

**THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ODE-ONDO OF SOUTH
WESTERN NIGERIA, C. 1960-1999**

BY

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2018

Declaration

I hereby declare that this Dissertation titled: **The Role of Women in the Development of Ode-Ondo of South Western Nigeria,1960-1999** is the product of my research and has been written by me. It has not been presented and accepted for higher degree in any other University. All quotations have been duly acknowledged and distinguished.

Olanisimi Bankole Dickson

Date

Certification

This Dissertation titled “**The Role of Women in The Development of Ode-Ondo South Western Nigeria, 1960 to 1999**”by Olanisimi Bankole Dickson, meets the requirements governing the award of Masters of Arts Degree in History of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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Dedication

This study is dedicated to God Almighty, immortal invisible, the GREAT GOD, the source of life, wisdom, understanding and the very ancient of days who the Yoruba call *Arugbo ojo*. He made it my destiny to be educated and also bestowed on me the necessary qualities of becoming an educated person; it is only by His grace alone.

Also, this work is specially dedicated to all the women in Ode-Ondo who have been subordinated and oppressed in one way or the other, but through thick and thin ensured the constant survival of socio-economic activities of Ode-Ondo population.

Lastly, the study is dedicated to my mother who nurtured me and who was always by my side in the time of sickness, pains, insufficiency and agony. She is a woman of inestimable value.

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Abstract

The study examines the role of women in the development of Ode-Ondo, Southwestern Nigeria from 1960 to 1999. It discusses the role women played in both formal and informal socio-economic activities, which involved: agriculture, trade, handicraft, education, healthcare services and associations. The study shows that there was a clear division of labour, gender interplay and complementarities in all socio-economic activities carried out by both men and women in Ode-Ondo. Therefore, there was no isolation of gender in the socio-economic activities of Ode-Ondo; although, women shouldered domestic roles which could be social or economic within and outside the family. The double tasks set for women in this society often result to shortage of time which they could have invested heavily on economic activities. Furthermore, the study examines how gender roles in general and women in particular have been impacted differently by the international and national plans, policies and programmes between 1960 and 1999. Nigerian Government with an effort to improve the socio-economic development of Nigerian societies began with the formulation of Development Plans from 1962 to 1985 focusing on agriculture (cash crops in particular), followed by Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), Better Life Programme (BLF), and Family Support Programme (FSP) among others. The study concludes that most government policies failed to put into consideration gender roles, particularly as it relates to women's social roles which sustained economic activities by providing constant labour. As a result, there was a great dichotomy between genders in socio-economic activities; men dominated the public sector while women dominated all the domestic affairs during our period of study. Therefore, inequality persisted and sustainable development in Ode-Ondo became a mirage. The study used both primary and secondary sources for proper analysis.

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Abbreviations

BLP – Better Life for Rural Dwellers

GAD – Gender and Development

GDP – Gross Development Product

GNP – Gross National Product

IFIS – International Financial Institutions

IMF – International Monetary Fund

MAMSER – Mass Mobilization for Social and Economic Recovery

₦ – Naira

£ – Pound sterling

S – Shilling

D – Penny

SAP – Structural Adjustment Programmes/Policies

UN – United Nations

WAD – Women and Development

WID – Women in Development

WORDOC – Women’s Research and Documentation Center, University Of Ibadan

CMS – Church Missionary Society

OAU – Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife

FSP – Family Support Programme

FNDP – First National Development Plan

SNDP – Second National Development Plan

TNDP – Third National Development Plan

FNDP – Fourth National Development Plan

MFI_s – Micro Finance Institutions

GMS-Gender Mainstreaming

CSW-Commission on the Status of Women

POA-Platform of Action

RMHR-Reproducing Maintenance of Human Resource

Glossary

Yorua	English
<i>‘Adin’</i>	Local cosmetic extracted from palm kernel
<i>‘Adire</i>	Local tie and dye textile
<i>Aláàfin</i>	Head of government of Oyo Empire
<i>Ajé</i>	Market deity and goddess of prosperity
<i>Baale</i>	ruler of hamlet or village
<i>Babalọ́já</i>	male counterpart of traditional head or subordinated head of market
<i>Erelú</i>	traditional head
<i>Aghofen</i>	women’s wing
<i>Gbomọremi</i>	the wife of the deceased osemawe
<i>Eṣe omọ re</i>	those children are an abominable
<i>Osemawe</i>	title of the Ode-Ondo monarch
<i>Oriki</i>	cognomen
<i>Aláde ugbo</i>	literary means a royal force to carry his own crown into the forest
<i>Ekú</i>	the leader of the ifore settlement
<i>Men la Kajię Miwo</i>	I am going to herd in my fowls
<i>Ìyá</i>	mother
<i>Omọ Okunrin</i>	son
<i>Òpóji</i>	female chief
<i>Etu-Ode</i>	Ondo black or blue native woven cloth

<i>Isu</i>	yam
<i>Obì</i>	kola nuts
<i>Ugba</i>	calabash or a gourd that has been cut in half and dried, used as a bowl or basket
<i>Irò</i>	wrapper
<i>Bùbá</i>	blouse
<i>Gèlè/ìborun</i>	shawl
<i>Pokín</i>	locally woven materials
<i>Ieghe</i>	bead
<i>Asọ-òkè</i>	more ceremonial type of traditional cloth
<i>Àlàárì</i>	red or wine colour cloth
<i>Sayan</i>	Ode-Ondo traditional cream or brownish cloth
<i>Iyun</i>	bead
<i>Lele</i>	simple gold chain
<i>Gaari/gbaguda</i>	cassava grits
<i>Ègbẹ</i>	association/ cooperative
<i>Owó elele</i>	loan with interest
<i>Iyalaje</i>	a high rank giving to market president in Ode-Ondo
<i>Lọbun</i>	highest title giving to women chief in Ode-Ondo
<i>Ọba</i>	a paramount rule (king)
<i>Oduduwa</i>	A semi – mythical and historical figure from all which Yoruba people are believed to have descended

<i>Olodumare</i>	the Supreme Being (God)
<i>Òde-Ondo</i>	city kingdom
<i>Ọkunrin</i>	man
<i>Obirin</i>	women
<i>Ounjẹ</i>	food
<i>Ùghèlè</i>	central market
<i>Ọsannla</i>	orange
<i>Tèmósàn</i>	tomatoes
<i>Ata</i>	pepper
<i>Efọ</i>	vegetables
<i>Àkùrọ</i>	marchyland
<i>ègúnsí</i>	melon
<i>Lanbo</i>	cocoyam
<i>Àgbàdo</i>	maize
<i>Iyán</i>	pounded yam
<i>Àgàtú</i>	labourer of distinct ethnic group used in Ode-Ondo
<i>Omiye mi</i>	my maternal kin
<i>Ulí</i>	compound family unit

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This research focuses on the roles of women in the socio-economic development of Ode Ondo, South Western Nigeria from 1960 to 1999. Women, from post colonial period performed multiple roles of reproduction, production and community management roles.¹ History has attested to the active role in which Nigerian women played together with men, in accelerating social and economic progress of Ode-Ondo society. Ode-Ondo women played various roles in economic activities at different times. They played the social role within household (the role expected of women by the society) and sex role in the public sphere (an equal task with men).² Socio-economic activities remained the life wire of Ode-Ondo's society's development. It embraces unpaid domestic or social work of children's reproduction and nurturing, paid social services such as teaching, healthcare, agriculture, trade and local crafts; and the contributions of women to economic development have been dramatic turn within three distinct epochs. The pre-colonial, colonial and most importantly post colonial which marks the changing roles of Ode-Ondo women³. In the pre-colonial period, women featured prominently in the subsistence agriculture and complemented the men's role in the cultivation of food crops; at this era, women dominated trade either local or long distance trade, buying and selling of commodities. More so, women played significant role in the manufacturing of local crafts like weaving, pottery and

¹ Ojo, J.R.O. "The Position of Women in Yoruba Traditional Society", Department of History Seminar Paper 1978/1979, University of Ife. Pp 115-150.

² Afonja, S. "The Emergence of a Competitive Sex roles Structure in Yoruba Society" In *International Symposium on the Changing roles of men and women in private and public life*. Athens and Greece, 3-6 December 1985. P.2

³ Bay, E. *Women and Work in Africa*. Westview Press, Colorado 1982. Pp 1-3. See, Federal Republic of Nigeria, *National Manpower Board, Federal Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction, Labour Force Sample Survey 1966/67, Vol. 1 December 1972*. P.21

dyeing. In Nigeria in general, women like Queen Amina of Zaria, Moremi of Ile-Ife, Madam Tinubu of Lagos, Mrs Ransome Kuti, Madam Efusetan Aniwura, Iyaola Rukayat, Madam Ajisoma, Madam Lanlatu of Ibadan, and in Ode-Ondo other women like Yeye Pupupu, Yeye Gbanujoke, Yeye Taagba, Mrs Aralola Faturoti, Mrs Eweje Funke, Mrs Roselyn Olawumi, Mrs Iluyemi Funke, Mrs Akinsemolu Helen, Mrs Ojewale Beatrice, Mrs Wemimo Ikudaisi, Madam Pelade Ologede, Mrs Remi Duyile among others contributed to the development of the Nigerian societies in general and that of Ode-Ondo in particular through their active participation in socio-economic activities.⁴

⁴Ayoola, Micheal. Age 57, civil servant. Interviewed 13 January, 2015 at Ademulegun Road, Ode-Ondo. Bolanle Awe (ed.), *Nigerian Women: A Historical Perspective*. Bookcraft Press, Ibadan Nigeria, 2001. Pp.1-10.

MAP 1: MAP OF NIGERIA



Source: Designed by Bulus Wulga Yuwomgi, Department of Geography, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. 2015.

Women in the pre-colonial Ode-Onodo played active role in the socio-economic activities of the area side by side with men and there was division of labour between genders.⁵ Women owned some property and exercised considerable economic power in Ode-Onodo.⁶ Women also

⁵Akinfoyeku, Mrs. Sele. Age 50, Farmer. Interviewed 22 December, 2014 at Ajegunle Street, Yaba, Ode-Onodo

⁶Awe, Bolanle. (ed), Nigerian Women: A Historical Perspective. Bookcraft Press, Ibadan Nigeria, 2001. Pp.1-10.

played numerous social roles and functions which include circumcision, marriage ceremonies, funeral rites and religious activities.⁷ Other roles like procreation was an essential role of women, this role was not limited to giving birth to children alone but also the bringing up of the children in sound moral and acceptable manner.⁸ With the colonial invasion, occupation and colonization of Ode-Ondo, the women economic role changed direction from that of active economic role in decision making of household activities to passive one, women in Ode-Ondo were not seen as movers and active participants in the production of cash crops like cocoa, coffee, rubber, palm oil and among others that were introduced during British colonization of Ode-Ondo and in spite of that, women were used in the provision of labour force for the promotion and execution of colonial economy, such as that of planting, harvesting and the collection of the primary products for exports. All these were jointly undertaken by both men and women.⁹ The colonial government encouraged large scale of cash crop production in order to service the industries in Britain.¹⁰ The immediate impact of this was the commercial value which was attached to land ownership. Cocoa plantations were owned by individuals and it was the context of these new developments that old traditions of communal land ownership gave way to individual ownership.¹¹ Each man in Ode-Ondo was supported by family in tilling the field, planting and

⁷ Renee, P. "Documentation and Analysis of the Invisible Work of Women :A Nigerian case study" .*International Review*,123,vol.4" in Larray Denzer (ed.), *Women's Work in Nigeria:Selected writings* ,vol.2,University of Ibadan,1992.Pp.473-490.

⁸ Johnson, S.*The History of Yoruba*. London Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969 P125. See also: Afolabi M. M., "Women as the Pillar of National Economy in Nigeria": A Study of Economic Activities of Rural Women in Six Local Government Area of Ondo State. *IAFFE Summer Conference, International Association of Feminist Economics*, Torino, Italy 19th July, 2008. Pp.1-20.

⁹ Adeyemi, M.C. *Ondo Kingdom: Its History and Culture*. Bounty Press Limited, Ibadan. 1993. Pp.100-117. See also: Ezeani, O. E. "Gender and Political Participation in Nigeria" in *International Journal of Studies in Humanities (IJOH)* vol. 1 no.1 1998. Pp.96-107 and Akubu, F.N. "Women in Society: Status, Education and Contribution to National Development" in *Journal of Liberal Studies* (Special edition), vol.9 no.1 and 2,2001. Pp.353-359. See, Young, M. "The Contributions of women to the Economic Development with Special reference to Business" in Jadesola et.al, *The Contributions Of Nigerian Women to the Economic Development of Nigeria...P.54*

¹⁰ Bay, B. *Women and Work...P.1*

¹¹ Fadipe, N.A. *The Sociology of the Yoruba*, Ibadan University Press, 1970 Pp148-9. See also: Bole Awe, "Women in Yoruba History". *Gangan* No. 8 October, 1979. P.5.

harvesting of crops as well as transporting such crops.¹² There was no actual prohibition of women from hoeing and planting in kitchen gardens inside the towns, women harvested the crops.¹³

With the attainment of independence to Nigeria in general and in Ode-Ondo in particular, women played very active and changed role in various aspects of the socio-economic activities of Ode-Ondo; women assumed a more critical roles in two main social faculties: informal and formal economy sectors that centred on farming(*isẹ-ogbẹ*), trade (*owo*), handicrafts and the professional services (teaching and healthcare) which corresponded almost completely to the division of labour between genders.¹⁴ Although women played complementary role in some economic activities, yet they both played vital roles in domestic activities and the gender interdependence was reflected in the decision making processes, emphasis was on joint decisions and women were never confined to their domestic role alone.¹⁵ Ode-Ondo women began to acquire land through purchase, rent and inheritance from their parents¹⁶ to practice farming in largely subsistence and to an extent commercial scale, and this was as a result of the large-scale migration of able bodied men to the cities as wage labourers.¹⁷ Ode-Ondo women, apart from their economic role, also involved in complexity social role as mothers and wives; their lives

¹² Afolabi, Mr. Ojo. Age 74, Retired Farmer. Interviewed 12 March, 2015 at Odetu Street, Ode –Ondo.

¹³ Enobong, D. U. and Ibok, E. E. "Women and Vulnerability to HIV/AIDS: Care Challenges to Health Services in Nigeria" in *International Journal of African Culture, Politics and Development*, vol.6 No.1 2011. P.127. See also: Morolake McDonnell, *Gender Inequality in Nigeria*, Spectrum Books Limited, Ibadan. 2003. Pp.10-11; Ikejiani, M. Clark. "Gender and Cultural in Nigeria" in Ogbani, J.N.A. and Ifelumni, S. (eds) *Studies in Gender Discrimination in the 21st Century*. Cape Publishers International, Owerri. 2001, Pp.19-20; Abiodun, Afolabi. "The Colonial Taxation Policy Among Yoruba of South-Western Nigeria and its Implications for socio-Economic Development" in *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, vol.19, 2010. Pp.63-92; Ezebege, Bemedeth and Akubue, Felicia N. *An Appraisal of status of Nigerian Women: Educational Implications and National Development*. University of Nigeria, Nsuka 2012. P5.

¹⁴ Ochay, O. et al. *Gender, Power and Politics in Nigeria*. Abuja Nigeria, Aboki Publishers, 2007. P.34. See, Nwosu, I. E. "Gender Role Perception and Changing Role of Women in Nigeria", in *International Journal of Agriculture and Rural Development*, 2012. P.1.

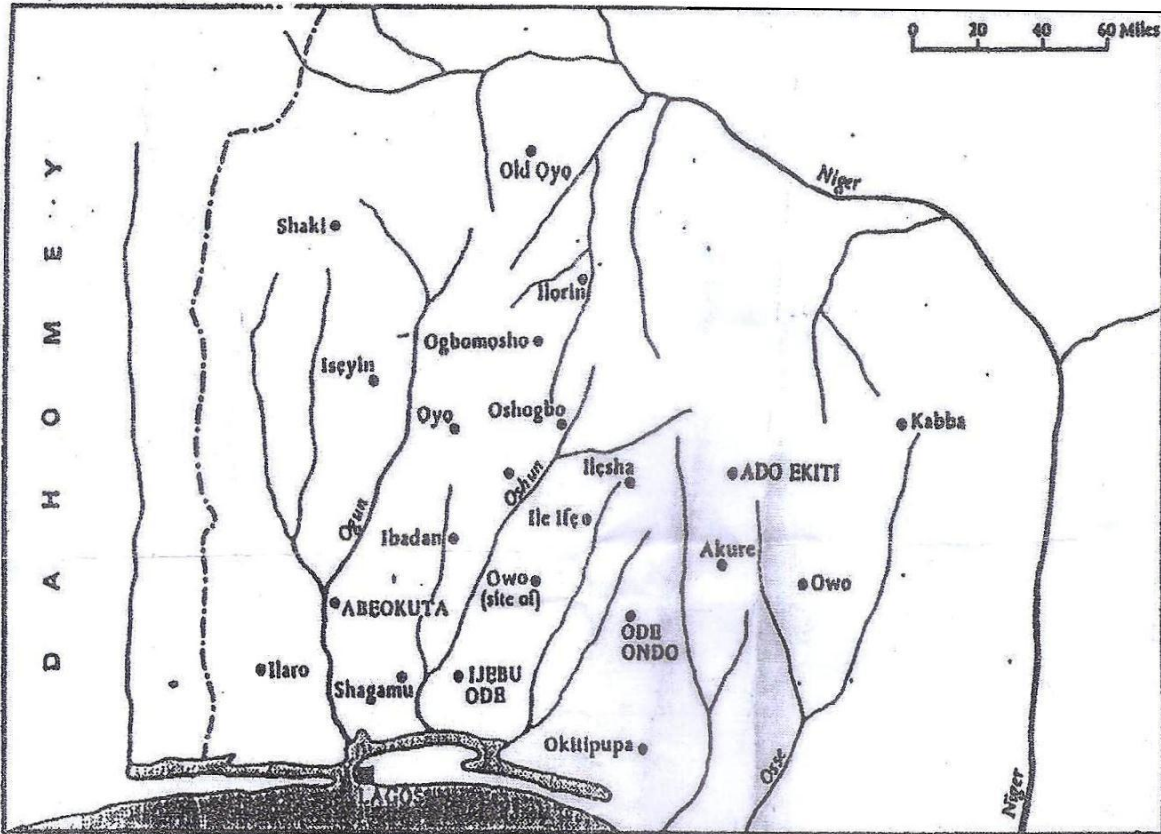
¹⁵ Afonja, S. "The Emergence of Competitive roles Structure in Yoruba Society." In *International Symposium on the Changing roles of men and women in the private and public life, Athens and Greece 3-6 December 1985*. Pp.2-4.

¹⁶ Ondo Report of Integrated Household Survey in Ondo State. In *Bureau of Statistics, Akure*, 2011. P.114.

¹⁷ Adeyemi, O. *Ondo Kingdom*... Pp.13-18.

were public with multiple obligations to Ode-Ondo society through active role in education (informal and formal); healthcare services and association¹⁸

MAP 2: MAPOF WESTERN NIGERIA



Source: Keniston M.M., *Yoruba Women, Work and Social Change*. Bookcraft Ibadan, 2010. P.8

It was on the effort to improve the gender roles between 1960 and 1999 that made government to initiate several economic programmes and policies; these include the national plans, SAP, Better Life Programmes (1986), Family Support Programme (1994) among others.¹⁹ These policies and programmes failed to put into consideration the women or gender

¹⁸ Akinbi, J. O. (ed.). *Towards A Better Nigeria: Reflection on Contemporary Issues in the Socio-Economic and Political Development of Nigeria*. Ben Quality Press, Ibadan. 1999. P.120; Adeyemi, *Ondo Kingdom*... Pp.13-18; *Nigeria Official Handbook*, Emacon Press Limited, Lagos 1991. P.85; and Aina O. "Women and Health in Nigeria" in Sessay, A. et al. *Nigerian Women in Society and Development*. Ibadan, Dokun Publishing House, 1998. P.119 and Ojo, J.R.O. "The Position Of Women" ... P.129.

¹⁹ Fapohunda, T. "Women and the Informal Sector in Nigeria: Implications for Development" in *British Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*, vol. 4, No. 1, 2012. P.35.

multiple roles; women and their domestic role were interpreted as household provisioners, while men were seen by the policy planners as producers for market. The policies only focused on public role which was dominated by men and that was the basis through which gender inequality was promoted to the detriment of Ode-Ondo women's domestic and public roles. More so, the categories of women in Ode-Ondo did not benefit equally in such policies and plans; the Ode-Ondo peasant women became invisible and did not have equal access to resources as that of rich Ode-Ondo women who made such policies for majority of peasant women in Ode-Ondo.²⁰

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

This study has attempted to take a critical look at the role of women in development of Ode-Ondo Area, from 1960 to 1999. The role of women in development experienced a paradigm shift from that of colonial period to post-colonial period. Looking at the history of economic activities in Ode-Ondo, men were seen as the movers, originators, custodians and the beneficiaries of economic activities and policies. Men were seen to have made greater impact on economic development of Ode-Ondo while women role was seen as that of care within the public domain with little impact on the socio-economic development of Ode-Ondo. Yet, there has not been significant change in the status of women in form of sustained economic development and this has transformed into a serious problem that needs to be researched. Women marginalization and exploitation in Ode-Ondo became noticeable. Women in Ode-Ondo have not been comprehensively studied in the recent past. However, a lot of writers, out of ignorance presumed, wrote on the role of women in Ode-Ondo; their role has been reduced to children bearers and little else and at worst domestic workers. The time used in domestic chores has affected women's economic activities. There has been no significant change in the status of

²⁰ Fapohunda, T. "Women and the Informal Sector in Nigeria...P.37. See, Yemisi, J. O., et al., "Gender Issues in Agriculture and Rural Development in Nigeria: The Role of Women" in *Humanity Social Sciences Journal* vol. 4, No. 1, 2009. Pp. 19-30.

women as a result of inappropriate and poor implementation of government policies and programmes on women.

In spite of international and national measures to address women's issues, the level of women's poverty and subordination have not been significantly reduced. Thus, this study focused on the role of women in the socio-economic activities of Ode-Ondo with a view to understanding women's significance role in the economy and how their status as women affected their economic role and its impact on economic activities of Ode-Ondo. As stated above, the study is a critical examination of the role of women in the economy of Ode-Ondo. A significant number of researches on gender focused on how development processes have bypassed or subjugated women, that are non beneficiaries. Women were seen as reactants or helpless observers not as active participants in development processes. Women have been affected by lack of access to land or were relegated to a subsistence production, lack of information, credit and extension services, marginalization and lack of supportive services from the government. As stated in the above, the study is critical examination of the role of women in the socio-economic development of Ode-Ondo. The study also answer the following questions:

1. What were the roles of women in Ode-Ondo?
2. What were the major factors that determine the status of women in Ode-Ondo?
3. To what extent do women have access to and utilization of institutional credit particularly from the credit institutions? And
4. What were the impacts of key economic policies on gender's socio-economic activities as per National Development Plans; SAP, BLP, FSP and among others

1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study

All research emerges from a perceived problem, some unsatisfactory challenges in the society that society confronts. The Nigerian economic policies have over the years not been able to effect positive significant change on the status of women in the Ode-Ondo; it had failed to take cognizance of what constituted gender roles and needs and the inter-play in spite of gender roles in socio- economic development Ode-Ondo. Given these circumstances, study focuses on and the following:

- i. To provide a historical analysis of the roles played by women in the socio-economic development of Ode-Ondo which are seen within and outside household?
- ii. Assesses the impacts of presumably of gender-neutral economic policies specifically Structural Adjustment Programme/policy, Better Life Programme, Family Support Programme and among others on women in Ode-Ondo;
- iii. It examines how women have struggled and their coping mechanisms in the male dominated society of Ode-Ondo;
- iv. It examines the challenges women faced in post-independence development process by combining socio-economic roles and which resulted in the diminishing of their economic outputs and
- v. Understands and recognizes changing gender roles in the work place and within the family; women were not only active within household but also took active roles in some economic activities that were previously reserve of men in Ode-Ondo.

To reiterate, the purpose of this research is to examine the role of women in economic development of Ode-Ondo in the context of economic policies. Variables examined include: The role of women, economic development, government policies, male-female relations in

reproduction and production, agriculture, trade, local crafts, credit facilities, cooperative societies and among others.

The study attempted to provide a detailed historical account of the role of women in socio-economic development by examining the nature of their involvement and the challenges they faced in Ode-Ondo.

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study on the role of women in development was a very compelling issue because women were yet to attain their full economic potentials. In the light of the foregoing, the significance of the role of women cannot be over-emphasized. The women's social responsibilities deal with keeping a home going. Women produced half of the food in Ode-Ondo and bore most of the responsibilities for household food security. They also make up a quarter of the workforce, yet, because of the poor economic policies and limitations that failed to take into consideration women social role, their economic productivity relative to potential remained low. Therefore, the study enables us to understand women and men contributions to national economy, that women formed the backbone of household and public labour force; that often their unpaid and undervalued work within household and community is essential for the subsistence well being of their dependent families; that they alone were increasingly responsible for the maintenance and well being of a large proportion of Ode-Ondo. The study has contributed immensely to the existing body of knowledge on women and development.

Therefore, the significance of this study manifested in the following ways: First, it threw light on the controversies over the role of women in post-colonial Ode-Ondo. Also, this study helped to identify the factors hindering gender development and how such have seriously

affected the economic development of women as a whole. Equally important that it helped to evaluate the performance of different international and national policies and programmes that were initiated in the post-independence in a bid to improve the role of women. Furthermore, the study was an important tool for students, policies planners and researchers that wanted to know more about the post-colonial patriarchal society in which women lived. More significantly perhaps, was to refocus researchers' emphasis on the importance of the role of women and to demonstrate interplay between genders by showing that women were not passive and isolated entity in the society.

1.5 Scope and Limitations of the Study

Ode-Ondo is a settlement located south-west geographical zone of Nigeria and lies on latitude 06°30' North and longitude 04°45' East; It is bounded to the North by Ile-Oluji; on the east by Idanre, on the west and south by Odigbo.²¹ Ode-Ondo is situated at 290 metres above sea level, covers an area of 4,060 km² and the population is according to 2006 National Population Census, 139,400 males and 144,270 females and totalling 283,672 people.²² Ode-Ondo Area lies in the humid tropic with tropical rainforest and the South-Easterly wind throughout most of the year. Ode-Ondo is forested and contains valuable timber, mostly *mahogany*, *opepe*, *afara*, *obeche* etcetra with a big forest reserve of over one thousand square kilometres. An annual average of timber extraction is almost 23x10⁵ cubic metres. Ode-Ondo Area is traversed by a number of clear streams flowing into four rivers, *Owena*, *Ufara*, *Oluwa* and *Ooni* which flow southwards into the creeks. There are also considerable granite outcrops said to be of volcanic

²¹Bakare, K. and Adewolu, A. "Mitigating the Effects of Flood in Ondo Town: An Urban Centre." In *Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*, Adeyemi College of Education. 2007, P.18.

²²Babatolu, J.. "Health Implications of drinking water supplies conditions in Ondo Town..." P.14.

origin.²³The soil derived from the basement complex rocks are mostly well drained with a medium to fine texture that enhanced farming. The soil texture of this kind in Ode-Ondo Area enhances the growing of crops like yams, cassava, maize, coco-yam, cocoa, kola-nuts, beans, palm products etcetra.²⁴

The year 1960 was chosen as the commencement period of the study because; it marked the end of colonial government and the beginning of Nigerian independence. More so, some people believe that it was 1960 when Human, material and policies were mobilized and implemented by Nigerians with less British interference.²⁵ Although, during 1960 women were still classified as inferior identity in Ode-Ondo which placed them in the lower position of the society with little or no attention given to them in terms of planning and implementation. The study terminated in 1999 when Nigeria ended military dictatorship and there was a process of transition to Democratic dispensation and it was also the very year that National policy on women was approved by the government.²⁶

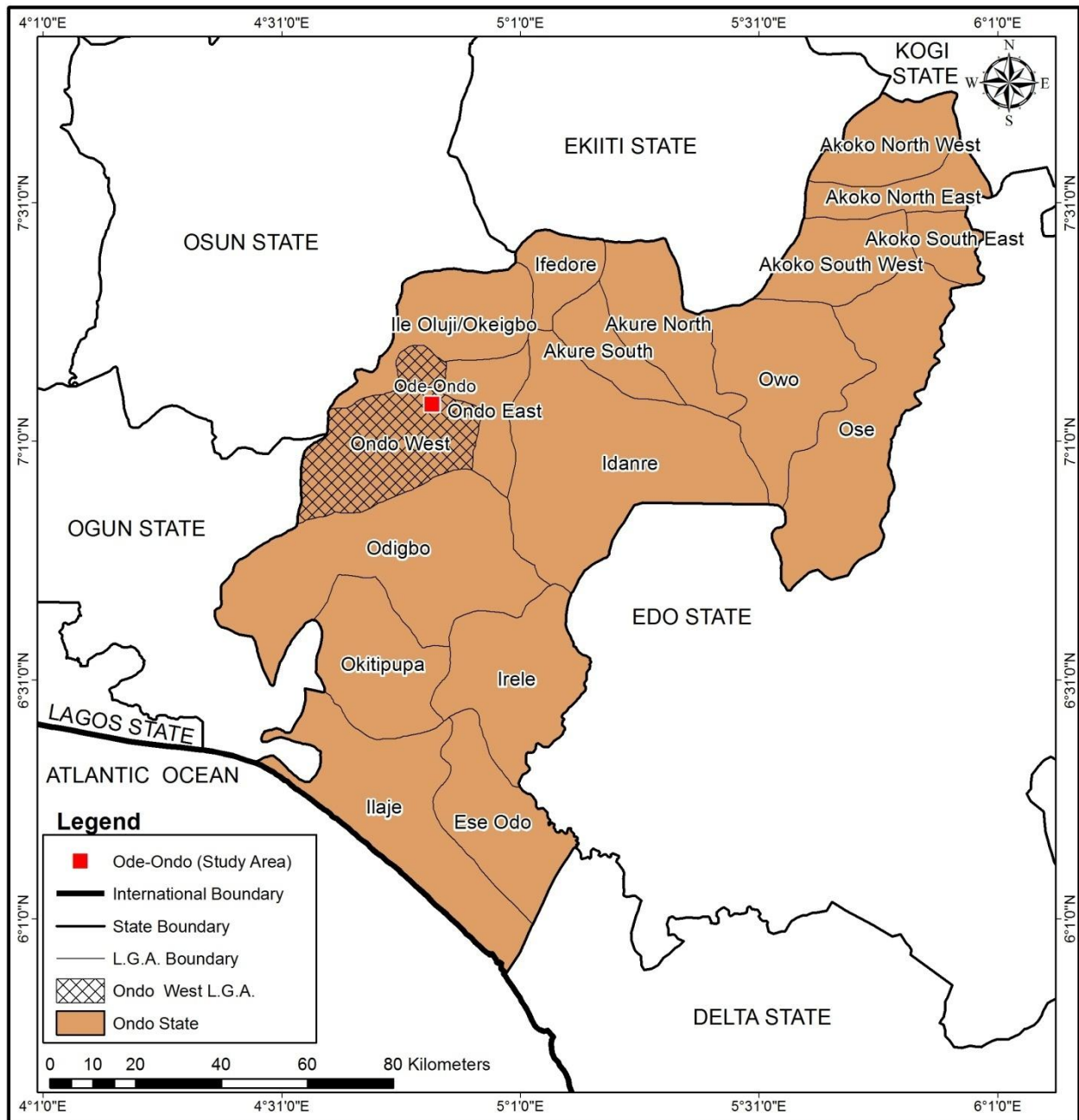
²³Babatolu, J. "Health Implications of drinking water supplies conditions in Ondo Town..." P.14.

²⁴*The Daily Times*, 1975 P.1 See also: Awe, B. "A Brief Overview of Nigerian Women's Studies" In Aina M. (ed.) *Setting An Agenda For Gender And Women's Studies in Nigeria*, Tamaza Publishing Company, Zaria 1996. Pp.3-12; Awe B., *Portrait of An Academic and Activist*-WORDOC (ed.), Ibadan 1999. P.66 and "Gender Issues": *International Journal of The Feminist /Womanist Theories*, vol. 4 March 2012. P.198.

²⁵Kepteijn, L. "Africa Historiography written by African", Afrika studienentrum 1977. P.2 See, Knowles M.D., *Academic History in History*, xlvii 1962. Pp.223-232; Achibe, C. *There was A Country: A Personal History of Biafra*. Penguin Books, UK 2012. P.40; Oladimeji, A. and Robert, J. *Politics in Nigeria*, Longman Publishers, Ibadan 2001. Pp.1-8 and Okupe, D. *Nigeria Anthropology For National Rebirth*, Essence communication Limited, Lagos, 1993. P.1

²⁶Nzemeka, J., "The Position of Women in Pre-Colonial Africa" In Blankson, E. Ikpe (ed.), *Women and Power in Africa in the 20th and 21st Centuries*, Frangrance Communications Publishers, Lagos, 2009. Pp.27-34. See also, Ahmed, H. et al. "The Nigerian Army and National Development since the Civil War" *In Jorind* 10(3), December 2012. P.1.

MAP 3: MAP OF ONDO STATE SHOWING ODE-ONDO



Source: Designed by Bulus Wulga Yuwomgi, Department of Geography, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. 2015

The subject of study is the roles of Women in socio- economic development of Ode-Ondo South Western Nigeria, 1960 to 1999.

The challenges faced in the course of carrying out this research, to mention but a few, included: short time frame, limited access to the sources of information, the problems associated with oral interview, the application of Gender and Development theoretical frame work to the women's role in economic development of Ode-Ondo from 1960 to 1999. The tight time frame for researching the topic implied that the scope of the study has to be limited to few numbers of women in some of the quarters in Ode-Ondo Area. The process of applying for documents like journals and archival materials most especially at Obafemi Awolowo University and National archive Ibadan was cumbersome and time consuming which implied that there was a challenge in accessing recent and past documents. Some of the documents were vague, biased and highly or partially exaggerative in their accounts and that was carefully corroborated with other sources. These were, however, some of the limitations of carrying out a study on the role women in socio-economic development of Ode- Ondo. Nevertheless, the data that was collected through oral interviews were crossed-checked against data from other written sources. The time and resources available to the researcher were also major constraints to include a more extensive study of economy of Ode-Ondo. There were limited published works on the socio-economic role of women in Ode-Ondo which imposed a lot of constraints on the number of relevant literature available to the researcher during the course of the research. Because of time limit, issues like women and cooperative societies were not addressed in depth in this study.

1.6 Methodology

A study on the role of women in development of Ode-Ondo, relies on both primary and secondary sources; and which were collected from archives, oral interview, library and visit to historical sites relevant to the research. The primary sources involved field work that was conducted on the basis of interviews with both men and women who had knowledge of the history of Ode-Ondo, and a number of important historical sites were visited. The people that were interviewed include traditional rulers, religious leaders and other traditional title holders, peasants, traders, traditional and orthodox health practitioners, teachers as well as those who involved in handicraft production. Apart from individual's interviews, group interviews were equally conducted in order to provide an avenue for sharing of ideas, opinions and experiences. Forty women and fifteen men were interviewed, some individuals bluntly requested or asked for token or that the researcher helped in carrying goods or purchasing their products. The data collected in the field through interviews were carefully analyzed and corroborated with other sources. Places visited for archival sources were National Archives Ibadan and the palaces of traditional rulers like the palace of Oba Osemawe Ondo kingdom and Ekinmogun Civic Centre, Ode-Ondo.

The secondary sources were used to supplement the primary sources; such sources consisted of both published and unpublished materials. The secondary sources include text books, journal, thesis and dissertation mostly from libraries at Ahmadu Bello University, University of Ibadan, Obafemi Awolowo University and Gani Fawehinmi Research Centre, Ode-Ondo.

1.7 Definition of Concepts and Theoretical Framework

Women: Some scholars define women as “human beings whose physical anatomy differs from that of men”²⁷ They see women purely as biological beings having universal biological features and characteristics. But most social scientists defined women by the socially defined roles that have been accorded them by the society. These socially defined roles differ from one society to another. Furthermore, others define women by historical roles they play as mothers, sisters, wives, aunts, daughters, friends and confidants. That is, women are the building blocks upon which the foundation of happy homes, family and society are built.²⁸

Women Economic Role: these are women learned roles or behaviours in a given society, community or other special group, that condition which activities tasks and responsibilities are perceived women’s economic activities in order to produce goods and services either for sale, exchange, or to meet the subsistence needs of the family and for example, Agriculture, trade crafts, medicine, education among others.²⁹

Women Social Role: these are forms or types of roles as mothers, wives with complexity of social services (nurturing, procreating and transferring of knowledge) which could either be in domestic or public.³⁰

²⁷ Keneth, L. *African Women in Towns: An Aspect of Africa’s Social Revolution*. Cambridge University Press UK, 1972. P.7.

²⁸ Obi, D. and Nnamani, J. (eds.), *Nigerian Women and the Challenges of Our Time*. Malthouse Press Ltd, Lagos 1991 P.10. See also, Ojeh, M.E.N. “Education :An Imperative for Women Empowement and Impact in Nigeria Development” In *Journal of Today’s Education*, vol.1 No3, 2007 Pp28-32; Schaefer, Richard. *Sociology*. New York Press 2005 Pp.283-6; Elson, D. *Make Bias in Macro-Economic: The Case of Structural Adjustment*, Manchester University Press, 1991. P.47; Antobus, Peggy. “Structural Adjustment: Cure or Curse? Implication for Carribean Development” In *Women and Economic Policy*. Oxford UK, 1993. Pp.13-44; Ityayyar, D.A. and Obiajunwa, S. *The State and Women in Nigeria*, Jos University Press Ltd. 1992 P.2. Kirby M, et al., *Sociology in Perspective*, Oxford, Heinemann Publishers, UK, 1997. Pp166-168.

²⁹ Anna, Z. “Glossary of Gender-Related Terms”. In *Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies*, 2005. P.16. See, Ogunsuyi, Mrs. Felicia. Age 55, Farmer. Interviewed 16 April, 2015 at Iyana, Epe, Ode-Ondo

³⁰ Catherine, O. et al. (eds.), *Gender Roles in Development Projects*. Kumaria Press, USA, 1985. Pp.3-5. See, Robert, W. “Social Roles of American Women: Their Contribution to Sense of Usefulness and Importance” in *Marriage and Family Living* Vol.20, No4, 1958. Pp358-366.

Development: Development is a concept explained differently to mean many things to different people.³¹ This has not only made the concepts of development nebulous, but also polemical³² For example, the use of concept such as “growth”, “change” and in some instances “industrialization” are used interchangeable with development which distorts the conceptualization and meaning of development.³³

Development can be further explained from two theoretical stand points, the liberal and the Marxist perspectives. The liberals see development in terms of growth of the Gross National Product (GNP). Accordingly, development is defined as the maximization of the growth of the GDP through capital accumulation and industrialization.³⁴ Better still, it sees development as a social and technological progress not merely an increase in production but the way and manner goods and services are produced and which consequently leads to improvement in the standard of living of the society in question.³⁵

The Marxist perspective, championed by the radical scholars perceived differently the meaning of development. In their view, development rather than being an abstract economic category is a multidimensional process. They maintained that development rather than being restricted to macro economic variables focuses on man and his well being. As a result of this, human beings constitute the pivot on which it revolves.³⁶

Development in any society revolves around some important variables; individual and social group. At the level of individual, it means an increase in skills and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self discipline, responsibility and material well being. While at the level of

³¹ Chongo, T. D. “The Political Economy of Salt Production in Awe 1920-1990: An explication of Gender and Development (GAD) Perspective”. Being a seminar Series Paper Presented at the Department of History Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria May 2014.p4

³²Chongo, T. D. “The Political Economy of Salt Production in Awe 1920-1990...”P.4

³³Chongo,T. D. “The Political Economy of Salt Production in Awe 1920-1990...”P.4

³⁴Chongo, T. D. “The Political Economy of Salt Production in Awe 1920-1990...” P.5

³⁵Igwe S. C. *How Africa Underdeveloped Africa*.Professional Publishers, Port Harcourt,2010.Pp.36-37

³⁶Chongo, T. D. “The Political Economy of Salt Production in Awe 1920-1990...”P.5.

social group it means an increase in capacity that regulates both internal and external relations.³⁷ Marxists however concludes by seeing development under three variables, individual, social group level and mode of production level.³⁸ Therefore, development, based on this study is seen from the Marxist perspective where human development is identified as main foundation of development.

Different theoretical approaches have been observed on the subject of women and development from 1950s onwards. An attempt has been made in this regard to examine some of the approaches like Radical Feminism, Liberal Feminism, Women in Development and Gender and Development. The strength and weaknesses of such approaches were examined and justification provided for the choice of Gender and Development (GAD) as model for the study.

Radical Feminism

Radical feminism sees women's oppression as the first and the most central form of domination by one group over other. It sees male supremacy as the oldest, most basic form of domination. All the other forms of exploitation and oppression (racism, capitalism, imperialism etcetra) are extensions of male supremacy. It sees patriarchy as one of the instruments used by men in dominating women and that society has been promoting this by institutionalizing patriarchy through social structures such as the family (marriage, fatherhood, love, and sexual intercourse) and religion. Radical feminism sees the abolition of capitalism and the introduction of a socialist society as effective instrument for women's liberation. However, Radical feminist ideology is Eurocentric in nature; it does not adequately explain African socio-economic structures and development. The integration of women into men's world cannot reverse male domination. The improvement in the material condition of few elite women does not really translate into

³⁷Rodney, Walter. *How Europe Under Developed Africa*, Bogle-L' Overture, London 1972. Pp.9-10.

³⁸ Chongo T. D. 'The Political Economy of Salt Production in Awe ...P.6

improving the lot of the female gender which has implication for policy formulation and implementation. Radical feminism, therefore, promotes women's separatist ideologies and forms of struggles, which alienates the man from the centre of the struggle for liberation, though both poor men and women suffer the same exploitation and oppression from the society and therefore should join forces for the fight against oppressive systems.³⁹ The basic explanation that women have been excluded from the public domain does not apply to the role of African women in economic development of African societies in general and particularly that of Ode-Ondo being agrarian society.

Liberal Feminism

This is an individualistic form of feminist theory which primarily focuses on women's ability to show and maintain their equality through their own actions and choices. Liberal feminism argues that society holds the false belief that women are by nature less intellectually and physically less capable than men, thus, resulting in the discrimination of women in the work place. It further holds the belief that female subordination is rooted in customary and legal practices which hinder women's entrance into the public domain.⁴⁰ Liberal feminism believed that women have the same mental capacity as their male counterparts, and therefore advocates for gender equality and attempts to remove all the limitations to gender equity. Liberal feminism relies on legislative weapon for ascertaining gender equity.⁴¹ The liberal feminist believe in discrimination of women at the work place did not apply to women's role agricultural production which was the primary occupation of women in agrarian society like Ode-Ondo.

³⁹Ochayi O. and Pam, S.(eds.), *Gender Power and Politics in Nigeria*. Aboki Publishers, Ibadan. 2007. Pp.7-10.

⁴⁰Drudilla, C. *At the Heart of Freedom: Feminist; Sex and Equality*. Vine Press New York 1998. Pp.39-56.

⁴¹Bryson, Victor. *Feminist Debates: Issues of Theory and Political practices*. Basingstoke Macmillan, 1999. Pp.14-15.

Women in Development (WID)

The WID perspective has its origins in the influential work titled *Women's Role in Economic Development* by Esther Boserup in 1970.⁴² This theory focuses on three main parts; first, sexual division of labour in agrarian economies, and questions how this division of labour has been affected by different factors such as population density, farming techniques, colonial rule, pattern of land ownership, cultivation of cash crops among others. Secondly, it emphasizes the division of labour in town with various sectors such as petty trading, industrial, clerical occupations, and education sectors. Thirdly, there is a gradual movement from agricultural to non-agricultural activities, gradual movement of the population from the village into towns as a result of changes in economic activities. Boserup further examines the implication of these for the sexual division of labour, and that the situation within the sexual division of labour adversely deteriorates women's status.⁴³ The WID approach became popular particularly throughout the United Nations Decade for Women (1975 to 1985) which started after the first World conference on women held in Mexico 1975.

