"IT'S MY RIGHT TO FIX THE CITY": WOMEN, CLASS, AND THE POSTCOLONIAL POLITICS OF NEOLIBERAL URBANISM IN IBADAN, NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation offers an alternative to the current trajectory for Africa's urban future, informed by the discourse that African cities are failing and in need of catching up to northern global cities in order to develop. I use an African feminist postcolonial urbanism theoretical framing to suggest that understanding the lived reality and politics of urban space from the viewpoint of women living in Ibadan provides a more nuanced and multidimensional understanding of Ibadan that eschews a developmentalist and interventionist framework. Specifically, this dissertation investigates whether and how women's lived experiences have been changed by, as well as have informed, neoliberal urban planning discourses and practices in Ibadan. I argue that women believe that neoliberal urban planning projects inaccurately capture their reality and exacerbate their socio-economic conditions largely due to their exclusion from urban governance and local decision-making processes. I contend that cultural religious discourses and political violence play critical roles in women's political exclusion. I also assert that despite women's exclusion from formal politics, women engage in informal politics to challenge the imposition of neoliberal urban planning. I posit that women have alternative visions for the city that are rooted in a populist politics that challenge both the "feminism is un-African" narrative and the literature that stipulates that poor women are not really attentive to gender issues as they care more about "bread and butter" issues. Qualitative interviews with eight government workers as well as with two local politicians provide insight into the government's limited and gendered approaches to women's issues that often tend to label feminist social transformation projects as "un-African". In-depth semi-structured interviews with 48 women in Ibadan, showed Ibadan women to be positioned as knowledgeable urban subjects

who challenge the gendered and development interventionist approaches to African cities and

who make gendered rights claims to the city.

This is dedicated to my love (Ifemi) and my joy (Ayomi).

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Introduction

I spent most of my childhood years wondering why my elders were always complaining about the Nigerian government, particularly about the Structural Adjustment Programmes, better known as "Suffer and Perish." In addition to the complaints, I also heard them voice their concerns over the current riots, the coup d'etats and the assassinations or imprisonment of political freedom fighters. Inevitably, my curiosity about politics as a child left me even more eager to learn about the politics of my country. My most salient memory about growing up in Nigeria was when there was a riot against the then military president, Ibrahim Babangida's regime. I recall that the riot scared the children in my school and most of them ran home. I, on the other hand, remained rooted in place. I found the riot fascinating and somewhat incomprehensible, as I could not understand why people were flogging each other with sticks while repetitiously chanting, "Babangida jale, ebi npawa. Ebi npawa o, ebi npawa" (Babangida is stealing, we are hungry. We are hungry o, we are hungry) at the top of their lungs. The latter statement, at that time, symbolized the corruption in our government, the devaluation of currency and also alluded to the fluctuating and increasing price of bread and other food items. I think that this event has been etched in my memory and has proven to be indelible. The structural adjustment programme was also a major impetus for my migration to Canada with my family in the early 1990s.

Through my studies, at both undergraduate and graduate level in Canada, I have learned that the issues Nigeria faces are not limited to the domestic but that the hegemonic international political economy also has a large role to play. My many visits to Nigeria have also opened my

eyes to see beyond my childhood analysis of the issues. Before, I used to think that all people were affected equally by the crisis, but I now see the politics of class and gender relations at play. This especially came to light during my seven-month stay in Ibadan, Nigeria in 2007. I became intrigued by how local and global aspects of the political economy work together to produce and reproduce spatial and gender inequalities. Thus, a cross cutting theme of my research interest entails an understanding of women's historical and contemporary encounters with both global and local patriarchal systems of domination and oppression. Equally important, I now see the relevance of moving beyond the afro-pessimistic discourse of portraying Nigeria, especially its cities, as places of hopelessness and chaos. With this understanding, I was able to have a clearer grasp of the theoretical frameworks that I wanted to use for my dissertation project. I have become convinced that an analysis that uses the lenses of postcolonial African urbanism discourse rooted in an African feminist perspective is necessary.

