tick all those applicable).
- a. Sleeplessness when children are restless []
 - b. Burden of taking care of husband and children []

- c. Confrontation by neighbours when children misbehave []
- d. Blame and confrontation by husband over children's misdeed []
- e. Starvation in the event of food scarcity as mothers have to feed children first []
- f. Denial of sex for fear of unwanted pregnancy []
- g. Exploitation by traditional healers when children take ill []
- h. Shouldering all responsibilities of providing for children []
- i. Psychological trauma due to children's waywardness []
- j. Violence directed by own children []
- k. Others (specify)

28. Have you ever encountered any problem relating to ante-natal and/or post-natal care? (Tick the box as appropriate)

- a. Yes []
- b. No []

29. If yes, what was/were the problems? (Tick all those applicable)

- a. Lack of money to foot the bill []
- b. Lack of financial support by husband []
- c. I was not allowed to visit the hospital []
- d. Others (specify)

30. Most parents expect some assistance from their children. Which of the following kinds of support do you expected from your children? (Tick all those applicable)

- a. Care at old age []
- b. Taking care of the younger siblings []
- c. Maintaining and sustaining the family name []

- d. Providing food for the family []
- e. Building a good house for the family []
- f. Protection from external attack []
- g. Strengthening the relationship between parents []

31. Which of these supports have you received from your children? (Tick all those applicable)

- a. Food []
- b. Clothing []
- c. Finance []
- d. Care of young siblings []
- e. Shelter []
- f. Others (specify)

32. Which of the following acts have you ever experienced from your own children? (Tick as applicable)

- a. Battering []
- b. Verbal abuse []
- c. Emotional abuse []
- d. Refusal to assist with house chore []
- e. Stealing and selling foodstuff and other items []
- f. Misuse of funds []
- g. Leading armed robbers to parents []
- h. Conniving with mother's enemies against her []
- i. Others (specify)

33. If you are employed, which of these difficulties have you faced in your place of work? (Tick as applicable)

- a. Denial of children's allowance by the government
- b. Denial of maternity leave
- c. Others (specify)

34. As a mother, which of the following responsibilities would you wish to be relieved of? (Tick as applicable)

- a. Providing food for the family []
- b. Paying school fees for the children []
- c. Paying medical bills for self []
- d. Paying medical bills for the children []
- e. Providing clothes for the children []
- f. Other (specify)

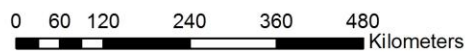
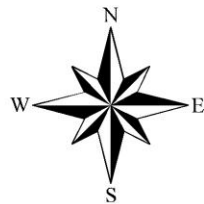
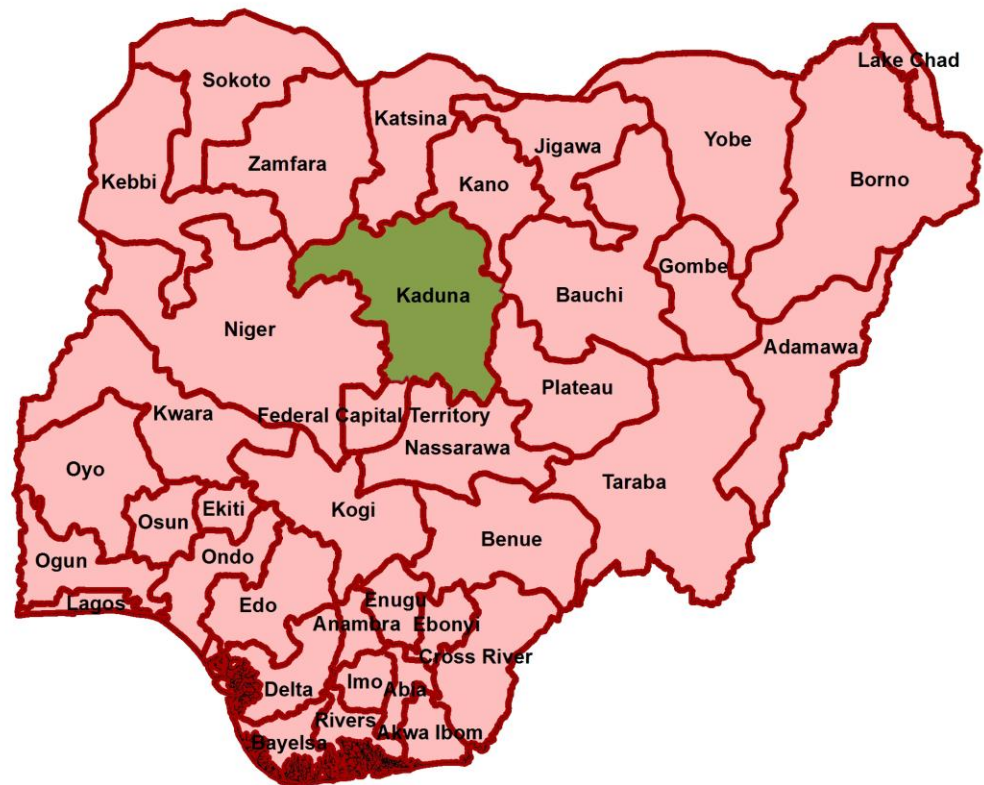
35. What do you do as a mother to meet your needs and those of your children? (Tick those applicable)

- a. Seek employment []
- b. Getting educated []
- c. Sale of labour []
- d. Engaging in petty businesses []
- e. Getting children to hawk []
- f. Engaging in sex work (prostitution) []
- g. Keeping male friends []
- h. Birth control to limit the number of children []
- i. Engaging in begging []
- j. Depending on relations []
- k. Others (specify)

APPENDIX II: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION (FGD) AND IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW (IDI) GUIDE

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. What is your marital status?
4. How many children do you have?
5. What is your ethnic group?
6. What is your occupation?
7. Have you ever encounter any problem while performing your motherhood role?
8. If yes, state whether it was with your:
 - a. Husband
 - b. Children
 - c. Neighbours
 - d. Boss
 - e. Other (specify)
9. What was the nature of the problem?
10. What did you do to solve the problem
11. Of what benefit is being a mother to you?
12. What assistance have/do you obtained/obtain from your children?

FIG.1 KADUNA STATE IN THE CONTEXT OF NIGERIA





Legend	
	State Boundary
	Case Study Area Kaduna

FIG. 2 MAP OF KADUNA STATE SHOWING THE STUDY AREAS