However, as regards the criticism of WID approach, first, the WID concept was solidly grounded in traditional modernization theory which reflected the mainstream thinking on development from the 1950s to the 1970s. Second, the WID concept was "non-confrontational" and puts its main emphasis on how women could be better integrated into on-going development initiatives without challenging the existing structures in which the sources of women's subordination and oppression are embedded. Finally, the WID concept focused exclusively on the productive aspects of women's work and ignored the reproductive aspect of their lives.⁴⁴

⁴²Boserup, Esther. *Women's Role in Economic Development*, London: Earthscan Publications 1970. Pp.15-79.

⁴³Bryson, Victor. *Feminist Debates: Issues of Theory and Political Practices* Basingsstoke, Macmillan 1999. Pp.14-15.

⁴⁴Rathgeber, E." WID, WAD, GAD: Trends in Research and Practice" In *The Journal of Developing Area* 1990. Pp.498-502.

The WID perspective underwent a major transformation throughout the 1970s and the 1980s. There was a shift in focus, first from equity to anti-poverty; and then to efficiency approach. The Equity approach is based on the assumption that economic growth has a negative impact on women. Equity approach therefore advocates equal distribution of the benefits of development between men and women. It supports women integration into the development process through access to employment and market place.⁴⁵ The Equity model is concerned with the inequality between men and women, both in private and public spheres of life and across socio-economic groups. This approach seeks the origin of women subordination in the context of family as well as in relationships between women and men in market place. Moreover, this approach considers women not only in their reproductive role, but also in their productive role. However, Equity approach is difficult to implement, and became diluted in order to make it more acceptable.⁴⁶

The Anti-poverty approach shifted its emphasis from reducing inequality between women and men to reducing income inequality. It focuses mainly on the low-income women with the principal goal of poverty reduction. However, success of this approach was limited because a large number of income generating projects designed during United Nation's Women's Decade had "misbehaved" since their economic objectives were subverted to welfare activities during the implementation.⁴⁷

The Efficiency approach has its roots in the neo-classical economic model which regarded women as an unused or underutilized asset for development. Thus, the purpose of this approach is to ensure that development is made more efficient and effective through women's

⁴⁵ Buvinic, M. *Projects for Women in the Third World: Explaining the Misbehaviour in World Development* 14(5)1986. Pp. 653-664.

⁴⁶ Chongo, Terun D. "The Political Economy of Salt Production in Awe 1920-1990: An Explication of Gender and Development Perspective", Being An M.A Seminar Paper Presented at the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria 2014. P.9.

⁴⁷ Buvinic, M. *Projects for Women in the Third World: Explaining the Misbehaviour...* P. 660.

economic contribution. The main assumption is that increased economic participation automatically leads to increased equity. The Efficiency approach focuses mainly on economic growth, and considers women simply as an input factor the economy. Therefore, it does not only shift the emphasis from women to development, but also limits the concept of the development solely to economic growth. As such, it failed to understand development as a multidimensional phenomenon, with not only economic, but also social and cultural aspect.⁴⁸

Consequently, due to the catalogue of weaknesses identified in the above perspectives and approaches, this study adopted the Gender and Development theoretical framework for the study of the role of women in the socio-economic development of Ode-Ondo.

Gender and Development Perspective

The GAD concept emerged in the 1980s out of the criticism of earlier Women and Development concept, and has its roots in socialist feminism which identified the social construction and interpretation of production and reproduction as the basis of women's oppression and have focused attention on the social relations of gender or gender interplay, questioning the validity of roles that have been ascribed to both women and men in different societies.⁴⁹ The GAD approach looks at the totality of socio-economic and political organization of a particular society in order to understand the forces shaping the development of such a society.⁵⁰ GAD is concerned with women and the social construction of gender based on the responsibilities and expectations of both women and men. The GAD approach welcomes

⁴⁸ United Nations, *The Nairobi Forward – Looking Strategies for the Advancements of Women (As adopted by World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade For Women: Equality Development and Peace, Nairobi Kenya, 15-26 July 1985. P.7)*. See, Gerald, M. *Leading Issues in Economic Development*, New York and Oxford University Press, 1989. P.5.

⁴⁹ Olawale, O. et al. "Women's Health; A Growing Multidisciplinary Challenge in Africa: A Review. In Modupe E. Mary (ed.), *African Journal of Gender and Development*, vol.1 No.1, 2008, Centre for Gender and Social Policy Strategies. Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife. Iyanu-Oluwa Press, Ife. P.6. See, Soetan R. *Economic of Inequality: Globalization, Gender and Development in Nigeria*: Obafemi Awolowo University Inaugural Lecture Series 264, May 2014. P.29; Hazel, Reeves and Sally, B. *Gender and Development: Concept and Definitions*, University of Sussex Press, UK, 2000. Pp.33-34.

⁵⁰ Chongo, T. D. "The Political Economy of Salt Production in Awe 1920-1990..." P.11.

potential contribution of men who share concern for issues of equity and social justice. GAD approach does not focus singularly on productive or reproductive aspects of women's and men's lives to the exclusion of their productive roles. It analyses the nature of women's contribution within the context of work done both inside and outside the household, including non-commodity production. The perspective rejects the public and private dichotomy which has been commonly used as a mechanism to undervalue family and household maintenance work performed by women.⁵¹ It sees women as agents of change rather than passive recipients of development effort. According to the GAD perspective, top-down state intervention can play a major role in women's emancipation. The main instrument of the GAD is the 'gender mainstreaming'. The instrument of 'gender mainstreaming' (gender awareness) aims at integrating women's and men's concerns in the design, implementation and evaluation of all socio-economic and political policies. This current study has chosen GAD concept as its theoretical frame work because it helped us to assess the implications of government economic policies and programmes for both men and women. It helped us also to understand the variable of gender mainstreaming in the economic development of a society in order to understand the role of women within the context of their relationship to men within particular mode of productions in the case of post-colonial economy of Ode-Ondo.

1.8 Literature Review

A number of studies have been carried out on women and their roles in Nigeria generally. Some of these studies did not focus on the economic role of women in Ondo but on socio-cultural aspects of Ondo. The study reviewed three categories of literature, namely; those that discuss the pre-and post-colonial history and economy of southern Nigeria and those that discuss the role of women in Ode-Ondo and selected women across Nigeria in particular.

⁵¹Chongo, T. D." The Political Economy of Salt Production in Awe 1920-1990..." P.11.

Jacob Olupona's book titled: *kinship, religious and Rituals in a Nigerian community*.⁵²

The work focuses on the relevance of both women and men in religious activities in Ode-Ondo, it sees women controlling economic activities through religious activity like ritual performing of *Aje*. Olupona's work focused on the Ondo Yoruba. It brought a wealth of new information on Ondo religious festivals connected to the traditions of sacred kinship. A key aspect of the festivals accentuated the articulation of the sacred power of kinship through which the different social and religious groups reconcile their differences and conflict, thus, confirming their solidarities and common Ondo identity. However, the work took a cursory look at the economic activities of Ondo alone. This work did not include the activities that were performed by Ondo women most especially the peasants, which was a gap that the study has filled.

Ibi Ajayi's book on *The Evolution of Ondo Kingdom Over 500 Years (1510-2010)*⁵³ is a collection of essays touching on different aspects of the evolution, growth and development of Ondo kingdom over the last five hundred years. This work analyses the socio-cultural evolution of Ondo Kingdom, the administration of Justice and evolution of Governance in Ondo in the colonial and post colonial periods. However, this work dwells much on the role of women in political activities in Ondo with passing attention on Ondo women's economic role which is not the focus of his work. Therefore, this current study examined the totality of informal economic roles of women. The work enhanced proper understanding of the roles of men and women in economic activities in Ode-Ondo.

Olufunke Iluyemi's book titled: *Ondo Traditions and Cultures, The Female Angle*⁵⁴ was written with a strong view that Ondo people's traditions are inseparable component of their

⁵²Olupona, J. *Kinship, Religious and Rituals in a Nigerian Community: A Phenomenological Study of Ondo Yoruba Festivals*. Layday Limited, Ibadan, 1992.

⁵³Ajayi I. (ed.), *The Evolution of Ondo Kingdom over Five Hundred Years (1510-2010+)* Spectrum Books Limited, Ibadan. 2013.

⁵⁴Iluyemi O. *Ondo, Traditions and Culture: The female Angle*. Comerstone Publishers, Ondo. 2003.

history and their norms. She stated that culture grows in part out of tradition, and to a large extent, it impacts on the life of all who come within its ambience.

It stated that by keeping records of Ondo traditions, it places the tradition in proper perspective for the present generation and it becomes useful beacons of the past, today and future, thereby creating a treasure trove of key concept from which to draw a clear picture of Ondo ancestral beliefs. This book is relevant to the current study because it throws light on women in Ode-Ondo culture. The work has also drawn attention to a very important area which might otherwise have been overlooked by researchers. However, the book also only focuses on the cultural activities that concerned the royal women in Ondo society the social role of Ondo women was only limited to the ones performed by Lobun and the royal princesses. There was much emphasis on Lobun (the female king). Nevertheless, the work will sharpen our understanding about the perception of Ode-Ondo people about women's roles in economic activities that explained their economic roles in one way or the other.

Cannon Adeyemi's work titled *Ondo Kingdom: Its History and Culture from Pre-Colonial to Colonial (1510-1945)*⁵⁵ traces the History of old Ondo kingdom, relating the various versions of the History about the first settlements. This book discussed the culture of Ondo people, as well as the impact of modernity on Ondo people. However, apart from the short explanation given by the author on Queen Pupupu, the female founder of Ondo, the remaining sections of the book portrayed women as individuals running after insignificant things. Nevertheless, the work enhanced our understanding about the culture of Ode-Ondo people.

Another work worthy of note is N.A. Fadipe's *Study on the Sociology of the Yoruba*.⁵⁶ Originally, it was written as doctoral thesis for the University of London in 1939. This

⁵⁵Adeyemi, M.C.. *Ondo Kingdom: Its History and Culture* .Bounty Press Limited, Ibadan. 1993.

⁵⁶Fadipe, N.A. *The Sociology of the Yoruba*. Bookcraft Ibadan 2009.

work was edited with an introduction and published in 1970. The work is a macro–sociological analysis of the social life of the Yoruba people. It examined critically aspects of Yoruba life which relates to kinship, political, economic, religious organization as well as associations. The work gives thorough diachronic analysis of Yoruba land’s physical environment, traditions of origin and marital process which exposes the genuine illustrations on bilateral descent among the people of Ode-Ondo. Fadipe was able to display stimulating explanations on land use, sexual division of labour, the relative complexity of occupational specialization, pawning, credit system and the unique method of food production. However, Fadipe did not focus in detail on women and their roles in economic development. Notwithstanding, the Fadipe’s work was a most significant contribution to our knowledge of the social life of the Yoruba people. Fadipe did not give thorough attention to the role played by women and this has been identified as a gap that this work has covered.

In addition to the above literatures is McIntosh Marjories’ book *Yoruba Women Work and Social Change*.⁵⁷ It provides a comprehensive history of Yoruba women; it examines the lives of Yoruba women in the pre-colonial and colonial era, the author started by countering the popular perception about women being subjugated to male dominance and authority. This also included the general belief about women being only active in the areas of marriage, motherhood and domesticity .The book explores the sources of Yoruba women’s history with a brief discussion on the themes such as gender, patriarchy, women and colonialism. More so, it examines the women economic activities, the types of work the women did, within the household and public settings either as free member of a family, as slaves or pawns, the roles in agriculture and access to land and their income generating activities. Lastly, the book explains other areas that women participated like religious and cultural activities. In all, it presents a holistic view of

⁵⁷Keniston M. M. *Yoruba Women Work, and Social Change*, Bookcraft Ibada n.2010.

the lives of women in south western Nigeria and the array of roles they engaged in domestic activities and long distance trade. However, the book cannot be said to pull together information about the participation of women in Ode-Ondo economic activities from pre-colonial, through colonial and post-colonial era. Therefore, this study covered the post-colonial Ode-Ondo society era.

Another work that is of relevance is Adeleye Olabisi's thesis titled "*Socio-Political Evolution on Women in Old Ondo Province 1900- 1965.*"⁵⁸ Adeleye observes the various changes in women's roles, status and the factors responsible for such changes. The thesis revealed that in the indigenous society, the roles of women were very important but because of the chauvinistic nature of the patriarchal system which dominated the society had affected the women adversely in all spheres of communal life, their status was subordinate one. The work explain further that the role of women in Ondo indigenous politics was very minimal. However, the work did not treat women economic status in detail and passing attention was given to the role of Lobun (female king) in Ondo. Therefore, this study covered the gap left.

Equally worthy of reviewing is Ph.D work of Alahira Hanatu titled "*The Role of Women in the Colonial Economic of Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of the Berom of Jos Plateau, 1900-1960*".⁵⁹ The work examines the role of the Berom in tin mining of Jos Plateau; it establishes the efficient complimentary role of women in household economy in the pre-colonial era. She explains the integration of the household economy into the international capitalist economy which created new division of labour with greater gender gap between the genders. This work

⁵⁸ Adeleye, O.O. "Socio-Political Evolution on Women in the old Ondo Province, 1900-1965" Unpublished Ph.D Thesis Of Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife. 1988.

⁵⁹ Alahira, H. "The Role of Women in Colonial Economy of Northern Nigeria: A case study of the Berom of the Jos Plateau 1900-1960." Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2001.

will be an inspiration to the current study through its coherent analysis of theoretical perspectives, most especially on Liberal and Radical Feminism and gender studies.

Another work of interest is Fadaka, A.F., “*Women and Rituals in traditional Yoruba market Economy.*”⁶⁰ The thesis analyses the role of women in ritual pertaining to economic transactions in Yoruba society. It identifies the specific rituals associated with women traders and discusses their relationship with economic activities. It further shows that women assumed more importance in religious activities pertaining to the economy than men. Moreover, the work reveals that the separation of political and economic power between males and females in Yoruba society manifested in the domination of market rituals by women which was in contrast with the dominance of men in other Yoruba rituals. However, the author did not define women in the society. His focus was on the way Yoruba rituals attached commercial role of women in economy, without linking it with other section of economic activities such as agriculture and handcraft production. Nevertheless, the work provided useful explanation on commercial activities which served as a background to our work.

Olubunmi Temilade Olawoyin’s, “African Women in Informal Economy in the Twentieth Century”⁶¹ raised some vital issues concerning the ability of women to still continue their reproductive activities despite the colonial structure and patriarchal nature of African societies. The considered activities such as palm processing ,pottery making weaving, trade, salt production as forming the informal economy in the twentieth century.Under colonial economy, indigenous craft and industry continued to thrive, for instance in Ilorin, the trade in black pots expanded after the construction of rail road. Although the women weaving was in decline

⁶⁰Fadaka,A.F.“Women and Rituals in Traditional Yoruba Market Economy” M.Ph Thesis of Obafemi Awolowo University,Ile-Ife,1989.

⁶¹ Olubunmi , T.O.“African Women in the Informal Economy in the 20th Century. In Eno Blankson I.(ed.),Women and Power in Africa in the 20th and 21st centuries, Fragrance communications publishers,Lagos 2009.Pp.132-150.

because of the competition with European cloth. The writer stated that the expansion of trade in palm produce after the 1920's, made women to increase the allocation of their labour in processing and trading oil at the expense of their household work and other economic concerns. Again, the work also mentioned that the credit system offered by the European firms, made it possible for some women to boost their trade, thus making some of them become entrepreneurs.

However, as a result of the disarticulated nature of the Colonial Economy, the profits realized by women in both the informal economy and in other concerns were all ploughed into the family feeding and other family expenses; hence, the majority of female operators' were unable to reinvest their profits in order to improve their businesses and in extreme cases both profits and capital were consumed.⁶²

1.9 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the general background to the study, we laid the foundation for the entire study. We described the historical status of Nigerian women in general and that of Ode-Ondo in particular; from pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods and we established that Ode-Ondo women played more active role in the socio-economic development of Ode-Ondo. Also, in this chapter we examined different gender theoretical frameworks: Radical feminism, Liberal Feminism, Women in Development, Gender and Development and among others; and their strength and weakness were examined. The study chose GAD as the frame work for the study so as to establish the fact that focusing on a single sex for a viable economic development resulted to economic stagnation and retrogressiveness. GAD explained the situation of economy in Ode-Ondo that there was gender inter-play in economic activities of Ode-Ode. The study adopted both primary and secondary sources for data analysis. Equally, a number of Literatures

⁶² Olubunmi, T.O. "African Women in the Informal Economy in the 20th Century". In Blankson, Eno I. (ed.), *Women and Power in Africa in the 20th and 21st centuries...* Pp.132-150.

were reviewed so as to know what others have done and to cover the gap in between. The study was not without limitations, the tight time frame, and difficulty in getting data and among others constituted a great challenge. In the next chapter, we shall examine the Land and People of Ode-Ondo before 1960

CHAPTER TWO

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE OF ODE-ONDO

2.1 Introduction

Ode-Ondo has a complex political structure and socio-economic set up in which both men and women were relevant¹Ode-Ondo political system was quite a network of titles and the government was largely rested with most senior chiefs who were the High chiefs (*iwerefa*), namely: The Lisa, Jomu, Odunwo, Sasere, and Adaja; Ode-Ondo had both observable patrilineal descent groups and definite patrilineal ideology and there was a bilateral arrangement that carried both male and female along, Ode-Ondo possessed strong tendency towards matrifocality and this was expressed in kinship term, my maternal kin (*omiye mi*).²Below the *iwerefa* were ranked the *ekule*(chiefs), the most senior of these, the logbosere as the head of otu chiefs, divided into the *eghare otun* and *ẹlẹgbe otun*.³Women's roles in political and socio-economic activities were noticeable in the areas of children's education (informal and formal); transmission of societal norms to the children.Trading,as one of the areas of activities,was reserved for Ode-Ondo women, while agriculture was carried by both genders. Ode- Ondo women supplement the men's effort when it came to farming activities; they helped men to plant crops, weeding the soil and also carried harvesting and transportation of farm products. Ondo women also marketed the excess goods in the market so as to raise money for household needs. More often than not, Ondo women socialized the young children into full adulthood.⁴ Ode-Ondo's population was

¹Ogusakin P.Ondo: *the people, their customs and traditions*. Inway publishers, Lagos,1993.P.55.

²Olupona, J.Kingship, Religion, and Rituals in a Nigerian community: A phenomenological study of Ondo Yoruba Festivals. La yday press Limited, Ibadan 1992.P.36.

³ *The Punch*, "Five Hundred Years of the Osemawe Dynasty" 2 July,2010.P.2.

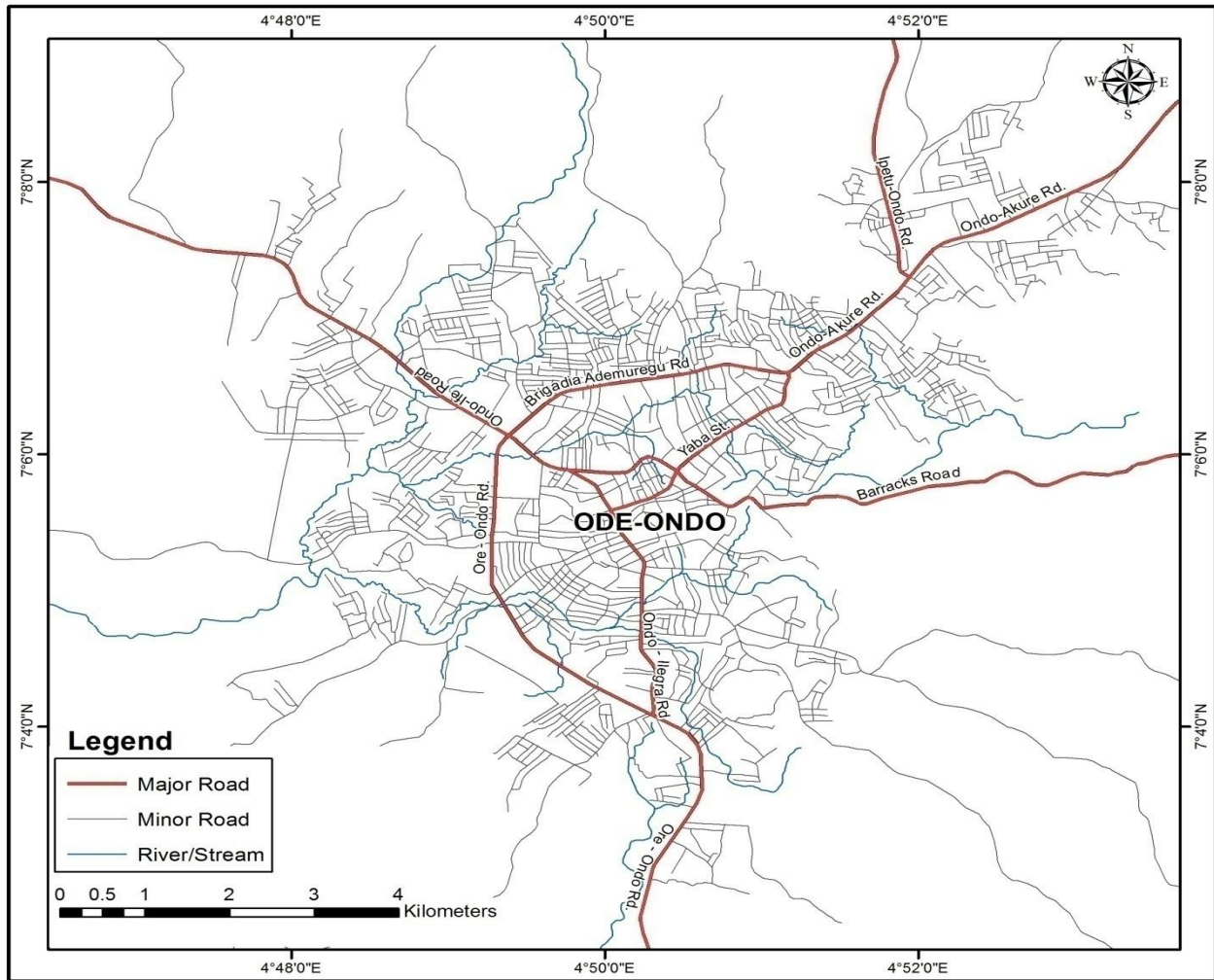
⁴Akinradewo, Mrs Shade. Age 58, Soap Maker. Interviewed 25 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja.

predominantly urban even the farming folk had their houses in the town and look upon their farms which were in many cases situated at great distances from the town merely as places of work and temporary residence.⁵

2.2 Geographical Background of Ode-Ondo

2.2.1 Location

Map 4: Map of Ode-Ondo.



Source: Designed by Bulus Wulga Yuwomgi, Department of Geography, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2015.

⁵ Adedoyin, Mrs Shade, Age 55, Teacher. Interviewed 29 July, 2014 at G.R.A, Ode-Ondo.

Ode-Ondo is a settlement located south-west geographical zone of Nigeria and lies on latitude 06°30' North and longitude 04°45' East; It is bounded to the North by Ile-Oluji; on the East by Idanre, on the West and South by Odigbo.⁶ Ode-Ondo is situated at 290 metres above sea level, covers an area of 4,060km² and the population is according to 2006 National Population Census, 139,400 males and 144,270 females and totaling 283,672 people.⁷ Ode-Ondo Area lies in the humid tropic with tropical rainforest and the South-Easterly wind throughout most of the year. Ode-Ondo is forested and contains valuable timber, mostly *mahogany*, *opepe*, *afara*, *obeche* etcetra with a big forest reserve of over one thousand square kilometres. An annual average of timber extraction is almost 23x10⁵ cubic metres

2.2.2 Climate and Vegetation

Ode-Ondo is a settlement located south-west geographical zone of Nigeria and lies on latitude 06° 30' North and longitude 04°45' East; Ode-Ondo landscape is generally undulating dotted by few hills of granite outcrop of igneous origin, and is marked by few dome shape hills.⁸ These hills are found to be developed over the basement complex of metamorphic rocks with their summit height above the sea level ranges between 250 and 500 metres.⁹ Ode-Ondo falls within the tropical wet and dry climate with relative small dry season. Ode-Ondo is drained by several streams like Aride, Aogo, Lisaluwa, Terere and Mode. Ode-Ondo is fairly well watered by numerous streams. Although, they become swollen and turbulent during the rainy season, most of these areas become dry in the dry season leaving exposed their granite littered

⁶ Bakare, K.O. and Adewolu, A.O. "Mitigating the Effects of Flood in Ondo Town: An Urban Centre." In *Journal of Arts and Social Sciences, Adeyemi College of Education*. 2007, P.18; See further Map 4: Map of Ode-Ondo.

⁷ Babatolu, J.S. "Health Implications of drinking water supplies conditions in Ondo Town..." P.14.

⁸ Akiyemi, O. and Andreas, M. "Climate and Bioclimate Analysis of Ondo State, Nigeria." In *Meteorologische Zeitschrift vol.20 No.5*, 2011. Pp.531-539.

⁹ Babatolu, J.S. "Health Implications of drinking water supply conditions in Ondo Town." In Arowolo O. and Faberebo S.I. *Nigeria: Contemporary Issues*. School of Arts and Social Sciences, Adeyemi College of Education, Ondo. 2005 .P.14 ; N.A. Fadipe, *The sociology of the Yoruba*. Ibadan University Press, 1970. Pp.21-28.

bed; each of these seasons is characterized by specific type of prevailing wind, also, it is accompanied by the hamatan, a dry and dust laden wind blowing from South to East.¹⁰

The climatic condition of the area invariably influenced its vegetational pattern, as well as the socio-economic condition of the people. Given these conditions, the area falls within the moist and wet lowland forest, that is; it has thick forested vegetation. But due to human activities, the original forest has been replaced with secondary regrowth.¹¹ There is also mixed deciduous forest which consists both of deciduous and evergreen trees. The transition from the evergreen forest is very gradual and almost imperceptible and in some paths. It is only after serious observation that one will realize that one has left the evergreen type behind and has also reached the forests where half of the trees lose their leaves every year¹² Ode-Ondo is associated with some economic trees as a result of her location within the rain forest zone, It is rich in varieties of timber and other forest products. There are *iroko* (*milicia-excels*), *mahogany* (*swietenia-mahagoni*), *opepe* (*Bilinga*), *afara* (*Terninalia-superba*), *obeche* (*Triplochton scleroxylon*) just to mention a few.¹³ The big forest reserve occupies over one thousand square kilometers. Almost 23+10 cubic meters of timber are harvested annually. Indeed, Ondo people were great farmers; they cultivated food crops like maize-(*zeamaize*) *agbado*, yam-(*discorea*) *isu*, cassava-(*manhot esculenta*) *gbaguda*, sweetpotatoes (*solanum*

¹⁰Adeyemi M.C. *Ondo Kingdom: Its History and Culture*. Bounty Press Limited, Ibadan. 1993., Pp13-14. See, Oyekale S.A. et al. "The Effects of Climate Change on Cocoa Production and Vulnerability Assessment in Nigeria" in *Agricultura Journal*, vol.4, Issue 2, 2009. Pp.77-85.

¹¹Olukayode, O. "Susceptibility of Store Cocoa Beans Seeds to Ochratoxigenic Fungi in Ondo State, Nigeria." In *British MicroBiology Research Journal* 13(3), 2016. Pp.1-11.

¹²Adeyemi M.C. *Ondo Kingdom: Its History and Culture*. Bounty Press Limited, Ibadan. 1993. P.14.

¹³Olugbamila, O. et al., "Marketing the Tourism Potentials of Owo Community for the Development of Ondo State, Nigeria." In *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, vol.2, No.11, 2012. Pp.12-18.

esculentum tuberosum) *kukunduku*, and banana (*musa acumunata*) *ogede wewe*, cocoyam (tarocolocasia) *koko*, among others.¹⁴

2.2.3 Rainfall

Ode-Ondo's rainfall is highly seasonal in character with well marked variation between long wet and short dry seasons. The wet season starts from March to November while the dry season prevails from November to February. The annual rainfall is between 1,150mm and 2000mm while the mean annual rainfall from the period of 1960 to 1999 is 1615mm.¹⁵ However, there is no broad dichotomy in seasonal changes as it could be delayed or prolonged by weeks or few months in a year.¹⁶

2.2.4 Temperature

Temperature is moderately high throughout the year with 27.5°C as mean and of 30°C as maximum annual temperature which brings drought conditions which reduces the humidity from a level of 60 percent to 50percent.¹⁷ Ondo is fairly well watered by numerous streams. Although, they become swollen and turbulent during the rain season, most of these areas become dry in the dry season leaving exposed their granite littered bed. The interplay of seasonal changes in temperature has made Ode-Ondo area's conducive for habitation, production of economic activities and suitable for all economic activities.¹⁸

¹⁴Akinfoyeku, Mrs. Shele, 50 years. Interviewed at Aya de, 22 December, 2014 at Ode-Ondo.

¹⁵Sowunmi F.A. et al. Effect of Climate Variability... Pp. 20 and 25. See, *Facts and Figures on Ondo State*. Department of Research and Statistics, Ministry of Economic Planning and Budget, Akure, Ondo State, 2010. P. ix.

¹⁶Mr Afolabi Ojo. Age 74, Retired Farmer. Interviewed 12 March, 2015 at Odotu Street, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁷Babatolu, J.S. "Health Implications of drinking water supplies conditions in Ondo Town." P. 25-28. See Sowunmi, S. and Akintola, J. "Effects of Climatic Variability on maize Production in Nigeria" in *Journal of Environmental and Earth Sciences* 2(1), 2010. Pp 19-30.

¹⁸Adesiji G.B. et al., "The Effects of Climate Change on Poultry Production in Ondo State, Nigeria" in *Russian Journal of Agricultura and Socio- Economic Sciences*, vol. 2, No. 14, 2014. P. 56. See, Fadipe, N.A. *The sociology of the Yoruba*. Ibadan University Press, 1970. Pp. 21-28. See, Adeyemi M.C. *Ondo Kingdom: Its History and Culture*. Bounty Press Limited, Ibadan. 1993. Pp. 13-14.

2.2.5 Soils

Ode-Ondo soils are derived from the basement complex rocks which are mostly well drained with medium texture. The soils are classified as highly agricultural value for both trees and arable crops. There are brown and organic sandy soil, grey sandy soil, marshy organic soil and decomposed organic matter.¹⁹

2.3 Peopling of Ode-Ondo Area

The history of Ondo Ekimogun people sprang from the ancient Ile-Ife through Oduduwa, the legendary father of the Yoruba. It happened that the most favoured wife of Oduduwa gave birth to a set of twins, the male named Orere while the female as Olu.²⁰ Giving birth to twins was considered abomination or *ese*. However, because the wife was dear to Oduduwa, he decided to spare the lives of the twins and their mother, choosing instead to give them a sizeable entourage of slaves and a hunter called Ija to create a new life for them outside Ile-Ife. Ija led them to a place called *Igbo Ijamọ* (the forest discovered by Ija).²¹ This is how Ondo are referred to as "*Ekimogun ara Ita Ijama*."²² But they soon found *Igbo-Ijamọ* unsafe and they travelled to another place called *Epe* where man named Yangede welcomed them.²³ The group was still not satisfied in Epe, so they sent another hunter out to look for yet another place to settle.²⁴

¹⁹Sowunmi, F.A. and Akintola, J. "The Effects of Climatic Variability on maize production in Nigeria" in *Journal of Environment and Earth Sciences vol.2, No.1, 2010*. Pp.19-30. See, Ikudayisi, A. "Technical Report on Climatic Data of Akure and Ondo for year 1998." Being a paper submitted to the school of post graduate studies, Federal University of Technology, Akure, Ondo State Nigeria. 2007. Pp.1-3.

²⁰Olumba, D. The Genesis of Ondo Kingdom in Olumba, Damilola (ed.), *Ekimogun Descendent*, United Kingdom, June 2010. P.1

²¹Adeyemi, M.C. Ondo Kingdom: Its History and Culture. Bounty Press Limited, Ibadan. 1993. Pp.15-16. see, Olatunji, O. "Slavery and Human Sacrifice in Yoruba land: Ondo C. 1870-1894" in *Journal of History* 46(3), 2005. Pp.579-404.

²²Iluymi, Olufunke. *Ondo Traditions and Culture; The Female Angle*, Cornerstone Publishers, Ondo 2003. P.2.

²³Iluymi, Olufunke. *Ondo Traditions and Culture; The Female Angle*, Cornerstone Publishers, Ondo 2003. P.2.

²⁴Iluymi, Olufunke. *Ondo Traditions and Culture; The Female Angle*, Cornerstone Publishers, Ondo 2003. P.5.

The hunter eventually found a suitable location where he met a man named Ekiri, so he brought the news back to Epe and Ifa Oracle was consulted.²⁵ Ifa instructed them to use a yam stake, *Edo*, to poke holes in the ground as they were walking and that wherever the stake refused to go into the ground it was where they should settle. The group followed the orders of Ifa precisely and when they reached the predicted spot, the stake refused to stick into the ground and they exclaimed “*Edo dudo* (the yam stake would not stick in)”.²⁶ Hence, the name “Ondo” is merely a contraction of the phrase “*Edodudo*”. In the course of migration, one of the twins called Orere died and left with female called Pupupu. The surviving one with her entourage finally arrived at Oke-Agunla. Upon arriving in Ondo, they met three groups of people on the territory; Ile Ifore, the Idoko and the Oka. There was not much struggle over power, the new comers being Oduduwa lineage, they were accepted as rulers. Thus, pupupu became the first paramount ruler in Ode-Ondo.²⁷

The population of Ode-Ondo is predominantly made up of Yorubas (80-90%) who were native to South Western Nigeria.²⁸ There are also other ethnic groups Ode-Ondo, these include Urhobo, Hausa, Fulani, Ibo among others.²⁹ Each of these ethnic groups was said to have arrived at Ode-Ondo within different time and periods in search of better socio-economic experience, and they were all linked with one another by socio-economic activities. The integration of all migrants together contributes immensely to the socio-economic activities and growth of Ode-Ondo, it eradicates hate, ignorance and idleness among the genders. The clear specialization of

²⁵ Robert, Sydney S. *Kingdom of the Yoruba*. University of Wisconsin Press, 1988. P.52.

²⁶ Olupona, J. “Where a woman was a King Continuity and change in Ondo Religion and Culture” in Ajaḡi Ibi (ed), *The Evolution of Ondo kingdom over 500 years (1510-2010)*, Spectrum Books, Ibadan 2013. Pp4-14.

²⁷ Ogunakin P. *Ondo: The People...* Pp.54-59 and J.A. Attanda; *An introduction to Yoruba History*. Ibadan University Press, 1980. P.10.

²⁸ Ondo State, *Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey 1986*. Institute for Resource Development, Colombia, Maryland, 1986. P.1

²⁹ Obi, R. “Married Career Women and Migration: The Nigerian Experience” in Ogunbameru Aluko et al., *Challenges of Sociological and Anthropological in the New Millennium*. Himma and Himma Press, Benin City, 2000. P153. See, Obayemi, A. “The Yoruba and Edo Speaking People and Their Neighbour Before 1600” in Ajaḡi, A. and Crowther, M. (eds). *History of West Africa*, vol.2, Longman Press, London. 1981. Pp.190-197.

each ethnic group in different socio-economic activities aids cross fertilization of ideas on socio-economic activities;this guarantees the transfer of knowledge and wealth among Ode-Ondo people.³⁰The settlement pattern in Ode-Ondo is both urban and rural arrangement,commerce is a thriving activity in the urban area where there are also some industries being textiles,palm oil,cocoa products and among others.In most of the quarters,farming,trade,educational and healthcare services and craft are the main Occupations³¹

2.4Ode-Ondo Social Organization

Ondo social life includes kinship system, marriage, inheritance, funeral ceremonies, residence and lineage. Ondo had both observable patrilineal descent groups and a definite patrilineal ideology.³² An individual Ondo claimed membership only in his or her fathers' descent group. Ondo presented their kinship system as bilateral, with an emphasis on patrilineality.³³ However, the people possessed a strong tendency towards matrifocality which was expressed in term of *Omiye mi* which means "my maternal kin".³⁴The most significant social unit among the Ondo was the lineage group or *edili*.³⁵This is a corporate descent group consisting of members who trace their origin to a common male founder (*Baba Nla*) through a line of male descendants. Reference to the primacy of lineage abounds in the vocabulary of Ondo people, especially in the naming system.³⁶

³⁰Kokuma, Yeye Maloma Beatrice. Aged 115+. Interviewed 12 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja.

³¹Ondo State, *Nigeria Demographic and Health*...P.2.

³²Olupona, J. *Kingship, Religious and Rituals in a Nigerian Community: a Phenomenological Study of Ondo Yoruba Festival*...P.53.

³³Olupona, J. *Kingship, Religious and Rituals in a Nigerian Community: a Phenomenological Study of Ondo Yoruba Festival*...Pp.34-35.

³⁴Olupona, J. *Kingship, Religious and Rituals in a Nigerian Community: a Phenomenological Study of Ondo Yoruba Festival*...P.360.

³⁵Olupona, J. *Kingship, Religious and Rituals in a Nigerian Community: a Phenomenological Study of Ondo Yoruba Festival*...P.360.

³⁶Olupona, J. *Kingship, Religious and Rituals in a Nigerian Community: a Phenomenological Study of Ondo Yoruba Festival* ...P.37.

The lineage is further divided into family units or *Uli* which means compound family unit consisting of a father, his wives, children and immediate relations. Membership in the family is by birth, every child born into a family automatically became member of the larger lineage thereby obtaining access to its rights and privileges.³⁷ The oldest living member of a lineage was named Eldest (*Baba Agba*) which in principle became the leader of the lineage (*Olori Edili*). He is the sole guardian of the lineage, the one who holds intact the tie of kinship (*Okunebi*).³⁸ The genealogical bond (*ajobi*) existed between members of the lineage represented the central link of trust within the lineage and quite often people would swear or prayed in the name of genealogical bond (*ajobi*) in order to give validity to a statement or a point.³⁹

The residence in Ondo was patrilocal. A male child born into *uli* remained there until death.⁴⁰ A female sibling, however, upon marriage left the residence and joined the Uli of her husband.⁴¹ The first born male children remained permanently in the family house even when they built their own houses so as to keep the spirit of lineage alive by maintaining continuity with the departed ancestor.⁴² Ondo-Ekimogun also practiced levirate, which was of two forms; anticipatory levirate and post humous junior levirate.⁴³ The levirate marriage happened when a man that is still living with his wife had another man sleeping with the woman or operating a relationship of concubinage with the woman without the right of husband's consent. While the post humous was a form of marriage practised in Ode- Ondo and it allowed the younger brother

³⁷ Olupona, J. Kingship, *Religious and Rituals in a Nigerian Community: a Phenomenological Study of Ondo Yoruba Festival ...P.38.*

³⁸ Olupona, J. Kingship, *Religious and Rituals in a Nigerian Community: a Phenomenological Study of Ondo Yoruba Festival ...P.38.*

³⁹ Olupona, J. Kingship, *Religious and Rituals in a Nigerian Community: a Phenomenological Study of Ondo Yoruba Festival ...P.38.*

⁴⁰ Olupona, J. Kingship, *Religious and Rituals in a Nigerian Community: a Phenomenological Study of Ondo Yoruba Festival ...Pp.38-39.*

⁴¹ Olupona, J. Kingship, *Religious and Rituals in a Nigerian Community: a Phenomenological Study of Ondo Yoruba Festival ...P.38.*

⁴² Olupona, J. Kingship, *Religious and Rituals in a Nigerian Community: a Phenomenological Study of Ondo Yoruba Festival ...Pp. 38-39.*

⁴³ Kokuma, Yeye Maloma Beatriæ. Age 115 years +. Retired Trader. Interviewed at Igbo-Oja Ondo, 26 April, 2015.

of a deceased man to marry any of his elder brother's wives.⁴⁴ Concubinage (*ale*) was not an unusual practice among the Ode-Ondo people.⁴⁵

The inheritance practice among Ode-Ondo allowed the property of a deceased man to be inherited by both his siblings and his children irrespective of gender.⁴⁶ Upon the death of an individual, the next of kin, usually the maternal cousin became the overseer of his property. A sizeable portion of the property was distributed among the deceased's junior siblings. The senior or elder brothers and the widows of the deceased were forbidden to inherit his property.⁴⁷

The people of Ode-Ondo, like every other African group, have peculiar attraction to religion; indeed, it is an inevitable part of their life.⁴⁸ In the Yoruba belief system, cultural expression is closely connected with religion. Religion indicates a code for good character and moral behavior.⁴⁹ Ode-Ondo people are involved in three religions: *Orisa* worship, Christianity and Islam.⁵⁰ Religion permeates all aspect of Ode-Ondo life.⁵¹ Traditional religion in Ondo has been in existence since the emergence of settlement in Ode-Ondo. Ondo people, like other Yoruba groups, believe in the Supreme Being from where all creation originated. He was recognized as “*Olorun*”, He was seen as the Lord of heavens and as the presiding deity of Ondo people.⁵² The Supreme Being was seen as a distant deity of vague personality in one view but in another tradition, He was seen as omnipresent. Sacrifices were seldom offered to him directly.⁵³ Yet, he

⁴⁴ Olupona, J. *Kingship, Religious and Rituals in a Nigerian Community: a Phenomenological Study of Ondo Yoruba Festival ...* P.39.

⁴⁵ Olupona, J. *Kingship, Religious and Rituals in a Nigerian Community: a Phenomenological Study of Ondo Yoruba Festival ...* P.39.

⁴⁶ Olupona, J. *Kingship, Religious and Rituals in a Nigerian Community: a Phenomenological Study of Ondo Yoruba Festival ...* P.41.

⁴⁷ Olupona, J. *Kingship, Religious and Rituals in a Nigerian Community: a Phenomenological Study of Ondo Yoruba Festival ...* P.41.

⁴⁸ Iluyemi, O. *Ondo, Tradition and Culture ...* Pp.42-43.

⁴⁹ Idowu, E. B. *African Traditional Religion: A definition*. London, SMS Press, 1976. P.1.

⁵⁰ Iluyemi, O. *Ondo, Tradition and Culture ...* P.44. See, Marjorie K. M. *Yoruba Women, Work and Social change*. Bookcraft, Ibadan, 2010. P.200.

⁵¹ Olupona, J. “where a Woman Was King: continuity and change in Ondo Religion and culture, in Aja yi, J. (ed.), *The Evolution of Ondo kingdom over 500 years (1510-2010+)*, spectrum books limited, Ibadan, 2013. P.20.

⁵² Mbiti, J. S. *African Religion and philosophy*, Heinemann, Ibadan Nigeria, 1979. P.1.

⁵³ Fadipe, N. A. *Sociology of Yoruba ...* P.279.

received all sacrifices through deities, otherwise known as messengers.⁵⁴ However, Ode-Ondo people that were traditionalists believed that since it was impossible to see God (Olorun) owing to the distance between him and humans, sacrifices could be made through the smaller deities like *Ifa, Sango, Oremfe, Ogun* and as well as *Obitun*; women took active part in all traditional mode of worship in Ode-Ondo and they served and priestesses who worshipped gods and goddesses⁵⁵ Most Ode-Ondo women before the advent of foreign religions were involved in cleansing rites and to perform propitiations in different ways, they stood as mothers between Ode-Ondo and the entire community.⁵⁶ It is remarkable that women were restricted in some ways through the worship of some deities like cleansing god (*odunmoko*) when invocations for the great blessings of peace and plenty, economic progress, fertility among women, protection of children and great well being of the Ode-Ondo people.⁵⁷ On the day *odumoko* worship called outward day (*ode aisan*), women were forbidden coming out to perform any economic activity and this had great consequence on women economic development. However, one practical gain that may be gleaned from a day restriction placed on women is that the enforced full day's rest afforded the women's movement for the whole day reaffirms the men's supremacy in male dominated cultural setting.⁵⁸

Christianity penetrated Ondo in second half of the nineteenth century.⁵⁹ At that very period, the entire Yoruba land was going through civil wars, though Ondo was not directly involved, nevertheless severely affected by it. On this basis, captain Goldsworthy persuaded the

⁵⁴ Aja yi S.I.(ed.).*The Evolution of ondo...*Pp.20 and 23.

⁵⁵ Jacob, K. Olupona.*Kingship, Religious and Rituals in a Nigerian Community:a Phenomenological Study of Ondo Yoruba Festival ...*Pp. 88-183.

⁵⁶ Iluyemi, O.*Ondo Culture and Tradition...*P.42.