This dissertation analyses how women's lived reality, experiences and political views in the city of Ibadan, Nigeria are relevant to and inform neoliberal urban planning discourses. Current feminist approaches to understanding women's gendered experiences and everyday realities in the city have rarely been applied to African cities. Instead, most urban research by feminist scholars emphasizes the experiences of women living in Western Europe, North America and selected cities in Asia (Preston & Ustundag, 2005, p. 212). Cities of the global south have also been cast as cities that are to be acted upon within a development interventionist framework (Robinson, 2006). While it is true that Ibadan currently faces poverty and other urban development issues (Fourchard, 2003), it is also important to move beyond the popular narrative that often considers African cities as failed, incomplete projects (Simone, 2004). My past experiences of working and interacting with women in Ibadan inspired me to consider the ways

in which development narratives do not account for how gendered bodies shape the city and therefore serve as important sites of knowledge production (Oldfield, Salo & Schlyter, 2009).

In this chapter, I provide the context for my research questions and explorations and explain how it relates to the fields of African postcolonial urbanism and African feminism that my research engages. I begin by providing an overview of the literature on and policy approaches to preparing for Africa's urban futures. I argue that a postcolonial urbanism perspective is required in order to attain an urban future that is more congruent with urban dwellers' realities. I also detail the importance of including an African feminist lens in the analysis of Africa's urban futures. In this discussion, I engage with the debate on African feminism and challenge the deployment of the African exceptionalism discourse in issues pertaining to gender equality. I end the chapter by explaining the dissertation structure.

Africa's Urban Future

When I was younger, I used to read choose your own adventure books that gave the reader the autonomy to decide how they would like the book to end. This book comes to mind when I think of the current projections about Africa's urban futures. From my perspective, for the first time since the early days of independence, African leaders have the opportunity to help determine the fate of Africa. And many have accepted this challenge and have thrown caution to the wind regarding the negative consequences of their actions. The difference this time however, is that instead of disproportionately looking to Europe as Frantz Fanon has brilliantly cautioned against, some are interested in producing world-class cities like Singapore, Dubai, Shanghai and Tokyo. These world-class cities, no doubt took their inspiration from the west at some point in time but with more flamboyance. To follow this route would finally shine a spotlight on Africa, revealing to the world that "yes, Africa has finally arrived" thus echoing the adage,

"better late than never." Successful execution of urban renewal programmes have purged

"nuisance" traders from the streets and paved the way for global and regional capitals allowing

African cities to finally be the true engines of growth that they were meant to be. New cities have

been built, showing the world that the plans that seemed so extravagant in 2013[1] did not become

a "raisin in the sun." These cities arise from reclaimed land like the case of Eko Atlantic in

Lagos built on land reclaimed from the Atlantic Ocean and La Cite du Fleuve in the Democratic

Republic of Congo built on land reclaimed from hectares of sandbanks and swamps. These

African cities that would attain the label of "world-class" signify better economies that could

also potentially exacerbate spatial and social inequalities; this is one possible and very plausible

future. Another option is to let African cities continue to deteriorate and be pitiable places with

some economic gains here and there but never anything meaningful enough to truly transform.

This really is not an option though, at least not in this age of "altruistic" interventions. Africa

cannot continue with its current trajectory. So the only other plausible option that remains is

working towards urban futures that actually attend to Africa's reality and take everyday

urbanisms into consideration. These urban plans would be attentive to and prioritize the needs of

citizens over goals and aspirations to become world-class/ global cities. Clearly this option is

not as seductive as the first option. But is it not better to extinguish the flames of seduction now

before they eventually become dying embers that are unable to sustain themselves?