⁵⁷ Olupona, J.*Kingship, Religious and Rituals in a Nigerian Community:a Phenomenological Study of Ondo Yoruba Festival ...* Pp.88-183.

⁵⁸ Iluyemi, O.*Ondo Culture and Tradition...*P.46.

⁵⁹ Keniston M. M. *Yoruba Women, Work and Social change*, Bookcraft Press, Ibadan, 2010 .Pp.196-202. See, Akinmade, A. "Yoruba Ondo proverbs: A literary study of themes, function and poetic Devices" Ph.D thesis, department of English Language, University of Jos, 2005.Pp.10-11.

church missionary society (CMS) to open up a new mission frontier in Ode-Ondo area.⁶⁰ The Christian missionary society responded by sending Reverend J.A. Maser and Roper to survey the prospects for a permanent missionary enterprise.⁶¹ In May 1877, Philips started Morning Prayer meetings and vigorous training of converts. The nucleus of the Ondo early church was the Ondo returnees, mainly traders from Lagos; they formed the basis of Phillips' new congregation.⁶² At this very early time, due to patriarchal nature of Christian religion, women were subordinated in the process of worship and in decision making, also, Christianity has cancelled most of the traditional festivals like *ogun* festival where majority of Ode-Ondo women raised capital to support their economic activities either through their direct or indirect involvement.⁶³ As early as 1880, there were indications of the presence of Muslims in Ondo. Around this period, due to the presence of Muslim traders, Islamic religion was propagated. Because of the expensiveness of missionary nature of Islam, every Muslim was a propagandist of the faith.⁶⁴ The year 1888 marked the beginning of effective spread of Islam in Ode-Ondo.⁶⁵

2.5. Political Organization

The Ondo-Yoruba had a complex political structure, the central focus of which was an elected divine kingship; the portion of the *Oba* (king) hereditary and in Ode-Ondo this rotated among five lineages.⁶⁶ The political system in Ode-Ondo was hierarchical in nature, which consisted of twin village leaders, quarter's chiefs, family and so forth. And since through the rules of agnatic

⁶⁰ Olupona, J. "where Woman was king: continuity and change in Ondo Religion." In S.IbiAjaḡi (ed.), *The Evolution of Ondo Kingdom over 500 years (1510-2010+)*, Spectrum Books Limited 2013. P. 21. See, N.A. Fadipe, *Sociology of Yoruba...* Pp.290-300.

⁶¹ Olupona, J. "where Woman was king: continuity and change in Ondo Religion..." P.22.

⁶² Olupona, J. "where Woman was king: continuity and change in Ondo Religion..." P.22.

⁶³ Ayoola, Mr. Michael. Age 57, Civil Servant. Interviewed 13 January, 2015 at Ademulegun Road, Ode – Ondo. See, Adedoyin, Mrs Shade. Age 55, Teacher. Interviewed 29 July, 2014 at G.R.A, Ode – Ondo.

⁶⁴ Peel, J. "Religious change in Yoruba-land." In *Africa, Journal of the international African Institute*, 37, 1967. P.300.

⁶⁵ Olupona, J. *KingShip Religion...* P.170.

⁶⁶ Ajaḡi, I. "Introduction and Overview" in Ajaḡi, I. (ed), *The Evolution of Ondo kingdom over 500 years (1510-2010)*, Spectrum Books, Ibadan 2013. Pp.4-14.

descent, they had to be male to ascend to leadership of the family or lineage, the key figures in the communal administrations were invariably males.⁶⁷ Ondo-Ekimogum was ruled by the *Osemawe* as absolute ruler, whose power was seen as absolute, next only to that of the creator.⁶⁸ However, there were checks and balances on this power by the the high chiefs(*Eghaes*) who were appointed based on consultations with the ruling families who took turns in presenting candidates.⁶⁹The *Eghaes* functioned as the king's major advisers and are his cabinet. Next to the *Eghaes* (Lisa, Jomu, Odunwo, Sasere, Adaja and Odofin); and there were *Ekule* chiefs who were six in number (Orunto, Logbosere, Arogbo, Odofnidi, Sara, and Lotu omoba).⁷⁰The third hierarchy was *Elegbes* who were fifteen in number with several subordinate chiefs serving under them. A fourth category of chiefs parallel to the *Elegbes* were *Ijamas* created by Oba Adesanoye.⁷¹

The *Eghaes* meet the *Osemawe* weekly to discuss state matters and to brief each other on matters within Ondo sections allotted to them by the *Osemawe*, an enlarged body including the *Ekules* met as a political body.⁷² Once a week all chiefs meet in Ugha to discuss community affairs and could issue proclamations in the name of the *Osemawe*. Apart from serving as a body with power to legislate, chiefs also performed other essential functions. The *Eghaes* served as commanders in war; hence their appellation as Warrior chiefs (*Logun*), *Ayadi* performed public safety duties more as policemen; hence the cognomen, *Ayadi Baba Legbe Oko Omo Leyin*

⁶⁷Olupona, J. "Where a woman was a King Continuity and change in Ondo Religion and Culture ..." P.43.

⁶⁸Adeleye, O. "Socio-political evolution of women in the old Ondo province 1900-1965" PhD thesis of Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife 1988. P.25.

⁶⁹Fasehun, O. "Evolution of Government in Ondo: change and continuity of traditional government under the *Osemawe*" in Aja yi, I. (ed.), *The Evolution of ondo...* P.70.

⁷⁰Fasehun, O. "The Evolution of ondo..." P.70.

⁷¹Olupona, J. "Where a woman was a King Continuity and change in Ondo Religion and Culture..." Pp.44-45. See, *The Punch* "Five Hundred Years of the Osengwe Dynasty" 2nd July, 2010. P.2.

⁷²Olupona, J. "Where a woman was a King Continuity and change in Ondo Religion and Culture..." P.44.

yoyo(Ayadi; head of Elegbe chiefs who is followed by chiefs under him).⁷³The chiefs under the Osemawe also performed judiciary functions adjudicating in all cases. The court was normally held in the palace of Osemawe and some designated chiefs, including those in the palace who were appointed to hear cases and to render judgment.⁷⁴

Furthermore, women played important roles in the traditional political system of Ondo.⁷⁵In fact, the first or primordial monarch, Oba Pupupu was a woman who received a title called woman king (*Lobun*) performed an important role in crowning a new Osemawe. Female king (*Lobun*) was in charge of market, in which she used to promote commerce in Ode-Ondo.⁷⁶There were also female chiefs referred to as *Opoji*.⁷⁷ They had a set of hierarchies like the male counterparts, as the *Lobun* remained a paramount female king and the most revered title in Ode-Ondo. The office of *Lobun* was surrounded with mysteries and taboos. Since the change in government from female to male, women nevertheless have the right to have women leader, *lobun*, also being referred to as female king (*oba obinrin*) they were a set of hierarchical chiefs like male counterpart. *Lobun* was selected by *Eghaes* and the female chiefs were selected by the *Opoji* and *Eghaes*.⁷⁸The Oba would deputize a town chief to supervise areas around the Ode Ondo for him and the chiefs would become head chiefs (*Oloja*) of the areas, thus establishing a micro-socio-political set-up for community rule.⁷⁹

⁷³Olupona, J. "Where a woman was a King Continuity and change in Ondo Religion and Culture..." P.46.

⁷⁴Olupona, J. "Where a woman was a King Continuity and change in Ondo Religion and Culture..." P.46.

⁷⁵Olupona, J. "Where a woman was a King Continuity and change in Ondo Religion and Culture..." P.46.

⁷⁶Iluyemi, O. *Ondo, Traditions and Culture...* Pp.3-5. See, Jacob K. Olupona, *Kingship Religious...* P.47 and Adeyemi M.C, *Ondo Kingdom: Its History and Culture...* Pp.15-45.

⁷⁷Ajayi I. (ed.). *The Evolution of ondo...* P.70.

⁷⁸Akinmade, A. "Yoruba Ondo Proverbs: A literary study of the themes function and poetic devices" Unpublished Ph.D Thesis Department of English, University of Jos .2005.Pp.10-11.

⁷⁹Olupona, J. *Kingship, Religious and Rituals in a Nigerian Community: a Phenomenological Study of Ondo Yoruba Festival ...* P.47.

2.6 Women and their Socio-Economic Role in Pre-Colonial Ode-Ondo

Traditionally, Ondo people have been engaged in two major professions: farming (*agbe*) and trading (*owo*), which corresponded almost completely to the division of labour between male farmers and female traders. Agriculture was the mainstay of the Ode-Ondo economy. The annual cycle contained two seasons: the dry season (*igeun*) and rainy season (*igojo*) which correspond with the annual economic cycle, most especially agricultural cycle of planting and harvesting. On the whole, the women seemed to be far more industrious than men, for whereas the men always continue to have leisure hours aside off days from work, the women seemed to have none. Ondo was not an island by itself but has been part of the history of the development of the Yoruba race in particular and Nigeria in general; the sex roles were complementary and therefore implies that there was a high degree of interdependence between men and women in the performance of tasks in spite of the fact roles were differentiated. The role of women was structured according to economic structure of Ondo. Women held complementary role to men, they both played vital roles in economic activities and domestic activities, the interdependence was reflected in the decision making processes and emphasis was on joint decisions; and Ode-Ondo women were never confined to their domestic roles only.

2.6.1. Informal Education

The word education is derived from two Latin words. The first is word EDUCARE which means to support and nurture the growth of, while the second is EDUCERE which means to draw out or to cause to come out.⁸⁰ Education means the act of developing knowledge, skills or character of a child. Ode-Ondo traditional education can also be defined as the act of bringing up, rearing, guiding or directing a child.⁸¹ Education among the pre-colonial Ode-Ondo people was through apprenticeship; where young people (males and females) were made to serve under experts for a specified period, learning various activities (music, trade, medicine, body adornment, hunting, marriage counseling, critical thinking among others).⁸² Moral education and more particularly the education of female children was natural responsibility of mothers who always made sure that their female children were adequately prepared not only for successful marital life but also for productive careers in the society. Women in Ode-Ondo ensure that individuals in their environment acquire attitude, values and knowledge from the daily experiences, daily influences and the resources in their environment. This form of education was basically oral, with definite purpose to instruct the young the principles of right and wrong.⁸³

⁸⁰ Peter, B. and Abeisibwe, I. "Issues in African Education." In Bame A. et al. (eds.). *Handbook of African Educational Theories and Practices: A Generative Teachers Education Curriculum*. Human Development Research Centre, Bamenda, Cameroon, 2011. Pp. 21-22. See, Umezulike N. and Omaze, A. "Alternative Assessment and Women Education in Nigeria." *Being a paper presented at the 33rd Annual Conference of International Association for Educational Assessment, Baka Azerrbajjan, September 16-21, 2007*. Pp. 1-10.

⁸¹ Oloidi, J.F. "Economic History of Ekiti People in Nigeria..." P. 32

⁸² Oloidi, J.F. "Economic History of Ekiti People in Nigeria, 1900-1960". Unpublished Ph.D thesis of University of Nigeria, Nsuka, 2011. Pp. 32-33.

⁸³ Majasan, J.A. "Yoruba Education". Unpublished Ph.D Thesis of University of Ibadan, 1989. Pp. 21-32. See, Fafunwa Babs, *History of Education in Nigeria*. Ibadan, NPS Publishers, 1991. Pp. 1-10 and Adedoyin, Mrs Shade. Age 55, Teacher. Interviewed 29 July, 2014 at G.R.A., Ode-Ondo.

2.6.2 Agriculture

The place of agriculture in the pre-colonial Ode-Ondo economy is greatly appreciated because the majority of Ode-Ondo people engaged in agriculture.⁸⁴ The pre-colonial Ode-Ondo farming uses simple implements or tools (bush knife, hoe and man power which is the only energy input).⁸⁵ Farming was by far the most important occupation of women. Although, the labour units are also typically small, most adult men farm independently with the help from their wives and children, though they may hire labourers.⁸⁶ Once the farming seasons began, other activities women pursued became secondary because she must devote her attention to the preparation and care of her farms. Thus, her economic time-table was determined by the farming cycles and other activities were relegated to the period's farm work lesson. The planting and harvesting have been reserved for women, so as to establish gender division of labour.⁸⁷ Ondo women devoted more of their time and energy for their husband's farms and helped not only in the harvest but also planting and weeding farm. There were two types of farmland that were cultivated: small parcels of land located within walking distance of the town, *oko etili* or *igo*, where mainly foodstuff were grown such as maize (zeamays) agbado cassava (manhot esculenta) *gbaguda*, beans (virgina unguiculate) are among others and the farmland referred to as sleeping over (*oko ayu sun*), large farm located far from the Ode-Ondo where mainly cash crops were cultivated.⁸⁸ Unlike the small nearby farms which were cultivated on daily basis, farmers stayed at the large distant farms throughout the week and only came back to Ode-Ondo for weekends or fortnightly society meeting (*egbe*). Ode-Ondo could not be described as equalitarian society; but devoid of massive

⁸⁴ Adedoyin, Mrs Shade. Age 55, Teacher. Interviewed 29 July, 2014 at G.R.A., Ode-Ondo.

⁸⁵ Oloidi, J.F. "Economic History of Ekiti People..." P.37.

⁸⁶ Oloidi, J.F. "Economic History of Ekiti People..." P.37.

⁸⁷ Adeyokunnu, T.O. *Women and Agriculture in Nigeria*. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. UNECA, 1981. Pp16-25.

⁸⁸ Atanda J.A. (ed.). *Travel and Exploration*... P.259.

exploitation of the peasantry since subsistence agricultural production precluded any element of accumulation and the production and consumption units were unified in non-mercantile relations for for the survival the unit.⁸⁹ Production was organized on blood relations and such lineage based economy, the labour of women, men and of the children was controlled by the elder men of the lineage and both men and women contributed in agricultural production. There was a clear gender interplay in every production, both within the household and public domains⁹⁰ The farming system was exclusively done by women, predominantly done by women and predominantly by men and farming system centred around the hoe culture and on the shifting cultivation; polygamy was rampant because of the value on the labour of women.⁹¹ Women in Ode-Ondo did not have permanent right over land but through their usufructary right they could control land of their small marchyland for vegetable (*akuro*), which helped essentially to fulfill reproductive and social obligations to the family. Food crops were produced more for the rapid family consumption than urban market demand.⁹²

Ode-Ondo women also helped in storing farm products so as to preserve them until they were needed to be sold, consumed or planted. Produce were preserved by removing and putting them on rafters. Some were regularly dried by exposing it to sun or fire.⁹³ Women processed raw farm produce to their final form either into chips, flours, liquid or paste. This depends on the particularly food item, a long process which required caution, skill, time and endurance. Cassava and yam could be turned into chips, porridge or flour, palm tree fruits were processed into palm

⁸⁹ Hopkins, A.G. *An Economic History of West Africa*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1973. Pp. 34-50.

⁹⁰ Odole, K. "Women in the Socio-Economic Development of Yorubaland: The Ondo Example." Unpublished B.A. Long Essay, Department of History, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ife. 1991-1992. Pp. 1-20.

⁹¹ Afonja, S. "Changing Mode of Production and Sexual Division of Labour among the Yoruba." In *Signs*, 7, 1981. Pp. 299-308.

⁹² Falola, T. *The Political Economy of Pre-Colonial African State: Ibadan, 1830-1900*. Ile-Ife: University of Ife Press, 1984. Pp. 1-10.

⁹³ Akinbolaji, Mrs Yemisi. Age 50, Farmer. Interviewed 20 April, 2015 at Valentino, Ode-Ondo.

oil, vegetable into soup and corn into corn flour or pastes. Processing raw food items was considered an important activity of women and women's character was often judged not only in light of the attitude and behavior to others in the society but also on how skilled and hardworking she was in processing and preparing food.⁹⁴

2.6.3 Trade

Women in Ode-Ondo were economic power houses of Ode-Ondo due to trade and market system.⁹⁵ Through the known trade, Ondo women have displayed a great role in both local and long distance trade. The local trade involved the trade within Ondo communities and markets. The market days were seen to be holy days and observed very specific and meticulous order.⁹⁶ Ode-Ondo women operated five days market cycle or periodicity, and various farm and artistic products were sold.⁹⁷ The trade was conducted either by barter or with cowries, the volume of goods changed from time to time; and this also made the value of cowries changed accordingly.⁹⁸ The women chose a president who directed the affairs of all traders which in Ondo refers to Iyalaje (president of the women market association). The most important activity Ondo women were known for was trade. In fact, there the sexual division of labour factor came into play. The wife was responsible for selling either in a processed or raw forms; the products of the farm that were in excess of her family needs. Ondo women also sold what they manufactured on their own and goods brought from other long distances trade activities with the purpose of reselling them. Men who were long distance traders and also middle men sold their wares to their

⁹⁴ Akinbolaji, Mrs Yemisi. Age 50, Farmer. Interviewed 20 April, 2015 at Valentino, Ode-Ondo.

⁹⁵ Awomolo, A. "The Political Economy of Market Women in Western Nigeria". Unpublished Ph.D Thesis of University of Pittsburgh, 1991. P.325.

⁹⁶ Falola, T. "The Place of Women in the Pre-Colonial Yoruba Economy." In *Seminar Papers 1978-79, Department of History, University of Ife*. Ile-Ife: Kosalabaro Press, n.d., Pp.139-159.

⁹⁷ Oluwasanmi, H.A. *Agriculture and Nigerian Economy*. Ibadan, Oxford University Press, 1966. Pp.20-25.

⁹⁸ Oloidi, J. "Economic History of Ekiti People in Nigeria, 1900-1960." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation of University of Nigeria, Nsuka. 2011. Pp.53-54.

wives who were either wholesalers or retailers; goods were carried to the neighboring towns and villages and distant parts beyond the borders of Yoruba land.⁹⁹ The long distance trade was not without great challenge of insecurity and hardship, yet, Ode-Ondo women confronted these with great courage. Within the market areas and trade routes, the insecurity issues were severally pronounced between fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. The women sat in section by lineage groups with their backs to the path leading from the market to their home territory. In this way, no woman would have to traverse the market place in order to flee home land in case of disturbance.¹⁰⁰

The indigenous markets were composed of areas occupied by women selling commodities of every conceivable nature. One significant consequent of Yoruba women's involvement in trading activities was their ability to become wealthy and influential and therefore enjoyed the high socio-economic and political status associated with the wealthy people.¹⁰¹ However, women in indigenous Ondo did not have same easy access to the coast, for the trade in arms and slaves like their Ibadan, Ijebu and Egba counter parts, because this was the most lucrative trade.¹⁰²

2.6.4 Women and Animal Husbandry

Looking at the role of women in the area of animal husbandry, women were the main livestock rarer. Among the domestic animals reared by Ode-Ondo women were chickens, ducks, pigs, sheep, cats, pigeon and goat.¹⁰³ There were other animals of importance but men took more

⁹⁹ Akomolafe, Mrs Oyinkansola. Age 65, Trader. Interviewed 28 July, 2014 at Odotu, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁰⁰ Falola, T. "Gender, Business, and Space Control: Yoruba Market Women and Power." In Bessie, H. and Francis, E. (eds.), *African Market Women and Economic Power*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1995. Pp 23-30.

¹⁰¹ Falola, T. "Gender, Business, and Space..." Pp. 35-38.

¹⁰² Kokumo, Yeye Moloma. Age 115+, Retired Trader. Interviewed 26 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja.

¹⁰³ Kokumo, Yeye Moloma. Age 115+, Retired Trader. Interviewed 26 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja.

interest in them than women. There were dogs used for hunting and turtle dove used for religious and social purposes. Animals could be sold in the markets for money, men within and outside a compound could give a woman sheep or goat to rear for them with the understanding that the offspring's would be shared on an agreed ration. Every woman, whatever her trade might be, was expected to keep a few chicken and goat, from which she derived small income for housekeeping and general pin money, the rearing of poultry then must be reckoned among female occupations.¹⁰⁴

Ode-Ondo women were not involved in serious hunting as men did. Women were only involved in hunting of snails during rainy season either for commercial or nutritional value. Wild hunting was considered to be a very dangerous and risky occupation not only for women but for men considered to be young, weak or ignorant of the medicines to protect a person from the many dangers associated of hunting by men was determined by the nature of the job. Nevertheless, women could kill small animals like rat when they came across them or when they were in danger of being attacked.¹⁰⁵

2.6.5 Handicraft Industry

Both men and women engaged in crafts as it was prescribed by lineage affiliation. The women engaged in varieties of crafts such dying, pottery, bead making, weaving and processing of food stuff. Each craft was organized as a guild, but the women's guild was not organized like men's own because women worked mainly at homes or in the market place as independent producers.¹⁰⁶ Like in many other Yoruba settlements, it was generally believed that craft work

¹⁰⁴ Ajayi, I. "The Economy of Ondo Kingdom in Time and Perspective: 500 Years of History." In S. Ibi Ajayi (ed.), *The Evolution of Ondo Kingdom*, Spectrum Books, Ibadan, 2013. P. 106.

¹⁰⁵ Isaac, Mrs Taiwo. Age 50, Farmer. Interviewed 14 April, 2015 at Yaba, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁰⁶ Adepoju, Mrs Sabainah. Age 57, Weaver. Interviewed 28 April, 2015 at Rainbow Street, Ode-Ondo.

must have been practiced for long. For example, the cloth weaving was one of the craft practiced by Ondo women, and they had been using *aso-oke* even before the arrival of the British.¹⁰⁷ The existence of tree called *Owu ekese* otherwise called cotton spun, transformed into major yarn in traditional times for the manufacturing of *etu* and *alaari*.¹⁰⁸ The art of cloth weaving was an age long industry in Ondo and in which women managed effectively most especially the hand loomed *aso-oke* for which Ondo had recorded a great fame. The loom was used by women in producing female ceremonial wrap around which the Ondo called *Lubo meji* (two wide strip cloths).¹⁰⁹ Ondo women acquired the skills in weaving from the non indigence of Ondo who came from Iseyin and Ilorin. Ondo people generally designed their dresses, the garments like *Agbada*, *buba* and *sokoto*, *iro*, *gele*, *kembe*, and *daudogo* were produced from a specialized fabrics. In all, these clothes were divided into three major categories of clothes: for prestige rites, ceremonies and cloth worn for daily use.¹¹⁰

2.6.6 Alternative Medicine

In medicine, there was no clear boundary between genders; the factor of division did not exist. Both genders in Ondo took active part in medicine. Any woman or man might acquire medical skill and practice of traditional medicine.¹¹¹ The prestige of priest or priestess of any idol is enhanced by the knowledge of native medicine possessed by him or her. Many powerful and

¹⁰⁷ Idris, J. *The Nupe and the Origins and Evolution of the Yoruba c.1275-1897*. Abdullahi Smith Centre for Historical Research, Ibadan, Nigeria. 2005. Pp.18-20.

¹⁰⁸ Adepoju, Mrs Sabainah. Age 57, Weaver. Interviewed 28 April, 2015 at Rainbow Street, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁰⁹ Akinbobola, Mrs Roseline. Age 55, Weaver. Interviewed 28 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street, Ode-Ondo.

¹¹⁰ Ilori, Mrs Victoria. Age 45, Weaver. Interviewed 27 April, 2015 at Arilekolasi Street, Ode-Ondo.

¹¹¹ Ogundana, Mrs Veronica. Age 50, Herbalist. Interviewed 20 December, 2014 at Rainbow Street, Ode-Ondo.

wonderful things were said to be within power of native doctors such as shortening of distance, curing of disease and among others.¹¹²

Female doctors were diviners and they were more than men. In fact, diviners were usually women who had the attributes of non-femininity and would refuse to sleep with their husbands when divining. Ondo women exhibited a great role in medicine; one could say that they possessed considerable body of empirical knowledge which has served them in good stead in practical situations.¹¹³

Among the stock of practical knowledge possessed by Ondo women was that of curative medicine as illustrated by the following: “medicine among most tribe as associated with magic or juju but among the Yoruba, the separation is almost complete and there exist a society of native doctors and to a certain extent every man is his own physician, the role women played in ogun or medicine which can either be used for curative or used against another person is well pronounced among Yoruba women”.¹¹⁴

Ondo women recommended and used various herbs (ewe) to cure ailments. In fact, Ondo women’s pot of soup was a medicine. The active role of Ode- Ondo women’s medicine started from a period when women conceived up to the time when the baby was delivered. The woman’s with her native knowledge and experience in herbs prescribed for both the mother and the baby. This continued to be relevant even when one was sick. In some cases where men identified such herbs, women would be given the responsibility of boiling or preparing such

¹¹²Ogundana, Mrs Veronica. Age 50, Herbalist. Interviewed 20 December, 2014 at Rainbow Street, Ode-Ondo.

¹¹³Ojo, J.R.O. “The Position of Women in Yoruba Traditional Society.” In *1978/79 Department of History Seminar Series, University of Ife*. 1980. P.119.

¹¹⁴Ojo, J.R.O. “The Position of Women...” P.119.

herbs. Ondo women were known for traditional medical pediatrics (“*alagbo omo de or olomititu*”).

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter examined land and the people of Ode-Ondo; the political system and the women’s role in the pre-colonial socio-cultural and economic activities of Ode-Ondo. The political system which has sustained and encouraged gender inputs in all spheres which placed priority on central point of hard work culture, self pride and integrity that characterized the Ode-Ondo government. Ode-Ondo had both observable patrilineal descent groups and definite patrilineal ideology and there was a bilateral arrangement that carried both male and female along, Ode-Ondo possessed a strong tendency toward matrifocality and that was expressed in kinship term, ‘my maternal kin’ (*omiye mi*). Women were not passive in socio-economic and political activities of Ode-Ondo within period; women did play important roles in the traditional political system of Ondo in fact, the first or primordial monarch, Oba Pupupu was a good example. The role of women in politics and governance in Ode-Ondo was largely noticeable in the role of women king (*Lobun*). Lobun performed an important role in crowning a new Osemawe. Female king (*Lobun*) was in charge of market which she used to promote commerce or economic activities. There were also female chiefs referred to as *Opoji* who were regarded as the custodians of traditions and cultural heritage of Ode-Ondo, especially those that directly concerned women. They also performed special rite during the establishment of new market or festivals, as they possessed shrines of goddesses who interceded for the women in particular and that of Ode-Ondo in general. Ode-Ondo showed that women had played significant roles in the pre-colonial socio-economic activities of Ode-Ondo. Women guarantee the smooth transmission of cultural values to the children and the youth. Women also play an active role in Ode Ondo social life which includes kinship system,

marriage, inheritance, funeral ceremonies, residence and lineage. Ondo had both observable patrilineal descent groups and a definite patrilineal ideology. An individual indigene of Ode-Ondo claimed membership only in his or her fathers' descent group.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE COLONIALSOCIO-ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF ODE ONDO 1875-1960

3.1 Introduction:

Beginning from 1861, Yorubaland experienced the first imposition of British colonial domination with the annexation of Lagos which followed the bombardment of the town in 1851 by the British forces. With subsequent developments unfolding in the hinterlands, coupled with the need of the British government to expand its area of influence, other areas in Yorubaland were incorporated into the British colonial administration. In the case of Ode-Ondo, this influence began from 1875. This period has been tagged by scholars as the era of “New Imperialism” which they as well described as the highest stage of capitalism.¹ By the imposition of British Government on the people of Ode-Ondo, the British set up standard of social behaviours more compatible with the achievement of imperialist objectives than the traditional laws and values that prevailed in the area before the British conquest of Yorubaland in general and that of Ode-Ondo in particular.² This period saw to intense rivalry and competition among the capitalist World³ for the acquisition of colonies. This was borne out of the capitalist crisis of over production and emergence of national monopolies competing among themselves for the

¹Aghalino, S.O. “British Colonial Policies and the oil palm Industry in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria 1960 to 1990.” In *African Study Monographs, volume 21, No.2*, 2000.P.20. See, Adamu, A. “British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria C1902 to 1945: A case study of Soba District” Unpublished M.A thesis of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria 1992. Pp.1-10

²Adamu, A. “British Colonial Agricultural Policies...P.8

³Keniston M.M. *Yoruba Women, Work and Social Change*. Bookcraft Press Ibadan 2010.P.60. See, Meek, C.K. *Land Tenure and Land Administration in Nigeria and the Cameroons*; Her majesty's stationary office, London 1957. Pp.50-55 and Oluwafemi, M. and Arowolo, D. “Evolution of Politics and Governance in Ondo kingdom, 1510 to 2010” in Ajayi, J. *The Evolution of Ondo Kingdom over Five Hundred Years, 1510 to 2010*. Spectrum Books Ltd. 2013.P.21

control of World market and sources of raw materials for their industries.⁴ These monopolies were fully supported by their home governments in their struggle for supremacy, hence the imposition of customs barriers by these governments to discourage one another. These imperialist monopolies and their governments (Britain, France, Italy and Germany for example) were therefore forced to look outside Europe for cheaper sources of industrial raw materials for their industries and regular markets for the products of these industries.⁵ It was a search for the needed materials that made British embarked on the conquest of Ode-Ondo. The British colonization of Nigeria introduced policies that affected Nigerians either positively or negatively; and the major developments of the colonial period had several implications for Nigerians.⁶ In 1872, the British took over the administration of Ode-Ondo and imposed colonial rule.⁷ The take over, to them was necessary in order to restore peace among the ondo people who were at war with one another and other groups such as Ibadan, Okeigbo among others.⁸ But the real motive for the imposition of colonial rule, according to some scholars, was economic and therefore exploitative.⁹ For the colonial administration to fully access in its economic objectives, therefore, it had to create an enabling environment for these through the provision of various policies on land, commerce, agriculture, education, means of exchange, infrastructure among others.¹⁰ The British subjugation of Ode-Ondo was never a liberating factor for women

⁴Aghalino, S.O. "British Colonial Policies...." Pp.20-21. See, Water, Rodney. *How Europe Under Developed Africa*, Bogle-L' Overture, London 1973. Pp.12 and 115.

⁵Adamu, A. "British Colonial Agricultural Policies..." P.71

⁶Ofonagoro, W.I. *The Opening Up of Southern To British Trade and Its consequences, Economic and Social History, 1881 to 1916*. Columbian University Press, 1972. P.16. See, C.K. Meek, *Land Tenure and Land Administration in Nigeria and the Cameroons; Her majesty stationery office, London 1957*. Pp.50-55.

⁷Olufemi, M. and Dare A. "Evolution of Politics and Governance in Ondo Kingdom, 1510-2010." In Ajayi, I. (ed.), *The Evolution of Ondo Kingdom over 500 years (1510-2010+)*. Spectrum Books, Ibadan. 2013. Pp.82-92.

⁸Wiwolokun, Mr Isaac, Age 78, Farmer. Interviewed 22 March, 2015 at Fagbo. See, Adebajji Akintoye, *Revolution and Power Politics in Yorubaland*. Longman, Ibadan, 1971. Pp.2-8

⁹Falola, T. and J. Ihoevbere, "Introduction: Colonialism and Exploitation." In Toyin Falola, *Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development?* London: Zed Books Limited, 1987. Pp.32-52 and 142-159.

¹⁰Oloidi, J.F. "Economic History of Ekiti People in Nigeria, 1900-1960..." P60.

but rather contributed to women's backwardness, wider gap between men and women and total relegation of women to subsistence sector of food production.

3.2 Agricultural Production Policy

British colonial policy regarding the production of crops was mostly influenced by the colonial industries.¹¹ There was a serious focus on Ode-Ondo as a result of the availability of both human and material resources. It was considered therefore that with the right organization the region has the potentials to produce vast quantities of crops needed for export. The colonial government therefore began the construction of roads to Ode-Ondo from Lagos (coast). The improvement of communications from coast to Ode-Ondo owed its origin not only to the strategically necessities, but to the hope that the protectorate might thereby develop into a great cash crop exporting area.¹² Therefore to achieve this, funds were allocated to British company by the administration of Southern Nigeria to be used for: experimental work on several seed varieties and fertilizers; distribution of seeds to farmers; for discovering the best cash crops area and for missionary work to persuade farmers to take up cash crop growing.¹³ The colonial government later realized that no appreciable quantity of cash crops could be purchased from producers as a matter of strong competition among local buyers who paid higher prices than the British companies, the colonial administration therefore introduced new measures aimed at: destroying local varieties of seeds (cotton) and expanding the area of cultivation of cash crops by government officials.¹⁴ Farmers were reluctant in stopping the growing the cultivation of perennial varieties which did very well and produced good yield for up to three years or more

¹¹ Mfon, O. "Contestations of Identity :Colonial Policing of female Sexuality in the Cross River of Southern Nigeria." In *Inkanyiso Journal of Humanity and Social Science*, vol.5, No.1, 2013. P.74.

¹² Ogunshakin, P. *Ondo: The People...* Pp.50-51.

¹³ Ogunshakin, P. *Ondo: The People...* Pp.50-51.

¹⁴ Abiodun, A. "The colonial Taxation policy Among Yoruba of South Western Nigeria and its implications for socio-Economic Development" in *Journal of the Historical society of Nigeria*, vol. 19, 2010. Pp.63-92, accessed: 07/01/2013 06:19.

without having to plant another crop; this was more commercial in the sense that the peasants did not have to buy seeds every season and also used the time they would have spent on the tending cotton crop for other agricultural produce, thus, giving them more time which made it possible to produce better yields. The colonial government insisted that it was only crops recommended by the colonial Agricultural Department should be grown and that every indigenous crop grown was to be instantly destroyed. The British claimed to have introduced ‘new,’ ‘better,’ ‘advanced technology,’ for their application in agricultural production and agricultural extension service was introduced.¹⁵ This brought in the dissolution of pre-colonial self-reliant and technologically integrated productive system. There was a process of technologically disarticulation and underdevelopment of Nigerian economy in response to the requirement of British capitalist.¹⁶ Colonial policy on agriculture created an atmosphere for exploitation; it promoted maximum extraction of agricultural surpluses without simultaneously promoting surplus utilizations within the agricultural sector; this made farmers well being deteriorate, poverty, indebtedness, food shortage, marriage expenses and huge taxation which in turn destroyed household production.¹⁷ Colonial agricultural policy declined indigenous economic activities like handicraft work as a result of migration.¹⁸

¹⁵ Keniston, M.M. *Yoruba women, Work and social change* Bookcraft press Ibadan 2010. P.60.

¹⁶ Fadahunsi, Akin. “The Formation and the Dynamics of the Nigerian Colonial Economy and Society Notion and pattern of Change and Development in a British Colonial and Neo-Colonial settings: A case of Ijeshas from 1880s to 1980s”. In Salleh, A. (ed.), *Nigerian Economy and the Society Since the Berlin Conference*, vol. One, Faculty of Arts and Social Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. 1985. P.581.

¹⁷ Adamu, A. “British Colonial Agricultural Policies...” P.91.

¹⁸ Adamu, A. “British Colonial Agricultural Policies...” P.91.

3.3 Land Policy in Ode-Ondo

The division of Nigeria into North and south dichotomy was based on the fact that Northern and Southern Nigeria had been administered by the British as separate territories prior to their amalgamation in 1914.¹⁹ One of the effects of this separate administration was that markedly different policies together regarding land holding simultaneously developed in the two territories.²⁰ In the Northern Nigeria a form of state ownership was established under which private rights known as right of occupancy were of usufructuary rather than a proprietary character. In Southern Nigeria, on the other hand, the government made no such claim to ownership of lands, and unrestricted private proprietary rights were admitted. Looking at pre-colonial (traditional land rights) in Ode-Ondo, which was wrapped in the peoples customs and pattern of tradition, there was a law governing land ownership or tenure. The land in Ode-Ondo was circumscribed by the ancient ramparts which encircled the town approximately half a mile from its geographical center Customary law has recognized that greater rights may be held on town land than in farm land and there was a boundary between two tenurial systems.²¹

Within Ode-Ondo, there were three categories of land namely public and royal land allocated, family land and unallocated or vacant land. From time immemorial the Ondo land within the Ondo ditch has been owned and governed by the Oshemawe and his chiefs for the use of the members of Ode-Ondo community.²² The right of the Oshemawe and his chiefs has never prevented the Ondo people from using the outlying area for farming from time to time when the Oshemawe and his chiefs wished to have control over the land; nobody could prevent men from

¹⁹ Micheal, Omolewa. *Certificate History of Nigeria*. Longman PLC Nigeria, 1986. P.167.

²⁰ Meek, C.K. *Land Tenure and Land Administration in Nigeria and the Cameroons*. Pp.4-5.

²¹ Ogunshakin, P. *Ondo: The people, their origins, custom and Tradition*. Inway publishers, Lagos 1976. Pp.63-64.

²² N.A.I., Ondo Province Lieut., L.N. Backoell, District Commissioner, Akure, 1898 in Administrative Report; File No. 220, 1920. P.32.; N.A.I., No. O.C 736/1 Native Authority office, Ondo 10th June, 1949 and Kokumo, Mrs Yeye Maloma Beatrice. Age 115+ Retired Trader. Interviewed 26 April at Igbo Oja.

so doing. It was by the virtue of that right that the Oshemawe and his chiefs gave to the government the place of land known as government Reservation Area.²³ The colonial economy in Ondo was structured to improve the economies of the colonizing or metropolitan powers. Very little if any regard was paid to the colonized indigenous population.²⁴ The coming of the British produced a number of changes and reactions in Ondo province. The colonial rule was accompanied by land alienation and the exploitation of the rich land. Usually, this was done by European firms who paid royalties to the Oshemawe as the sole Native Authority.²⁵ The Oshemawe disbursed the money largely at his discretion, although shares of the royalties were given to all vassal villages.²⁶ Under the colonial land policy, the Oshemawe and the chiefs were forced to monetize land and which of course enriched their purses at the expense of the subjects. Within the period of colonization of Ode-Ondo, there were several recorded disputes over land as an individual wanted to gain control over and struggle for political autonomy.²⁷ The situation became worst when cash crops like cocoa, coffee, rubber among others were introduced in the province; the colonial government encouraged large scale cocoa farming and within a short time a class of rich cocoa farmers emerged.²⁸ This generated keen competition among the people so that Ondo province became one of the areas in the old western Region which produced the largest quantity of cocoa.²⁹ The immediate impact of this was the commercial value which was

²³Kokumo, Mrs Yeye Maloma Beatrice. Age 115+ Retired Trader. Interviewed 26 April at Igbo Oja.

²⁴Shok Pela, S.A. and Odigre A. "British colonial Economic policy in Nigeria, The Example of Benin" *Ecology*, No 28, 2009. Pp. 57-66.

²⁵N. A.I., Ondo Prof. File No. O.C 736/1/ Native Authority Ondo, 1949.

²⁶N.A.I., Ondo Prof. File No. O.C 736/1 Native Authority office, Ondo 10th June, 1949.

²⁷ N. A.I., Ondo Prof. File No. O.C 736/1/ Native Authority Ondo, 1949.

²⁸N. A.I., Ondo Prof. File No. O.C 736/1/ Native Authority Ondo, 1949.

²⁹Annual Report; Ondo province 1950. P.81. See Marjorie K.M., *Yoruba Women and Social Change*... Pp. 53-56 and 123 and 273

attached to land ownership. Soon, cocoa plantations were owned by individuals and these became a permanent phenomenon.³⁰

It is in the context of these new developments that old traditions began to give way to the new colonial land policy. Emphasis was no longer placed on national or communal ownership of land but on individual and corporate ownership. This however, made the communities under Ondo province become restive; they were faced with the threat of being dispossessed of their land by individuals under serious influence of colonial economy.³¹ In 1913, the first signs of open rebellion were shown by the people of Odigbo who in protest against the way royalties were divided in that year, attacked the Oshemawe's messengers stationed in the town, and followed this with a petition to the governor.

In 1946, the Public Lands Acquisition Ordinance was enacted by the colonial administration. On this occasion, the colonial government was advised by commissioners of land to give reasonable interpretation to section 15(b) which introduced the "willing seller" which was the basis of the English law of compulsory acquisition. The ordinance further classified lands as "occupied and unoccupied", it explained that unoccupied lands may only be held to relate to land being within the definitions of "unoccupied land" and over which no persons have exercised rights of ownership other than those in section 13(2).³² The Native Authority encouraged the district officer to ask the individuals who had unoccupied land to release them for the use in connection with any project for the 'good' of Ode-Ondo community.³³

³⁰Oluwafemi, M. and Arowolo, D. "Evolution of Politics and Governance in Ondo kingdom, 1510 to 2010" in S. Ibi Aja yi, *The Evolution of Ondo Kingdom over Five Hundred Years, 1510 to 2010. Spectrum Books Ltd. 2013. P.21.*

³¹Oluwafemi, M. and Arowolo, D. "Evolution of Politics and Governance in Ondo kingdom, 1510 to 2010..." P.21.

³²N.A.I., Ondo Prof. File No. 06048/134/ Public Lands Acquisition Ordinance of 1946.

³³N.A.I., Ondo Prof. File No. O.C. 736/16/ Native Authority Office Ondo, 12 October, 1949.

The issue of land acquisition in Ode-Ondo province became violent to an extent that families and individuals sued themselves over land trespassed.³⁴ During this period of land dispute, women in Ondo Province were victimized, most especially those that held titles of ownership to land. The commercialization of land puts women's lands at risk of being snatched from them³⁵. That was the cases of madams Sifau Mimiko, Kupola and Kuse Gbanujoke (Yeye Ikummola) in Ondo town.³⁶ On this ground, women economic activities suffered greatly in the sense that the European mercantile firms applied western land tenure system which made certain individuals and families claimed ownership of communal land.³⁷ Before this time, the people living in Ondo province had established an economic system which revolved to a large extent, around land cultivation. The people had an economic system which made adequate provisions for their needs and their immediate neighbours. It is not difficult to see that under those circumstances when land was free to everyone who wanted it, the idea of transferring of land by sale was foreign to the Yoruba among which Ondo province was.

The people of Ondo province might have copied this same habit from Lagos crown colony as result of their business transaction with them.³⁸ The arrival of European traders in Ondo province complicated the issue of land; the traders spread the alien practice of land tenure system to the Natives. The male educated natives in Ondo developed higher appreciation of the value of land and of its commercial and speculative possibilities.³⁹ The greatest dangers that faced the western region, was that land ownership became increasingly the privileged few male elite;

³⁴N.A.I.,Ondo Prof.File No. 698/37/ Kusoyin Land dispute, See, NAI No, 241/290/23/ Petition Over Land Disputes , N.A.I. No. 698/167 / Reference No.H3/12, N.A.I. No. /698/220, NAI No. 698/1466, N.A.I. No., 102/32 and Annual Reports : Ondo Province 1950. P.26.

³⁵Kokuma, YeyeMaloma Beatrice.Age 115+ Retired Trader.Interviewed 26 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja.

³⁶N.A.I.,Ondo Prof.File No. 698/239, See, N.A.I. No. 698/37.

³⁷N.A.I.Ondo Prof.File No.O.C 9/vol.III/48.

³⁸N.A.I. Annual Report on Ondo Province 1950. P.26

³⁹His Royal Highness, Akinradewo, 65years, Igbo-Oja, 28 April, 2015.

they encouraged the establishment of landed aristocracy at the expense of the former peasant land owners.⁴⁰ The colonial market economy by supporting individualized land tenure created a new system of land inheritance. Increasingly land rights was made by the males while the daughters were almost entirely excluded on the spurious ground that women have never been involved in land distribution.⁴¹

3.4 Tax Policy in Ode-Ondo

Right from onset, the British economic policy in Ode Ondo was centrally based on the achievement of two objectives: to derive revenue for the mother country; to make Ondo province as financially self-sustaining as possible; to pay salary of administrative officers that helped manned the colonial structures and Lugard maintained that “*no system of rule can be effective unless it is enjoys some measures of financial independence that is derived from direct tax based on the principle of an income tax.*”⁴² According to the authority, colonial taxation was a mark of individual responsibility to the state for the security of life and property provided; and it was imposed so as to force the peasant to produce exportable cash crops to meet their tax obligations.⁴³ The beginning of British political intervention in Ondo dates to the events of the civil war in Yoruba land in the nineteenth century. The strategic importance of Ondo arose from the fact that it was the only alternative route linking the Lagos traders with the Eastern countries. Thus, in the year 1869, Captain John Glover learnt about the road through Ondo to the hinterland. He sent a Lagos based man, Awotikum to Ondo, although the Ondo people were not involved in the civil war which engulfed Yoruba land, they were not without their own trouble of

⁴⁰C.K MeekC.K. Meek, *Land Tenure and Land Administration in Nigeria and the Cameroons...*P.318

⁴¹Achiola Pala (ed.).“Toward Strategies for strengthening the position of women in food production: An overview and proposal for Africa”, *INSTRAW*, 1985.P.13.

⁴² Lugard, F.*The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa*.London,1922. P.231.

⁴³Adamu,A.”British Colonial Agricultural Policies...”P.108.

monetized land tenure system that was hitherto based on communal system and which could be accessed by all.

At that point in time Awotikun came to negotiate with the colonial authorities at Ondo, the Ode-Ondo was plunged into war with the slave raiders of Oba Arilekolasi who collaborated with some Ife people and invaded the capital from Oke-Igbo, and left the town in devastation. In 1872, Roger Goldsworthy, District magistrate and acting collector of custom duties for Lagos colony succeeded in settling disputes in Ondo.⁴⁴

With the ambition of improving commerce and the Lagos revenue and as well to secure Ondo as the exclusive preserve of the British, the Lagos government signed treaties of commerce and friendship with the Oshemawe of Ode-Ondo in 1899. The treaty took away the sovereignty of Ode-Ondo people and physical conquest, occupation and colonization by British was encouraged.⁴⁵ In 1899, the Lagos government made further reorganizations which placed Ondo under the charge of a traveling commissioner who was allowed to exercise wide military, administrative and judiciary powers. The implementation of the Native Administration ordinance of 1916, and the revenue ordinance of 1917 to the District, marked a turning point in the application of indirect rule in Ondo.⁴⁶ The British economic policies in Ondo province were centrally based on the achievement of two objectives to derive revenue for the mother country and to make the crown colony of Lagos and the Western protectorate as financially self-sustained as possible.⁴⁷ To ensure the objective behind the introduction of taxation in Ode-Ondo in 1921, the principle of direct taxation was introduced; the Osemawe as the Native Authority was

⁴⁴ N.A.I.Ondo Prof.File No. 643/4/District Office, Ondo/5th February,1942.

⁴⁵N.A.I.Ondo Prof.File No. 1294/177/1944

⁴⁶N.A.I.,File No. 643/4/District Office,Ondo/5th February,1942.

⁴⁷Abiodun, A. "The colonial Taxation policy Among Yoruba of South Western Nigeria and its Implications For Socio-Economic Development" in *Journal of the Historical society of Nigeria*, vol. 19, 2010.Pp.63-92, accessed: 07/01/2013, 06:19GMT.

responsible for the collection of taxes, his position having been enhanced out of proposition of his traditional standing.⁴⁸

The British instituted and manipulated Native Administration to assist colonial interest in day to day running of government. The tax department which was one of its chief sources of revenue was under the direction of an efficient British officer. The British regularized the series of arbitrary, irregular and uncertain tributes in order to achieve a fair system of direct taxation rather than introducing an alien taxation system to Ondo people; the colonial government gave reason that the expansion of the education and health services would depend on the regional government funding the necessary to meet both the capital outlay and the very considerable recruitment cost.⁴⁹

Between 1953 and 1954 the regional government gave careful consideration to a number of schemes to increase the revenues of the region and proposed to adopt a number of them but it felt that it was proper that a part of the recurrent cost of those schemes should be met by direct taxation.⁵⁰ The only machinery used to raise tax was the direct taxation ordinance, the revenue from which normally accrues to the local government bodies which collected it, but the ordinance made provision for regional government to receive portion of tax by way of capitation from regional revenue.⁵¹ The rate of taxation under the direct taxation ordinance in Ode-Ondo province between 1952 and 1953 with 10/-.⁵² Direct taxes were introduced, levies, licenses, taxes were all administered for the British authority who by so doing changed the pre-annexation relationship between the Oshemawe, the chiefs and the entire population at large, political

⁴⁸N.A.I.,Ondo Prof.File No.3783/20/25June,1946.

⁴⁹N.A.I.,Ondo Prof.File No. 643,vol.I (Taxation General).

⁵⁰N.A.I.,Ondo Prof.File No.665/603/Resident's Office,Ond Province 1947.

⁵¹N.A.I.,Ondo Prof.File No.665/603/Resident's Office,Ond Province 1947.

⁵²N.A.I.,Ondo Prof.File No .643,vol.I (Taxation General).

authority then rested on direct levies on the productive activities of its own subjects, rather than on levies on weaker outsiders; and colonial government designed Native courts to generate revenue for the metropolis which later resulted into several divorce cases in Ode-Ode.⁵³ This tax was to be paid in European currency alone as part of the process of fostering the habit of cash transaction among the peasantry which was believed to be requisite for the establishment of an efficient commercial transaction that would enable the sales of merchants for exports.⁵⁴

The colonial government defended his action by convincing Ondo people that public works and services have to be done in Ode-Ondo and that the Native administration could not afford to create or maintain that.⁵⁵ The assessment of taxes between 1952 and 1953 stated that all adult males over 16 years of age with incomes of £22 or less would pay 10/- on schedule one. All adult males with incomes of £23 to £48 per annum would pay the following on schedule II:

Ondo Province Assessment of Taxes 1952/1953

Schedule I (flat rate): All adult males over 16 years of age with incomes of £22 or less would pay 10%

Schedule II (Income tax): All adult males over 16 years of age with incomes of £23 to £48 per annum would pay the following rates:-

- (1) £12% on income of £25 - 27
- (2) £14% “ “ “ £28 – 31
- (3) £16% “ “ “ £32 – 35
- (4) £18% “ “ “ £ 36 – 39
- (5) £1 % “ “ “ £ 40 – 43

⁵³ Akinradewo, Mr Shade. Age 58, Soap Maker. Interviewed 25 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja.

⁵⁴ Keniston, M.M. *Yoruba Women, Work and Social Change*... Pp. 63-64

⁵⁵ N.A.I., Ondo Prof. File No. 13275/159 (Division of Taxes).

(6) £1 : 2% “ “ “ £44 – 47

(7) £1 : 4% “ “ “ £48

(2) Male persons with ascertainable incomes of more than £48 per annum would pay:

(1) For every £ from £1 – £48 at 6d in the £

(2) “ “ “ “ £49 –£ 72 “7d “ ““

(3) “ “ “ “ £73 – £300 “9d “ “ “

(4) “ “ “ “ £301 – £1,200 “ 1% “ “ “

(5) “ “ “ “ £1,201 – £1,500“ 3% “ “ “

(6) “ “ “ “ £1,501 – £2,500 “4/6d “ “ “

(7) “ “ “ “ £2,301 – £3,300 “6% “ “ “

(8) “ “ “ “ £3,301 – £4,300 “7/6d “ “ “

(9) “ “ “ “ £4, 01 – £5,300 “9% “ “ “

(10) “ “ “ “ £5,301 - £10,300 “11% “ “ “

(11) “ “ “ “ £10,301 – onwards “15%

Source: NAI No10161/1299/ Assessment Tax/Ondo Province

Provided members of the Nigeria Police Force who enlisted before 10 June 1937 shall be exempt from payment of tax; members of the Nigerian Police Force not above the substantive rank or corporal; who enlisted after 10 June, 1937 and before 1 April, 1948 should pay a flat rate of 5%.⁵⁶

However, there were two forms of taxes being paid in Ondo province, agricultural and commercial taxes. The British colonial authority encouraged the Natives to involve themselves in farming activities and though this, taxes were imposed on particular crops; the taxes were to be deducted from the prices paid by the licensed buying agents to the farmers for their crops and

⁵⁶N.A.I., Ondo Prof. File No. 10161/1299/ Assessment of Tax

handed over by the marketing boards.⁵⁷ Farming was taxed by British colonial government in directly in spite the fact that farm land did not belong to the British authorities.⁵⁸ Therefore, it was thought that no cost was acquired by the cocoa producer and it was considered unfair that tax should be levied of trees.⁵⁹Therefore, British government imposed tax on the yield and this was done by levying tax on the price of cocoa at the rate of 10(ten) shillings per ton.⁶⁰ Ondo province also paid commercial tax through her export of raw materials such as cocoa, timber, rubber, palm oil etcetra. The Natives that were involved in any of these economic activities were levied based on direct taxation ordinance, cap 54 section 15(4).⁶¹ The women in Ondo province were not directly taxed but through disguised organized indirect tax in economic activities that they were involved through their purchase of consumer goods.⁶²

Later, before April 1960, the women whose income was below three hundred ponds were exempted.⁶³The unyielding sprit of the Ondo people in the face of tyranny and oppression even in the face of favorable tax policies remarkably noted in a series of incidence at the time of colonization of Ondo. The natives that were subjected to double taxation did not accept such exploitation. This instance could be well supported with the case of one Ondo timber contractor called Saidu Fawehinmi who sued Ondo District Officer over double taxation⁶⁴. Most of the colonial taxes imposed on Ode-Ondo people were quite unfavorable to the people.⁶⁵ The Oshemawe that was appointed as the Native Administrator was placed on a salary of £700.00per annum or 10.9% of the Native Administration share of tax revenue for his district, Oshemawe

⁵⁷ Keniston, M.M. *Yoruba Women, Work and Social Change...* P.63.

⁵⁸ Onilari, Mrs Alice. Age 70+, Trader. Interviewed 23 February, 2015 at Owoduni Street, Ode -Ondo.

⁵⁹ Onilari, Mrs Alice. Age 70+, Trader. Interviewed 23 February, 2015 at Owoduni Street, Ode -Ondo P.73.

⁶⁰ N.A.I., No.810/300/District Office, 1947.

⁶¹ N.A.I., Ondo Prof. File No. 5255/5.1/107/ Direct Taxation Ordinance.

⁶² Kokuma, YeyeMaloma Beatrice. Age 115+ Retired Trader. Interviewed 26 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja.

⁶³ N.A.I., Ondo Prof. File 1/1 No. 665, vol.V, Taxation Ondo.

⁶⁴ N.A.I. Ondo Prof. File No. D. 110/14 (Double Taxation) 1946.

⁶⁵ N.A.I., No.643/38/District Office, Ondo, 1946.

ceased to be a constitutional monarch and became the sole authority.⁶⁶ Osemawe was forced to break away from the traditional policy by shaking off what they saw as the domination of the chiefs as a result of frequent rebellion against Native authority and the British, British colonial government decided to share royalties among the thirty-three towns and villages under Ondo province.⁶⁷

Furthermore, within the period of colonial domination of Ondo, money became increasingly important in Ode- Ondo economy. Aggressive demand for cash was caused by taxation policy introduced by colonial officials with the support of British company like John Holt.⁶⁸ The British encouraged the Ondo people to give more attention to the production of cash crops so as to aid the British government to get money to clear the cost of administering the province.⁶⁹ Men and women alike resented and resisted “fixed, compulsory, regular payments of cash, which required the objectionable counting of person, and the benefit of which could not be immediately appreciated.”⁷⁰

The Colonial taxation policy engendered unlimited exploitation and expropriation of capital from Ode-Ondo to metropolis; it brought in its wake changes that were not conducive to rapid positive growth and development of gender and the indigenous institutions. Ode-Ondo men, in order to meet up with taxes imposed by colonial administrators, spent all their time and energy on production of cash crops while the burden of food crop was left for women. The taxation and pressure of market exchange on the peasantry led to the destruction of large

⁶⁶Olupona, J. *Kingship, Region and Rituals in a Nigerian community; A Phenomenological study of Ondo Yoruba Festivals*. Steton press, Ibadan 1992. Pp.22-182.

⁶⁷*Annual Report: Ondo province 1950*. Pp.10-11.

⁶⁸His Royal Highness Akinrade wo, the Paramount Ruler of Igbo-Oja, Interviewed...

⁶⁹Olupona, J. *Kingship, Region and Rituals in a Nigerian community*... Pp.22-182.

⁷⁰Mba, Nina E. *Nigerian Women Mobilized; Women's political Activities in Southern Nigeria, 1900-1965*. Berkeley: Institute of International studies, university of California, 1982. P.45.

household; the deterioration in prices and the various forms of taxation made it impossible for both men and women to invest on various economic activities; different crafts and industry as a result of frequent and excessive taxes folded up.⁷¹ The dowry and fines were great, thus, it made life difficult men; this led to the migration of men to the places where they thought they could escape being taxed, thus, the double burden on women in the sense that the food crop production was left for women. It forced women to work as wage labourers⁷²

3.5 Labour Policy

Colonial administration was opposed to the continuation of slave labour, therefore the forced labour system was adopted so as to create abundant cheap wage labour for the colonial economy; however, British justified the use of forced labour that it was native custom for ruling class to use the labour of the peasantry for infrastructural development.⁷³ During colonial period, Nigerian women were necessary participants within the system of economic activities.⁷⁴ In Yoruba nation, the Yoruba did not distinguish sharply between the tasks assigned to men and women outside of the domestic setting.⁷⁵ Many households, however, were in a position to utilize more workers than the immediate family could provide. In most parts of Yoruba Nation, the demand for labour increased during the second half of the nineteenth century and the colonial period, due to the spread of cash crops and heightened commercialization of the economy.⁷⁶ Considering factors of production, labour plays an important role and it can never be underrated in any way; the emergence of legitimate trade in Ondo brought labour system into different perspective from

⁷¹Mba, Nina E .*Nigerian Women Mobilized; Women's political Activities in Southern Nigeria*...Pp.35-43.

⁷²Mba, E.Nina."Heroines of the Women's War."In Awe, B.(ed.), *Nigerian Women: A Historical Perspective*.Bookcraft,Ibadan Nigeria .Pp.82-88.

⁷³Iluyemi, Mr Akins .Age 81years.A retired civil servant,interviewed at Idimoge street,Ode-Ondo on 27April, 2015.

⁷⁴Iluyemi, Mr Akins .Age 81years.A retired civil servant,interviewed at Idimoge street,Ode-Ondo on 27April, 2015.

⁷⁵ Keniston,M.M.*Yoruba Women Work and Social Change*....P.110.

⁷⁶Keniston,M.M.*Yoruba Women Work and Social Change*....P.110.

what it used to be interpreted and quantified. Production, whether home consumption or export, it was germane to take into consideration the factor of labour.⁷⁷

From the 1940 to 1950 labour became scarce and increasingly commercialized.⁷⁸ In order to meet up with the colonial cash crops exploitation, Ode-Ondo were said to have employed Hausa, Igbo and *Agatu* as labourers.⁷⁹ It was remarked that large quantities of goods were passing through Ondo and that the Ondos were becoming visibly agitated. Soon, Ondo traders began the importation of goods from such distant places as Ekiti, Ijesha and Ilorin.⁸⁰

The era of cash cropping in Ondo province was the beginning of her golden age as it transformed Ondo province entirely. It was a period when Ondo was dragged into the global capitalist market. Forest crops and products ranging from palm produce, timber, cocoa and in a limited way, coffee and rubber emerged to become economic mainstay.⁸¹ Ondo people undertook the cultivation of those commodities accepted by colonial economy. It is at this very point that the family labour which was to be an important source of labour prior to the adoption of cocoa has undergone considerable changes; there was an increasing emancipation of Ondo women with the expansion of exchange economy which created new economic opportunities for them outside the food crop production to cash crop production farming as wage labourers.⁸² The distributive economic activities and other non-farming occupations provided employment opportunities for

⁷⁷Keniston M.M. *Yoruba Women Work and Social Change*...Pp.98-99.

⁷⁸Fadipe, N.A. *The sociology of the Yoruba*, Ibadan university press, 1970. Pp.147-150.

⁷⁹Kokuma, Yeye Moloma Beatrice. Age 115+. Retired Trader. Interviewed 26 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja.

⁸⁰Kokumo, Yeye Molomo Beatrice. Age 115+. Retired Trader. Interviewed 26 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja.

⁸¹Onilari, Mrs Alice. Age 70+, Trader. Interviewed 23 February, 2015 at Owoduni Street, Ode-Ondo.

⁸²Afolabi, Mr Ojo. Age 74 years, Interviewed at Odotu, 12 March, 2015.

Ode-Ondo women as well.⁸³ However, this reduced the population of Ondo women that were readily available for cash crop labour services.⁸⁴

More significant, however, labour became a purchasable value never before experienced in Ondo province because cash crops became permanent crops; land ownership was transferred lineage to individual ownership, from household to cash crops labourers.⁸⁵ The large acreage of land was cultivated for cocoa; there arose the need to go beyond family labour. The average family labour could not cope with the cultivation of more than one hectre of cocoa land without the use of additional labour and the previous methods of employment of labour in Ondo province was not altered but also eroded as a result of the adoption of cash crop production in Ondo province.⁸⁶ The widespread adoption of cash crop economy did not only lead to the disintegration of family labour and other traditional sources of labour hitherto free, it has increasingly led to the commercialization of labour force. The labour system was monetized as a result of legitimate trade. The daily paid labour rate was put at 1/5d and later between 1949 and 1950 raised to 1/7d.⁸⁷ This together with temporary addition to the rates of pay placed labourers in much more favourable position though it couldnot compete with the pay of casual labour in the cocoa farms.⁸⁸

Prior to the adoption of legitimate trade in Ondo, men between the ages of twenty to sixty engaged in the production of food crops. However, the adoption of cash crops called for the movement of able bodied men from the food crop to the cash crop production.⁸⁹ The mass

⁸³ Onilari, Mrs Alice. Age 70+, Trader, .Interviewed 23 February, 2015 at Owoduni Street, Ode -Ondo.

⁸⁴ Onilari, Mrs Alice. Age 70+, Trader, .Interviewed 23 February, 2015 at Owoduni Street, Ode -Ondo.

⁸⁵ Onilari, Mrs Alice. Age 70+, Trader, .Interviewed 23 February, 2015 at Owoduni Street, Ode -Ondo.

⁸⁶ Afolabi, Mr Ojo. Age 74 years, Interviewed at Odotu, 12 March, 2015.

⁸⁷ Annual Report; Ondo province 1950. P.81.

⁸⁸ Annual Report; Ondo province 1950 .P.81.P.78.

⁸⁹ Keniston, M.M. *Yoruba Women, Work, and Social Change...* Pp.53-56 and 123 and 273.

movement of labour from the food production to the cocoa sector was devastating; this led to a serious problem under production of food crops in Ondo province; the inability of the remaining household labour force to maintain per capital food output particularly where the system demanded the clearing of the bush and planting.⁹⁰ This function was originally or previously the main pre-occupation of men and partially by women who involved in transportation and processing activities but as the colonial economy gained ground, the entire burden of food crop production activities were left for Ode-Ondo women, children and aged individuals.⁹¹ Although this situation was not very helpful to food crop production up to maximum output. It considerably reduced the quantity of crops and commodities like gaari, cowpeas, yam, and maize among others.⁹²

The above incidence led to a strenuous growth of more food crops and British government launched a campaign in Ode-Ondo on how to promote the growth of foodcrops.⁹³

Following the Niller Report on wages in 1948, the wages of un-established staff were increased from 1/- to 1/1d a day.⁹⁴ Native administrations were advised to pay arrears of increased wages from the 1 October, 1947.⁹⁵ The differences in wages paid to labour in Ondo province under government and native administration called for a strike at Ode-Ondo in 1947; since Native administration had drawn attention to the discrepancy by following the decision of government

⁹⁰Keniston, M.M. *Yoruba Women, Work, and Social Change...* Pp.53-56.

⁹¹Keniston, M.M., *Yoruba Women, Work, and Social Change...* Pp.53-56

⁹²Afolabi, Mr Ojo. Age 74. Retired Farmer. Interviewed 12 March, 2015 at Odotu Street, Ode -Ondo.

⁹³Annual Report, Ondo province 1950. P.62.

⁹⁴Annual Report, Ondo province, 1948. P.53.

⁹⁵Annual Report, Ondo province, 1948. P.53.

contrary to the advice tendered to them.⁹⁶ Two hundred and forty five out of total two hundred and eighty labourers went on the strike from the 23 of April to the 10 of May 1947.⁹⁷

The colonial labour policy in Ondo province was anti-labour's interest because there was great difference between labourers working under United African Company and other timber companies in Ondo enjoyed better life than those working under government.⁹⁸ This circumstance led to a serious shortage of labour in the province during the year; this made the public works department to propose recruiting labour from the Northern Nigeria.⁹⁹ Of the workers, one thousand- six hundred and eighty-eight were adult males, sixty-three adult females, three male young persons and one female young person.¹⁰⁰ Most of those labourers suffered a serious humiliation by colonial labour policy which ranged from non-payment of wages, abnormal exploitation by government and the laid off of labourers due to market position.¹⁰¹

In the situation whereby both male and female labourers performed same labour task, they were both paid differently based on gender disparity. This had led several disputes and complaints in which at the end was treated with low interest by the colonial officers.¹⁰² The women's labour power for cash and food crop growing was deliberately exploited by the British capitalists and local patriarchal men; women's work enriched someone other than themselves and female farmers as labourers were at a disadvantage when dealing with the colonial government because the British colonial Government assumed that commercial agriculture

⁹⁶Annual Report, Ondo Province,1948.P.53.

⁹⁷Annual Report, Ondo Province,1948.P.53.

⁹⁸Annual Report, Ondo Province,1948.P.53.

⁹⁹Annual Report, Ondo Province,1951.P.99.

¹⁰⁰Annual Report, Ondo Province,1952.P.77.

¹⁰¹Annual Report,Ondo Province, 1952.P.78.

¹⁰²Adeokun, L.et al. "The Ife Labour Market; A Nigerian case study, Population and Labour Policies Programmes," *Working paper* No144; ILO General, 1984. Pp.1-15. See, Guyer ,J."Food cocoa and the Division of Labour By Sex in Two West African countries" *Comparative Studies In Society And History*, 22,1980. Pp.355-373,Olawoye,J.The impact of colonialism on Nigerian Women:The case of Women in Agriculture" unpublished paper, symposium on Impact of Colonialism on Nigerian Women. *WORDOC*, University of Ibadan,October 1989.Pp.46-48.

would be carried out by men and that economic development would be most successfully promoted by helping male farmers to become more productive.¹⁰³

The apparent effect of this on sex roles was the increase in the women's labour input into agricultural production either as part of family labour or the husband's or father's farm or as the independent farmers contrary to the pre-colonial agricultural production where the whole family labored for their subsistence and the utilization of women's labour was thus much lower than when the family produced for the market.¹⁰⁴ In general, the labour input of women was higher during the peak of production when they spent about six hours daily on farm work.¹⁰⁵ Women were generally involved in harvesting and transporting cocoa, fetching of water and cooking; these were additional tasks to normal household chores and to their own independent activities in trading, food processing, crafts production and women spent up to ten hours on the miscellaneous activities.¹⁰⁶

3.6 The Marketing Board

Right from the onset of the imposition of colonial domination on Nigeria, British were interested in developing the production of raw materials for export them to Britain, this was designed that the crops produced were purchased by the British firms operating in Nigeria who would then export to Britain. After World War two, colonial officials introduced a new system for handling agricultural exports, Government run marketing Boards, created for cocoa, palm oil and kernels, henceforth, set a flat scale of prices every year, and all sales had to go through their

¹⁰³ Guyer, J. "Food cocoa and the Division of Labour by Sex in Two West African countries" *Comparative Studies In Society and History*, 22, 1980. Pp.355-373.

¹⁰⁴ Olawoye, J. "The impact of colonialism on Nigerian Women: The case of Women in Agriculture" ... Pp.46-48.

¹⁰⁵ Olawoye, J. "The impact of colonialism on Nigerian Women: The case of Women in Agriculture" ...P.48.

¹⁰⁶ Keniston, M.M., *Yoruba Women, Work and Social Change*P.64. See Akintomide, M. "A comparative Analysis of the Marketing Board System and other Arrangements for commodity marketing. "in H.M.A. Onitiri and Dupe O.(eds.), *The marketing Board system, proceeding of an International conference: Nigeria institute for social and Economic Research 1974*. P.72. Galleli, S.et.al., *Nigerian Cocoa Farmers*. London, Oxford University Press, 1965. Pp.x-xx

agents; those agents were large firms in which most of them were foreigners to which the Board had given licenses, the companies then hired local representatives who operated in towns and markets, employing sub-buyers to collect smaller quantities directly from farmers and everyone licensed to act on behalf of the marketing Boards had to give a bond at the beginning of each season.¹⁰⁷

An important feature of colonial legitimate trade was the establishment of marketing Board in 1940 and Western African produce control Board in 1942 which promoted statutory monopolies on Africa's major exports cash crops such as cocoa, palm oil (kernels), cotton, timber, rubber, and groundnuts.¹⁰⁸ The Nigeria cocoa marketing Board was established in 1947 to assist in the development of the cocoa industry for the 'benefit and prosperity of the producer.'¹⁰⁹ The difference between world prices (less government export and produce duties freight etcetra.) and prices guaranteed by the Board constituted its surplus which according to the terms of its establishment was to be kept in trust for the producers.¹¹⁰ Although the peasant benefited from the post war prices of the colonial state through the marketing Board, the latter was extracting a significant fraction of the actual world marketing prices, thereby shortchanging the local farmers perfectly; the Europeans through their agents, missionaries and traders encouraged the Ondo people to work by promoting cocoa merchandising and to also see cash crop production as the main transformation catalyst in Ondo province. The Anglican Bishop, Mr Phillips in his diaries and papers advised Ondo province Christians converts to take up from work and manufacture of palm oil and planting of cocoa and coffee. Phillips introduced cocoa

¹⁰⁷ Keniston, M.M. *Yoruba Women, Work and Social Change*....P.64

¹⁰⁸ Akintomide, M.A. "A comparative Analysis of the Marketing Board system and other Arrangements for commodity marketing" in Onitiri, M.A. and Dupe, O. (eds.). *The marketing Board system, proceeding of an International conference: Nigeria institute for social and Economic Research* 1974. P.72.

¹⁰⁹ Galleli S.et.al., *Nigerian cocoa farmers*, London, Oxford university press, 1965. Pp.x-xv.

¹¹⁰ Olatunbosun, A. *Nigeria's Neglected Rural Majority*, Ibadan, Oxford Press .1975. Pp.53-75.

seeds to Ondo in 1890 and by 1926, cocoa had become the leading cash crop in Ondo province.¹¹¹ This development brought several European companies to Ondo and it included: Mc Caiver, John Holt, United African Company Limited African Timber and Plywood, Lever Brothers and Cadbury; the store buildings of these companies dotted Ode-Ondo.¹¹²

The British chocolate firm was the chairman of cocoa Board in Nigeria, production was in the lands of the Ondo people, the marketing of cocoa in England, America and other countries was entirely in the hands of British merchants who formed a pool. The pool consisted of all leading English chocolate manufacturers as well as big monopolies that determined the prices to be paid to the Ondo producers.¹¹³ The Ondo cocoa producers were forced to accept the lowest prices for their cocoa.¹¹⁴ The Western African cocoa Board was absolutely in the hands of the British officials and capitalists; the marketing Board gave high priorities to cash, it allocated £29,000 for construction and £15,000 for maintenance in respect of 'cocoa roads' in Ondo province and it ensured the tarring of main cocoa evacuation routes.¹¹⁵

Marketing Board enjoined the Ondo people to form cash crop cooperative societies, thrift and credit societies and co-operative schools; cocoa cooperative society was established at Fagbo in Ondo province to promote cooperative marketing of cocoa and a total of two thousand, three hundred and fifty six tons of cocoa was marketed cooperatively during the season ending 31 March, 1950.¹¹⁶

¹¹¹N.A.I., Annual Report on Ondo Province, 1950. P. 77.

¹¹²Ajayi, I. "The Economy of Ondo Kingdom in time perspective: 500 years in History," In Ibi Ajayi, (ed.) *The Evolution of Ondo Kingdom 1510 to 2010 over 500 Years (1510-2010)*. Spectrum Books Ltd, Ibadan 2013. Pp. 101-111.

¹¹³Ajayi, I. "The Economy of Ondo Kingdom in Time Perspective" ... P. 102.

¹¹⁴Ajayi, I. "The Economy of Ondo Kingdom in time perspective" ... P. 106.

¹¹⁵N.A.I. Annual Report on Ondo Province 1950. P. 64.

¹¹⁶N.A.I. Annual Report on Ondo Province 1950. P. 77.

Furthermore, marketing Boards established various departments that co-ordinate its activities in Ondo province, the primary work of these departments has been: the establishment and maintenance of marketing of the forest reserves of the province under planned management based on strict area control and the withdrawal of Forestry Regulations of 1943 from areas out of reserves and proposed reserves and valid timber licensed areas.¹¹⁷

By 1951, colonial government in Ondo province assigned the united African company and A.G finch company to work the Ondo reserves.¹¹⁸ An interesting description of British exploitation of Ondo people could be summed up as follows:

“the World demand for timber is still reflected in the export and revenue figures for this year, both showing a substantial increase over last, this increase may also be due in part, to improved methods of extraction which discouraged the handling gangs and promoted the taking over by the firms.”¹¹⁹

Marketing Board seldom hired women as buyers, agents or sub-buyers by the firms that held government licenses that handled export crops, as a result of difficulty in providing surety required for buyers at the start of each season which usually took the form of land or cash.¹²⁰ But British discomfort at dealing with women in economic contexts and the determination of men to acquire the income and status associated with working for a Marketing Board contributed to the exclusion of women; the British colonial administrators also felt that men were the natural wage earners for the entire family and that women should not compete with men in public sphere like transacting with Marketing Board, the above situation shows that the British marketing policy gave more advantages and privileges to European firms over indigenous firms in marketing

¹¹⁷N.A.I. Annual Report on Ondo Province 1950.P.69.

¹¹⁸N.A.I. Annual Report on Ondo Province 1950.P.70.

¹¹⁹Annual Report;Ondo Province 1948. P.53.

¹²⁰N.A.I. Annual Report on Ondo province 1950.P.71.

activities in Ondo province.¹²¹ The pool involved all leading English chocolate manufacturers as well as big monopolies that determined the prices to be paid to Ondo producers, the quality and quantity of such products; and the producers were compelled to accept the lowest prices for their produce.¹²²

The West African cocoa Board was absolutely in the hands of the British officials; the Ode-Ondo producers had no representation in the Board, Ondo province had become the victim in a tripartite relationship between the planters, the middlemen and the European firms, the abolition of middlemen from the markets did not help to improve the bargaining power of agricultural producers as it was meant to do so and was not even effective.¹²³ The Colonial economy that was an export-oriented one and it seriously undermined the prestige of the traditional occupation of women; many of the smaller market hitherto dominated by women gradually disintegrated as a result of emergence of expatriate firms like John Holt, women therefore rarely received attention from the agricultural extension specialists sent out by marketing Board neither were they qualified for government sponsored loans, the cash advances were not given to women and Colonial policies and statutes were clearly sexist and biased against women.¹²⁴ The colonial government denied the female traders loans and overdrafts from banks, the bank guarantee was denied if the applicants did not have house or other land property, this seemed to be the only forms of property the British bank or other financial institutions would accept as 'mortgage' for loan.¹²⁵ Under this atmosphere, the chance of being developed or rich became remote; the few individuals who became rich under colonial economy were those who

¹²¹Oyewumi, O. *Inventio Womenn...* Pp.128-136.

¹²²Keniston M.M. *Yoruba Women and Social Change...* Pp.148,152-153.

¹²³Kokuma, Yeye Maloma. Interviewed...

¹²⁴Olawoye, T. "The impact of colonialism on Nigerian Women..." Pp.46-52.

¹²⁵Fadahunsi, Akin., "The Foundation and the Dynamics of the Nigerian..." P.591.

failed to sustain communal values in their business practices but it was rather determined by the colonial economic framework.¹²⁶

3.7 The Role of Women in the Colonial Economy of Ode-Ondo

The control of land and its administration was one of the first issues addressed by the British after the colonial conquest of Ode-Ondo. The British interest in land was directly linked to the interest of merchant capital as represented by colonial companies.¹²⁷ Also, the Ode-Ondo region had a long history of commodity production based on peasant ownership of the means of production; the colonial land policy in Nigeria was aimed at advancing British colonial interests through the incorporation of the region and its economy into the World capitalist system.¹²⁸ Contrary to the pre-colonial land policy which recognized individual ownership of land and its transfer, state had no right to alienate person from making use of land on the condition that he paid the land rent; thus, Ode-Ondo land was transferred from the Oshemawe to British High commissioner.¹²⁹

Although colonialism brought changes to Yoruba life, the new patterns did not eradicate the core features of Yoruba culture and society or eliminate the decision making capacity of local people. As we have stated earlier in the above that British established Native courts, in the new courts, where the flexibility of previous Yoruba legal practices was lessened, women could not serve as judges.¹³⁰ Female chiefs or heads of women's organizations might, however be called upon for information. The colonial decreed that customary law defined as the body of traditional

¹²⁶ Keniston M.M. *Yoruba Women and Social Change*...Pp.148,170-171.

¹²⁷ Ogunshakin, P. *Ondo: The People, Their Customs and Traditions*....P.65

¹²⁸ Ogunshakin, P. *Ondo: The People, Their Customs and Traditions*....P.65

¹²⁹ Bonat, Z.A. "Development Planning and the Performance of Agricultural Sector of the Nigerian Economy 1945 to 1985." In Salleh, A. (ed.), *Nigerian Economy and the Society Since the Berlin Conference*, vol. One, Faculty of Arts and Social Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. 1985. Pp.142-150.

¹³⁰ Keniston M.M. *Yoruba Women and Social Change*...P.59.

practices found within a given community was to form the basis for legal decision in Native courts, so long as those traditions were not repugnant to justice, equity and good conscience. In this Native court, the customs that served as the bedrock of the Native judgment was heavily influenced by the wishes and need of the colonial administration and by the local men who acted on its behalf, many of whom had not held equivalently powerful positions in the past with men.¹³¹

The British imposed some new laws which operated in parallel with customary law. For example, the Marriage ordinance introduced in Lagos in 1863 and 1884 onwards defined monogamous marriages for those who chose to enter them. The ideas were shaped by unfamiliar western ideas about society and gender posing a challenge to traditional definitions.¹³² This marriage law that encouraged divorce encouraged Ondo women to embark on divorce which did more harm than good to the Ondo indigenous culture.¹³³ By 1955 and 1958, Nigeria completely dominated ideal African production of palm kernels and much of that crop came from Ondo province.¹³⁴ The price paid for kernels was generally low, and it fluctuated widely from year to year, making it difficult for local producers to predict what their profit might be. For example between 1931 and 1937, the price for a ton of palm kernels ranged from just over £5 to more than £14.5.¹³⁵

As Ode-Ondo women were known for trading activities, such as going to market to sell their goods, this singular characteristic made market to expand greatly both in the villages and

¹³¹Mahmood, M. *Citizen and subject; contemporary Africa and the Literacy of Late colonialism*. Princeton University Press, 1996 P.127. See Annual Report: Ondo Province 1950.P.33.

¹³²Annual Report:Ondo province 1950.P.33.

¹³³Akinradewo, Mr Shade. Age 58, Soap Maker. Interviewed 25 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja.

¹³⁴Wiwolokun, Mr. Isaac. Age 78, Farmer. Interviewed 22 March, 2015 at Fagbo.

¹³⁵Olatunji, O. "More than farmers wives: Yoruba Women and Cash Crop Production, C1920-1957" in Adebayo, O. (e.d) *The Transformation of Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Toyin Falola*, Trenton, African World Press, 2002. Pp.383-404. See, N.A.I. No. 472/5 Co:Quarterly Report on Food Prices in the Western Region, March Quarterly 1956.

urban centres and the colonial government owned the land on which most markets were built and they were responsible for maintaining the buildings and sheds; nearly all women were subjected to colonial rules and regulations about when, where, and how goods might be offered.¹³⁶ During the colonial period, however, many urban governments assumed some degree of control over markets. If such land on which market was located belonged to the town, local authorities might appoint as market master to rent out stalls and maintain good order on market days.¹³⁷ Sometimes, those colonial representatives were exploitative which mostly resulted into women resistance.

The colonial policy on social development encouraged rural-urban movement or migration. The rural areas were left undeveloped, many of social amenities were provided at the urban centres.¹³⁸ The consequence of this on women was that the men and young male youth of about thirty years of age migrated to the urban centres to enjoy the provisions of piped water, electricity, tarred roads, hospital etcetra, leaving the food crop production for women alone.¹³⁹ The colonial officials, however, were eager to exploit the economic resources of the territory with the minimum possible expenditure for overall development and the maintenance of law and order.¹⁴⁰

Furthermore, in examining the effects of colonial policies, western styled education and its implications for women was great. The availability of places for females and the content of their curricula were affected by gendered and patriarchal attitudes, both Yoruba values and the

¹³⁶ N.A.I.Ondo Prof.File File No.2670/381/1944.

¹³⁷ Keniston M.M. *Yoruba Women and Social Change*...P.67.

¹³⁸ Annual Report: Ondo Province 1950 .P.68

¹³⁹ Annual Report: Ondo Province 1950 .P.33.

¹⁴⁰ Mobogunje, Akin L. "The Market Women in Ibadan"...Pp.14-17. See also, Mabogunje, Akin L. *Urbanization in Nigeria*, New York; Africana publishing company, 1968 .P.15 and Olukojnu Ayodeji, "Infrastructure Development and Urban Facilities" de recherche en *Afrique*, Occasional publication No15, 2003.Pp.1-8.

changing expectation of the British about women's proper role.¹⁴¹ Former schooling of girls was one of the most influential adjuncts of Christianity and the colonial government later became the major provider of westernized training.¹⁴²

Education of girls lagged a little behind than of boys. Early missionaries regarded the instructions of girls as less important, mainly because women could not enter the clergy and few became teachers¹⁴³. Until late in the colonial period, few employment opportunities were open to women in European business or the government establishment due to the women poor educational background; the colonial policy on education made it expressive; many parents thought that it made better sense to educate boys, who would later become income earners for the family.¹⁴⁴ For this reason, few girls completed more than primary schooling until the latter 1940.¹⁴⁵ The first government supported secondary school for girls within urban area was founded in the 1920 and that of Ondo in Saint Louis secondary school (1954), saint Monica's Grammar school 1955.¹⁴⁶

The colonial government gave priority to male education over female education and that was the reason why the first male secondary school in Ondo was established in 1919.¹⁴⁷ The education provided by the colonial government was full of discrimination against the family of contrary faith; the females with Islamic background were not given equal priority as the

¹⁴¹Keniston, M.M., *Yoruba Women and Social Change*...P.69.

¹⁴²Keniston M.M., *Yoruba Women and Social Change*...P.69.

¹⁴³Lloyd, P. *Power and Independence: Urban African's Perception of Social Inequality*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974. Pp.15-30.

¹⁴⁴Lloyd, P. *Power and Independence: Urban African's Perception of Social Inequality*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974. Pp.15-30.

¹⁴⁵Keniston, M.M. *Yoruba Women and Social Change*...P.69.

¹⁴⁶Keniston, M.M. *Yoruba Women and Social Change*...P.129.

¹⁴⁷Keniston, M.M. *Yoruba Women and Social Change*...P.73

Christians were given, this made women to raise money from their trading activities to build school where their female children could acquire education.¹⁴⁸

In some instances, in Ode-Ondo, female children were sent to Lagos to receive education.¹⁴⁹ It must be made clear that the British patriarchal attitudes and gender stereotypes formed part of the cultural bias of many westernized Yoruba even if they did not implement those values fully in their own daily lives.¹⁵⁰ Literate women were subjected to an ongoing barrage of foreign values in the newspapers and advertisement, British developed consumerism in the society and that had serious effect on women.¹⁵¹ This enhanced the emergence of a new land holding class which was not directly under the influence and control of the Native Administration, as a result, it retarded the economic development of peasant women, most especially agriculture; the former rent (*isakole*) gave way to monetization of land use for agricultural economy, the land became a commodity and providing prospect for capitalist accumulation, the traditional position of Oshemawe as the custodians of Ode-Ondo land, most of the important capital asset of the community as a whole has been accessed from communal relation to capitalist one; land sales have become acceptable and what was interested to the merchant councilors were the conditions and proceeding of sales of land.¹⁵² The western conceptions of lender and consumerism as presented to literate women in newspapers reinforced the gap between educated and uneducated women and made it more difficult for the two groups to work together effectively in economic and political arenas.¹⁵³ Girls faced several policies, girls

¹⁴⁸Keniston, M.M. *Yoruba Women and Social Change*...P.73.

¹⁴⁹ Kokumo, Mrs Yeye Maloma Beatrice. Age 115+. Retired Trader. Interviewed 26 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja.

¹⁵⁰Keniston M.M. *Yoruba Women and Social Change*...P.76.

¹⁵¹Keniston, M.M. *Yoruba Women and Social Change*...P.77.

¹⁵²Ogunshakin, P. *Ondo: The People, Their Customs and Traditions*...P.62.

¹⁵³Ogunshakin, P. *Ondo: The People, Their Customs and Traditions*...P.78.

were less capable than boys, and this has been major determinant of women's inferiority and lack of access to resources during colonial period and thereafter.¹⁵⁴

3.8 Conclusion

Colonialism installed a colonial dependent capitalist model of accumulation in the Nigerian economy, within this model of accumulation economic policy promoted maximum agricultural export growth which largely determined the pace and pattern of development of the economy. However, colonial government's economic policies caused a decline of pre-colonial indigenous industry without a replacement by modern manufacturing industry. British were only interested in more materials for their industries, invested capital on their economy and market for their manufactured goods. There was deliberate and constant upset of power balance between men and women in Ode-Ono. Women became victims of double exploitation and discrimination through the colonial economic and social policies that promoted men's interest; with colonialists developing men's capabilities for work in altered economic and social institutions. In terms of social economic changes, it was observed that British colonial domination led to far reaching repercussions on Ode-Ono. The social amenities, institutions and the infrastructural facilities constructed in Ode-Ono never gave equal opportunities to gender. The policy implication on women was that women spent more time on productive roles without decline in their reproductive roles.

¹⁵⁴Oyewumi, O. *The Invention of Women making an African sense of Western gender Discourses*. Minneapolis: university of Minnesota Press, 1997. Pp.128-136.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF ODE-ODE

1960-1999

4.1 Introduction

Women were historically active participants in the socio-economic activities of Nigeria in all dimensions which included provision of care services for household and the communities at large; labour force for continuous production in Agriculture sector, Trade and Local crafts. The dramatic change in the role of women in the socio-economic activities dates back to the post-colonial period, women were famous for their conspicuous presence in reproductive and more importantly the productive activities and for their ingenuity in trade and social services that yielded income for household upkeep.¹

In fact, women accounted for up to 80 percent of the labour force in both rural and the urban socio-economic activities, women, in the Ode-Ondo were the souls of socio-economic activities; they owned and controlled the production and distribution of resources in the post colonial period.² As they said that the wealth of individuals is the wealth of the nation's economy, though the involvement and the participation of women in socio-economic activities dates back to the beginning of human existence in the world and yet it has ensured the continuation of reproduction, production, distribution of scarce resources and the ministeration of specific and strategic social services and roles (formal and informal relationship outside

¹ Ityayar, D.A. and Obiajunwa, S.N. *The State and Women in Nigeria*, University of Jos Press, 1992. P.33

² Boserup, E. *Women's Role in Economic Development*. New York, St Martins Press 1970. Pp.87-89. Ilesanmi T.M., "The Significance of the Myths of Women is Socio-Political Role sharing Among Yoruba People" in Kolawole M.E.M. (ed.) *APPROACH*, Paging Press, Ibadan, 1985. Pp.29.

home), which takes a dramatic step as from 1960.³ Women took upon themselves the complexities of social roles as mothers and wives with multiple obligations to Ode-Ondo.⁴

The economic activities of which women were noted include agriculture, trade, handicrafts industry, education and medicine among others.⁵ The role of women in development of Ode-Ondo indicates that whereas women made up fifty percent of the total population and they were responsible for sixty-six percent of the entire working hours; they earned about ten percent of the income and one percent of its estate.⁶ Women were growing the oldest root crops, vegetables, spices and among others; the involvement of Ode-Ondo women in crop production dates back to the beginning of human existence, this involved food processing, food preservation, food storage among others.⁷

Apart from the status of Ode-Ondo women as wives, mothers, house keepers and cooks they were the main producers of all the food crops on which the family and the farm workers were fed; their work included cultivation, sowing, planting, harvesting and selling of farm produce, they distinguished themselves as having economic independence and power that economic role has entrenched on them.⁸ The farming system using hoe as the key farm implement women worked on the farm in all year round while men performed mostly pre-planting tasks of clearing bush which occupied only a small part of the agricultural year.⁹ Most of the traditional agricultural systems were female farming system where women did most of the

³Ogunusi, Mrs Osebola, Age 58, weaver. Interviewed 28 April 2015 at Odotu street, Ode-Ondo.