After many decades of development intervention, the word, "failure" or "failed" is often

used to describe the socio-economic and political state of many African countries. While pity

and frustration are probably the two most popular sentiments evoked when thinking about the

progress or lack thereof in Africa, the prognosis for African cities becomes even more glaring

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[1] Newspaper discussions (both on the continent and internationally) of the architectural plans for these new African cities were popular in 2013.

because Africa is projected to become more urban by 2050. According to UN-HABITAT (2014) estimates, "the global share of African dwellers is projected to rise from 11.3 per cent in 2010 to 20.2 per cent by 2050" (p. 23); thus the African urban population will increase from 400 million to 1.2 billion (see Figure 1). Approximately 50 per cent of the global population growth rate between 2010 and 2050 will take place in Africa (Neil, 2011).
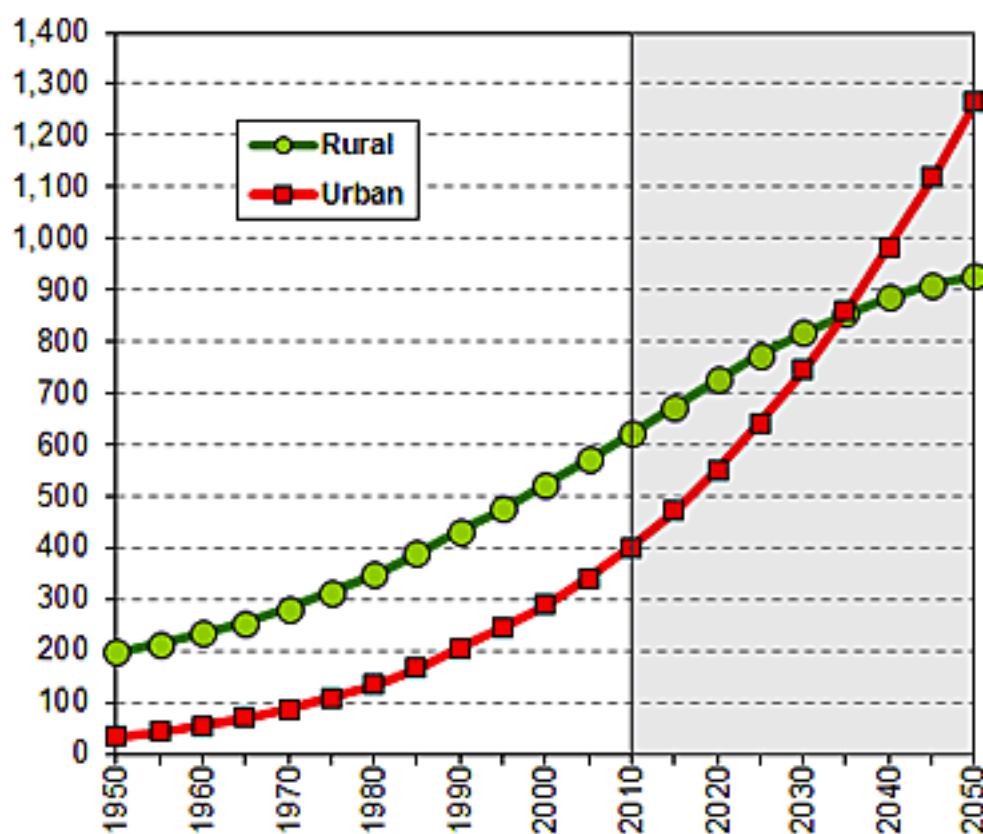
Figure 1. Historical trend and projections of urban and rural population in Africa, 1950-2050 (million). Adapted from World Urbanization Prospects, the 2011 Revision, by United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. Copyright 2012. Reprinted with permission.

As such, the question of whether cities in Africa can become manageable and "'functional' urban spaces" (O'Shaughnessy, 2008) to meet the demands and challenges of its future population has been posed. As highlighted in the 2014 *State of African Cities* report,

the ability of African cities to cope with these numbers is questionable since they

generally lack the institutional and infrastructural capacity to absorb the additional urban

dwellers. It is, therefore, likely that the majority of these new urban dwellers will reside

in slums and/or informal settlements. (p. 25)

In a similar vein, Akin Mabogunje (2000) has made the following queries regarding Africa's

cities:

How are they likely to function productively and economically in relation to other cities

of the world? And how are they likely to be efficiently and effectively managed and

governed in the increasingly pervasive democratic dispensation in which the world is

putting new and novel values on the dignity and importance of individual human lives?

(p. 166)

Nevertheless, Africa's projected urban growth offers the possibility of a new chapter in its

development based on the premise that economic growth will ensue. This echoes Edgar

Pieterse's (2012) claim that there is "a very compelling story in the parlance of global capital

about the fact that the future of wealth generation lies in the cities of the global south" (p. 41). In

order for this to happen, however, African cities are expected to:

Connect to regional and global business networks, enhance quality of life, improve basic

infrastructure and communication networks, address public transport deficiencies and

environmental conditions, and respond to inequality and poverty issues, if they are to turn

into real engines of national growth and prosperity. (UN-HABITAT, 2012, p. 28)

Although there has been an increase in Africa's real gross domestic product (GDP) in

recent years, the fact remains that a large majority of Africans remain poor (UN-HABITAT,

2012, p. 19). Even if economic growth were to continue, it has been posited that:

Large-scale income poverty and material deprivation will remain the norm for very large

proportions of the population in most African countries…contemplating the prospect that

by 2050 at least 730 million Africans will attempt a life on less than two dollars a day is

not only sobering but also dispiriting. (Pieterse, 2012, p. 38)

While it is worrisome to the international community and African leaders and policy

makers that the thought of Africa conjures images of slum squalor, prevalent poverty, parasitic

leadership, inadequate infrastructures, mismanagement and chaos, these very thoughts have also

catalyzed the fury of actions to prepare African cities for the future. The goal for some is to shed

the dystopian present and move towards a more utopian future. Of this optimistic camp are

elected leaders who have embarked on urban renewal projects to make African cities more

"functional" and "sophisticated", and less "chaotic" and "unmanageable". These urban renewal

projects, operating within a neoliberal framework, strive to become symbols of modernity in the

re-creation of cities that are more globally recognizable and that offer possibilities for

transcending negative narratives about African cities.

Reminiscent of colonial urban planning strategies, urban authorities and the state have

been focusing on sanitizing and "recolonizing" the city, rewriting the city's public spaces and

redefining who has a right to the street and to the city (de Boeck, 2011, p. 273). More

disconcertingly, new cities are being developed in Africa and are:

Labeled as the "last frontier" for international property development, sub-Saharan

Africa's larger cities are currently being revisioned in the image of cities such as

Dubai, Shanghai and Singapore…Draped in the rhetoric of "smart cities" and "eco-

cities", these plans promise to modernize African cities and turn them into

gateways for international investors and showpieces for ambitious politicians.

(Watson, 2014, p. 215)

These cities are hailed as the key to prospering and driving national development in Africa. Examples of these developments are Konza (see Figure 2) and Tatu City in Kenya, Appolonia, Hope City and King City in Ghana, La Cite du Fleuve in the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Eko Atlantic City (see Figure 3) in Lagos, Nigeria.

Although these city plans symbolize a wind of change, prosperity and a "new face" for Africa, some scholars like the anthropologist Filip de Boeck and urban planner Vanessa Watson are less optimistic because these cities are not supposed to be inhabited by low-income and poor people. Using the case of La Cite du Fleuve in Kinshasa, de Boeck (2011) argues that though many citizens acknowledge and admire the beauty of the proposed city, "the new city map will redraw the geographies of inclusion and exclusion in radical ways, and relegate its current residents to the city's edges" (p. 277). Thus, these future urban utopias are disturbed by the fact that the present "reality in all of these cities stands in stark contrasts to the glass-box towers, manicured lawns and water features on developers' and architects' websites" (Watson, 2014, p. 215). Based on AbdouMaliq Simone's (2004) argument that contemporary urban planning is informed by western models of development and planning interventions, a postcolonial urbanism perspective is required to question the "privileged link between modernity and certain kinds of cities" (Robinson, 2004, p. 709) and to understand the ways in which lived realities in African cities are incongruent with current utopian fantasies of future African cities and urban renewal agendas.