⁴Ogunusi, Mrs Osebola, Age 58, weaver. Interviewed 28 April 2015 at Odotu street, Ode-Ondo.

⁵Chief (Mrs.) Funke Iluyemi. 70 years. Interviewed 27 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street, Ode-Ondo.

⁶Rasa, M. and Ngur A. "Role of Women in agricultural product marketing" An Urban Perspective Being A Paper Presented At A Workshop On *Women in Agriculture in West Africa* organized by International livestock Centre for Africa (ILCA) at IITA Ibadan, Nigeria, 7-9 May, 1984. P.2. See, *Information Bulletin of Ondo State*, 2006. P.1

⁷Akinfoyeku, Mrs. Sele. Age 50, Farmer. Interviewed 22 December, 2014 at Ajegunle Street, Yaba, Ode-Ondo.

⁸Akinfoyeku, Mrs. Sele. Age 50, Farmer. Interviewed 22 December, 2014 at Ajegunle Street, Yaba, Ode-Ondo.

⁹Bammann, H. "The Division of Work According To Sex In African Hoe culture" in *Journal of Africa* vol. 1 No.(3) 1982. Pp.289-319.

work relate to production and cultivation.¹⁰ From 1960, there has been significant change in the traditional role of women within social role, the social barriers of tradition and culture gave way to new ideas and practices of what constituted women's social role¹¹

¹⁰ Boserup, E. *Women's Role in Economic Development*. St. Martins Press, New York 1970. Pp.1-15. See, Oyetayo, E.T.O., "Women in Agribusiness" ...P.20.

¹¹ Nwosu, I.E. "Gender Role Perceptions and Changing Role of women in Nigeria" in *International Journal of Agric and Rural Development*, vol.15, No.3, 2012. P.1242.

4.2 Women and Economic Activities

Table 4.1: Percent Distribution of House Hold Members by Main Socio-Economic Activities and Sector

Informal and formal Sectors	Sector [Residence]		
	Urban	Rural	Total
Regular scheme employee [government/Formal]	9.6	9.2	9.4
Regular skilled employee [private/Informal]	7.6	6.0	6.9
Regular unskilled employee [government]	0.4	1.0	0.7
Regular unskilled employee [private]	2.1	1.0	1.6
Casual skilled employee [government]	0.3	0.3	0.3
Casual skilled employee [private]	1.1	0.9	1.0
Casual unskilled employee [government]	0.3	0.2	0.3
Casual unskilled employee [private]	2.0	1.6	1.8
Self employee [own business]	33.7	37.8	35.6
Unpaid household worker	0.9	1.7	1.3
Student	29.9	29.4	29.7
Retire but not pensioner	0.6	0.5	0.5
Retired but a pensioner	1.5	1.1	1.3
Incapacitate [old age or sick]	2.6	3.1	2.8
Unemployed	6.3	4.4	5.4
Others	1.2	1.9	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Ondo State, *Ondo State Report of Integrated Household Survey* in Ondo State Bureau of Statistics Akure, June 2012. P.82

Table 4.2: Distribution of Employed Person by Class Of Workers And Gender (%)

Class of worker	Male	Female	both Sex
Employer own account worker	59.2	81.4	68.4
Employee	32.2	6.2	21.5
Unpaid household worker	3.5	10.8	6.5
Unpaid apprentice	5.1	1.6	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Federal Republic of Nigeria, *National Man power Board Federal Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction Labour Force Sample Survey 1966/67, vol.1,* December 1972. P.21

4.2.1 Agriculture

Ode-Ondo people were predominantly farmers and they were distinguished in three separate elements in agricultural economy: (i) An export production economy which centres on cash crop production(cocoa, palm oil, rubber among others);(ii) A local or internal exchange economy which centres on surplus foodstuffs and (iii) a pre-dominantly subsistence economy economy.¹² Women were gifted and full of strength and energy; they were not only responsible for home making or home keeping, but they also engaged in different economic activities such as food crop and cash crop production, worth culture, animal husbandry, palm oil processing ,soap making, trading among other.¹³ Women's role in economic activities were extensive, these include in many cases, such energy demanding activities as hoeing, planting, harvesting, winnowing, thrashing, transportation and marketing.¹⁴ The measure of the women's role in economic activities determined how much food was available to the family, since women were commonly responsible for growing subsistence crops, taking care of small animals, rendering garden plots either for consumption or to bring in extra income to the family and the marketing activities of production outputs.¹⁵

Ode-Ondo women, whether literate or illiterate had played prominent role in economic activities in post-Nigerian independence.¹⁶ Virtually all Ondo women were engaged in some types of economic activities that required time, energy and risk taking.¹⁷ The role of Ode-Ondo

¹²Lillian,T."Yoruba Markets and Trade: Analysis of Spatial Structure and Social Organization in the Ijesaland Marketing System". Unpublished PhD Dissertation,University of Washington,1976.P.12.

¹³Okechukwu, O."Overcoming the Food crisis in Nigeria through the Mobilization of Peasant Women: A Strategy for Action"Being A Paper Presented at the first *DAWN African Regional Meeting, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria, 27-29 September, 1988.P.2.*

¹⁴Patel, A. and Anthonio,O. "Farmers Wives in Agricultural Development: The Nigeria case": *Monograph Department of Agricultural Economics and Extension, university of Ibadan, 1997.Pp.1-10.*

¹⁵World Bank, *Women In Development*, Washington D.C 1980. P.3. See, Kathleen, cloud."Women's Productivity In Agricultural System; Consideration For Project Design" in Catherine ,overholt et.al (eds).*Gender Role in Development projects*, Kumarian Press Incorporation, USA. 1985,P.17.

¹⁶His Royal Highness Akinlolu,Akinradewo,65 years. Interviewed 27 April,2015 at Igbo-Oja.

¹⁷His Royal Highness Akinlolu,Akinradewo,65years.Interviewed 27 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja.

women in the economic activities showed in the areas of food crop and cash crop production, Horticulture, animal husbandry, textile industry and trade which were combined with semi-economic activities of reproduction that guaranteed human labour; women expended huge energy on farming activities through which they affected Ondo-Ondo society positively.¹⁸ Ode-Ondo women were never docile, laziness was considered not only a sin but curse on the progress and development of Ode-Ondo; hence women went about actively participating in various economic activities in the society.¹⁹

Over the years, the participation of these women in the society was fuelled by their zeal to give sound training to their wards and to make them self-reliant. By the reason that these women would never want their wards to be backward among their equals, they took production and distribution of agricultural products seriously.²⁰ The division of labour between genders was marked and pronounced in Ode-Ondo, both in agriculture and in the craft industries. While men dominated cash crops farming, women in some cases did not possess cocoa land of their own and as such, played a lesser role in this regard except in the harvesting operations. Meanwhile, on the flip side, women dominated craft industries, food processing and petty trade where men are less seen.²¹

¹⁸Ogunusi, Mrs Osebola, Age 58, Weaver. Interviewed 28 April, 2015 at Odotu Street, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁹Akinbobola, Mrs Roseline, Age 55, Weaver. Interviewed 28 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street, Ode-Ondo.

²⁰Akinbobola, Mrs Roseline, Age 55, Weaver. Interviewed 28 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street, Ode-Ondo.

²¹His Royal Highness Akinlolu, Akinradewo, 65 years. Interviewed 27 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja.

4.2.2 Food Crop Production

Historically, throughout the economic history of nations, agriculture and food production have been classified as the primary industry; and the term agriculture covers all human activities in production of raw food and fibred commodities and which has farming as its nucleus.²² Agriculture remained an avenue to a higher social and economic status among Ode-Ondo women.²³

The women's role in agriculture, deals with planning, organizing, coordinating, controlling and evaluating all operations involved in the production, transportation, storage, processing and marketing of farm produces as well as of farm production inputs.²⁴ Ondo women have not in any time stopped their laudable contribution to food crop production; they were seriously involved in growing the household's food.²⁵ Since Nigeria's independence, Ode-Ondo women have sustained household food.²⁶ Women, in spite of their involvements in various economic activities, almost all were involved in agricultural activities in one way or the other, directly or indirectly; either doing all the farming activities of clearing of land, planting of crops and processing of such crops or using commercial labour and standing as a supervisor on farming activities.²⁷ Women have traditionally been known to be engaged in food processing activities.²⁸

²² Oyatoye, E. "Women in Agribusiness" Being A Paper Presented at *The Workshop On Women In Business And Agribusiness in Nigeria, 5-8 December 1989* University of Ibadan, 1989. P.1.

²³ Akinbobola, Mrs Roseline, Age 55, Weaver. Interviewed 28 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street, Ode-Ondo.

²⁴ Afolabi, Mr Ojo; 74 years, Odotu, 12 March, 2015. See Akin, M. "Women in Business and Agribusiness in Nigeria" being text of the key note address given on the occasion of *Women in Business and Agriculture* held on 5-8 December, 1989 at the Institute of African studies, the workshop on University of Ibadan, Nigeria. 1989. Pp.10-12.

²⁵ Afolabi, Mr Ojo; 74 years. Retired Farmer. Interviewed 12 March, 2015 at Odotu, Ode-Ondo.

²⁶ Afolabi, Mr Ojo; 74 years. Retired Farmer. Interviewed 12 March, 2015 at Odotu, Ode-Ondo.

²⁷ Ilori, Mrs Victoria, Age 45. Interviewed 27 April 2015, Arilekolasi Street, Ode-Ondo.

²⁸ Osoba, A. "Women's Participation in the Nigerian Labour Force: Constraint and Prospect", paper presented at the *Seminar on Nigerian Women and Newton's Developments* organized by the institute of African studies, university of Ibadan, June 20-21, 1985. P.2.

Ode-Ondo women particularly produced rice, maize, yam, cassava, vegetables, beans, okra, pepper, millet soya beans, among others.²⁹ Many of them were primarily involved in the production of the food for the family; many work intensively in the fields only during the peak labour season; many young girls between the ages of ten to fifteen did substantial amount of agricultural labour.³⁰ In a situation where shifting cultivation was the rule, men took part in cultivation, primarily in land clearing and making of heaps but women did the rest of it.³¹ Apart from the workload and the tight schedule of the female farmers as being wives, mothers, housekeepers and cooks, they were main producers of all food crops and vegetables on which the entire family and the farm workers were fed and on this basis, Ode-Ondo women arrested the rising of food crops impossibilities.³² Ondo women were very skilled in food processing, food preservation, food storage and marketing of the surplus food crops.³³

Women's role extended throughout the entire food system's fifty percent storage; hundred percent processing, sixty percent marketing; hundred percent cooking, often women's contribution to arrears of the food chain after then cooking was even more invisible than their participation in production.³⁴ Most of the food crop production activities were performed by women with little assistance from men which gave room for gender division of labour in production.³⁵ Ode-Ondo woman was very active in root crops like legumes and vegetables, most

²⁹ Onilari, Mrs Alice, Age 70⁺ Interviewed Yaba 23 February, 2015 at Yaba Ode-Ondo.

³⁰ Akinrinade, J. "Women in Agriculture" in Jadesola Akande et.al (eds.), *The Contribution of Women to National Development in Nigeria*, Nigerian Association of University Press, 1990. Pp.83-85.

³¹ Akinrinade, J. "Women in Agriculture" in Jadesola Akande et.al (eds.), *The Contribution of Women to National Development in Nigeria*, Nigerian Association of University Press, 1990. Pp.83-85.

³² Akinrinade, J. "Women in Agriculture" in Jadesola Akande et.al (eds.), *The Contribution of Women to National Development in Nigeria*, Nigerian Association of University Press, 1990. Pp. 83-85.

³³ Ogunsuyi, Mrs Felicia, Age 35. Interviewed 16 April, 2015 at Iyana-Epe, Ode-Ondo.

³⁴ Akinrinade, J. "Women in Agriculture" in Jadesola Akande et.al (eds.), *The Contribution of Women to National Development in Nigeria*... P.84.

³⁵ Ogunsuyi, Mrs Felicia, Age 35. Interviewed 16 April, 2015 at Iyana-Epe, Ode-Ondo.

of the crops were not only for household consumption but also for income generation to sustain the entire household during the general social scarcity.³⁶

Women shouldered the primary responsibility for food security in Nigeria.³⁷ One of the greatly valued areas in food crop production was dried cassava grits (*gaari*) production.³⁸ In the cassava grits (*gaari*) industry, women played a serious and significant role and this is not to say that women monopolized production activities without the assistance or complementary gesture from male counterparts.³⁹ The cultivation and processing of *gaari* were carried out by both men and women. The processing was almost carried out by women if not the pressing out of water from *gaari* flour; Ondo women spent average of twelve hours on *gaari* processing and the commodity was produced for both local and international consumption.⁴⁰ Women managed their home chore side by side with the production of *gaari* though it was never an easy task.⁴¹ Ondo women ensured constant supply of the neighbouring towns and cities like Lagos, Benin, Abuja and Ibadan for commercial trade in *gaari* products.⁴² Most women in the *gaari* industry encountered several problems, the most touching one happened to be capital to pay for land rentage as most women did not have their own personal land that they could have used for cassava cultivation and also what they could use for settling other expenses.⁴³ In order to source out capital, Ode-Ondo women managed different economic activities together so as to settle those challenges; these activities included trade and commercial farming labour service.⁴⁴

³⁶Ogunsuyi, Mrs Felicia, Age 35. Interviewed 16 April, 2015 at Iyana-Epe, Ode-Ondo.

³⁷Ogunlela, Y. et al. "Gender Issues in Agriculture and Rural Development in Nigeria: The Role of Women", in *Humanity and Social Sciences Journal* 4(1) 2009 pp.19-30.

³⁸Ogunsuyi, Mrs Felicia, Age 35. Interviewed 16 April, 2015 at Iyana-Epe, Ode-Ondo.

³⁹Adedoyin Shade, 55 years. Teacher, interviewed 29th August, 2014 at G.R.A, Ode-Ondo.

⁴⁰N.A. Fadipe, *Sociology of Yoruba*...P.48.

⁴¹Onilari, Mrs Alice. Age 70+, Trader. Interviewed 23 February, 2015 at Owoduni Street, Ode-Ondo.

⁴²Onilari, Mrs Alice. Age 70+, Trader. Interviewed 23 February, 2015 at Owoduni Street, Ode-Ondo.

⁴³Onilari, Mrs Alice. Age 70+, Trader. Interviewed 23 February, 2015 at Owoduni Street, Ode-Ondo.

⁴⁴Onilari, Mrs Alice. Age 70+, Trader. Interviewed 23 February, 2015 at Owoduni Street, Ode-Ondo.

The food crop production might not be completed if the processing aspect was not put in place. It was in this respect that more important part of women's work on farm came to manifest, however, consisted the changing the form of the various crops harvested so as to bring them a stage or two nearer to the point of ultimate consumption.⁴⁵ Some of the work was just a matter of effecting the change in the form of the crops as harvested without which they would be unfit for human consumption even after they had been cooked; such was the shelling of beans for example.⁴⁶ In other cases, processing was directed towards preparing the product for consumption in much altered form and by a longer process than it would take if consumed in another form. For example, yam became ready for eating directly if it were boiled, but which could be prepared for consumption by carrying the work a stage further beyond boiling; that is by pounding it into a smooth, flexible and silky mass known as *iyán*; yam remained the most important food for the Ode-Ondo people all round the season.⁴⁷ As contrasted with treating the yam in these two ways, then the preliminary peeling of the yam in its raw state, slicing of it into oval slabs in the sun, and the subsequent laborious, grinding and sifting of it into fine powder (*olubo*).

The purpose of some of the processing work of women was therefore, in many cases twofold, first, to make the crops available for consumption and to preserve it by processing it in such a way that it could not be ravaged by vermin, insect and the weather.⁴⁸ Grains, plantains, corn, beans among other were eaten by the Ode-Ondo people and therefore, women ensured the

⁴⁵Oyatoye, E. "Women in Agribusiness" Being A Paper Presented At The Workshop on *Women in Business and Agribusiness in Nigeria*, 5-8 December 1989 University of Ibadan, 1989. P.1.

⁴⁶Iluyemi, Chief Mrs. Olufunke. Age 70, Retired Civil Servant Interviewed 29 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street, Ode-Ondo.

⁴⁷Liberty Marie Winn and Ira Jachnis (eds.) "Yoruba Art and Culture". In Phoebe A., *Hearst Museum of Anthropology*, University of California, Berkeley. 2004. P.14.

⁴⁸Liberty, M. and Ira, J. (eds). "Yoruba Art and Culture". In Phoebe A., *Hearst Museum of Anthropology*, University of California, Berkeley. 2004. P.14.

continuous supply of such commodities to the Ode-Ondo societies.⁴⁹ Cassava was likewise subjected to the same processes as yam; while there was still another form in which it was prepared for long run consumption and which it was even more laborious and exhausting than the process of turning it into finely powdered form. Okra was also perishable if not quickly consumed, but it too was preserved for long run consumption as it was called okra (*orunla*).⁵⁰ Also, women transported farm produce home or designated centres for pre-processing activities which included several operations ranging from merely removing pebbles and particles from the crop, by cleaning to changing the form of commodity in form of parboiling and drying, pulverizing, chipping among others.⁵¹ However, the more common type of processing activities was those emphasized simple hand tools or outright manual labour.⁵² As the women worked on food crops such as yam, maize, cassava and tobacco, they were basically involved in the planting, manual application and the marketing of the crops grown; women's involvement in agricultural production did not mean activities required physical presence on the field but that of women's work outside farm which involved bringing the production food commodity to its end users.⁵³

4.2.3 Cash Crop Production

Women performed the cultivation of some cash crops like cocoa(*Theobroma cacao*), kola-*nutsobi*(cola Nitida/ cola acuminata), Palm oil *epo-pupa* (*Elaeis Guineensis*), cotton*owu*(*Gossypium*) and among others which could be exported or used locally in order to fetch some foreign exchange which in turn would give them economic power like the

⁴⁹Akinbolaji, Mrs. Yemisi. Age 50, Farmer. Interviewed 20 April, 2015 at Jolaco, Ode-Ondo.

⁵⁰Akinbolaji, Mrs. Yemisi. Age 50, Farmer. Interviewed 20 April, 2015 at Jolaco, Ode-Ondo.

⁵¹Akinbolaji, Mrs. Yemisi. Age 50, Farmer. Interviewed 20 April, 2015 at Jolaco, Ode-Ondo.

⁵²Oyatoye E.T.O., "Women in Agribusiness" being a paper presented at the workshop on *Women in Business and Agribusiness in Nigeria...*, P.19.

⁵³Asepe, Mrs. Favour. Age 35, Trader. Interviewed 20 December, 2014 at Rainbow Street, Ode-Ondo.

men counterparts; almost every house wife engaged in the agricultural production, women were producers of both subsistence and cash crop.⁵⁴ Women's participation in cash cropping was common in Ode-Ondo due to the wealth of experience that women gained through working in family labour.⁵⁵ Women devoted their land to cash crops, such as head of the farm activities; women farmers, like males counterpart might want more workers than their households could provide especially when they could not get labour from their own households, and they had to look for other kinds of workers.⁵⁶

In the post independent Nigeria in general and in Ode-Ondo in particular, women had their own cocoa farms, many of whom acquired it through their personal saving from trade; Ode-Ondo women cultivated cocoa and kola nuts, the traditionally known as *gbanja*.⁵⁷ Ode-Ondo women also acquired cocoa farm from their parents, men frequently made gifts of cocoa or kola nuts trees to their daughters and may bequeathed to them the whole or part of cocoa plantation.⁵⁸ Women who have been successful in trade bought coca plantation on their own accounts.⁵⁹ Women in Ode-Ondo were also heavily involved in preparing and trading kolanuts; then dried and chewed, the mildly invigorating nuts were used for social and ceremonial purposes.⁶⁰ In Ode-Ondo, kola nuts were usually raised by men, but because men regarded the laborious task of processing the nuts as women's work, they sold the raw nuts to female traders at a relatively low price.⁶¹ Women hired potters of usually women to transport the nuts to building centres, where they fermented them, removed the indelible parts, and prepared them for

⁵⁴Parpart,J. (ed.).*Women and Development in Africa*, Lanham New York University Press of USA,1989. P.21.

⁵⁵Bay,B. (ed).*Women and Work in Africa*.Westview Press,Colorado.1982.Pp.1-13.

⁵⁶Bay,E. (ed).*Women and Work in Africa*.Westview Press,Colorado.1982.Pp.1-13.

⁵⁷Adepoju, Mrs. Sabainah. Age 57,Weaver.Interviewed 28 April,2015 at Rainbow Street,Ode-Ondo.

⁵⁸Meek,C.K.*Land Tenure and Land Administration in Nigeria and Cameroons*,London Her Majesty Stationary Office,1975.P.175.

⁵⁹Adepoju, Mrs Saibainah.Age 57,Weaver.Interviewed 28 April,2015 at Rainbow Street,Ode-Ondo.

⁶⁰Adepoju, Mrs Saibainah.Age 57,Weaver.Interviewed 28 April,2015 at Rainbow Street,Ode-Ondo.

⁶¹Keniston,M.M.*Yoruba Women and Social Change...*P.163.

dry storage.⁶² The kola nuts processed by women were either sold to the Hausa men who transported it to the Northern Nigeria or the women transporting it to city themselves.⁶³ Kola nuts were cultivated purposely because of commercial value at home and abroad; women dominated all aspects of the kola nuts trade.⁶⁴

Ondo women owned economic trees and disposed them as they pleased.⁶⁵ Once the season of kola nut begun, other activities of Ode-Ondo women that specialized on the kola nuts business, other activities became secondary because they must devote their attention to the preparation and care of the commodity.⁶⁶ Thus, their marketing time table was determined by the kola nut season when they would be disposed.⁶⁷ Equally important was the production of palm oil in either commercial or subsistence quality in Ode-Ondo. On farms on which the oil palm flourished, the 'dangerous work' of climbing palm trees both the very short and the tall ones and cutting down the bunches of palm fruits belonged to the male specialists. The conversion of the fruits into the palm oil was, however, the work of woman if she has been previously trained for it; the work of decorticating the kernels was either done manually by female or by machine.⁶⁸

4.2.4 Horticulture

Women had ventured into areas that were preserving of men tree cropping and environmental conservation.⁶⁹ Ondo women cultivated ginger, okra, indigo, red pepper, citrus fruits, plantain, pawpaw, bananas, pumpkins and vegetable of varieties like red leaf *sokoyokoto*, green

⁶²Keniston,M.M.*Yoruba Women and Social Change*...P.163.

⁶³Keniston,M.M.*Yoruba Women and Social Change*...Pp.130-131.

⁶⁴Akinbolaji, Mrs Yemisi.Age 50.Interviewed 20 April, 2015 at Jolaco Ode-Ondo.

⁶⁵Akinbolaji, Mrs Yemisi;Age 50.Interviewed 20 April, 2015 at Jolaco Ode-Ondo.

⁶⁶Isaac, Mrs Raliatu, Age 56.Interviewed 16 April, 2015 at Yaba,Ode-Ondo.

⁶⁷Salami, A.I. et al. "The Role of Women in an Environmentally Friendly Agro-sys tem; Case study of Nigeria : Northwest Province of Cameroun." *AJEAM/RAGEE* , Vol.4 ,2002.Pp. 41-49.

⁶⁸Fadipe,N.A. *Sociology of Yoruba*...P.149.

⁶⁹Salami, A. et al. "The Role of Women in an Environmentally Friendly Agro-system; Case study of Nigeria: Northwest province of Cameroun." *AJEAM/RAGEE*, Vol.4 , 2002.Pp. 41-49.

leaf *monututu*, garden egg leaf *igba*, pupkin leaf *legede*, pupkin leaf *iroko* and among others; there were fadama lands (*akuro*) at Lomiidun, Ogbonitun, Segede, Ojojo, Odojomu, Odosida and among others that were used for cultivation or growing early maize, sugar cane and all year round vegetables for household and market needs.⁷⁰ Ondo women sold their different species of fruits at Sabo market to Hausa buyers, while some outstanding trader stocks their huge quality of such fruits to Lagos where they made double gains through the sales to canning factory.⁷¹

The role of women in planting, harvesting and marketing of fruits have been reserved for Ode-Ondo women; most of the garden crops were grown in the well-manured plots of the compound, but some were grown in the fields inter planted with one or other of the major crops.⁷² More importantly, Ode-Ondo women since the Nigerian independence have seriously involved in lumbering work which had been reserved for men in pre 1960; women took active part in marketing aspect of lumbering work, and in some cases assisted their husbands in managing saw-mills.⁷³ As wood industry happened to be one of the major industries that Ode-Ondo had, Ondo women utilized the opportunity to take active part in marketing of their products.⁷⁴ The then popular Nigerian-Romanian wood industry used both men and women to retail their products and Ode-Ondo women played a significant role in it.⁷⁵

⁷⁰Olugbemi, M. "Socio-Cultural Evolution Of Ondo Kingdom" in Ibi Ajayi (ed.), *The Evolution of Ondo Kingdom*...P.56.

⁷¹Olugbemi, M. "Socio-Cultural Evolution Of Ondo Kingdom" in Ibi Ajayi (ed.), *The Evolution of Ondo Kingdom*...P.56.

⁷²Ajayi, I. "The Economy of Ondo Kingdom In Time Perspective; 500 Years Of History" In .Ajayi (ed.), *The Evolution of Ondo Kingdom*..P.106.

⁷³Folarin, Mrs Adebawale, Age 48. Interviewed 27 August, 2014 at Idimoge Ode-Ondo.

⁷⁴Wiwolokun, Mr Isaac, Age 78. Interviewed 22 March, 2015 at Fagbo.

⁷⁵Wiwolokun, Mr Isaac, Age 78. Interviewed 22 March, 2015 at Fagbo.

4.2.5 Animal Husbandry

Women in Ode-Ondo were greatly involved in the rearing of animals of different species: poultry, goats, sheep, pigs, cat,dogs,duck andamong others were raised as livestock by Ode-Ondo women ⁷⁶This contrasted partially with the Fulani headers who were mostly men;although the Fulani women in Ode-Ondo rear cattle. ⁷⁷There were no large herds of the Fulani type among Ode-Odo women where livestock rearing was regarded as a banking system rather than an occupation because it supplemented their main source of income. ⁷⁸ Ode-Ondo women put a high priority on livestock products; in fact rearing animals was seen as prestigious activity that all women have to involve themselves. ⁷⁹ Ode-Ondo women used to rearing of animals as part time work that was done during the spare time. ⁸⁰ Some of these animals were used for ceremonies, while others were sold in markets. ⁸¹Ondo women hardly lived without rearing one or more species of animals to provide domestic and commercial meats. ⁸²

In fact, the Ode-Ondo government or political system that controlled and dominated by women was sanctioned in 1530 on the basis of giving more attention to animal husbandry by the female king (Pupupu) and this has been the way of life of the majority of Ode-Ondo peasants; except that of nurturing the entire household, Ode-Ondo women could abandon anything for animal rearing. ⁸³ The importance attached to animal husbandry by ondo women made the Ode-Ondo people to make the saying, “*men la kajie mi wo*”, which literally means” “*I am going to*

⁷⁶ Ayoola, Mr Michael, Age 57. Interviewed 13 January, 2015 at Civic Centre, Ode-Ondo.

⁷⁷ Ojo, J.R.O. “The position of women in Yoruba traditional society,” in Obafemi Awolowo University *Department of History seminar presentation paper of 1978/1979*”, Kosalabaro Press, Ile-Ife, 1979. P.147.

⁷⁸ Akinfoyeku, Mrs Sele, 50 years. Interviewed 22 December, 2014 at Ayade Ondo.

⁷⁹ Folarin, Mrs Adebowale, Age 48. Interviewed 27 August, 2014 at Idimoge Ode-Ondo.

⁸⁰ Folarin, Mrs Adebowale, Age 48. Interviewed 27 August, 2014 at Idimoge Ode-Ondo.

⁸¹ Akinfoyeku, Mrs Sele, 50 years, Ayade, 22 December, 2014 at Ayade Ondo.

⁸² Ayoolaji, Mr Michael, Age 57. Interviewed 13 January, 2015 at Civic Centre, Ode-Ondo.

⁸³ Ajayi, I. “The Economy of Ondo Kingdom In Time Perspective; 500 Years Of History” in S.Ibi Ayayi (ed.), *The Evolution of Ondo Kingdom...* Pp.42-43.

herd in fowls my fowls."⁸⁴ The rearing of poultry is reckoned among female occupations.⁸⁵ Women, as a rule, did no hunting, hunting was considered to be a very dangerous and risky occupation not only for women but for men. The hunters and fishermen sold their fresh bush meats and fish through female traders. Ode-Ondo women also gathered snail's during raining seasons for either nutritional values or for spiritual needs of the households or the entire community.⁸⁶

4.2.6 Palm Oil Production

Palm oil (*Elaeis Guineensis*) production in Ode-Ondo has been a long time profession; making palm oil and processing palm kernels was women's in Yoruba land.⁸⁷ The taboo prohibited men from handling palm products; if they did, they might become paralyzed.⁸⁸ Making palm oil required considered labour of both men and women; palm oil processing was carried out under gender division of labour.⁸⁹ Men did the initial harvesting as it also considered a taboo for women to climb palm trees in ondo, men climbers, especially the migrant labourers from Urhobo, Igboland and Igbomina land were hired to do the harvesting.⁹⁰ Palm oil production could be made full time or part time work but depends on the quality of output one involved.⁹¹ The commercial production of palm was done in full time work while the household consumption was done on part time basis.⁹² Almost eighty per cent of the processing work was

⁸⁴Kenniston,M.M.*Yoruba Women and Social Change*...P.122.

⁸⁵Johnson, Samuel.*The History of the Yoruba's from Earhest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate*. Routledge, London,1921.P.393.

⁸⁶Isaac, Mrs Taiwo, 68 years, interviewed at Iyana-Epe,14 April,2015 at Ode-Ondo.

⁸⁷Akinbolaji, Mrs Yemisi Akinyobolaji, Mrs Yemisi;Age 50.Interviewed 20 April, 2015 at Jolaco Ode-Ondo.

⁸⁸Kenniston,M.M.*Yoruba Women and Social Change*...P.133.

⁸⁹Akinbolaji, Mr Samuel, 58 years, interviewed on 20 April, 2015 at Jalaco Quarters, Ode-Ondo.

⁹⁰Kenniston M.M.*Yoruba Women and Social Change*...P.133.

⁹¹Akinbolaji, Mrs Yemisi;Age 50.Interviewed 20 April, 2015 at Jolaco Ode-Ondo.

⁹²Ojo,J.R.O."The position of women in Yoruba traditional society," in Obafemi Awolowo University *Department of History Seminar Presentation Paper of 1978/1979*", Kosalabaro Press, Ile-Ife, 1979.P.147.

carried out by women⁹³. Ode-Ondo women most especially those that were outside local government headquarters were seriously involved in palm oil production. Villages like Epe, Fagbo, Padree, Owena, Igba, Igbo-oja, Laje, Laoso among others had a record of huge supply of palm products to satisfy the ever demanding signals of households, villages and urban centres needs.⁹⁴

Palm oil processing was done either mechanically or manually. As a result of rampant poverty status among the women, majority of them preferred manual method to the former.⁹⁵ The palm processing was carried out in stages, most women started by transporting the palm seeds to the processing unit.⁹⁶ The women also separated the fruit or seeds; the palm bunch or husk was cut into pieces and allowed to soften for two to three days, and thereafter, the fruit were packed from the husks. After this, women boiled the fusion pulp in large clay, iron or aluminium pots and crushed it in mortars. The pulp was then placed into large vats filled with water, where women treated out semi-liquid oil which rose to the surface as it was separated from the fibre. The oil was collected and boiled once again to get rid of any water that had adhered to it before being placed into kegs for transportation sale.⁹⁷ In preparing the kernels, women cracked open the palm nuts that were left after oil had been extracted from the fruit, separated the kernels from other materials and dried them. The kernels were then used in various ways for example, *adin* which was used for ointment and cosmetic production.⁹⁸

⁹³ Akinbolaji, Mrs Yemisi; Age 50. Interviewed 20 April, 2015 at Jolaco Ode-Ondo

⁹⁴ Isaac, Mrs Taiwo, 68 years, interviewed at Iyana-Epe, 14 April, 2015 at Ode-Ondo.

⁹⁵ Onilari, Mrs Alice. Age 70+, Trader. Interviewed 23 February, 2015 at Owoduni Street, Ode-Ondo.

⁹⁶ Onilari, Mrs Alice. Age 70+, Trader. Interviewed 23 February, 2015 at Owoduni Street, Ode-Ondo.

⁹⁷ Akinbolaji, Mrs Yemisi; Age N.A. Fadipe, *Sociology of Yoruba*... Pp.152.

⁹⁷ Isaac, Mrs Taiwo, 68 years, interviewed at Iyana-Epe, 14 April, 2015 at Ode-Ondo.

⁹⁸ Fadipe, N.A. *Sociology of Yoruba*... Pp.152-3.

Ondo women that were not opportune participate in the production of palm oil were primary traders in palm products; many women carved out a new economic niche for themselves by buying oil or kernels from local producers, combining them into larger units.⁹⁹ Most women in Ode-Ondo sold their palm products locally at various markets such as; Sabo market, Iyalaje market, Mofere and Odosida markets just to mention a few.¹⁰⁰ The profit made by women from the palm oil production was spent on the household needs; the higher percentage of the income was spent on children's education, clothing and feeding.¹⁰¹ It was also noted that, while men may be the normal owners of economic trees, their women folk were entitled by local custom to a share of the produce.¹⁰²

In some cases male owners of palm trees leased out to women manufacturers of palm oil in return from a share of produce.¹⁰³ With the increase in the number of women participating in palm oil business, it drastically affected the annual output of food crops.¹⁰⁴ This because, the palm oil business yielded more profit than food crop products and it required minor expense in nurturing the plants; Palm oil business grappled the attention of Ode-Ondo women, both the ones that made short time profits and those that would stock pile for future greater profits.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁹ Fadipe, N.A. *Sociology of Yoruba*... P.133.

¹⁰⁰ Ogunsuyi, Mrs Felicia, Age 35. Interviewed 16 April, 2015 at Iyana-Epe, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁰¹ Ogunsuyi, Mrs Felicia, Age 35. Interviewed 16 April, 2015 at Iyana-Epe, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁰² Kokuma, Mr Shati; Age 55 years. Interviewed 25 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja.

¹⁰³ Kokuma, Mr Shati; Age 55 years. Interviewed 25 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja.

¹⁰⁴ Afonja, S. "The Emergence of a Competitive sex roles structure in Yoruba Society", in *International Symposium On The Changing Roles Of Men And Women In Private And Public Life. Athens and Greece 3-6, December, 1985*. Pp 1-7

¹⁰⁵ Mobogunge, A.L. "Women In Business And Agribusiness in Nigeria", Being Text Of The Key Note Address Given On The Occasion Of The Workshop on *Women In Business And Agribusiness held on 5 – 8 December 1987 at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria*. P.9.

4.3 Handicraft Industry

Handicraft (*isona*) was traditionally an occupation embraced by Ode-Ondo people; although it involves gender division of labour; there were some that women in Ode-Ondo actively involved such as that of production and marketing. Handicraft comprises wood carving; textile weaving; dying; pottery; mat weaving and basketry.¹⁰⁶ It carried along the making of drums (*ilu*), beaded staff (*irukere*), hand fan (*ejuju*) among others, the art works existed among the Ode-Ondo people with limitless forms; in Ode-Ondo, both genders acted as weavers and dyers, the women learned early the art of dyeing, which involved diverse processes of arts.¹⁰⁷ Weaving was done on different types of loom; wild silk and cotton were used to make clothes. Indigo, native plants were often used as dye to colour thread.¹⁰⁸ Many Ode-ondo occupations were traditionally organized within particular compounds of descent groups, including weaving, smiting, wood carving, leather worker, drumming and medicine.¹⁰⁹ Most of these specialization persisted in ondo, some of these occupations were shared by both men and women; the occupations like pottery, indigo-dying and cloth weaving on the upright loom.

4.3.1 Weaving

Weaving of clothes from cotton threads on the wooden handloom was the specialty of women in Ode-Ondo from the time immemorial.¹¹⁰ Textile, particularly weaving, upright looms of women standing against the walls of their cottage. Weaving was essentially women's profession, while

¹⁰⁶ Oloidi, J. "Economic History of Ekiti People in Nigeria 1900-1960" Unpublished Ph.D thesis of University of Nigeria, Nsuka. 2011. P.214.

¹⁰⁷ Ogunsuyi, Mrs Felicia, Age 35. Interviewed 16 April, 2015 at Iyana-Epe, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁰⁸ Ogunsuyi, Mrs Felicia, Age 35. Interviewed 16 April, 2015 at Iyana-Epe, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁰⁹ Olatunjoye, Mrs Grace, Age 55 years, Weaver. Interviewed 11 February, 2015 at Sarowo Street, Ode-Ondo.

¹¹⁰ Kokuma, Mr Shati; Age 55 years. Retired Civil Servant. Interviewed 25 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja.

insignificant numbers of men indulged in weaving.¹¹¹ Such women like Mrs Ogunusi Osebola, Ilori Victoria, Akinbobola Roseline, Fifo Olayinka and among others were popular weavers in Ode-Ondo.¹¹² The variety of hand-loomed *aso-oke* for which the Ode-Ondo had earned a country wide fame were woven by the skillful fingers of the women; women dominated textile industry in both the locally made called *aso-oke* and the imported materials.¹¹³ The traditional loom clothes took a very long process, in its finished form it consisted of narrow strips about four inches wide which have been sewn together by the women weavers, after the strips have been sewn together, it was then beaten on a block of wood with a mallet and the block of wood that were purchased from a specialist, probably a carpenter which happened to be male; most of the working implements of women were made by men and that showed the complementarities between genders.¹¹⁴ The ondo women weavers weaved different brands of *aso-oke* such as *sanmiya*, *etu*, *agogolu*, *betujo* among other; weaver produced an average of twelve yards daily (*awẹ- mefa*).¹¹⁵ *Aso-oke* was demanded both locally and internationally and the weaving of *aso oke* was done since the post colonial Ode-Ondo on part time basis due to lack of financial means to buy materials needed.¹¹⁶

In some cases, weavers merged weaving with farming so as to source out money; the profit made from weaving was re-invested in training children and most weavers spent up to sixty percent of income on children's education.¹¹⁷ For the economic importance of weaving

¹¹¹ Oloidi, J. "Economic History of Ekiti People in Nigeria 1900-1960..."P.214.

¹¹² Oloidi, J. "Economic History of Ekiti People in Nigeria 1900-1960..."P.214.

¹¹³ Akinese, Mrs Deborah, Age 45 years. Interviewed 12 February, 2015 at Sabo, Ode-Ondo.

¹¹⁴ Afonja, S. "The Emergence of a Competitive sex roles structure in Yoruba Society", in *International Symposium On The Changing Roles Of Men And Women In Private And Public Life*. Athens and Greece 3-6, December, 1985. Pp 1-7.

¹¹⁵ Akinbola, Mrs. Roseline. Age 55, Weaver. Interviewed 28 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street, Ode-Ondo.

¹¹⁶ Akinese, Mrs Deborah, 45 years, Weaver. Interviewed 12 February, 2015 at Sabo, Ode-Ondo.

¹¹⁷ Mobogunge, A.L. "Women In Business And Agribusiness in Nigeria", Being Text Of The Key Note Address Given On The Occasion Of The Workshop on *Women In Business And Agribusiness held on 5 – 8 December 1987 at the Institute of African Studies*, University of Ibadan, Nigeria. P.9.

women engaged in it usually on an individual basis.¹¹⁸ Weavers that had no inheritance of cash crop farm and did not also have money to buy what could yield income, they walked up to micro credit institutions or money lenders, the popularly called *owo elele, tidibata, alajeseku, so ogun dogoji*.¹¹⁹ In spite of these limitations, the entire Yoruba land was renewed for ondo women's ceremonial "*asọ-oke*", and there were varieties that were unique to ondo women.¹²⁰ Also, Ode-Ondo specialized on the attractive mats woven from dyed fibres, weaving of baskets from the bush cane or grasses (*ailẹẹ*) neatly dressed and even the manufacturing of lamp (*ogunsho*).¹²¹

4.3.2 Soap Making Industry

Ondo women also produced soap (oşẹ) for mainly domestic use soap making was a part time work; Soap produced in ondo was made from either local materials or from modernized chemicals.¹²² The modernized one could be made from sodium silicate, perfume, palm kernel oil, colorants and sodium hydroxide.¹²³ This modernization process was carried out only by Ode-Ondo women that wanted to carry out commercial soap production.¹²⁴ The palm kernel oil was measured into a bowl, added to perfume, colorants and sodium hydroxide. It was stirred together and then poured into containers of different sizes; this solution was left for twenty-four hours for solidification.¹²⁵ Majority of Ode-Ondo women who were farmers and that might not afford the soap made through this modernized way also embraced the local technology to manufacture soap

¹¹⁸ Onilari, Mrs Alice. Age 70+, Trader. Interviewed 23 February, 2015 at Owoduni Street, Ode-Ondo. Falola Toyin, et. al., *History of Nigeria*, Longman PLC Ibadan, 1997. P. 143.

¹¹⁹ Akinese, Mrs Deborah, 45 years, Weaver. Interviewed 12 February, 2015 at Sabo, Ode-Ondo.

¹²⁰ Koku ma, Mr Shati; Age 55 years. Retired Civil Servant. Interviewed 25 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja.

¹²¹ Akinbolaji, Mrs Yemisi Akinyobolaji, Mrs Yemisi; Age 50. Interviewed 20 April, 2015 at Jolaco Ode-Ondo.

¹²² Akinradewo, Mrs Shade. Age 58 years. Soap Maker. Interviewed 25 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja.

¹²³ Akinradewo, Mrs Shade. Age 58 years, Soap Maker. Interviewed 25 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja.

¹²⁴ Akinbolaji, Mrs Yemisi Akinyobolaji, Mrs Yemisi; Age 50. Interviewed 20 April, 2015 at Jolaco Ode-Ondo.

¹²⁵ Akinbolaji, Mrs Yemisi Akinyobolaji, Mrs Yemisi; Age 50. Interviewed 20 April, 2015 at Jolaco Ode-Ondo.

for domestic use.¹²⁶ This was done by making use of palm husks, these husks were burned to ashes and after then, they would gather it into a bag; it was later put into water, after this, it was collected and sieve and the water that came out from this was used as soap.¹²⁷ The traditional soap making in Ode-Ondo was learnt and borrowed from Urhobo, Iwo and Oyo neighbours.¹²⁸ The soap making income or the products was used for household needs.¹²⁹

4.3.3 Pottery

Pottery, blacksmithing, carving and leather and bead works were very, very important to Ode-Ondo people; young and old alike devoted their leisure hours to making such things as pots from the wet clay, pots were molded into various sizes, some inscribed with attractive designs that reflected at glance the traditional background of Ode-Ondo; in fact they contributed significantly to the economy of Ode-Ondo.¹³⁰ There were potters as well as pot sellers who were not potters but pot marketters. Ode-Ondo was very fertile for clay. Ode-Ondo pottery could be classified as follows: pot (*isasun*), cup (*agee*), frying pan (*agbada*) and water reservoir (*amuun*).¹³¹ Different items like clay, iron, and calabash among others were used for pottery making and women were very skilful in the use of such items to produce goods for either for household use or for commercial purpose to supplement household income.¹³² The pottery items also had artistic significance and value and women were potters who made different types of materials which

¹²⁶ Akinbolaji, Mrs Yemisi Akinyobolaji, Mrs Yemisi; Age 50. Interviewed 20 April, 2015 at Jolaco Ode-Ondo.

¹²⁷ Akinradewo, Mrs Shade .Age 58 years, Soap Maker. Interviewed 25 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja.

¹²⁸ Akinradewo, Mrs Shade .Age 58 years, Soap Maker. Interviewed 25 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja.

¹²⁹ Mobogunje, A.L. "Women In Business And Agribusiness in Nigeria", Being Text Of The Key Note Address Given On The Occasion Of The Workshop on Women In Business And Agribusiness held on 5 – 8 December 1987 at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria. Pp.10-12

¹³⁰ Ilori, Mrs. Victoria. Age 45, Weaver. Interviewed 27 April, 2015 at Arilekolasi Street, Ode-Ondo.