Figure 2. "Africa's Silicon Savannah." This figure illustrates the plans for Konza, Kenya. Adapted from: www.kenyahighcomission.org

Figure 3. Eko Atlantic. This figure illustrates plans for Eko Atlantic in Lagos, Nigeria. Adapted from: www.ekoatlantic.com

Thus, an aspect of my dissertation continues along the same vein as that of de Boeck, Watson and Simone by asking: Whose problems are overlooked in the pursuit of a more prosperous and globally recognizable African city? Who should contribute to and what should be

taken into consideration in the planning of Africa's cities? These questions enable me to engage

the field of postcolonial urbanism from an African perspective.

An analysis of Africa's urban futures from a postcolonial urbanism perspective is a useful

starting point for answering the two questions posed above. As tempting as it is to label the

future forms of African urbanism as spectacle and monstrous caricatures, it is important to

consider Partha Chaterjee's (1986) argument that "postcolonial worldliness operates in the name

of Reason, and does so by seeking to find for 'the nation' a place in the global order of

capital…[accordingly], the historical identity between Reason and capital [is] an epistemic

privilege, mainly development" (cited in Roy, 2011, p. 321). Ananya Roy (2011) contends that

these urbanism projects of Reason are intimately connected to geographies of authoritative

knowledge that designates cities of the global north as the ideal blueprint for the

"underdeveloped" cities of the global south (p. 308). Urban development as "Reason" therefore,

cannot operate within a neo-colonial paradigm that imposes "a catch-up fiction of

modernization" (Robinson, 2006 p. 2). As Nuttall and Mbembe (2005) claim, "a city is not

simply a string of infrastructures, technologies, and legal entities, however networked these are.

It also comprises actual people, images and architectural forms, footprints and memories; the city

is a place of manifold rhythms, a world of sounds, private freedom, pleasures, and sensations" (p.

360). Moreover, as Pieterse (2012) argues,

> relevant theory must be built on 'empirical' and analytical work about real-life
>
> experiments in city building, whether in the form of official government
>
> programmes or the mundane ordinary practices associated with reproducing
>
> livelihoods and 'lifeworlds' in the city. The gravitational point of focus, particularly
>
> in the field of planning theory, has shifted too far to the process end during the past

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two decades, leaving the material basis of urban exclusion obscured and under-

theorised. (p. 37)

In this dissertation, I consider the importance of investigating the ways in which

development paradigms, rooted in western fantasies of urban planning and development, are

negotiated and resisted in the everyday practices of women in Ibadan. Ibadan is the fifth largest

city in West Africa with a population of about three million with an average annual population

increase of 131 000 (UN-HABITAT, 2014). Studying Ibadan provides an opportunity to focus

on another Nigerian city that has been vigorously pursuing an urban renewal agenda other than

the disproportionate focus on the "mega city" Lagos. Moreover, within the context of research

and debate on global cities, less scholarly and international attention has been paid to medium-

sized southern cities like Ibadan. Thus, this dissertation contributes to the growing knowledge on

non mega cities of the global south.

Recently, the *Financial Times* of London forecasted that Ibadan would be one of the top

10 emerging economies in Africa if it is able to maintain a sustainable and conducive business

climate that would yield major investment flows. The current governor of Oyo State, Abiola

Ajimobi (2011 to present) is ensuring that this forecast becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy for

Ibadan via his claimed commitment to translating the potential into reality through proactive

measures.[2] His self-acclaimed "aggressive urban renewal programme" aims to transform Ibadan

into an attractive city for investors and visitors. In the short time that Ajimobi has taken over,

some changes that have taken place include the dualization of roads, removal of street traders,

and the development of Ibadan's tourism and hospitality sector through the constructions of

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[2] The information I found about Ajimobi's perspective on urban renewal came from the Oyo
State website (http://www.oyostate.gov.ng/) and his facebook posts (name: Abiola Adeyemi
Ajimobi).

hotels and commercialization of various landmarks. Ajimobi has also been offering discounted land prices to investors to facilitate the growth of manufacturing and industrialization. He envisions that with successful execution of his urban development agenda, Ibadan will move up on the global city hierarchy which is "based on certain criteria predicated on western capitalist understandings of development, progress, and growth" (Preston, 2007, p. 16). Some central questions of my research include, where do we insert women into these future urban projects? What would it be like if women had a say in how the city is imagined? These two questions have enabled me to engage African feminisms and feminist approaches to geography in my dissertation.