¹³¹ Oloidi, J. "Economic History of Ekiti People in Nigeria 1900-1960..." P.219.

¹³² Oloidi, J. "Economic History of Ekiti People in Nigeria 1900-1960..." P.219.

include: pots for cooking, eating and storage, oil lamps were also made. Most time, unique pots were made in honour of deities.¹³³

4.4 Commerce

The field where women have excelled has been in trading activities, buying and selling were combined in one hands, in most cases women marketed for men; Ode-Ondo women were famous for their conspicuous presence in trading activities and for their ingenuity in trade both in rural and urban areas.¹³⁴ Trade was an engine room of commerce and the soul of economic activities and growth; women who were neither sick nor infirm traded, Ode-Ondo women traders distinguished themselves as having economic independence, the centrality of trade and the role of women in trade and economy cannot be overstated, women had always been economically active either as traders and it was believed that everyone must work irrespective of age and gender in order to save off poverty and to earn respect and fame.¹³⁵

The expansion of commerce had created more opportunities for women as traders.¹³⁶ Women sold all types of goods in the market whereas men seldom took part, hence women involvement in trade went beyond the basic need to feed and clothe herself and her children; success in trade and control over her own income provided economic independence, a place to stand in domestic discord and economic power in the society.¹³⁷ Virtually all women were

¹³³ Oloidi, J. "Economic History of Ekiti People in Nigeria 1900-1960..." P.219.

¹³⁴ Comhaire, S. "Association On The Basis of Origin in Lagos Nigeria". *American Catholic Sociological Review* No.2, 1950. Pp.169-187.

¹³⁵ Falola, T. "Gender, Business and Space Control: Yoruba Market Women and Power." In *African Market Women and Economic Power: Bessie House M. et. al. (eds.)*. The Role of Women in African Economic Development. West Port, London: Greenwood Press, 1995. P.25.

¹³⁶ Keniston M.M. *Yoruba Women and Social Change...* P.128

¹³⁷ Sudarkasa, N. "The status of Women in Indigenous African Societies". In Rosalyn Terborg penn S. Harkey and A.B Rushing, (eds.), *Women in Africa and the African Diaspora*. Washington D.C Howard University Press, 1987. P.2. See, Dan, R. Aronson. *The City is Our Farm: Seven Migrants Ijebu Yoruba Families*. Schenkman Publishing Company 1978. P.135

engaged in some type of trading activity.¹³⁸ Women account for 70-80 percent of persons engaged in trading in the market place and the marketing of food was largely carried out by women, either as small producers or market women.¹³⁹ The division of labour in agriculture was the most important thing in Ode-Ondo, traditionally, labour was the most important tools to agricultural production system and a significant proportion of labour was provided by women. The very long hours devoted to work either on their own or with men in food and cash crops production resulted into emergence of three activities, namely: household work, contribution to directly productive agricultural activities and trade.¹⁴⁰ However, this was not without clear sexual division of labour between male and female genders, by put into consideration sex age due to the absence, shortage of modern or the primitive nature of the tools used for production; the division of labour was carried out to a very elaborate length.¹⁴¹ Also, this was carried over to the disposal of farm produce, the female were responsible for selling produce either in an elaborately processed form or particularly as harvested, and some the product of the farm that were in excess of normal requirements of the households were disposed by women.¹⁴²

Women had always been great traders.¹⁴³ Right from post-independence Nigeria, if women were not trading, it was usually for one of two reasons: Either her marital status made it impractical for her to be away from home for the long hours needed, perhaps because she was the only wife of her husband or his most junior wife, who was expected to be available to him, or she was a relative beginner whose financial resources did not yet permit her to rent a stall.¹⁴⁴ Ondo women traders displayed some degree of specialization based upon age, income and

¹³⁸ Mobogunge, A.L. "Women In Business And Agribusiness in Nigeria..." P.73.

¹³⁹ Kokuma, Yeye Molomo Beatrice. Aged 115, interviewed 12 April, 2015 at Igbo Oja Quarters.

¹⁴⁰ Oya toye, E.T.O., "Women in Agribusiness..." P.19

¹⁴¹ N.A. Fadipe, *Sociology of Yoruba*...P.151.

¹⁴² N.A. Fadipe, *Sociology of Yoruba*...P.151.

¹⁴³ Mobogunge, A.L. "Women In Business And Agribusiness in Nigeria..." Pp. 14-15

¹⁴⁴ Adams, Mrs Grace, Age 59 years. Interviewed 29 April, 2015 at Sarowo street Ode-Ondo.

experience.¹⁴⁵ Also, the bulk of women retailers sold their wares from kiosks installed in front of their houses, although periodic markets were visited by the women as they provided better opportunity for the disposal of their wares.¹⁴⁶

Trade could be carried out in four different locations: open air, premises, shop and road side market.¹⁴⁷ Trade involved a daily mass movement of goods and people and also fulfilled a vital social function; women who were indisposed for various reasons to visit the markets produced their commodities at home and they were carried to the markets by their children; in addition, trade being an important economic aspect the trading activities were highly socio-political as it provided a vital link in the chain of distribution.¹⁴⁸ The domination of women in trade can be explained by various reasons and these include: lack of adequate male support, limited access to formal sector employment, women domination in subsistence agriculture, suitability of trade to child, child care responsibilities, illiteracy among others.¹⁴⁹

More importantly, women were greatly involved in trade because income in trade was steadier than farming which was seasonal.¹⁵⁰ Trade became women's dominance because men usually despised and avoided occupations staffed by women, be it agriculture or trade, on this basis, the status of Ode-Ondo women traders was developed with maturity, mothers often passed it onto their daughters, their bargaining skills and the good will of the customers.¹⁵¹ Trade was also grouped into various forms based on its location (i) man oeuvre which involved the traders

¹⁴⁵ Adams, Mrs Grace, Age 59 years. Interviewed 29 April, 2015 at Sarowo street Ode-Ondo.

¹⁴⁶ Akinfoyeku, Mrs. Sele. Age 50, Farmer. Interviewed 22 December, 2014 at Ajegunle Street, Yaba, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁴⁷ Oloidi, J. "Economic History of Ekiti People in Nigeria 1900-1960..." P.238.

¹⁴⁸ Falola, T. et al. *History of Nigeria I*, Longman Plc, Nigeria. 1997. P149 See, Awomolo, A.A. "The Political Economy of Market Women in Western Nigeria, 1970 to 1996." Unpublished Ph.D thesis of University of Ibadan. 1998. P.18; and Horder, B.W. and Ukwu, U. "Introduction" in *Markets in West Africa: Studies of Market and Trades Among the Yoruba and Ibo Ibadan*, Nigeria. Ibadan University Press, 1969. P.11.

¹⁴⁹ Awomolo, A.A. "The Political Economy of Market Women South-Western Nigeria." Unpublished Ph.D thesis of University of Ibadan, 1998. P.21.

¹⁵⁰ Guyer, J. "Women in the Rural Economy: Contemporary Variations" in Margaret Jane and Sharon Stichter (eds.), *African Women South of Sahara*. London Longman, 1982. P.30.

¹⁵¹ Henshell J. M., *Women and Development in the Third World*. London and New York: Routledge, 1993. P.87.

buying goods wholesale from the interior or exterior and carrying them to various markets for trade to retailers;(ii) On the premises trade in which the traders had stalls in the front of their homes; (iii) Inland trade which requested a lot of travel to distant villages to buy foodstuffs for town market and (iv) Market trade whereby the traders obtained a stall in the market place from where they sold their goods.¹⁵²

Based on this, there were three categories of women traders, first, the richest and most powerful who sometimes ventured into some illegal trade in different commodities. Other in this group owned large businesses in farm produce, for example, cassava farm by buying large quantities from village markets or straight from the farmers' field and selling them to retailers in the urban centres.¹⁵³ Trading in ondo was divided into local trade and long distance trades. Many of these women were international traders who travelled to neighbouring countries from coast to coast throughout West Africa by land, sea and air.¹⁵⁴ The second group involved the owned shops fronts where they sold wares retail or wholesales; majority of traders however bought and sold in relatively small quantities within the internal markets, they specialized in fresh and cooked food and canned or processed goods such as milk, mats, pottery and other medicinal leaves.¹⁵⁵

4.4.1 Local Trade

This form of trade involved the exchange of goods between the people of a village or town on the one hand, and the people of the town and its immediate environs; the exchange system, most

¹⁵²Awomolo, A.A."The Political Economy of Market women South-Western Nigeria..."Pp.25-26.

¹⁵³Robertson,C.."Women in the Urban Economy" in Margret J.H. and Sharon Stichter (eds).*African Women South of Sahara*. London Longman Plc,1984. Pp.37-38

¹⁵⁴Brunger,A. "Women in Dahomey" in *Women in the Struggle for Liberation, World Student Christian Federation Book Series*,vol.3 no2/3 series no 8/9 1973.P.59)

¹⁵⁵Brunger,A."Women in Dahomey." in *Women in the Struggle for Liberation, World Student Christian Federation Book Series*,vol.3 no2/3 series no 8/9 1973.P.59)

especially in non agricultural sector economy boosted local industries consisting weaving, indigo dyeing, basketry, pottery and soap making.¹⁵⁶ Two-third of the adult women traded, and half this number traded as their sole occupation as trade was a subsidiary to agriculture (yam, cocoyam, plantain, pepper, palm oil) or crafts materials. The daily markets catered for local trade. The local trade went on every day in all quarters under Ode-Ondo area.¹⁵⁷ Market organisation was physical lay out, it was demarcated and allocated according to commercial commodities (*iso/uso*).¹⁵⁸ Markets like Fagbo market, Odosida market, Sabo market, Agbogbo-oke market, Omiluri market among others.¹⁵⁹ Trade was carried out between morning and late evening, the nature of trade in Ode-Ondo has promoted the rate of interaction among the traders which enhanced and facilitated information exchange, social control, influence building and networking¹⁶⁰ Trade was conducted either by barter, cowries, pound sterling and later Naira currency.¹⁶¹

Cosmologically, trade was associated with a female deity called *Aje*, who demanded regular worship from her priestesses and all traders in order to provide them with success and prosperity in trade, mechadize were brought into the markets in many ways; there were traders who went into the farmers of farms to buy goods directly from producers, those goods were later taken to the markets. There were also middle men who intercepted producers going to the markets.¹⁶² The middle men, in turn, sold the goods to traders or directly to consumers. There

¹⁵⁶ Adams, Mrs Grace, Age 59 years. Interviewed 29 April, 2015 at Sarowo street Ode-Ondo.

¹⁵⁷ Adams, Mrs Grace, Age 59 years. Interviewed 29 April, 2015 at Sarowo street, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁵⁸ Keniston, M.M. *Yoruba Women and Social Change*... P.149.

¹⁵⁹ Keniston, M.M. *Yoruba Women and Social Change*... P.149

¹⁶⁰ Keniston, M.M. *Yoruba Women and Social Change*... P.149

¹⁶¹ Adams, Mrs Grace, Age 59 years. Interviewed 29 April, 2015 at Sarowo street Ode-Ondo.

¹⁶² Sada, P. Adalemo A. et al. "Periodic Markets in a Metropolitan Environment: The Example of Lagos, Nigeria." In Robert, H. and Smith T. (eds.) *Market Place Trade: Periodic Markets, Hawkers and Traders in Africa, Asia and Latin America*. Canada University Press, 1978. P.155

were also the producers who took their goods to the markets and sold directly to consumers.¹⁶³ In addition, some women sat the market place selling farm produce, processed foodstuffs or small manufactured goods. Some women also sold from their homes, offering small items such as matches, cosmetics and tobacco to people who could not attend the market.¹⁶⁴ Most women used their children to sell produce from their farm and earned some income from their own economic activities.¹⁶⁵

4.4.2 Long Distance Trade

Most women in Ode-Ondo participated in long distance trade or external trade, both regional and international.¹⁶⁶ Geographical difference had far reaching impact on what could be manufactured or grown in every society.¹⁶⁷ The long distance trade is classified into three tiers. First, the regional trade which involved trading activities being concentrated in the periodic markets; it involved traders from the same state. The traders met in the capitals or in the major markets. The second was inter-regional, involving people from more than two states. And the third tier was the metropolitan centres and commercial terminals where several trade routes crossed or merged.¹⁶⁸

Long distance trade was not common to Ode-Ondo men in the post 1960 Ode-Ondo, instead, women settled in for trade in such places as Ebute-Irele, Ajagba and Akoyogbo.¹⁶⁹ Some other settled in Okitipupa, Igbokoda, Iju-odo, Aiyede, Oke-Aye, Atijee and Igbokoda.¹⁷⁰ There was great thriving trade between Ondo and Lagos. Ondo women went to Ibadan to buy goods for

¹⁶³Keniston, M.M. *Yoruba Women and Social Change*... P.149

¹⁶⁴Keniston, M.M. *Yoruba Women and Social Change*... Pp.160 and VIII

¹⁶⁵Falola, T. et al. *History of Nigeria I*... P.148

¹⁶⁶Asepe, Mrs Favour. Age 35, Trader. Interviewed 20 December, 2014 at Rainbow Street, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁶⁷Falola, T. et al. *History of Nigeria I*... P.148

¹⁶⁸Kokuma, Yeye Maloma Beatrice, Age 115+ years. Interviewed 26 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja Quarters, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁶⁹Kokuma, Yeye Maloma Beatrice, Age 115+ years. Interviewed 26 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja Quarters, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁷⁰Kokuma, Yeye Maloma Beatrice, Age 115+ years. Interviewed 26 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja Quarters, Ode-Ondo.

sale in Ondo and its environs.¹⁷¹ Ondo women also went to places like Alade market, Ore, Idanre, Akure, Gbagi, Abuja, Osogbo, Agbaabu, Ifetedo to sell and to buy goods.¹⁷² Ondo women nevertheless faced a challenge in managing their domestic lives, so they could be away from home nearly every day and for long hours; most Ode-Ondo women started work at five o'clock in the morning to organize the household and get their older children off to school.¹⁷³ As it was never a practice in Ondo as it may be elsewhere, that husbands supported wives in Ondo wives must work and maintain not only themselves but their children and other dependent.¹⁷⁴ Because of women's independent incomes, women were expected to make separate contributions to the ceremonies undertaken by members of the lineage and compound to which they belonged; they were often called upon to render material assistance to their kinsmen in times of exigency, and the kin groups in town, provided structural support for the continued participated of women in trade.¹⁷⁵

Ondo women joined hands with men to build houses, buy property among others. Ondo men however, were more settled, pleased and fulfilled when their wives were involved in trade because it benefited men more.¹⁷⁶ Those women in Ode-Ondo who could not trade on long distance journey participated in trades between Ode-Ondo and the villages around and women have been far more specialized as middlemen than men were; women travelled some kilometres away from home to carry out trade.¹⁷⁷ Trade in Ode-Ondo involved great deal of specialization by women; some specialized on agricultural produce, some on clothing and handicraft articles

¹⁷¹Ogundana, Mrs Veronica. Age 50 years, interviewed 20 December, 2014 at Rainbow Street, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁷²Kokuma, Yeye Maloma Beatrice, Age 15 years. Interviewed 26 April, 2015 at Igbo-Oja Quarters, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁷³Keniston, M.M. *Yoruba Women and Social Change*... P.157

¹⁷⁴Ogungbemi, T. "The growth of market in Ikere Akoko; A case study of Osele of Osile market, 1840 till present" Unpublished Bachelor Arts of Department of History/International Studies of University of Ilorin, May 2011. Pp. 13-33.

¹⁷⁵Ogungbemi, T. "The growth of market in Ikere Akoko; A case study of Osele of Osile market, 1840 till present..." P.33

¹⁷⁶Akinbolusere, Mrs Atinuke. Age 50, interviewed 24 January, 2015 at Agbogbo-Oke Ode-Ondo.

¹⁷⁷Adams, Mrs Grace, Age 59 years. Interviewed 29 April, 2015 at Sarowo street Ode-Ondo.

while some on other consumer goods; it must be noted that Ode-Ondo women combined two or more occupations so as to meet the needs of the entire household.¹⁷⁸ The role of women in trade especially in agricultural commodities has earned them the appellation of ‘traders per excellence,’ the role of women in economic development of Ode-Ondo had showed prominently in trade, although most settlements around Ode-Ondo were self sufficient in food and few more favoured ones even had surplus for trade; in fact women dominated the trading sector.¹⁷⁹

4.5 Social Roles

Gender social role is a set of patterned, mutually interdependent relations between a social persons and a social circle ,involving negotiated duties and personal rights.Men and women as social persons also carry out social roles so as to help aged individuals;and to help children later,not to spoil family name and it is customary .¹⁸⁰ This however enables women to combine both productive and reproductive roles in a society.¹⁸¹

From 1960,there has been significant change in the traditional role of women within social role; the social barriers of tradition and culture gave way to new ideas, values and practices of what constituted social role of women.¹⁸² The value of Ode-Ondo people makes social role every woman’s duty in the society, the role of house keeping is reserved for women¹⁸³.Every family in a home of its own means that the wife has no one to help her keep house except perhaps her husband,whose society sees his own major responsibility outside

¹⁷⁸ Adams, Mrs Grace, Age 59 years.Interviewed 29 April, 2015 at Sarowo street Ode-Ondo.

¹⁷⁹ Adams, Mrs Grace, Age 59 years.Interviewed 29 April, 2015 at Sarowo street Ode-Ondo.

¹⁸⁰ Znaniecka H. *Occupation: Housewife*.New York,Oxford University Press,1971.P.138. See, Fapohunda, T.” Characteristics of women Workers in Lagos:Data Reconsideration by Labour Market Theorists” in Larray Denser (ed.),*Women’s Work in Nigeria:Selected Writings ,vol.2*,University of Ibadan 1992.P.165

¹⁸¹ Fapohunda, T.” Women and the informal Sector in Nigeria:Implication for Development” in *British Journal of Arts and Social Sciences, vol.4,No.1,2012 .P.34.*

¹⁸² Nwosu, I.E.” Gender Role Perceptions and Changing Role of Women in Nigeria “ in *International Journal of Agric and Rural Development ,vol.15,No.3,2012.P.1242.*

¹⁸³ Fapohunda, T.” Characteristics of women Workers in Lagos:Data Reconsideration by Labour Market Theorists” in Denser ,L.(ed.).*Women’s Work in Nigeria:Selected Writings ,vol.2*,University of Ibadan 1992.P.165.

World.¹⁸⁴ The women's social role include in terms of specific activities like working and supporting families;the activities which were based on the responsibility of keeping family going.¹⁸⁵ Therefore, the women's social roles in Ode-Ondo can be summarized thus:General house work which include cooking ;cleaning ;budgeting;nurturing children and doing paid employment(being of service to customers or client;being of independent;taking care of onself and others through work,family relationship which involves formal and informal relationship outside home).¹⁸⁶

Ode-Ondo women were involved in complexity of social role, the were mothers and wives ;their lives were public with multiple obligations to Ode-Ondo society through their active participation in education in both formal and informal,healthcare services in both traditional and orthodox mecines and ofcourse co-ordinating different socio-economic associations.¹⁸⁷

4.5.1 Women and Education

At independence, it was believed that education would be used to develop man-power for socio-economic growth and development¹⁸⁸ However,at any context,Ode-Ondo women were critical actors in the education process which could be defined in terms of their natural affinities with children and their innate love for teaching and nurturing.¹⁸⁹It was on this context that Ondo

¹⁸⁴Robert W.and Morse,N." Social Roles of American Women: Contributions to a Sense of Usefulness and Importance " in *Marriage and Family Living*,vol.20,No.4,1958.Pp.358-359.URL:<http://www.jstor.org/stable/348259>.Accessed:05-09-2016 10:34 UTC.

¹⁸⁵Robert, W. and Morse, N." Social Roles of American Women: Contributions to a Sense of Usefulness and Importance " in *Marriage and Family Living*,vol.20,No.4,1958.Pp.358-359.URL:<http://www.jstor.org/stable/348259>.Accessed:05-09-2016 10:34 UTC.

¹⁸⁶Obbo,C.*African Women :Their Struggle for Economic Independence*.Zed Books,USA,1980.Pp.5a and 9.

¹⁸⁷Akinlami,Mr Felix.Age 47,Civil Servant.Interviewed 5 August,2014 at Ademulegun Road,Ode-Ondo.

¹⁸⁸Imam, H."Education Policy in Nigeria from the Colonial Era to the Post-Independence Period" in *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education* ,vol.1,2012.P.187

¹⁸⁹Olaniyan, Amos."Education in Ondo Kingdom" in Ajaji I.(ed.), *The Evolution of Ondo Kingdom over 500 Years*. Spectrum Books,Ibadan,2013.P.129.See,Uzoma Aja-Okorie, "Women Education in Nigeria:Problems and Implications for Family Role and Stability" in *European Scientific Journal*,vol.9,No.28,October 2013.P.274.

state began to implement Federal Government some key vital policy initiatives so as to encourage gender viable education in Ondo state in general and Ode-Ondo in particular:

Table4.3: Key Policy Initiative with a Gender In Focus In Nigeria

Policy Initiative	Years
Universal primary education	1976
Blue print on women's education	1986
Nomadic education programme	1986
National commission for mass literacy and non formal education	1991
Family support basic education programme	1994
Universal basic education	1999

Source: Uzoma Aja, "Women Education in Nigeria:Problems and Implications for Family Role and Stability" in *European Scientific Journal*,vol.9, No.28,October 2013.P.274

From the above table, the policies set out to promote gender education in Ode-Ondo,which believed that education would help both gender to claim their rights and realize their potentials in socio-econmic arenas.But in the first two decades of Nigerian independence,females constituted just 11.5 percent the students that were receiving formal education in Ode-Ondo,and very view of them studied lucrative subjects that prepared them for professional jobs in the society¹⁹⁰ In Ode-Ondo at that very period,the population of girls and the numbers of schools for girls compare to that of boys were very few; the girls schools like St Louis secondary,St Monica's and Jubilee Grammar schools.¹⁹¹ Generally, the education of girls was centred on domestic affairs, the responsibility of mothers to her children and wives to her husbands ¹⁹² The gender disparity in education was exacerbated by the powerful socio-economic rationale for investing in education of sons rather than that of daughters,as daughters were perceived to be less valuable once educated and less likely to abide by the will of the fathers,brothers and

¹⁹⁰Keniston,M.M.Yoruba *Women and Social Change*...P.76

¹⁹¹Olaniyan, Amos."Education in Ondo Kingdom" in Ibi Ajaḡi (ed.), *The Evolution of Ondo Kingdom over 500 Years* .Spectrum Books,Ibadan,2013.P.129.

¹⁹²Olaniyan, Amos."Education in Ondo Kingdom" in Ibi Ajaḡi (ed.), *The Evolution of Ondo Kingdom over 500 Years* ...P.129

husbands¹⁹³ Although the little attention given to female education has resulted into displacement of female labour outside home in the face of modernization; marginalization of women's roles in economy resulted into low paid informal sector mostly domestic services, home based crafts which contracts development progresses.¹⁹⁴ Therefore, as from 1980, more Ode-Ondo women began to see formal education as a vital social service and investment in manpower that could foster the growth of special skills needed in more differentiated economy and social welfare services.¹⁹⁵ It was on this perception that Ode-Ondo women undertake different roles in education as teachers, proprietresses, lecturers among others at different capacities; working either on their own or with the public establishments as illustrated in the table below.¹⁹⁶

Table 4.4: Some Private Schools Established By Women in Ode-Ondo

Name of the schools	Founder	Year founded	Location
Hallmark Secondary School	Mrs Aralola Faturoti	1996	Itanla Quarters, Ode-Ondo
Day spring life	Mrs Eweje Funke	2002	Iranlowo street ondo
Stemrose Nursery and Basic School	Mrs Roselyn olawumi	2014	Okegbala street, Ode-Ondo
St Rapheal's Kiddie's School	Mrs Aralola Faturoti	1988	Ademlagun Way, Ode-Ondo
Homaj International school	Mrs Akinsemolu Helen	1983	Itanla Quarters, Ode-Ondo
Homaj Nursery/Primary School	Mrs Akinsemolu Helen	1983	Yaba Street, Ode-Ondo.
JoyBells Nursery/Primary School	Mrs Iluyemi Funke	1991	Ademulegun Way, Ondo.
JoyBells Tutorial College	Mrs Iluyemi Funke	1991	Ademulegun Way, Ondo.

Source: Author's Field work, 2015/2016

¹⁹³ Imam, H. "Education Policy in Nigeria from the Colonial Era to the Post-Independence Period" in *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education*...P.192

¹⁹⁴ Awosika, K. "Women's Education and Participation in the Labour Force: The case of Nigeria" in Larry Denzer (ed.), *Women's Work in Nigeria: Selected Writings, Vol. 2*, University of Ibadan Press, 1992. P.91

¹⁹⁵ Alele, G. "The Contribution of Women to National Development: Education" in Jadesola A. et al., *The Contribution of Women to National Development in Nigeria*. University of Benin Press, 1990. P.7

¹⁹⁶ Obinta, Mr Friday. Age 48, Lecturer. Interviewed 30 July, 2014 at Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Osun State. See, Onyinye, T. and Awolodu, O. "Educational Pursuit and Income as Correlates of Family Size in Ondo State" in *Journal of Social Science vol. 23 No 2*, 2010. Pp 123-127.

4.5.2 Women and Healthcare Services

In health care services, there was no clear boundary between genders; the factor of division of labour did not exist and both genders in Ode-Ondo took active part in medicine¹⁹⁷ As a result of cultural preferences, attitudes and norms play an important role in the health seeking behaviour of people in general; this is evident in reluctance to seek health care for women outside home and the society's resistance to the use of modern medical care to assist both men and women.¹⁹⁸ Health is said to be both a goal of development and means to achieve the related goals of higher labour productivity and total economic output; for this reason, women render services in the healthcare sector in these quarters: Hospital; clinics; pharmacy; dispensary, traditional healing homes among others.¹⁹⁹ Women play role which complement those of men, some women are physicians, for example, medical doctors, nurses and top hospital administrators.²⁰⁰ Ode-Ondo women occupy a special position in terms of their roles the health related occupations such as activities which affect the health and well being of their families in particular and Ode-Ondo society at large.²⁰¹

The role of women as the key players in the health care system are well known with regard to the prevention, cure, rehabilitation and health education dimension of healthcare. Some women are mostly found in the low status health related occupations such as hospital ward attendants, nurses, dieticians and other paramedical jobs.²⁰² In traditional medicine, among the

¹⁹⁷ Akinkugbe, O.O. "Five Hundred Years of Evolving in Synergy in Healing: Oral Tradition, Herbal Treatment and Orthodox Medicine in Ode-Ondo" in Ibi Aja yi (ed.), *The Evolution of Ondo Kingdom...* Pp 115-120

¹⁹⁸ Ogundipe, Olubi yi. "Experiences of Women Participating in safe Motherhood (Abiye) Project in Ondo state Nigeria" in *International Journal of Current Microbiology and Applied Sciences*, vol. 2, No. 12, 2013. Pp 148 and 158

¹⁹⁹ Ondo State, *Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey 1986*. Institute for Resource Development, Colombia, 1986. P. 23.

²⁰⁰ Yecho, Elizabeth I. "The Role of Nigerian Women in the Development of the Health Sector: The case of Tiv Women of Benue State, Nigeria" in *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, vol. 4, No. 7 May 2014. P. 254.

²⁰¹ Salami, Mrs Olawumi. Age 61, civil servant. Interviewed July 26, 2014 at Yaba street, Ode-Ondo.

²⁰² Aina, O. "Women and Health in Nigeria" in Sessay A. et.al., *Nigerian Women in Society and Development*. Ibadan, Dokun publishing House, 1998. P. 119.

stock of practical knowledge possessed by Ode-Ondo women was the curative medicine as illustrated by this :

*“medicine among most ethnic groups as associated with magic or juju but among the Yoruba, the separation is almost complete and there exist a society of native doctors and to certain extent every man is his own physician, the role women played in medicine (oogun) which can either be used for curative or used against another person is well pronounced among the Yoruba(Ode-Ondo) women”.*²⁰³

As it is practised in orthodox medicine, there are different categories of diseases cured by women: mental illnesses; backache; constipation; convulsion; cough; respiratory; illness; malaria; gonorrhoea; worms; leprosy; eye trouble; barrenness among others²⁰⁴ In some cases where men identified such herbs, women would be given the responsibility of boiling or preparing such herbs. Also, Ode-Ondo women were known for traditional medical pediatrics (*alagbo omo de or olomitutu*)²⁰⁵

4.5.3 Women and Associations in Ode-Ondo

Ode-Ondo women like men frequently formed association called *egbe* that provided social and economic support to their members.²⁰⁶ These organizations furnished an outlet for Ode-Ondo love of sociability and eagerness to gain identities.²⁰⁷ It is a collective action around shared interests, purposes and values that were based on professions. It is voluntary, self-generating and rule abiding that is distinct from political groups or societies²⁰⁸ Although, membership in

²⁰³ Ojo, J.R.O. "The Position of Women in Yoruba Traditional Society" in *1978/79 Department of History Seminar Series, University of Ife*, 1980. P.129. Fadipe, N.A. *Sociology of Yoruba*...P.239.

²⁰⁴ Yecho, Elizabeth I, "The Role of Nigerian Women in the Development of the Health Sector: The case of Tiv Women of Benue State, Nigeria..." P.259.

²⁰⁵ Ogunjana, Mrs Veronica. Age 50, Herbalist. Interviewed 20 December, 2014 at Rainbow street, Ode-Ondo.

²⁰⁶ Onyeozu, A.M. "Analysis of the Influence of Community base Organization on Community Development in Rivers State, Nigeria" in *Academia Arena*, vol.2, No.10, 2010. P.49.

²⁰⁷ Keniston, M.M. *Yoruba Women and Social Change*...P.210

²⁰⁸ Moses, Ugochukwu, "Women in Community Development: Interrogating the role of Women August Meeting in South East Nigeria" in *Net Journal of Social Sciences*, vol.2, No.2, 2014. Pp44-45.

association was not compulsory, it was the rule and not the exception to belong to the one; a person per who had no *egbe* was not a properly adjusted and socialized being.²⁰⁹ The members of associations were chiefly traders, craftswomen and individuals who partake in formal economy sector.²¹⁰ Their population could be any number, with an articulate president, patron or matron(*alaga, baba maje o bajeor iya maje o baje*) to coordinate its activities.²¹¹

Women gained additional influence through their organizations, they formed socio-economic associations called *egbe* based on age, occupation, religion, neighbourhood, hometown, cultural interest or simple friendship²¹² Women association provided experience in the group, they elected their own officials to handle their own finances and their projects and most associations functions in Ode-Ondo were primarily economic remain important in social terms²¹³

Women associations provided their members practical financial supports through its contributions and taught women how to function effectively within their groups; it brought women into a wider community of people who shared their interests²¹⁴ Ode-Ondo women associations see to the welfare of its members and that of Ode-Ondo's society in a high priority; they control excessiveness of their members, educate and render social services to Ode-Ondo society.²¹⁵ Women association made their voices to be heard and also contributed to the socio-economic progress of Ode-Ondo especially in the area of poverty alleviation and provision of

²⁰⁹Fadipe, N.A. *Sociology of Yoruba*...P257.

²¹⁰Iluyemi, Chief Mrs Olufunke. Age 70, Retired Civil Servant. Interviewed 29 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street, Ode -Ondo.

²¹¹Iluyemi, Chief Mrs Olufunke. Age 70, Retired Civil Servant. Interviewed 29 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street, Ode -Ondo.

²¹²Keniston, M.M. *Yoruba Women and Social Change*...P.210

²¹³Iluyemi, Chief Mrs Olufunke. Age 70, Retired Civil Servant. Interviewed 29 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street, Ode -Ondo.

²¹⁴Iluyemi, Chief Mrs Olufunke. Age 70, Retired Civil Servant. Interviewed 29 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street, Ode -Ondo.

²¹⁵Kayode, Mr Folajimi. Aged 37 years, Teacher. Interviewed 10 September, 2016 at Yaba, Ode-Ondo. See, Omole, Lukman and Baki, A.I., "Analysis of Market Typology and Functions in the Development of Osun State, Nigeria" in *International Journal of Development and Sustainability*, vol.3, No.1, 2014. P.60

social and religious amenities.²¹⁶ These include the building of market stalls, renovation of town halls, maintenance of roads, provision of furniture in schools and the construction of covered pathways.²¹⁷

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter examined that from 1960 to 1999, Ode-Ondo women have played a prominent and significant roles in the socio-economic activities like agriculture, trade, handicrafts, education healthcare services and the formation of social associations. The activities of women in the production and provision of food and cash crops despite the lack of women access to various economic resources like land, the women have been traditional known to be engaged in food processing activities. Ode-Ondo women particularly produced rice, maize, yam, cassava, vegetables, beans, okra, pepper, millet, soya beans, among others. Many women primarily involved in production of the family food supply; many work intensively in the fields only during the peak labour season; many girls between ages of ten to fifteen did substantial amounts of agricultural labour.

In a situation where shifting cultivation was the rule, men took part in cultivation, primarily in land clearing and making of heaps but women did the rest of it. Most of the food crop production activities were performed by women with little assistance from men which gave room for gender division of labour in production. Ode-Ondo woman was very active in root crops like legumes and vegetables, most of the crops were not only house hold consumption but also for income to sustain the entire household during the general social scarcity It was also examined that Ode-Ondo women also participated in cash crops production; women had

²¹⁶Ajadi, K.O., Adebisi J.A. et al. " Assessment of the Impact of the Women's Organizations on Sustainable Rural Environment and Livelihood in Nigeria" in *Ethiopian Journal of Environment Studies and Management*, vol.3, No.2, 2010. P.86.

²¹⁷Iluyemi, Chief Mrs Olufunke. Age 70, Retired Civil Servant. Interviewed 29 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street, Ode -Ondo.

their own cocoa farms, many of whom acquired it through their personal saving from trade. Ode-Ondo women cultivated cocoa and kola nuts, the traditionally known as *gbanja*.

In Ode-Ondo, kola nuts were usually raised by men, but because men regarded the laborious task of processing the nuts as women's work, they sold the raw nuts to female traders at a relative by low price. Women actively involved in production of palm-oil products either for household consumption or for market needs to raise money for the households. Handicraft (*isona*) was had traditionally an occupation embraced by Ode-Ondo people; it carried along the making of drums (*ilu*), beaded staff (*irukere*), and hand fan (*ejuju*) among others, the art works existed among the Ode-Ondo people with limitless forms; in Ode-Ondo, both genders acted as weavers and dyers, the women learned early the art of dyeing, which involved diverse processes of arts had contributed to the economic development of Ode-Ondo despite the serious competition of foreign textile.

Also, in this chapter, it is examined that Ode-Ondo women played significant role in social activities of Ode-Ondo. These include education, healthcare services and of course social associations. It was established that through women, procreation, nurturing and sound upbringing of children was made possible through informal and formal education. To ensure the continuity and the survival of Ode-Ondo society, women also took active role in healthcare service through traditional or orthodox medicine. The women association also rendered some social services or charitable work to the Ode-Ondo by providing basic infrastructure that benefitted the society. This chapter established that there was a sharp and clear sex division of labour, gender inter-play and gender dependent of each other in economic activities of Ode-Ondo; and that women have combined production and reproduction roles in Ode-Ondo economic development. In the next chapter we shall examine how the Ode-Ondo women economic

activities have been impacted by the post independence international and national plans, policies and programmes and how women have responded and survived the moments.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT POLICIES AND THEIR IMPACTS ON THE WOMEN OF ODE-ONDO, 1960-1999

5.1 Introduction

The beginning of political independence in 1960, Nigeria inherited an economy dominated by private production for exports and dependent on international trade; Nigeria furnished European countries, especially Britain with new materials (cash crops), receiving manufactured goods in exchange.¹The Nigerian societies could not alter this native and character of imperial political economy, especially during the first two decades of Nigeria independence; she entrenched greater dependence upon the world capitalist system as well as the domestic disarticulation and inequality.² Economy development process and the gender empowerment in Nigeria could not be adequately explained and understood by a single development and empowerment variable; rather it involved a cumulative economic development plan, policy and programme.³Hence this called for several developmental policies initiatives and programmes that were embodied in a series of national development plans beginning with first plan (1962-1968), second plan (1970 – 1974),⁴ third plan (1975 – 1980) and the fourth plan (1981- 1985).⁵ The rationale for the adoption of this

¹Nyakotey,E. “Government and Development: A case study of the Impact of Government Economic Policies in Post Independence Ghana”. Unpublished Ph.D thesis of American University,1975.Pp.79-172.

²Kuegh,M. “The Military And Transition To Civil Rule in Nigeria: A case study of the Babangida Administration.” Unpublished B.sc of Department Of Political Science, Faculty of Social Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria 1979.Pp.23-25.

³Okotoni, Olu and Akintola, A. “The Role of Women Organization on Grassroots Development in Ife -Ife Central Local Government Areas of Osun State, Nigeria.” In Modupe, M.E. (ed). *African Journal Of Gender And Development, Centre of Gender And Social Policy Studies* vol. 1, 2008.Pp.33-34.

⁴Usman, Yusuf Bala. *For the Liberation of Nigeria*. London: New Beacon Books Limited, England. 1979. P.11.

⁵Okotoni, Olu and Akintola A. “The Role of Women Organization on Grassroots Development in Ife-Ife Central Local Government Areas of Osun State, Nigeria.” P.15.

strategy was the belief that significant intervention in the economy as well as direct supply of goods and service that would advance real growth and development of the Nigerian economy.⁶

International and national governments began to make deliberate policy statements focusing on the need to improved the quality of lives of the disadvantaged sections of the population; with a serious attempt to address the women's problems in the world in general and Nigeria in particular.⁷ And in order to understand the position of women in Nigeria, it is necessary to examine the dynamics, historical economic and political policies context that inclined economic growth and development underpinning that women found by themselves. Between 1975 and 1999, policies and programmes were geared towards women's empowerment which began with the United Nation Conference On Women held in Mexico in 1975; Copenhagen International Conference On Women, Nairobi Conference on Women, Better Life Program For Women And Rural Drivellers, Family Support Program And Family Economic Advancement Program and among others.⁸ However most of the policies and empowerment programmes aimed towards benefiting the focal few indigenous elite women and the metropolitan friends and collaborators abroad; which resulted to the high level of gender inequality and poverty.⁹ The domestic economic policies pursued by the government became principal cause of poor over all economic performance especially in the 1980s and 1990s against the popular perception that the failure of women's devolvement was due particularly to

⁶ Awe, B. "Evolution In Selected Women Economic Adjustment Programmes" in P. Kassey Garba et.al (eds.), *Women And Economic Reforms In Nigeria*. Wordoc, University of Ibadan, 1997. P.50.

⁷ Ityayya, D.A. and S.N. Obijunwa, *The State And Women In Nigeria*. Jos University, Nigeria. 1992. P.128.

⁸ Awe, B. Evolution In Selected Women Economic Adjustment Programmes... Pp.50-51, Joseph, Ilobanafor Orji. "An Assessment Of Impact Of Poverty Reduction Programme In Nigeria As A Development Strategy, 1970 To 2005," Unpublished Ph.D Thesis of Clement University Turks And Cases Island 2005. Pp92-98; See, Yakubu, Aboki O. "Man Work Harder But Women Work Longer "An Analysis Of Gender Relations Labour And Production In Idoma Tiv Society" in Okper, Ochayi And Dung Pam, O. (eds). *Gender, Power And Politics In Nigeria*. Markurdi 2007. P.57, and Rosemary S. *Economics of Inequality: Globalization, Gender and Development in Nigeria*. Being an inaugural lecture series 264 of Obafemi Awolowo University Press, Ile-Ife on Tuesday 27 May, 2014. P.69.

⁹ Tarhamba, W. and Talla, Ngarkas (eds.). *Governance And Economic Development In The Fourth Republic*. Aboki Publishers, Abuja, 2010. P.15.

patriarchy and neocolonialism.¹⁰ Therefore, women development was unable to triumph with the frame work of economic policies and programmes. In fact, the role of women in the economic development of Ode-Ondo was made inactive and which was occasioned by inherent inconsistency in policies formulation and implementation and gender mainstreaming.¹¹ Despite the women's role in the economy of Ode-Ondo between 1960 to 1999, gender issue on policy formulation was relegated to the background, the fact that the government policies and programmes failed to give equal opportunity for gender to be mainstreamed in economic policies, aggravated women's retrogressive input.¹²

The pressing economic crisis in Nigeria in general and Ode-Ondo in particular called for the formation of cooperative societies so as to provide many with a means of escaping from, at the very least, loosening the tight grip of poverty as a result of failed economic policies and programmes and subordination.¹³

¹⁰ Udoka, I.A. "History And The Challenges Of Under Development In The 21st Century Africa", in Olayemi Akinwumi et.al.(eds.) *Historical Society Of Nigeria*, Aboki Publishers Makurdi Benue state 2005/2006.P.76. See, Kaan, Tashi. *A Conceptual Frame Work For Gender And Development*, 2007.P.14-16.

¹¹ Kwanashie, M. et al. *Independent Policy Group (IPG)*. Abuja 2003.P.7 See, Obi D. C. and Njoku, J.(eds). *Nigeria Women the Challenges of Our Time*. Malt House Press, Limited Ibadan, 1991.P.11

¹² Adu, F. "Gender Participation and Sustainable Development In The 21st Century Africa: The Nigerian Experience," in Mary E. Modupe (ed.), *African Journal of Gender and Development volume 1 no. 1 2008. Journal of the centre for gender and social policy studies* obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife. 2008.P.44

¹³ Iluyemi, Chief (Mrs.) Funke.... See, Okotoni, O. and Akintola, T. "The Role Of Women Organization On Grassroots Development In Ife North And Ife Central Local Government Areas Of Osun State, Nigeria" in Modupe, M.E. (ed) *African Journal Of Gender And Development* vol. 1 2008 *Journal of the Centre For Gender And Social Policy Studies* Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife. 2008.P.34.

5.2 National Development Plans and International Economic Development Policies 1960 to 1985

Historically, throughout the development history of a nation, economic activities have been classified as the primary factor in sustaining development.¹⁴ Economic policy makers and development planners have typically focused attention on the country relations with the international economy; the inception of colonialism in the Nigerian economy and the achievement of political independence in 1960.¹⁵ In few decades after Independence, Nigeria's economy has gone through tremendous transformation of relations of production and general social relation in general; through various National Development Plans formed so as to improve Nigerian economy.¹⁶

5.2.1 The First National Development Plan 1962 to 1968:

The First National Development Plan proceeded by reviewing the performance of the Nigerian economy from 1950 to 1960.¹⁷ The plan made provision for channeling funds from the public to the private sector; and this was reinforced in the execution of government projects. Furthermore, the plan stated that:

¹⁴Adu, F.M. "Gender Participation and Sustainable Development In The 21st Century Africa: The Nigerian Experience," in Modupe, (ed). *African Journal of Gender and Development volume 1 no. 1* 2008, Centre For Gender And Social Policy Studies Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife. 2008.P.44.

¹⁵ Ekunerhare, B. "National Development Policy and Performance in Nigeria: Source Materials on Economic Policy and Performance in Nigeria 1960 To 1970" in Usman, Yusuf Bala and George, Amale kwanasIrie (eds) *Inside Nigerian History 1960-1970: Events Issues and Sources*. The presidential panel on Nigerians Since Independence History Protect, University of Ibadan, Ibadan Nigeria 1995.P.401.

¹⁶ Lai, Olurode. "From the Agricultural Economy to Petroleum: A Political Economy of Social Change." Saleh, Abubakar. (ed). In *Nigerians Economy And Society Since The Berlin Conference 1945 to 1985* volume one, faculty of arts and social science Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and Nigerian Institute For Economic Research (NISER) Ibadan 1985.P.178

¹⁷ Bonat, Z. A. "Development, Paining And The Performance Of Agricultural Sector Of The Nigerian Economy 1945 To 1985" in saleh, A. (ed.), *Nigerian Economy And Society Since the Berlin conference*, volume, Faculty of Arts and Social Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and Nigerian Institute For Social And Economic Research (NISER) Ibadan, November 11-15 1985.Pp.153-154.

*“the Intention of the government was to enable Nigerian businessmen to control increasing portions of the Nigerian economy, not through nationalization, but by the accelerated training of businessmen, the provision of advisory and services, the improved flow of capital and technical and market information.”*¹⁸

This shows that there was a serious gender blind plan that failed to put into consideration the relevance of women in the economic development. The government plan gave a special attention to cash crop agriculture which promoted export; whereas the food crops were left in the hands of women without proper training and information on how to improve their output. Also, the first plan was formulated by the imperialists, British trade commissioners in Nigeria and United States special economic mission to Nigeria who put their own economic interest ahead of every other gender consideration or development in Nigeria.¹⁹

5.2.2 The Second National Development Plan 1970-1974

This also was formulated based on the foreign advice and recommendations (USAID Consortium).²⁰ This plan sets the objectives which includes food production in enough quality and quantity to meet the needs of the rising population; to expand the export of cash crop production and establish agro-allied industries with raw materials to create avenue for rural employment; the men were modeled towards the production of cash crops while the women were left with the production of food crop.²¹

¹⁸Bonat Z. A. “Development, Paining and The Performance Of Agricultural Sector Of The Nigerian Economy 1945 To 1985...”P.156.

¹⁹Ekunerhare,B.“National Development Policy and Performance in Nigeria: Source Materials on Economic Policy and Performance in Nigeria 1960 To1970...”P.404.

²⁰Bonat, Z. A. “Development, Paining and The Performance Of Agricultural Sector Of The Nigerian Economy 1945 To 1985...”P.155

²¹Bonat,Z. A. “Development, Paining and The Performance Of Agricultural Sector Of The Nigerian Economy 1945 To 1985...”P.156..

5.2.3 The Third National Development Plan 1975-1980

Within this period, Nigerian government restated the policy objectives and strategies of the Second National Development Plan to guide agricultural development plan.²² The government was not however satisfied with the performance of the agricultural sector, peasant agriculture was given as the factor responsible for the poor state of agriculture, and thus there was a vigorous attack on peasant farmers who were majorly women, and the replacement by large scale farmers and agribusiness organizations (*Agbe Koya*) or farmers' resistant group.²³ The first Nigerian Land Decree Act was promulgated so as to enable private individual to acquire land, there was also a supply of agrochemicals to the 'farmers' that were seen to be men. These benefits were also directed to men with the passive attention on women.²⁴

5.2.4 The Fourth National Development Plan 1981-1985

The Forth National Development Plan stated that:

*“the sectoral objectives of the third National Development Plan remained essentially relevant in their broad perspectives and would therefore form the basis of the agricultural sectors policies, programmes and projects for the fourth National Development Plans.”*²⁵

Commercial banks have granted loans to the tune of hundreds of millions of naira to “agricultural producers” who were public figures; clearly therefore, the massive investment in agricultural development, failed to generate the production of export crops and raw

²²Bonat Z.A. “Development, Paining and the Performance Of Agricultural Sector Of The Nigerian Economy 1945 To 1985...”P.156.

²³Bonat Z.A. “Development, Paining and the Performance Of Agricultural Sector Of The Nigerian Economy 1945 To 1985...”P.156.

²⁴Akinbolaji, Mrs Yemisi. Age 50, Farmar. Interviewed 20 April, 2015 at Iyana Epe, Ode-Ondo.

²⁵*Nigerian Fourth National Development Plan 1981-1985* Lagos Nigeria 1981.P.78.

materials.²⁶The peasant food production was not totally collapsed, but that it could no longer keep pace with the growth of the population. There was food crop deficit between 1975 and 1985, most especially, in the quantities for the staple foodstuff. Consequently, this called for massive food importation which created billions of Naira in profits to the companies exporting the food stuff to Nigeria, and untold wealth to state officials and local traders handling their distribution in Nigeria. The below table gives more illustration to Nigerian food supplies and deficits between 1975 to 1985:

²⁶Bonafant, Z.A. "Development, Pain and the Performance Of Agricultural Sector Of The Nigerian Economy 1945 To 1985..." P.154.

Table 5.1: Projected Food Supplies and Deficit in Nigeria 1975-1985 (1,000 Tones)

Commodity	Years		
	1975	1980	1985
Maize	52	94	178
Millet	296	728	1,188
Sorghum	787	1,428	2,271
Yams	983	1,771	2,818
Cassava	+ 501	+ 931	+ 1253
Sweet potatoes	+ 9	+ 21	+ 122
Cowpeas	+ 125	+ 263	+ 145
Coco yams	+ 53	+ 99	+ 133
Groundnuts	+ 57	+ 102	+ 161
Vegetables	107	+ 178	+ 315
Fruits	20	35	60
Palm oil	107	309	494
Wheat	140	850	2,000

Sources: Bonat Z.A. "Development Planning and the performance of the agricultural sector of the Nigerian Economy 1945 to 1985." In Saleh Abubakar, (ed.) *Nigerian Economy and Society since the Berlin Conference Volume one*, Faculty of Arts and Social Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and Nigeria Institute for Social and Economic Research (NISER) Ibadan, 11 to 15 November, 1985. P.168.

The above table shows the state investment in agriculture and the various plans and policies pursued have led to agricultural stagnation on one hand, to massive capital accumulation in the sphere of agricultural development on the other; the money that would have given to the peasants who constituted the pillar of economic development was transferred to private business of government officials and their agents; the politicians and the civil servants who were majorly men.²⁷ The substantial part of the importation of seed and exotic chicken has gone a long way in destroying local varieties, while providing excuses for increased importation of agricultural

²⁷Bonat, Z. A. "Development, Paining And The Performance Of Agricultural Sector Of The Nigerian Economy 1945 To 1985..." P.169.

technology from the advanced capitalist countries.²⁸ The British were interested in more materials for their industries, investment capital in the economy, and market for the manufactured goods; the structure of economic development encouraged capital accumulation for repatriation outside Nigeria.²⁹ Food production recorded not only low or negative growth rate and patterns have also been erratic, the variability in production has led to fluctuation in food producer's incomes and uncontrollable fluctuations in per capital calories and protein availability.³⁰

The changing pattern in food production can be traced to urbanization and increasing per capital income reinforced by the ease; with which such food items have led to importation of more expensive grains such as wheat and rice. As population increased, as people migrated to cities, abandoning their farms, food import increased.³¹ The migration of labour forced to the cities deprived the food crop production sector its viable labour force.³² Hence, women shouldered the labour force for both food and cash crops production, the foreign crops recommended for production conflicted with production of peasant staple food stuff and this led to peasant retrogressive performance; women whose real income and standards of living were being daily eroded.³³ This occasioned great difference in the rates of food production and supply and that of growth in demand which led to reliance on importation.³⁴ With the level of inactive effect of the post independence Nigerian national development plan, most especially gender imbalance and the poor mainstreaming into development plans, Nigeria became recessive to the

²⁸ Bonat, Z. A. "Development, Paining and the Performance of Agricultural Sector of the Nigerian Economy 1945 to 1985..."P.171.

²⁹ Bonat, Z. A. "Development, Paining and the Performance of Agricultural Sector of the Nigerian Economy 1945 to 1985..."P.156.

³⁰ Bonat, Z.A. "Development, Paining and the Performance of Agricultural Sector of the Nigerian Economy 1945 to 1985..."P.154.

³¹ Bonat, Z.A. "Development, Paining and the Performance of Agricultural Sector of the Nigerian Economy 1945 to 1985..."P.8.

³² Bonat, Z.A. "Development, Paining and the Performance of Agricultural Sector of the Nigerian Economy 1945 to 1985..."P.9.

³³ Bonat, Z.A. "Development, Paining and the Performance of Agricultural Sector of the Nigerian Economy 1945 to 1985..."P.3.

³⁴ Bonat, Z.A. "Development, Paining and the Performance of Agricultural Sector of the Nigerian Economy 1945 to 1985..."P.17.

international programmes that emphasized on gender consideration in the economic development plan.

5.3 United Nations Decade for Women

The conference was held under the auspices of the United Nations with the United Nations commission on the status of women. The first conference held in Mexico City during international women's year in 1975, adopted a world plan of action for women with a list of minimum goals. As a result of that conference, the United Nations General Assembly, in December 1975 adopted a resolution establishing 1975 to 1985 as the decade for women to be devoted to effective and sustained national regional and international action and called upon government and non-governmental organizations to aid in carrying out the plan.³⁵

The major aims of the plans for the decade were equality, development and peace; especially, the proclamation establishing the year called for intensified action; to promote equality between men and women to ensure the full integration of women in the development effort, especially by emphasizing women's role in economic, social, and cultural development at the regional, national and international levels, particularly during the second United Nations development decade and to recognize the importance of women's increasing contributions to the development of friendly relations and cooperation's among states and to the strengthening of World peace.³⁶ United Nations Organization also began to act as non partisan arbiters and brokers of World peace and security, making it possible among other things for women's issue

³⁵Zisser, J.P. "The United Nations Decade for Women: A Quite Revolution." In *The History Teachers*, vol.24., No1, November 1990. P.21.

³⁶Kwanashie, M. et al. *Independent Policy Group (IPG)*. Abuja, 2003. P.7 See, Obi C.D. and Njoku, J. (eds). *Nigeria Women the Challenges of Our Time*. Malt House Press Limited Ibadan, 1991. P.11.

and concern to be accorded legitimacy.³⁷ To ensure that the objectives of the decade for women were realized, United Nations convened three different conferences in three different countries: Mexico City, Copenhagen and Nairobi.

5.3.1 Mexico City World Conference on Women

The early 1970s, effort to eliminate discrimination against women and to ensure their equal participations in society provided the impetus for most initiatives. The efforts were inspired by the awareness that women's reproductive and productive roles were closely linked to the political, economic, social, cultural, legal and religious conditions that constrained the advancement of women and those factors intensifying the economic exploitation, marginalization and oppression of women steamed from chronic inequalities, injustices and exploitation at family, community, national, regional and international levels.³⁸

The general assembly proclaimed 1975 International Women's Year, to promote equality between men and women in the total development effort and to increase women's contribution to the strengthening of World peace; the World conference of International Women's Year in Mexico, 1975 adopted the World Plan of Action.³⁹

³⁷Kwanashie, M. et. al. *Independent Policy Group (IPG)*. Abuja 2003. P.7 See, Dora Obi C. Juliet Njoku (eds.), *Nigeria Women the Challenges of Our Time*. Malt House Press Limited Ibadan, 1991. P.11.

³⁸ Zinsser, J.P. "The United Nations Decade for Women: A Quite Revolution." In *The History Teachers*, vol.24, No.1, November 1990. Pp.19-23.

³⁹ Zinsser, J.P. "The United Nations Decade for Women: A Quite Revolution." In *The History Teachers*, vol.24. No1, November 1990. P.21.

5.3.2 Copenhagen World Conference: Programme of Action For Second half of United Decade 1980

This further elaborated the obstacles and the international consensus on measures to be taken for the advancement of women.⁴⁰ The Copenhagen World Conference interpreted equality as measuring not only legal equality, the elimination of de jure and de facto discrimination, but also equality of rights, responsibilities and opportunities and the right to a critical first step towards human resources development. The 1980s catch phrase of development policy was equality that is, welfares anti-poverty or alleviation, efficiency and equity.⁴¹

The Copenhagen's conference explained that women are invisible and that their labour went unpaid, and women do not appear in calculations of Gross National Product (GNP). For this reason, world women created 'network' formal and informal associations to present their grievances, their broad aspirations and their specific goals.⁴²

5.3.3. Nairobi Forward Looking Action for Women 1985.

In 1985, the World trooped again to Nairobi, Kenya where a fresh set of declaration was to help government to get rid of the injustices and opened up spaces for women to participate in nation building, the 1985 meeting was the most important at all, it called for solidarity of women worldwide.⁴³ At the time of the Nairobi conference, the concept of empowerment was introduced to complement equity; it celebrated the accomplishment of the decade for women and established of an agenda that would guide future effort to promote worldwide equality for

⁴⁰ *Forward Looking Straight: For the Advancement of Women to the year 2000*. Huberth. Humhery Institute of Public Affairs, University of Monnesota, 1986.P.1

⁴¹ Kwanashie, M. et.al., *Independent Policy Group (IPG)*. Abuja 2003.P.8

⁴² Kwanashie, M. et.al., *Independent Policy Group (IPG)*, Abuja 2003..P.8

⁴³ Zinsser, J.P. "The United Nations Decade for Women: A Quite Revolution." In *The History Teachers*, vol.24. No1, November 1990.P.21.P.23

women.⁴⁴ The view of empowerment according to Nairobi Forward Looking Action was that women should somehow be brought into development and become empowered to participate within the economic and political structures of the society. They should be given the chance to occupy positions of power in terms of political and economic decision making; and that it would serve as an instrumentalist approach to achieving the economic growth of the developmental discourse.⁴⁵

However, the United Nations decade for women effects have not been felt in Nigeria; promoting economic empowerment for women has been greatly hampered in a growing society of Ode-Ondo where majority of women lacked sustainable sources of income and social protection. There have been great inequalities in gender empowerment; gender access to economic resources based on earned income and economic decision making.⁴⁶ During the 1970s and 1980s anti-poverty approach was adopted by the international agencies concentrated on programmes which were designed to increase women's employment and income generation such as skills training as well as the access to productive resource credit.⁴⁷ However, success of those projects was limited; and large parts of the projects have 'misbehaved'; since their economic objectives were subverted into welfare action during the implementation, most of the projects meant for women's empowerment remained limited to those activities which were traditionally undertaken by women.⁴⁸

⁴⁴Zinsser, J.P. "The United Nations Decade for Women: A Quite Revolution." In *The History Teachers*, vol.24. No1, November 1990.P.21.

⁴⁵News Letter, *Association of African Women for Research and Development*, Nairobi 1985.P.1

⁴⁶George, A. and Plember, G.G. "Economic Reforms and Women in Nigeria", in Okpeh, Ochayi O. and Dungs, Pam Sha (eds.), *Gender Power and Politics in Nigeria*. Aboki Publishers, Markurdi, Benue state Nigeria, 2007.P.161. See, Wada, A. and Ogoha, (ed). "Military Rule Economic Reforms in Nigeria 1985-1998", in *Nigerian Journal Of Policy And Strategy Volume 14, No 2*, December 2004. National Institute For Policy And Strategic Studies Kuru Plateau Joss Nigeria, 2004.Pp.105-106.

⁴⁷Rowlands, J.O, *Questioning Empowerment Working With Women in Honduras Oxford*: Ox farm Press.1997.Pp 11-12

⁴⁸Buvinic, Mayra. "Protect For Women In The Third World: Explaining The Misbehavior," in *World Development*...P.660

5.4 National Policies and Programmes on Gender And Economic Development in Nigeria 1986 to 1999

5.4.1 Structural Adjustment Programme

Since the mid 1980s, Nigeria like most countries in the developing World undertook the process of restructuring her economy in order to transfer it towards rapid growth and development; the adoption of economic reform measures became inevitable following the onset of economic crisis which had hit the state by the early 1980s as a result of dramatic fall in oil revenues making the end of the oil boom prevalent from the mid through the late 1970s.⁴⁹ The decline in the price of oil from 1980s, massive corruption and mismanagement of the economy, in appropriate terms of trade all combined to setback Nigerian economy to severe macro economic imbalances in the early 1980.⁵⁰

The interpretation of SAP was conceived as involving re-structuring the economy back to the days of colonial agricultural export.⁵¹ The oil boom of the 1970s led to fundamental structural changes including a shift in the pattern of investment to the construction and services sectors, and increase in the importation of goods and luxuries and the neglect of the agricultural sector resulting in shortage of food supplies, high cost of food prices and a loss of the foreign exchange earnings which would otherwise have accrued from the agricultural sector. The oil boom also

⁴⁹ Buvinic ,Mayra. "Protect For Women In The Third World: Explaining The Misbehavior ," in World Develoment... P55.

⁵⁰ George, A. and Plember, G.G. "Economic Reforms and Women in Nigeria, in Okpeh Ochayi o. and Dungs Pam Sha (eds.), *Gender Power and Politics in Nigeria*. Aboki publishers, Markurdi, Benue state Nigeria, 2007.P.161. See, Wada, A And Ogoha (ed). "Military Rule Economic Reforms in Nigeria 1985-1998", in *Nigerian Journal of Policy And Strategy* volume 14, No 2, December 2004. National Institute For Policy And Strategic Studies Kuru Plateau Joss Nigeria, 2004. Pp. 105-106.

⁵¹ Ekwne, C. "Economic Survival Strategy under Structural Adjustment Programme: A Study of Female Workers in Tertiary Institutions in Zaria Metropolis" Unpublished Master Thesis of Department of Geography, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. 2001. P. 14. See, Musa, Y. "Structural Adjustment Programme and Nigerian Economy And Society." Unpublished Masters Thesis of Department of Political Science, Ahamadu Bello University, Zaria, 1998. P. 64.

generated large population drift from rural to urban centres, thus, creating a large class of people who consumed but did not produce any material.⁵²

In an earlier broadcast on Tuesday 27 August, 1985, major General Sani Abacha stated:

“It is more disheartening that most of the economic and social ills that plagued this country during the civil administration are still prevalent in our society. The state of the nation’s economy is getting more and more deplorable. The sale of our crude oil is deteriorating too far below our OPEC quota. The nation is far losing its regular customers as a result of the glaring fraud associated with counter trade. The life of the ordinary citizens becoming increasingly unbearable. The ever increasing soaring cost of essential commodities in our markets is beyond the reach of the ordinary citizens of this country. The deplorable state of our hospitals and increasing degeneration of our health care delivery system, the employment of citizens, especially the graduates have reached an alarming level.”⁵³

This scenario established the retrogressive performance of the administrations before 1986 when SAP was fully adopted.

In October 1985, national economic emergency was declared and followed in June 1986 adoption of structural Adjustment programme.⁵⁴ By then, military president, General Ibrahim Babangida, was in essence the brain child of the International Monetary Fund.⁵⁵ The Conditionality’s of the fund as contained in SAP was based on the fund’s monetarist philosophical approach to a crisis-ridden third World countries economy; the programme contained all the conditionality’s which the fund usually imposed on third World countries

⁵²Usman, Yusuf Bala. “The Structural of the Nigerian Economy and the Rural Measuring of Structural Adjustment”, in Abubakar, S. (ed). *Nigerian Economy my and Society Since the Berlin Conference 1883-1885* vol one. Faculty of Arts And Social Science Ahmadu Bello University Zaria and Nigerian Instituted For Social and Economic Research (NISER) Ibadan, November 11-15, 1985. P.700.

⁵³Usman, Y. B. “The Structural of the Nigerian Economy and the Rural Measuring of Structural Adjustment...” P.700

⁵⁴*Newswatch*, vol.2 No.11 9, September 1985. P.19.

⁵⁵Ekwe, C. “Economic Survival Strategy under Structural Adjustment Programme: A Study of Female Workers in Tertiary Institutions in Zaria Metropolis” Unpublished Master Thesis of Department of Geography, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. 2001. P.14.

looking for its loans.⁵⁶ Structural Adjustment Programme, as part of that instrument of capital dominance and control of third World economies can best conceptualized within the context of capitalist monetarist reformism; premised on the idea of market forces, SAP was meant as a continuation of third World dependency problem, it was meant to perpetuate the already exploitative centre-periphery relations between the advanced countries of capitalist Europe and the united state of America, on the one hand and the third World under developed and backward economies on the other.⁵⁷

A critical examination of the nature and policy of SAP in the Nigerian economy would justify that it was not meant to restructure and revamp the economy. This is evident because several years after the implementation of SAP; indicators pointed to a rather worsening SAP, it was guided by the desire to promote efficiency and long term growth within the context of stabilization policies designed to restore price stability and country's worsening balance of payment deficits.⁵⁸ The major policy element of SAP include: The diversification and restructuring of the economy to avoid over dependence on imports and balance of payments viability; the to lay the basis for sustainable and non inflationary growth within the economy; and the lessening of dominance of unproductive investment in the public sector of the economy and improving the growth potentials of the private sector.⁵⁹

Indeed, it must be noted that there were a lot of contradictions as regards the objectives and the implementation of SAP. The government found it extremely difficult to achieve some of

⁵⁶Ekwe U. et al. "Economic Survival Strategy under Structural Adjustment Programme: A Study of Female Workers in Tertiary Institutions in Zaria Metropolis" Unpublished Master Thesis of Department of Geography, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. 2001, P.14.

⁵⁷Musa, Y. "Structural Adjustment Programme and the Nigerian Economy and Society..." P.65

⁵⁸Yusuf, Musa. "Structural Adjustment Programme and the Nigerian Economy and Society..." Pp. 65-66

⁵⁹Kuegh, T. "The Military And Transition To Civil Rule In Nigeria: A Case Study Of The Babangida Administration" Unpublished B.sc project of Department of Political Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. 1997. Pp 26, 33, and 36.

the objective of the programme as the most of these policies were either not implemented or poorly administered on the economy; for example, despite the fact that the government was bent on providing the basis on the monetarist orientation of SAP, a great deal was put on forces of the market (the forces of demand and supply as the basis of production, consumption and pricing system) and in particular the devaluation of naira.⁶⁰ Through devaluation policies, the government assumed that domestic agricultural and industrial production would be sustained; it was supposed to make domestic products cheaper so as to attract buyers from outside the economy.⁶¹ This would stimulate exports and flow of foreign reserves in to the economy, consequently, domestic production level would improve, thereby curtailing the local demand for imported goods. Contrary to this, devaluation could hardly lead to positive results in an economy that relied on imported raw- materials for its industrials growth.⁶²SAP's economy policy and reforms have had significant impact on the generality of gender, from the devaluation of a naira to commercialization and deregulation, a major resulting consequence of which has been the loss of purchasing power due to retrenchment of workers.⁶³

More importantly, trade liberalization was also encouraged by the government economic policy which meant the revision of tariff structures and regimes for imported product; this enhanced the free flow of goods across national boundaries, and the implication of this was the collapse of many local manufacturing outfits in Ode-Ondo, most especially the pre independence prestigious crafts industries, with a profound implication on employment, thus the household income and gender livelihood became retrogressive.⁶⁴ Consequently, it brought about a great

⁶⁰ Musa, Y. "Structural Adjustment Programme and the Nigerian Economy and Society..." P. 67

⁶¹ Musa, Y. "Structural Adjustment Programme and the Nigerian Economy and Society..." P. 68

⁶² Musa, Y. "Structural Adjustment Programme and the Nigerian Economy and Society..."

⁶³ Musa, Y. "Structural Adjustment Programme and the Nigerian Economy and Society..." P.69.

⁶⁴ Christian, U. "Austerity Measured and Economic Structures in Nigeria In Nigeria: Some Historical And Sociological Causes Of The Current Crisis," in *Nigerian Economy And Society Since The Berlin Conference 1884 to 1985*, vol. One, Faculty of Arts

retrenchment of Ode-Ondo men who worked in the formal economy, the women who worked on the informal sector applied more energy, time and inputs in order to support their husbands; who were retrenched; it pushed women to work harder to support their families and putting their own needs last.⁶⁵ It affected the gender relations in the sense that it promoted income inequality on genders.⁶⁶ Ode-Ondo women worked often long hours for family upkeep, the role of Ode-Ondo women's work became doubled as home makers, farmers, traders, combining various economic activities so as to augment family earnings; this eroded pre SAP women's specialization on economy activities, and ode – ondo women become jack of all trade a master of none.⁶⁷ SAP neglected gender issues when making economic adjustment, it was gender biased and gender blind in the sense that the knowledge of how women's and men's lives were structured by economic conditions in which they lived were rather scanty, this contrary to effective economic transformation in the society which required the recognition and understanding of intricate phenomena of gender issues for economic self determination.⁶⁸

Thus, there has been little evidence that structure for women had been an effective vehicle for the articulation and defense of women's and men's interests and concerns; there was a gender imbalance in access to economic decision making; to a great extent, the effect of SAP was more on women than on men because women were not involved in economic adjustment policy.⁶⁹ More so, Ode-ondo women had a long history of contribution towards economic development before the emergence of SAP, the programme negated most of their rights,

And Social Science Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and Institute For Social And Economic Research (NISER), Ibadan, November 11-15, 1985.P.661.

⁶⁵ Ogunusi, Mrs sebola Roseline, Age 58, Weaver. Interviewed 28 April, 2015 at Odotu Street, Ode-Ondo.

⁶⁶ Ogunusi, Mrs Osebola Roseline, Age 58, Weaver. Interviewed 28 April, 2015 at Odotu Street, Ode-Ondo.

⁶⁷ kuhe, Theresa. "International Trends in GAD Politics: Issued and Problems for Nigeria". Unpublished Msc. Of Department of Political Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. 2012. Pp. 15, 24 and 37.

⁶⁸ Osebola, Roseline. Ogunusi, Mrs Osebola Roseline, Age 58, Weaver. Interviewed 28 April, 2015 at Odotu Street, Ode-Ondo.

⁶⁹ Ogunusi, Mrs Osebola Roseline, Age 58, Weaver. Interviewed 28 April, 2015 at Odotu Street, Ode-Ondo.

privileges and contributions hitherto enjoyed and impacted by the gender.⁷⁰ The market reform had been an increase in the proportion of female headed households; women were particularly disadvantaged and vulnerable group whose situation actually was perpetuating the cycle of deprivation and poverty; the feminization of poverty to such an extent that the gender based nature of global economic strategies and their consequences could no longer be denied.⁷¹ There was a great short-change of the benefits of economic restructuring which threatens gender factor not only on women farmers but also on peasant farming households and on the Ode-Ondo's economy; the attendant high cost of labour, high price of fertilizer among other made it difficult for women to continue to respond favorability to SAP impetus, thus the growth rate of food production declined.⁷²

SAP's policy did not have its full potency; the agrarian economy persisted to preclude meaningful economic transformation in a sustained manner.⁷³ The elimination of subsidies on fertilizer and petroleum, which was a major plan in the SAP'S policy entrenched the domination of the agricultural sector by multinational agric-business, banks and their local middle men.⁷⁴ The exploitation of the peasant producers who were majorly women through sales of fertilizers, credit for fertilizer and other inputs that could have been purchased at cheaper prices, given the debt dependency created by the high prices of fertilizer.⁷⁵ The elimination of those subsidies gave banks greater power to fund large scale land seizure by individual notable, tycoons and

⁷⁰ Ogunusi, Mrs Osebola Roseline, Age 58, Weaver. Interviewed 28 April, 2015 at Odotu Street, Ode-Ondo.

⁷¹ Iluyemi, Chief (Mrs) Funke, Age 70, Retired Civil Servant. Interviewed 29 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street, Ode-Ondo.

⁷² George, A. and Plember, G.G., "Economic Reforms and Women in Nigeria," in Okpoh Ochayi O. and Dungs Pam Sha (eds.), *Gender Power and Politics in Nigeria*. Aboki Publishers, Markurdi, Benue State, Nigeria, 2007. P.

⁷³ Bola, O. Akanji, "The Gender Implication of Structural Adjustment for Nigerian Women Farmers and Their Households" in Kassey, P. Garba et al. *Women Economic Reforms In Nigeria, WORDOC*, Institution of African Studies, University of Ibadan, 1997. P.1.

⁷⁴ Akanji, B. "The Gender Implication of Structural Adjustment for Nigerian Women Farmers and Their Households" in Kassey, P. Garba et al. *Women Economic Reforms In Nigeria, WORDOC*, Institution of African Studies, University of Ibadan, 1997. P.62.

⁷⁵ Usman, Y.B., "The Structural of the Nigerian Economy and the Rural Measuring of Structural Adjustment..." P.730.

subsidiaries of multinationals; of those who would not involve any genuine capital investment in agricultural production, but only its mercantile aspects.⁷⁶ The conventional economic analysis held the view that the agricultural sector provides employment for about seventy percent of Nigerian's labour force; the mode of production took various forms ranging from large scale capitalist plantation through large scales government plantations numerous peasants holding cultivated with simple implement and yielding only subsistence output; thus its contribution to GDP declined from sixty-four percent in 1960 to thirty-four percent by 1973 and 1974.⁷⁷ The resumption of importation of raw material in the area of cautious dependence has resulted in the reactivation of industries which have received some raw materials but not for their counterpart that have not, Nigerian in general and that of Ode-ondo in particular became robot which was activated and deactivated by the buttons pressed in advanced countries.⁷⁸ With the discovery of crude oil and the subsequence boom in its production and in particular falling productivity in agriculture, and the resulting declined of output in that sector, economic stability was altered which seriously affected gender development.⁷⁹

The policy of SAP has failed to put into consideration of economic structure which was made up of essential relationships between the basic element that constituted it, particularly the relationship that determined its direction of movements rather its dynamics; it failed to put into consideration the centrality of human needs and human labour in economic re-adjustment; the essential relationship between human beings for the reproduction of human labour, the women's reproduction of human labour, birth of children, their feeding nurturing and training into adults; Reproducing And Maintaining Human Resources (RMHR) with a role in the economy; SAP, on

⁷⁶Usman, Y.B. "The Structural of the Nigerian Economy and the Rural Measuring of Structural Adjustment..."P.731

⁷⁷Usman, Y. B. "The Structural of the Nigerian Economy and the Rural Measuring of Structural Adjustment..."P.731

⁷⁸Usman Y.B. "The Structural of the Nigerian Economy and the Rural Measuring of Structural Adjustment" Pp731-2.

⁷⁹Olaluku F.A.(ed.). *Structure Of The Nigerian Economic*. Macmillan Press, Lagos. 1979.P.25.

this basis pursued wrong structure.⁸⁰ In spite of this labour force, and as a result of oil boom, the labour force migrated to cities and the work of food crop production was left for women and consequently, the population and demand on food crop increased then the women were unable to meet up with the demand.⁸¹

SAP has been biased in its economic policy by pursuing economic growth through broad liberalization, its practices and perceptions of gender roles had an impact on the equitable enjoyment of employment privileges and incentives in both urban and rural settings; it was assumed by SAP that males were naturally breadwinners bearing the sole responsibilities for meeting the materials and financial needs of the families and neglected to acknowledge the existence of female headed household.⁸² Accordingly, tax benefits related to child care were restively granted to males workers where as female workers (single, married and divorced women) with children and some of them were breadwinners, they were derided access to economic benefits and also requested to pay high tax.⁸³ In addition, Nigerian economies at the time were hit by external shocks such as reduced demand for primary products as a result of economic slow-down in the developed countries; falling commodity prices and declining terms of trade; high and further rising interest rates; discontinuation of private bank loans among others.⁸⁴ As a result, the economies suffered from inflation, stagnating or deteriorating output, trade deficits, government budget deficits among others, Nigerian economies were severely

⁸⁰Usman, Y. B, "The Structural of the Nigerian Economy and the Rural Measuring of Structural Adjustment..." P.714

⁸¹Usman, Y..B, "The Structural of the Nigerian Economy and the Rural Measuring of Structural Adjustment..." P.711

⁸²Kueg, T. "The Military And Transition To Civil Rule In Nigeria: A Case Study Of The Babangida Administration" Unpublished B.sc Project of Department of Political Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. 1997. Pp 26, 33, and 36. Pp. 15, 24 and 37.

⁸³Akanji, B. "The Gender Implication of Structural Adjustment for Nigerian Women Farmers and Their Households" in Kassey P. Garba et al, *Women Economic Reforms...* Pp15-116.

⁸⁴Akanji, B. "The Gender Implication of Structural Adjustment for Nigerian Women Farmers and Their Households" in Kassey P. Garba et al, *Women Economic Reforms In Nigeria, WORDOC*, Institution of African Studies, University of Ibadan, 1997. P.62. See, Ogunlade, A. et al. *Beyond Structural Adjustment: Development Policy Options for Nigeria in the Twenty First Century*, Development Policy Centre, Ibadan 1996. Pp.3 and 17

indebted, and were not able to repay the foreign loans, Nigeria was forced to move away from autonomous, nationalistic and inward oriented models towards lasser-faire capitalism.⁸⁵ Those measures had profound and wide ranging impacts on the lives of women and girls, more women than men became unemployed, quality of working conditions deteriorated both in formal and informal enterprises which tried to run more efficiently in line with the SAP's philosophy, and therefore, cut back job protection, security and benefits; as formal sector's employment opportunities diminished, more women entered the informal sector.⁸⁶ Those women who were involved in agricultural production, the introduction of export-oriented production often did not benefit women, there was a shift from non-tradable to tradable crops (cash crops); in general, women tend to be employed in the production of non tradable crops ('women's crops'), and men in the production of tradable crops ('cash crops').⁸⁷ As some women's crops became cash crops due to export oriented production, the status of these crops changed from women's to men's crops; the export-oriented production meant an increase in women's agricultural work for the production of cash crops, and less time for the family.⁸⁸ The women's unpaid work burden escalated due to factors such as cutbacks in social services, higher price level for basic necessities; women became more dependent on girls' help or labour which in turn reduced girl's time for formal educational training.⁸⁹ In summary, the SAP policy worsened the economic status and condition of Ode-Ondo women, there were malnutrition, diminishing health

⁸⁵United Nations: *Women In a Changing Global Economic: 1994 World Survey On the Role Of Women In Development*, New York 1995. P.10

⁸⁶ Sparr, Pamela. "What Is Structural Adjustment?" in Pamela sparr (eds.), *Mortgaging Women's Lives Feminist Critiques of Structural Adjustment*, London and New Jersey: Zed books, 1994. Pp.1- 2

⁸⁷United Nations, 1995. P. 15.

⁸⁸United Nations 1995, P. 15.

⁸⁹Moser, Caroline O.N. *Gender Paining and Development Theory Practice and Training*. London and New York: Rout ledge, 1993. P. 72

conditions, increasing violence within the household against women.⁹⁰ Thus, the focus of development discourse shifted from economic outcomes to processes and institutions.⁹¹

5.4.2 Access to Credit Facilities

The crunch caused by the price-cost squeeze in small scale agriculture often resulted in lower savings and a shrinking productive base of most small-scale producers and the effects were seen to be more severe for women than male farmers, trader and weavers; this has hampered the drive towards intensification and subsequent commercialization, Economic growth was premeditated on ever-improving technology as means of increasing the scope of profit, either through reduction of unit cost or expansion of volumes of sales.⁹²

The ability to do this premeditated on accessibility to technology in forms of production inputs, skills and innovations as well as capital. The situation with majority of women who engaged in farming and trading and their credit use was limited by access.⁹³ The programs that promoted concessional credit for women have had limited impacts on women therefore, through credit cost for women was generally lower for women, the volume of credit available tends to be rather low; the situation has related in the inability of women to increase output.⁹⁴ Women and men in Ode-Ondo looked up to different sources for credit facilities to boost their economy;

⁹⁰ Sparr, Pamela. "What Is Structural Adjustment" in Pamela sparr (eds), *Mortgaging Women's Lives Feminist Critiques of Structural Adjustment*, London and New Jersey: Zed books, 1999. Pp.1- 2 and 26-27.

⁹¹ Sparr, Pamela. "What Is Structural Adjustment ?" in Pamela sparr (ed.), *Mortgaging Women's Lives Feminist Critiques of Structural Adjustment...* P.26

⁹² Sparr, Pamela. "What Is Structural Adjustment" in Pamela sparr (eds), *Mortgaging Women's Lives Feminist Critiques of Structural Adjustment*, London and New Jersey: Zed books, 1999. Pp.1- 2 P.42. See, Akomor, Ignatius Anthony, "The Impact of the Structural Adjustment Policy on the Agricultural Sector of the Nigerian Economy From 1986-1993." Unpublished B.sc Research Project of Department Of International Relations, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria 1997. Pp.14; and 19; Marcimak, A.A. and Owosekun, A.A. *Forecasting Planning System for the Nigerian Economic: Preliminary Details*, Centre Of Social And Economic Research Ahmadu Bello university, Zaria. 1977. P.198; and Kuegh Maureen Terna, "The Military and Transition to Civil Rule In Nigeria: Abase Study Of The Babangida Administration" Unpublished B.sc project of Department Political Science, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria 1997. Pp.26, 33 and 36.

⁹³ Akanji, B. "The Gender Implication of Structural Adjustment for Nigerian Women Farmers and Their Households" in Kassey P. Garba et.al, *Women Economic Reforms In Nigeria, WORDOC*, Institution of African Studies, University of Ibadan, 1997. P.119.

⁹⁴ Owosekun, A.A. *Forecasting Planning System for the Nigerian Economic: Preliminary Details*, Centre Of Social And Economic Research Ahmadu Bello University, 1977. P.19

banks, friend, money lenders, credit institutions, spouses, friends, relations and personal savings.⁹⁵ The table below further explains the above argument:

Table 5.2: Sources of credits for male and female farmers and produce traders (%)

Formal/Informal Sources	Farmers		Trader	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Money lender	15.8	12.5 *	1.2	23.6 *
Licensed buying agents	23.7 *	12.5 *	–	1.6
Banks/govt. credit institution	10.5	3.1	17.9 *	–
Cooperative union	42.0 **	46.9 *	3.6	17.6
Spouse / friends / relations	–	–	57.3* *	46.0
Personal savings	–	–	12.8	–
Others.		–		

** Most important source *Next important sources

Source: Akanji, O.B., “The Gender Implications of Structural Adjustment for Nigerian Women Farmers and The Households.” in Kasse P. Garba et al. (eds). *Women and Economic Reforms in Nigeria*. Women’s Research and Documentation Centre, University of Ibadan, 1997. P. 119.
Adebusiyi, B.S. “Performance Evaluation of Small and Medium Enterprises (SME) in Nigeria” in *Central Bank Bullion*, 21(4), October/December 1997. Pp. 46-52; and Albee, A. “Beyond Banking for the Poor Credit Mechanisms and Women’s Empowerment” in *Gender and Development*, vol. 4, No. 3, 1996. Pp. 43-53.

The above table shows the level of access to credit by both men and women, and men are noted to use higher level of credit, albeit at a slightly higher cost.⁹⁶ This has resulted in inability of women to increase the outputs through the use of better technology. Attempt has been made since the 1970 by various governments to improve the welfare of the populace but these have

⁹⁵ Ajayi, I. “The Economy Ondo Kingdom in Time Perspective: 500 Years of History” In Ibi Ajayi (ed.) *The Evolution Of Ondo Kingdom Over 500 Years 1510 To 2010*. Spectrum books, Ibadan 2013. P. 113.

⁹⁶ Akanji, O., “The Gender Implications of Structural Adjustment for Nigerian Women Farmers and Households...” P. 119

shown little success as a large percentage of people lived below poverty line with retrogressive economy, in spite of micro credit that was created so as to spur socio-economic development through gender income generating activities.⁹⁷ This has brought about the activities of micro financial institutions so as to reduce poverty line; the objectives of Central Bank of Nigeria stated that:

*“to make financial services accessible to a large segment of the potentially productive Nigerian population who otherwise would have little or no access to financial services; promote mainstreaming of the informal sub-sector into the national financial system; enhance service delivery by micro financial institutions to micro small and medium entrepreneurs; contribute to rural transformation and promote linkage programmes between universal or development banks”*⁹⁸

The credit availability remained a great constraint to gender economic development in Ode-Ondo in spite of government effort in opening various avenues for access to credit.⁹⁹ The available credit institutions in Ode-Ondo were called by different names: ‘lapo’, ‘tidiboata’, ‘owo elele’, ‘alajeseku’, ‘so gun doji’ among others.¹⁰⁰ There were more male users of credit than women in Ode-Ondo, the conditionality’s required for getting loans seemed difficult for women to meet, the collateral of landed property, provision of three guarantors and severe punishment for anyone who failed to pay the weekly interest.¹⁰¹ This made it very difficult for gender to embark on viable economic activities. In cases where banks might have wanted to lend fund to women, other factors prevented such transactions; for instance, giving the low level of education of most female entrepreneurs, accessibility to credit was a thorny issue because both male and

⁹⁷ Adedoyin, Mrs shade, Age .Interviewed 29 July, 2014 at Barracks Road, Ode-Ondo.

⁹⁸ Abraham, H. and Balogun, T.O. “Contribution of Micro finance To GDP in Nigeria: Is There Any.” In *International Journal of Business and Science* vol. 3, No. 17; September 2012. P. 167.

⁹⁹ Abraham H. and Balogun, T.O. “Contribution of Micro finance To GDP in Nigeria: Is There Any.” In *International Journal of Business and Science* vol. 3, No. 17; September 2012. P. 167. 171

¹⁰⁰ Ajayi, I. “The Economy Ondo Kingdom in Time Perspective: 500 Years of History” In Ibi Ajayi (ed.) *the Evolution Of Ondo Kingdom Over 500 Years 1510 To 2010*. Spectrum Books, Ibadan 2013. P. 113.

¹⁰¹ Onilari, Mrs Alice. Age 70+, trader. Interviewed 23 February, 2015 at Owoduni Street, Ode-Ondo.

female entrepreneurs did not keep good records. In addition, some keep money at home and have difficulty separating their personal from business funds. Thus, the fact formal creditors required proper documentation and account of before granting credit means that most female entrepreneurs are excluded from the use of such facilities.¹⁰²

5.4.3 Control of Resources

In Nigeria, land remains not only the primary means of livelihood, but it is often the main vehicle for investment, accumulating and transfer of wealth between generations.¹⁰³

Thus, the ways in which access to land was regulated, property rights was defined and ownership status generated broad implications for food production and gender development.¹⁰⁴ Access to land could be through right of ownership informal concession granted by individuals to kin or friends; in Ode-Ondo, women had land use priorities from husbands but had no independent rights which allowed them to control or produce from the land.¹⁰⁵ Women inaccessibility to credit facilities was facilitated by land and this made it difficult for women to utilize available resources which could have aided their production and economic development.¹⁰⁶

The customary land tenure in Ode-Ondo was male dominated under the patrilineal system and so, women rarely took part in decision making relating to land, instead, women's rights to land

¹⁰² Okediran, A. Y. and Olarinde, E. S. "Central/Registry Constraints Affecting Women's Access to Credit in Nigeria" In Dele, Layiwole et al. *Women and Access to Credit Facility*. Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan. 1991. Pp. 24-25.

¹⁰³ Akanji, B. "The Gender Implication of Structural Adjustment for Nigerian Women Farmers and Their Households" in Kassey P. Garba et al. *Women Economic Reforms In Nigeria, WORDOC*, Institution of African Studies, University of Ibadan, 1997. P. 123.

¹⁰⁴ Akanji, B. "The Gender Implication of Structural Adjustment for Nigerian Women Farmers and Their Households" in Kassey P. et al. *Women Economic Reforms In Nigeria, WORDOC, Institution of African Studies*, University of Ibadan, 1997. P. 119.

¹⁰⁵ Adedoyin, Mrs shade, Age .Interviewed 29 July, 2014 at Barracks Road, Ode-Ondo

¹⁰⁶ Adekola, A. et al. "Gender Discrimination In Agricultural Land Access: Implications For Foods Security In Ondo State, Nigeria," in *Journal of Development And Agricultural Economics*, volume 5, No. 2 February 2013. P. 50.

were subjected to their father before marriage or after divorce and to their husbands after marriage; women therefore, had mainly usufructuary rights over land through the rights of their husbands; children and male relative.¹⁰⁷

Despite the new responses of SAP to the land use by women and men, women's structure of commercial crops production reflected greater complementarity of commercialization and subsistence; this short changed the immediate gains of commercial land use especially as women were constrained to incurred higher labour costs on owned farms while holding obligatory duty for labour input on male managed farms.¹⁰⁸ In spite of 1978 land use decree in Nigeria which vested all land in the state, the formality and legal implications of the land use decree made the acquisition of land very expensive and difficult for women farmers, and since they were classified as helpers and new comers to the agricultural production, it made it very difficult for women to acquire land.¹⁰⁹ This negated free access to land; as the public resources became scarce, women managed farms were either pockets-sized gardens (*akuro*) and the homestead or relatively larger ones, farther from the homestead and generally of poorer quality than men's farms.¹¹⁰

Women in Ode-Ondo that engaged in food crop production faced double problems; capital and scarcity of land for cultivation, and a situation where such land was available 'the land owners' requested of women to pay double money and also rented such lands through their husbands.¹¹¹ However, this singular problem had forced many women Ode-Ondo who were once active producers of food producers out of business, while those that withstood the challenges had

¹⁰⁷ Adedoyin, Mrs shade, Age .Interviewed 29 July, 2014 at G.R.A. Barracks Road, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁰⁸ Adedoyin, Mrs shade, Age. Teacher. Interviewed 29 July, 2014 at G.R.A. Barracks Road, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁰⁹ Fifo, Mrs. Olayinka. Age 52, Weaver and a Farmer. Interviewed 11 February, 2015 at Okedibo Street, Ode-Ondo.

¹¹⁰ Bola Akanji, "The Gender Implications..." P.117

¹¹¹ Akinrinade, J. "Women in Agriculture" in Jadesola et.al(eds.), *The Contribution Of Women To National Development In Nigeria*. The Nigerian association of University Women, 1990. P.85.

nothing of sustainable nature to show as reward.¹¹² Also, women that specialized on land cultivation were not accessed to farm implements, in a situation where by such farm inputs were subsidized, it never reached majority of Ode-Ondo peasant women who were seen by the ‘the real women’ as individuals running after insignificant, economically, women were subordinated to men, women’s access to material resources was restricted, leading women to depend on men for land and other factors of production.¹¹³ The subsistence agriculture and the informal sector where women concentrated was not given necessary attention by giving to it small scale labour saving technology, training and credits which could have helped its transition to more productive enterprises; the cross border traders were not given the business skills to enhance enterprise performance, as women were not a homogenous group and that resources were not consistently available to women across economic line was minimal as it is shown in the table below¹¹⁴

Table5.3: Distribution of Household Land by Type of Land Tenure

S/N	Type of Land tenure	Sector		
		Urban	Rural	Total
1	Normal rent	49.6	31.6	41.9
2	Free	17.0	21.2	18.8
3	Subsidized rate	2.8	1.1	2.1
4	Owner occupier	30.7	46.6	37.2
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Ondo State, *Ondo State Report of Integrated Household Survey* in Ondo State Bureau of Statistics, Akure. June, 2012. P.82.

5.5 Better Life Programme for Women / Rural Dwellers (1986)

Poverty reduction has been a matter of concern to government, the stakeholders have at their disposal a variety of measures to reduce rural poverty, both in level and absolute number; such measures include: Increased agricultural productivity; health care delivery; enlightenment and

¹¹² Samuel, Mr. Ojo. Age 74, Retired Farmer. Interviewed 12 March, 2015 at Odetu Street, Ode-Ondo.

¹¹³ Ogunsuyi, Mrs. Felicia. Age 55, Farmer. Interviewed 16 April, 2015 at Iyana-Epe, Ode-Ondo.

¹¹⁴ Ogunsuyi, Mrs. Felicia. Age 55, Farmer. Interviewed 16 April, 2015 at Iyana-Epe, Ode-Ondo.

mobilization of men and women, formation of cooperative societies and among others.¹¹⁵The mass participation of rural women in production and national economic development has been a Nigeria's reality. Most of the food locally consumed was produced by women with passive support of men, and 60-70 percent of Nigeria's labour force in the informal sector involved women who performed activities such as sewing, petty trading, marketing, farming and among others was organized by women.¹¹⁶Despite this, the concept of mobilizing rural women for great and improved participation in the development process has been a noble one. Better Life Programme was therefore, the first of kind in the history of Nigeria. The genesis of the programme could be traced to the series of meetings held by the then first lady of the federal republic of Nigeria, Mrs Maryam Babangida with a cross section of concerned women, undertook tours to various rural communities in Nigeria.¹¹⁷ These women at the various rural communities seized the opportunity to speak about the numerous problems facing them, which ranged from lack of portable water and poor outlets for agricultural products to inadequate health facilities. As part of the better life programme strategy, certain subject areas were identified as needing urgent attention: Agriculture, food processing and preservation, the resuscitation of traditional arts and crafts and its roles as foreign exchange earners, cooperative societies, and the problem of widowhood among others.¹¹⁸

The philosophy of BLP was derived from that of its founder, Mrs. Maryam Babangida who was inspired by the United Nations Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies and the measures

¹¹⁵ Moser, C. *Gender Planning And Development: Theory, Practice And Training*, London and New York: routledge, 1993. P.68.

¹¹⁶ Otu, P. "Straggles For Poverty Alleviation: A Study And Better Life And Family Support Programme In Ikom Local Government Area," Unpublished Masters Dissertation of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2004. Pp.1 and 23.

¹¹⁷ Iwuchukwu, J.C. and IgboKwe, E.M.. "Lesson from Agricultural Policy Programme in Nigeria" *In Journal Of Law, Policy And Globalization*, vol. 5, 2012. P.14

¹¹⁸ Otu, P. "Straggles For Poverty Alleviation: A Study And Better Life And Family Support Programme In Ikom Local Government Area..." Pp.1 and 23.

adopted by the General Ibrahim Babangida's administration to promote rural development¹¹⁹

The administration identified a number of social problems that had to be tackled; for example, the inaccessible rural areas had to be reached and made actively habitable to curb the ever increasing rural-urban migration.¹²⁰ Also, to elevate womanhood and the promotion of rural development, the BLP's vision stated that a World in which ignorance, not merely defined as illiteracy but rather as lack of contact with modern technological and economic strategies for human progress, is eradicated.¹²¹ Specifically, the Better Life Programme aims and objectives were as follow: To raise a social consciousness of women about their right as well as their social political and economic responsibilities; bringing women together through a collective action, mobilizing women for concrete activities towards achieving specific objectives; including seeking leadership role in all spheres of life; stimulate and motivate women in rural areas towards achieving a better and higher standard of living as well as to sanitize the general populace to the plight of rural women among others.¹²²

However, the design and implementation of the BLP raised some fundamental questions: Who were the rural women; who made decisions on the designed and implementations of the programmes and who provided the leadership of the BLP?¹²³ The Local community involvement and leadership was advocated, the mandate for its functioning came from the central authority,

¹¹⁹Otu, P. "Straggles For Poverty Alleviation: A Study And Better Life And Family Support Programme In Ikom Local Government Area..."P53.

¹²⁰Otu, P. "Straggles For Poverty Alleviation: A Study And Better Life And Family Support Programme In Ikom Local Government Area..." Pp.1 and 23..

¹²¹ Otu P. "Straggles For Poverty Alleviation: A Study And Better Life And Family Support Programme In Ikom Local Government Area..."Pp.1 and 23..P.53

¹²²Otu, P. "Straggles For Poverty Alleviation: A Study And Better Life And Family Support Programme In Ikom Local Government Area..."P53.

¹²³Otu, P. "Straggles For Poverty Alleviation: A Study and Better Life And Family Support Programme In Ikom Local Government Area..."Pp.54-55.

the organization was top-down in its approach.¹²⁴ Although, BLP involved local women's group to some extent, the authority of such groups and the decision to fund specific projects rested with the state government or the wives of the state governors, also, there was a failure in creating the much needed enabling environment.¹²⁵ The implementation of BLP was a big task and it was good as the intentions were but the implementation was weak; it did not show an awareness of the fact that in the implementation of any programme, certain factors have to be taken in to consideration, the technical capacity to implement, which includes a sufficiently developed line of communication, a good administrative structure and personnel with the requisite administrative and technical skills and good political image for commanding attention and support.¹²⁶ The aspect of this programme implementation machinery placed first ladies in charge of such important issue for which they possessed neither qualifications nor the right demeanor.¹²⁷ Beside, when the Better Life Programme was incepted and targeted but isolated approach to poverty problem at the rural areas; it failed to wholly tackle the problems of gender.¹²⁸ The lack of deep rooted conceptualization and packaging of the programme to address the real problems of poverty merely reduced its activities to slogans and Jamborees as "exclusive women" in corridors of power using electric and print media to implement the programme.¹²⁹ Ode-Ondo women did not know the real benefits of the Better Life Programme, what was known

¹²⁴ Agnes, Soyo O. "Gender Blind Economy Adjustment Policies: The Consciences of Women In Nigerian" in Kasse P. Garba et al, *Women And Economic Reforms In Nigeria*, WORDOC, Institute Of African Studies University of Ibadan, 1997.P.40 .

Awe,B."Evolution of Selected Women Economic Adjustment Programs in P. Kasssy Garba et.al, *Women and Economic Reforms In Nigeria*, WORDOC Institute of African Studies University of Ibadan,1997.P.55

¹²⁵ Awe,B."Evolution of Selected Women Economic Adjustment Programs" in P. Kasssy Garba et.al., *Women and Economic Reforms In Nigeria*, WORDOC Institute of African Studies University of Ibadan,1997.P.55

¹²⁶ Awe,B."Evolution of Selected Women Economic Adjustment Programs" in P. Kasssy Garba et.al.,*Women and Economic Reforms In Nigeria*, WORDOC Institute of African Studies University of Ibadan,1997.P.55.

¹²⁷ Awe,B."Evolution of Selected Women Economic Adjustment Programs" in P. Kasssy Garba et.al, *Women and Economic Reforms In Nigeria*, WORDOC Institute of African Studies University of Ibadan,1997.P.41.

¹²⁸ Awe,B."Evolution of Selected Women Economic Adjustment Programs" in P. Kasssy Garba et.al,*Women and Economic Reforms In Nigeria*, WORDOC Institute of African Studies University of Ibadan,1997.P.556.

¹²⁹ Charmaine, Pereira."National Council of Women's Societies and The State 1975-1993: A Womens Place", in Attahiru, Jega (ed).*Identity Transformation and Identity Politics Under Structural Adjustment in Nigeria*. Nordiska Afrikain Stitutet,Uppsalain Collaboration with the Centre for Research and Documentation,Kano.2003.P.134

were the most advertised attributes ; meetings, which celebrated glamour's of the elite that made up the leadership at local, state and national headquarters where the respective chairpersons, that is, the first ladies were domiciled.¹³⁰ It was only celebrated financially empowered elite women than a serious attempt to empower the rural women or the illiterate and semi – illiterate women.¹³¹

Better Life Programmes assumed that women were homogenous groups, whereas they were differ according to the different parts of the society they lived in, and also their economic roles varied.¹³² The first ladies failed to acknowledge the input of women; and women were seen as the beneficiaries rather than the participants in the programme; the activities of BLP were concentrated in the state, capital, urban and semi urban areas, however, most of BLP projects existed only in sign posts; and it was just a promissory note which the poor never received.¹³³

5.6 Family Support Programme

The changing social and economic environment in Nigeria necessitated the need for healthy critique of Better Life for Rural Dwellers with the view to improving its structure and expanding it coverage to embrace women in urban area and conscientiously extending the benefits to the entire family, men inclusive.¹³⁴ The Family Support Programme was introduced in 1994 by Mrs Maryam Sani Abacha; it was a child of necessity borne of the need to improve the life and lots of Nigerian masses, especially women in the rural areas; it was also to improve the previous

¹³⁰ Charmaine, Pereira. "National Council of Women's Societies and The State 1975-1993: A Womens Place", in Attahiru, J. (ed.), *Identity Transformation and Identity Politics Under Structural Adjustment in Nigeria*...P.134.

¹³¹ Adams, Mrs Grace. Age 59, Trader. Interviewed 29 April, 2014 at Sarowo Street, Ode-Ondo.

¹³² Charmaine, Pereira. "National Council of Women's Societies and The State 1975-1993: A Womens Place", in Attahiru Jega (ed.), *Identity Transformation and Identity Politics Under Structural Adjustment in Nigeria*...P.134

¹³³ Kasey, P. "A Strategy for Empowering Women: Application To Trade Union Activities" in P. Kasey Garba et.al, *Women And Economic Reforms In Nigeria, WORDOC*, and Institute Of African Studies University of Ibadan, 1997. P.254.

¹³⁴ Soetan, R. *Economic of Inequality: Globalization Gender and Development in Nigeria*. Being an Inaugural Lectures series 264 of Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife on Tuesday 27 May, 2014. Obafemi Awolowo University Press, Ile-Ife Nigeria. 2014. Pp.44 and 61-62. See, Adams, Mrs Grace. Age 59, Trader. Interviewed 29 April, 2014 at Sarowo Street, Ode-Ondo.

experiences of women in development programme by broadening its coverage and sharpening its focus.¹³⁵ The programme was a shift of policy thrust on the role of family in National development, particularly as its effect on major social sector such as health, education and economic empowerment and among others.¹³⁶

The aims and objectives of Family Support Programme include: To improve and sustain family cohesion through the promotion and economic well being of the Nigerian family for its maximum contribution to National development; to promote policies and programme that strengthened the observance and protection human rights and the advancement of social justice and human dignity; to promote descent healthy and morbidity through improved health care system, to sensitize government on the need to provide adequate shelter for all Nigerians and to carry out public enlightenment campaigns to sensitize the general public on matters of decency, civil responsibility and concern for the welfare of the disadvantaged.¹³⁷ The Family Support Programme however had some glaring shortcomings which undermined the success it could have achieved. It had laudable objectives but it faced implementation problems just like the preceding programmes; commendable as its objectives were, within the context of a Nigerian society in general and that of Ode-Ondo in particular, the objectives were too ambitious to be easily realized.¹³⁸ Hence, Family support programme had only favoured a few bourgeoisie women at the expense of many under privileged Nigerian women and the rest of the poor; the programme had not been able to improve the condition of existence of the least powerful women in the society; it only librated the few at the expense of the many oppressed women.¹³⁹ Family Support

¹³⁵ *United Nations, Centre for Human Settlements Habitat News*. Nairobi Kenya, vol.2, No.2 July, 1980. P.1.

¹³⁶ Adams, Mrs Grace. Age 59, Trader. Interviewed 29 April, 2014 at Sarowo Street, Ode-Ondo.

¹³⁷ Adams, Mrs Grace. Age 59, Trader. Interviewed 29 April, 2014 at Sarowo Street, Ode-Ondo.

¹³⁸ Adams, Mrs Grace. Age 59, Trader. Interviewed 29 April, 2014 at Sarowo Street, Ode-Ondo.

¹³⁹ Adams, Mrs Grace. Age 59, Trader. Interviewed 29 April, 2014 at Sarowo Street, Ode-Ondo.

Programme was unable to focus on gender needs and to realize a concrete transformation on productive activities which involved the incorporating unpaid activities of social provisioning that underpinned the Nigerian economy in general and Ode-Ondo in particular.¹⁴⁰ The inclusion of informal sector activities in the Family Support Programme initiatives to rebase Nigeria's economy and household solidarity was a commendable development but remained meaningless to the ordinary family whose life remained untouched by the rebase Gross Domestic Product.¹⁴¹ Also, a lacuna existed for the inclusion of unpaid 'care economy' which tied down women's participation in other labour market, and that was not checked by the Family support programme policy, there was gross infrastructural inadequacies and poor manpower development for the family.¹⁴²

5.7 Local Cooperative and Women's Economic Empowerment

Cooperative societies were the autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social and cultural needs and the aspirations through a joint owned and democratically controlled enterprise; it was a business voluntarily owned and controlled by its members patrons and operated for them and by them on a non profits or cost basis.¹⁴³ It was organized group of neighbour, family and kin networks that were based on values such as self-help, democracy, equality, solidarity among others were particularly useful in empowering

¹⁴⁰Ode,R. "Strategies for Articulating the Women Empowerment Question in Nigeria" in Okpeh Ochanyi O. and Dung Pam P. (eds), *Gender Power And Politics In Nigeria*. Aboki publishers, Makurdi 2007.P.346. See, Rose Mary O.S., *Economic of Inequality: Globalization Gender and Development in Nigeria*. Being an Inaugural Lectures Series 264 of Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife on Tuesday 27 May, 2014. Obafemi Awolowo University Press, Ile-Ife Nigeria. 2014. Pp.44 and 61-62

¹⁴¹Awe,B. "Evolution of Selected Women Economic Adjustment Programs in P. Kasssy Garba et al, *Women and Economic Reforms In Nigeria*, WORDOC Institute of African Studies University of Ibadan, 1997. P.41 P.56

¹⁴²Denis, A. Ityar and Stella N. Obiajunwa. *The State and Women in Nigeria*. Jos University Press, 1990. P.134.

¹⁴³Dogarawa, Ahmed Bello. "The Role of Cooperative Society in Economic Development". *INMPRA pepper* NO 23161, June 2010, an online paper: <http://mpampra.Ub.Uni - muenchen. De/ 123161/P.2>

women through membership.¹⁴⁴ Besides, as a result of obvious gender bias, Associations were limited in their effectiveness because of their isolation from mainstream development projects, lack of management training or capital.¹⁴⁵

This enhanced pooling of limited resources and attempted cooperation for the good of the group.¹⁴⁶ As a result of failed government and micro credits policies that were supposed to empower gender economically, there came about the use of cooperative societies as an alternative by gender with the aim of finding lasting permanent and sustainable solutions to their economic challenges.¹⁴⁷ The micro credit loans and government services regarding gender empowerment had exercised too much power over the lives of women's in Ode-Ondo; which had particularly had detrimental effort on women.¹⁴⁸ The negative measured used in loan recovery in which women's honour was public shamed and that worsened women's poverty.¹⁴⁹ Micro credits and government's economic policy showed no improvement in gender economic status and therefore, cooperatives offered a way out of such negative situations that emanated from government and micro finance sources of gender empowerment.¹⁵⁰

Women in Ode-Ondo accounted for roughly eighty percent of food crops producers; they received less than ten percent of credit offered to small farmers, only seventy percent of

¹⁴⁴ Okotoni, Olu and Akintola, A. "The Role of Women Organization on Grassroots Development in Ife-Ife Central Local Government Areas of Osun State, Nigeria." In Modupe, M. (ed.). *African Journal Of Gender And Development*, Centre Of Gender And Social Policy Studies vol. 1, 2008. Pp. 33-34.

¹⁴⁵ Fapohunda, Eleanor R., "Urban Women's Roles and Nigerian Government Development Strategies." In Christine Oppong (ed.) *Sex Roles; Population and Development in West Africa: Policy Related Studies on Work and Demographic Studies*. Christine. New Hampshire: Heinemann Educational Books, Inc. & London: James Currey Ltd 1988. P.20.

¹⁴⁶ Dogarawa, Ahmed Bello. "The Role of Cooperative Society In Economic Development." In *IMPRA paper No 23161*, June 2010, an online paper: <http://impampra.Ub.Uni-muenchen.De/123161/> accessed: 23/12/2016. P.2

¹⁴⁷ Sokenu, M.O. "Women In Micro Enterprises And Access To Credit." Being a paper presented at the symposium on *Women And Credit*, Organized By The Small Medium Enterprises Development Project, At The Senate Chambers, National Assembly Complex, Lagos on Wednesday July 11, 1990. P.4.

¹⁴⁸ Akinbobola, Mrs. Roseline. Age 55. Weaver. Interviewed 28 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁴⁹ Akinbobola, Mrs. Roseline. Age 55. Weaver. Interviewed 28 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁵⁰ Akinbobola, Mrs. Roseline. Age 55. Weaver. Interviewed 28 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street, Ode-Ondo.

agricultural extension services and owed less than one percent of land.¹⁵¹ With this, cooperatives permitted both men and women farmers to acquire inputs for production, services and marketing for their produce which enhanced gender productive capacity as well as opening access to market that an individual would not have been able to do so.¹⁵² As a result of prevalence failed government policies and programmes, cooperatives became advantageous simply because it enabled women to pool their resources together, accumulated savings, accessed to credits and also shared the risks.¹⁵³ Every woman in Ode-Ondo that involved in informal economy looked eager to joining cooperatives as easier way of generating resources to implement her economic planned objectives; cooperative therefore provided a functional tool for empowering gender and sustaining their economic independence with an enduring sustainable economic recovery.¹⁵⁴

The cooperative laws were gender neutral and did not directly discriminated against women, that made credits and resources more accessible to gender on equal basis than that of standard banks or micro finance institutions rigid conditionality's.¹⁵⁵ As Ode-Ondo cooperatives were locally organized it made it more culturally sensitive and less intimidating, it offered a wider range of loan sizes, allowed women to find suitable loans conditions; such as smaller sizes to fit their businesses needs.¹⁵⁶ Local cooperative provided credits to women in various economic activities with 'soft' loans and with a very low interest rates and reasonable price on credit; and it had presented strong vibrant and viable economic alternative that enabled women to meet their natural and economic needs; and its was based on a powerful idea that together a group of people

¹⁵¹ Young, C. and McCullagh, R. (eds.) "Introduction" in *Marriage and The Market: Women's Subordination In Alternative Perspective*. London: CSE books, 1981. P.9.

¹⁵² Iluyemi, Chief Mrs. Olufunke. Age 70, Retired Civil Servant Interviewed 29 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street Ode-Ondo.

¹⁵³ Dogarawa, Ahmed Bello. "The Role of Cooperative Society In Economic Development..." P.7

¹⁵⁴ Dogarawa, Ahmed Bello. "The Role of Cooperative Society In Economic Development..." P.8

¹⁵⁵ Iluyemi, Chief Mrs. Olufunke. Age 70, Retired Civil Servant Interviewed 29 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street Ode-Ondo.

¹⁵⁶ Iluyemi, Chief Mrs. Olufunke. Age 70, Retired Civil Servant. Interviewed 29 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street Ode-Ondo.

could achieve goals that none would have achieved alone.¹⁵⁷ Also as women dominated peasants and informal economy, generally as wives in particular did have direct access to market and had less access than men to external petty trade rather than finding more lucrative work in the formal sector.¹⁵⁸ Women gained addition influence through cooperatives societies and it was based on age, occupation and simple friendship which provided experience in group and leadership.¹⁵⁹ The position of women as a social group, in meeting the challenges of their society and that of economic activities they involved themselves as result of their social and economic disadvantages they experienced.¹⁶⁰ The tendency to form cooperatives was very strong among women with the purpose of promoting and protecting common interest in the in the fields of economic activities.¹⁶¹ Cooperatives became platforms where information was disseminated, giving piece of advice on how their economic activities could be improved and networking among women.¹⁶² Cooperatives drew their membership form individuals interested in their set-out goals which include: open membership, democratic control; united return on capital bonus on patronage, one vote per member, religions and political neutrality, and cash (no credit) sales.¹⁶³ Sanctioned by the state, cooperatives received license from the ministry of finance; commerce and Industry after fulfilling the conditions of registration; these conditions include: membership of a minimum of 40, savings at least ₦10.000 per month, regular, well attended meetings,

¹⁵⁷ Dogarawa, Ahmed Bello. "The Role of Cooperative Society In Economic Development ... P.1.

¹⁵⁸ Iluyemi, Chief Mrs. Olufunke. Age 70, Retired Civil Servant Interviewed 29 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street Ode-Ondo.

¹⁵⁹ Iluyemi, Chief Mrs. Olufunke. Age 70, Retired Civil Servant Interviewed 29 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street Ode-Ondo.

¹⁶⁰ Fadipe, N.A. *Sociology of Yoruba*... Pp.245-255.

¹⁶¹ Akinbobola, Mrs. Roseline. Age 55. Weaver. Interviewed 28 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁶² Iluyemi, Chief Mrs. Olufunke. Age 70, Retired Civil Servant Interviewed 29 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street Ode-Ondo.

¹⁶³ Iluyemi, Chief Mrs. Olufunke. Age 70, Retired Civil Servant Interviewed 29 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street Ode-Ondo.

prompt repayment of loans and preparation and presentation of accounts at annual general meetings.¹⁶⁴

Local cooperatives had been singled out as one of the key players in economic development; the individuals that practiced agriculture, trade and crafts.¹⁶⁵ In Ode-Ondo there were several cooperatives societies: the social aged group, professional guild and market cooperatives among others and they rendered assistance to society, such building basic health facilities, giving out scholarship and construction of covered pathways.¹⁶⁶ The members of cooperatives generated profit from their contributions and their profits were used for humanitarian services.¹⁶⁷ Among the women in Ode-Ondo, it was believed that person who had no association (*egbe*) was not a properly adjusted and socialized being.¹⁶⁸ Therefore, cooperatives became important tools for improving the living and working condition of both men and women; it ensured the making of decisions that balanced the need for profitably with the welfare of their members and the society as whole.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁴ Akinbobola, Mrs. Roseline. Age 55. Weaver. Interviewed 28 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁶⁵ Kenniston, M.M., *Yoruba Women and Social Change*....P.4. See, N.A. Fadipe, *Sociology of Yoruba*....Pp.245-255.

¹⁶⁶ Akinbobola, Mrs. Roseline. Age 55. Weaver. Interviewed 28 April, 2015 at Idimoge Street, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁶⁷ Fadipe, N.A. *Sociology of Yoruba*...P.257.

¹⁶⁸ Oluwole, Mrs. Peju. Age 67, Trader. Interviewed 29 July, 2014 at Okelisa Street, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁶⁹ Dogarawa, Ahmed Bello. "The Role of Cooperative Society In Economic Development..."P.8

Table 5.4: Sources of Credits for Gender Socio-Economic Activities

S/N	Sources Of Credit (Formal and Informal)	Percentage
1.	Family	30.6
2.	Friends	8.5
3.	Associations	14.6
4.	Banks	7.6
5.	Credit Union	10.6
6.	Family and friends	14
7.	Family, Friends and Associations	2.5
8.	Family and Associations	2.5
9.	Friends, Associations and Credit Union	8.2

Sources: Bola, O.. Akanji. "The Gender Implications of Structural Adjustment for Nigerian Women Farmers and The Households," in P. Kasseyy Garba et.al (eds.) *Women and Economic Reforms in Nigeria*. Women's Research and Documentation centre university of Ibadan, 1997. P. 119. See, Obamuyi, T.M. An Exploratory Study of Loan Delinquency among... P.3; Adebusiyyi, B.S. "Performance Evaluation of Small and Medium Enterprises (SME) in Nigeria" in *Central Bank Bullion*, 21(4), October/December 1997. Pp.46-52; and Albee A. "Beyond Banking for the Poor Credit Mechanisms and Women's Empowerment" in *Gender and Development*, vol.4, No.3 1996. Pp.43-53.

The above table shows the sources credits for the socio-Economic activities, and it revealed that family is the major source of credit. Thus, cooperatives accorded member opportunities, protection and empowerment as the essential element in uplifting them from degradation and poverty; as governments cut services and withdrew from regulating markets, cooperatives remained useful mechanism to manage risk for member and kept markets or economy efficient. Cooperatives societies in Nigeria and Ode-Ondo in particular provided

locally needed services, employment, circulated money locally and contributed to a sense of community or social cohesion.¹⁷⁰ The outcome of the mutual cooperatives and understanding was unique form of business and their mutual benefits.¹⁷¹ Women, though confronted with the problem of scarcity of land, denial of access to land and lack of basic necessity that could have aided and fortified their productive and reproductive role, it was due to such terrible situation that women combined various economic activities so as to ensure self-assistance empowerment through pooling resources together and by sourcing out income for their members.¹⁷²

5.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, we discussed various international and national plans, policies and programmes that were made from 1960 to 1999 featuring the first, second, third, and fourth national development plans (1962 to 1985); Structural Adjustment Programmes; Better Life For Rural Dwellers; Family Support Programme; women access to credit and resources and the use of cooperative society as a means of empowering women. In 1975, United Nations observed that women had not been mainstreamed into economic development initiatives; it therefore set up programme that covered 1975 to 1985 where the government of the developing countries was advised to utilize the women's potentials very well in realizing set objectives of economic development. It was also discovered that most of the programmes and policies made by the Nigerian government between 1986 and 1999 impacted women negatively.

The structural adjustment programme conditionality have stagnated Ode-Ondo's women's economic activities in all dimensions; the combination of devaluation of naira; lack of

¹⁷⁰Oluwole, Mrs. Peju. Age 67, Trader. Interviewed 29 July, 2014 at Okelisa Street, Ode-Ondo.

¹⁷¹Dogarawa, Ahmed Bello, "The Role of Cooperative Society In Economic Development..." P.9.

¹⁷²Dogarawa, Ahmed Bello, "The Role of Cooperative Society In Economic Development..." P.18.

money in circulation; high maintenance fees for market stalls or spaces; mass retrenchment of workers and non payment workers salaries among affected gender productive and purchasing power; women's retrogressive inputs and outputs became feasible. Thus, both man and women came to dominate economic activities such as trade which would not normally be considered as men's occupation; which in turn reduced the gender outputs as a result of excessive competition for sales. Also, Better Life for Rural Dweller, Family Support Programme, all alike that were meant for family or women empowerment failed to put into consideration three categories of families or women that existed in Ode-Ondo. The programmes only focused on the first group which involved the bourgeoisie families or women; the peasants were relegated to the background and gender mainstreaming was not put into consideration when implementing the programmes. The chapter also examined that both men and women were not equally accessed to credit and resources which would have aided their economic activities. Women suffered more due to their lack of collateral for loan from the financial institutions or micro finance institutions, and also the importance attached to women's previous managerial experience as a yard stick for loan worthiness. Therefore, as a result of the failed government plans, programmes and policies, Ode-Ondo women looked up to and embraced cooperative societies as a solution to their economic retrogressive and to consolidate their self-empowerment. Instead, projects designed with women in mind were oriented toward social welfare rather than empowerment or economic development.

In fact, the only specific references to women occurred in the sections on social welfare alongside beggars, children, the destitute; and the handicapped. The policy entrenched the low level of skills of the population and its capacity for contributing to modernizing agriculture; since the level of skills and training of man power remained low. Also, Better Life for Rural Dweller,

Family Support Programme, all alike that were meant for family or women empowerment failed to put into consideration three categories of families or women that existed in Ode-Ondo. The programmes only focused on the first group which involved the bourgeoisie families or women; the peasants were relegated to the background and gender mainstreaming was not put into consideration when implementing the programmes. The chapter also examined that both men and women were not equally accessed to credit and resources which would have aided their economic activities. Women played a major role in the development of Odo-Ondo; they have contributed greatly to the survival of agricultural economy and contributed significantly to the development of small scale handi-crafts industries and nutrition.

Since access to credit to gender in Ode-Ondo was constrained as a result of lack of their marketable land rights and securities to acquire credit worthiness, and yet, were subjected to a uniform conditionality's that applied to economic activities. Women, have been most abandoned and neglected in all the well meaning grand schemes. Therefore, as a result of the failed government plans, programmes and policies, Ode-Ondo women looked up to and embraced cooperative societies as solution to their economic retrogressive and to consolidate their self-empowerment.

CHAPTER SIX

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The main thrust of the study has been to examine the role of women in the development of Ode-Ondo in South Western Nigeria from 1960 to 1999. This conclusion stands for an overview of all that had been examined from chapters one to five. Therefore, this will be clearly on brief summary of the entire study. Chapter one examines the general introduction to the entire study, it traces the role of Ode-Ondo women in development from pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. It sees the contributions of women to development of Ode-Ondo as dramatic turn within the pre-colonial periods because women were able to play active roles in all socio-economic activities of the era. Women featured prominently in trading activities which involved the buying and selling of excess agricultural produce and handicrafts within Ode-Ondo or in its environs.

The work establishes that there was a sharp complementarity between genders in virtually all socio-economic activities of Ode-Ondo. Also, in the colonial period, the previous economic immunity and privileges enjoyed by women were denied of them; the pre-colonial communal land tenure system that permitted women access to land through their parents, husbands and children gave way to monetized land tenure system, and momentary value was placed on land as a result of cash crops production in Ode-Ondo. At this period, land ownership became more gendered, the Osemawe of Ode-Ondo seized, to be custodian of communal land. It became very serious of women to access or land for economic activities like food crop production that was left for women alone as a result male domination of cash crop production. Hence women combined the roles of care economy, otherwise known as reproduction and production of food crops. In

post colonial period, the work examined that women began to take active role in economic activities of Ode-Ondo; women dominated informal economic activities; women featured prominently in agriculture, trade and local industries.

In chapter two, the study examines the land and people of Ode-Ondo. It examines that Ode-Ondo has complex and comprehensive socio-political and economic structures that allowed full input and participation of both genders, man and women. It traced the Ode Ondo myth of origin and the historical traditions. The chapter highlights the special roles played by both male and female; and most importantly the symbolic significance of twins in Ode-Ondo traditional religion and by extension in Yoruba religion culture. The themes of aboriginal inhabitants tamed and civilized by the newcomer cultivators from Ile-Ife also emerged.

It also illustrated significance of the “aboriginal priests” which played important role in the royal cult. The chapter also examined the composition of the various historical groups in Ode-Ondo as well as the structured of kingship. The account of female king (pupupu) also conformed to the common Africa mythic theme in which women served as primal generative beings, while a male culture hero (*aiò*) appeared to be related to the symbolic, upside down and reserved nature of the primal beings and to the area of chaos, which characterized Ode-Ondo’s mythical origin. Although the origin story reflected more on the male dominance and its symbolic inversion myth, rather than an historical period of matriarchal authority, it provided a background for the continued significance of women in Ode-Ondo legends; the chapter hence appraised the role of women in combined twin variables of socio-economic inputs towards the development of Ode-Ondo. It established that women in Ode-Ondo combined social role with that of economic role and those women nurtured and protected the children in the society. It stated that women played significant role in religious activities either the one connected with economic activities (*Aje*) or

that of imported Islam and Christianity. Finally, the chapter discusses the active role of women most especially, in pre-colonial Ode-ondo, it established that women played active role in socio-economic activities of the epoch which featured agriculture, trade and craft work. It stated that woman in Ode-Ondo played complementary role in agriculture sector with men while women dominated trade and local crafts. In chapter three, the study examines the role of women in the colonial socio-economic activities of Ode-Ondo. This chapter traces the civil wars that plagued Ode-Ondo as remote cause for British invasion, occupation and colonization of Ode-Ondo, while the immediate cause was the British economic interest that was anchored on cash crop production. Colonialism installed a colonial dependent capitalist model of accumulations; British economic policies promoted maximum agricultural export growth which largely determined the pace and pattern of socio-economic development in Ode-ondo.

The requirements of capitalist colonialism in Ode-ondo were focused on increasing primary export production and importation of manufactured consumer goods from the metropolitan economy. To meet such requirements, called for serious reorganization of the productive system and structurally and technologically dependent and disarticulated of the local industries, agriculture of food crops and trade. Consequently, the declines of the economic variables of pre-colonial Ode-Ondo which have sustained development were without a replacement by the colonial economics variables measures or policies. The British economic policies emphasized conditions of exploitative economy and gender biased activities that featured prominently in all economic activities that both men and women had role to play. The British cash cash crop economy introduced new conception about land use that made the pre-colonial communal land tenure gave way to monetization of land use in Ode-Ondo. The former Ode-Ondo indigenous land tenure where women could obtain land through their father or their

children was faced out; and consequently, women could not afford the cash payment placed on land ownership.

Therefore, with the prevalence of cash crop production, men abandoned food crop production for women, and also women labour was used in the production of cash crop which all together doubled the women roles and work. The colonial occupation of Ode-Ondo was not in any way favoured women traders that were most marketers of cash crops and British manufactured goods; the Ode-Ondo men enjoyed better treatment in terms of credit worthiness than women, this limited the women opportunities in colonial economy as a result of British patriarchal belief which saw women only relevant within the domestic chores and care services. The British marketing board granted concession to male agents as a result of the titled to collateral security (land) and most of the economic empowerment was granted to men. The chapter concluded by analyzing overall effects of colonial economy on women in Ode-Ondo, which had dispossessed women of their pre-colonial economic benefits, opportunities, and liberty. Most of the indigenous economic activities such as trade, agriculture (food crops) and handicrafts became unproductive and stagnant as result of failed British economic policies which imposed huge and frequent taxes on genders which made both men and women focusing on mono-economy (cash crops) production as result of failed British economic policies? Which made both men and to focus on mono-economy (cash crop) production so as to raise money for tax payment.

Chapter four examines the role of women in socio-economic development of Ode-Ondo, it observes that women have featured actively in two different sectors; informal and formal socio-economic activities that sustained Ode-ondo's economy. These include: Agriculture, trade, handicrafts, education, and healthcare services among others. The role of women in agrarian

economic was well pronounced in Ode-Ondo, women were actively involved in both food crops and cash crops production. In food crops production, with the use of local and crude techniques, women ensured the supply of staple food such as yam; cassava; cocoyam; pepper; vegetables, tomatoes; beans and among others. Most of the food crops were either produced for household consumption or for market demand where they were exchange for money for household up keep. Majority of women that were not accessed to land through inheritance obtained by rent and it was on that basis that food crops were cultivated.

More so, women also played a significant role in cash crops production, these include: cocoa, kola nuts, orange, plantain, banana, palm oil among others. Women featured actively in planting, harvesting, processing and transportation of cash crops; both the women that had title to cash crops farms and those that did not have. In carrying out both food crops and cash crops, there was high level of gender inter-dependency and gender inter- play. There was sharp division of labour and specialization which discouraged gender isolation in the pursuit of economic development in Ode-Ondo. Trade became the reserve of women in Ode-Ondo as a result of cultural belief attached to trade and market as a domain of women. Women had been actively involved in trade as it was general belief that everyone must work irrespective of age and gender in order to save off poverty, to earn respect and fame.

Women carried out their trading activities through international, local or across border for exchange. The excess food and cash crops were exchanged either by local trade and long distance trade that involved majority of women traders who bought and sold in relatively small quantities within the local market system which was either daily or on periodic basis. Women marketed what women produced and those produced by men and that added to Gross Domestic Product as a whole.

Equally, in this chapter, we examine that women played an active role in handicrafts that featured promptly: weaving, dyeing, and pottery. Women sustained the production of local textile products such *asetu*, *alairi*, *sayan*, *poku* and among others that were demanded both locally and internationally. The division of labour between sexes was very marked both in agriculture, trade and crafts. Men dominated cash crops, harvesting of palm fruits, and construction of weaving frames among others while women were active in food processing, petty and extensive trades.

Moreso, in this chapter we examined the social role of women in education, healthcare services and the formation of associations. Ode-Ondo women have undertaken the role of educating children in both formal and informal way, the transmission of values that guarantee the continuity of Ode-Ondo culture have been impacted by women. Some women decided to establish schools where such role can be more implemented. In doing that, Ode-Ondo women have been able to reduce the level of social deviance, illiteracy and unemployment. They established schools in various quarters in Ode-Ondo. Again, Ode-Ondo women were greatly involved in health care services which include traditional and orthodox medicines. This ensures the healthiness of the entire Ode-Ondo people, irrespective of gender. The formation of associations by Ode-Ondo people has also ensured the rendering of some social charity or services such as building of covered pathways, schools among others. Therefore, in this chapter, we examined that the women combination of traditional social role of household and community care with public role in economic activities have affected women economic output negatively; the burden on and expectation from women became too much. This made sustainable development in Ode-Ondo unrealized between 1960 and 1999.

In chapter five, we discuss various international and national plans, policies and programmes that were made from 1960 to 1999 featuring the first, second, third, and fourth national development plans (1962 to 1985); Structural Adjustment Programmes; Better Life For Rural Dwellers; Family Support Programme; women access to credit and resources and the use of cooperative society as a means of empowering women. The study examined that the first national development plan focused on men's empowerment and enabled men to have increasing control over a greater portions of Nigerian economy through training, market information, improved flow of capital and technical service. The first plan focused on agricultural sector which promoted the export of cash crops that was majorly dominated by men. The subsequent plans up to 1985 had similar objectives and they were all gender biased in their pursuit of economic development.

In 1975, United Nations observed that women had not been mainstreamed into economic development initiatives; it therefore sets up programme that covered 1975 to 1985 where the government of the developing countries was advised to utilize the women's potentials very well in realizing the objectives of the set economic development. It was also discovered that most of the programmes and policies made by the Nigerian government between 1986 and 1999 impacted women negatively. Prior to the 1980s, the Nigerian government, when drawing up its man power programmes, disregarded women as a distinct category of human resources separated from men. Instead, projects designed with women in mind were oriented towards social welfare rather than empowerment or economic development. In fact, the only specific references to women occurred in the sections on social welfare alongside beggars, children, the destitute; and the handicapped.

The Structural Adjustment Programme conditions limited women's economic activities in all dimensions. The combination of devaluation of naira; lack of money in circulation, high maintenance fees for market stalls or spaces, mass retrenchment of workers and nonpayment workers salaries affected gender productive and purchasing power, women's retrogressive inputs and outputs became feasible. Thus, man and women came to dominate economic activities such as trade which would not normally considered as men's occupation; which in turn reduced the gender outputs as result of excessive competition for sales. The SAP reduction of expenditure on the social services and the imposition of taxes and levies reduced the provision of standard health care services that could have guaranteed viable human resources at the care economy. The policy entrenched the low level of skills of the population and its capacity for contributing to modernizing agriculture; since the level of skills and training of man power remained low.

Also, Better Life for Rural Dweller, Family Support Programme, all alike that were meant for family or women empowerment failed to put into consideration three categories of families or women that existed in Ode-Ondo. The programmes only focused on the first group which involved the bourgeoisie families or women; the peasants were relegated to the background and gender mainstreaming was not put into consideration when implementing the programmes. The chapter also examined that both men and women were not equally accessed to credit and resources which would have aided their economic activities. Women played a major role in the development of Odo Ondo, they have contributed greatly to the survival of agricultural economy and contributed significantly to the development of small scale handi-crafts industries and nutrition. In spite of their contribution, however, they have encountered several constraints in the discharge of their productive activities. Such constraints included restricted or lack access to capital, credits and land, improved technologies and other essential production

inputs and resources. Women suffered more than men due to their lack of collateral for loan from the financial institutions or micro finance institutions, and also the importance attached to women's previous managerial experience as a yard stick for loan worthiness. Women hardly enjoyed most of the government credits assistance, majority of Ode Ondo women found it difficult to benefit from the three tiers of governments whenever they needed credits assistance they would rather pay more money for registration (₦10,000) to be qualified for such credits.

Since access to credit by gender in Ode-Ondo was constrained as a result of lack of their marketable land rights and securities to acquire credit worthiness, and yet were subjected to a uniform conditionality's that applied to economic activities. Women, have been most abandoned and neglected in all the well meaning grand schemes. Therefore, as a result of the failed government plans, programmes and policies, women in Ode-Ond looked up to and embraced cooperative societies as a solution to their economic retrogressive and to consolidate their self-empowerment. All these economic policies have failed to put into consideration the women's social role in the planning and implementation of social policies; there hardly any provision for women social role and the overall impact on the social-economic roles of Ode-Ondo women was pains, unsustained development and gender inequality.

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3.	Adams, Mrs Grace	59	Trader	29/4/2014	Sarowo Street, Ondo
4.	Adedoyin, Mrs Sade	55	Teacher	29/7/2014	Barracks Road, Ondo
5.	Adegbesiye, Mrs Kike	50	Weaver	11/2/2015	Leruru Street, Ondo
6.	Adepoju, Mrs Sabainah	57	Weaver	28/4/2015	Rainbow Street, Ondo
7.	Adeseyoju, Mrs Tope	67	Trader	28/7/2014	Ademulegun, Ondo
8.	Adesulu, Mrs Abimbola	65	Lecturer	8/8/2014	Valentino Street, Ondo
9.	Afolabi, Mr Ojo	74	Retired Farmer	12/3/2015	Odotu Streetm Ondo
10.	Akinbobola, Mrs Roseline	55	Weaver	28/4/2015	Idimoge Street, Ondo
11.	Akinbolaji, Mrs Yemisi	50	Farmer	20/4/2015	Jolaco, Ondo
12.	Akinese, Mrs Deborah	45	Weaver	12/2/2015	Sabo, Ondo
13.	Akinlolu, His Highness Aknradewo	65	Paramount Ruler	8/4/2015	Igbo-Oja, Ondo
14.	Akinradewo, Mrs Sade	58	Soap Maker	25/4/2015	Igbo-Oja, Ondo
15.	Akomolafe, Mrs Oyin	65	Trader	28/7/2014	Odotu, Ondo
16.	Asepe, Mrs Favour	35	Trader	20/12/2014	Rainbow, Ondo
17.	Ayoola, Mr Micheal	57	Civil Servant	13/1/2015	Ademulogun, Ondo

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18.	Fifo, Mrs Olayinka	52	Weaver	11/2/2015	Okedibo, Ondo
19.	Iluyemi, Chief Mrs Olufunke	70	Retired Civil Servant	29/4/2015	Idimoge, Ondo
20.	Kokuma, Mr Shati	55	Ex-Service man	25/4/2015	Igbo-Oja, Ondo
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22.	Obinta, Mr Richard	48	Lecturer	30/7/2014	Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife
23.	Ogundana, Mrs Veronica	50	Herbalist	20/12/2014	Rainbow Street, Ondo
24.	Ogunsuyi, Mrs Felicia	55	Farmer	16/4/2015	Iyana-Epe, Ondo
26.	Onilari, Mrs Peju	67	Trader	29/7/2014	Okelisa, Ondo
27.	Wiwolokun, Mr Isaac	78	Farmer	22/3/2015	Fagbo, Ondo

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