Similar to Simone (2004), I note that Ibadan should reconsider the fiction of "Reason" in urban development and planning interventions and focus more on the needs of urban dwellers thus enabling public policy engagement with the ways in which urban dwellers remake the social and spatial formations of urban areas. In this dissertation, I examine the extent to which women's urban experiences and socio-political views are excluded from the theoretical and political spaces that inform neoliberal urban projects/polices. I illustrate that Ibadan women have their own visions for the city and that they make claims to the urban by leveraging their culturally valued roles as mothers. I also argue that in a postcolonial landscape like Ibadan, the government uses limited and gendered approaches to women's issues that often tend to shy away from feminist politics and socio-economic equalities in attempts to label such social transformation projects as "un-African". While leveraging the "African difference" discourse to maintain patriarchal and cultural ideologies of gender relations and roles, the government uncritically pursue western modernist visions for the city through their desire to become a globally recognizable city and transcend their image as a "failed" city.

To this end, some of my research questions are: In what ways have urban development and planning in Ibadan been compatible with women's needs, priorities and concerns? How have the ways women view and carry out processes of production and reproduction changed over time and how are these changes reflected in development planning, policy and programming? How have Ibadan women contested what urban space means? What alternative discourses that shape urban realities and identities have women constructed? How can daily lived reality and local discourses intervene in urban development and planning in a manner that is socially transformative?

African Feminism and the Neoliberal City

A feminist analysis of neoliberal urbanism is crucial because cities, as feminist urban scholars have illustrated, are not gender-neutral spaces (Peake & Rieker, 2013). Rather, the urban scale is a key spatial scale through which gender is experienced and constituted (Bondi & Rose, 2003). Women's everyday lived realities are shaped by the city and at the same time women construct the material, social, and symbolic circumstances of daily life in the city (Preston & Ustundag, 2005, p. 212). Cities are also shaped by gender relations as well as relations of class, sexuality and other power relations. These socially constructed relations differentially constrain men and women's access to, and participation in, urban life (Moser & Peake, 1996).

Given Ibadan's colonial history, using a feminist analysis is fraught with neo-imperial implications and the postcolonial politics of gender. I posit in this dissertation that Ibadan's postcolonial condition has left local key decision-makers in the ambivalent position of wanting Ibadan to be perceived as an authentic city within the world/global cities discourse while leveraging the discourse of African exceptionalism when it comes to issues of gender inequality.

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I concomitantly engage with a postcolonial urbanism theory, influenced by an African feminist approach to urban geography to challenge the peripheralization of African cities and relegation of African women to "the bottom of the urban power hierarchy in third-world cities" (Amoo-Adare, 2011, p. 101). I am thus critical of neoliberal urban projects, in the pursuit of western approval, that widen socio-spatial inequalities and that often disregard women's gendered realities. Accordingly, key overarching questions that I ask in this dissertation are: How do we bring in an African feminist analysis of neoliberal urbanism and the ways in which it is gendered, classed and (re)produces spatial inequalities without reproducing the stereotypical images of African women as victims? How do we do this in a way that recognizes the postcolonial politics of patriarchy and that allows us to go beyond binary constructions of the global north and the global south?

Scholars of modern Africa agree that focusing on women's unique experiences offers important insights, but there is less agreement as to whether a feminist approach to women's experiences is appropriate. In the discourse on development in Africa since the 1970s, the question of (how to attain) women's empowerment and emancipation has been raised. Women's empowerment in Africa and the heightened debate on feminism is intimately tied to the discourse of development. The discourse on development as it pertains to African women is in turn intricately linked to functionalist anthropological studies conducted by western scholars, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, which consciously or unconsciously, constructed African women as the homogenous other (Ajayi-Soyinka, 2005; Lewis, 2001). Western feminists[3], in

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[3] In this dissertation, any reference to western feminism is not intended to homogenize feminism in the west. I am aware of the existence of other forms of feminism in the west such as Black feminists' concept of intersectionality (the analysis of intersecting identities and oppression [Hill Collins, 2000]), which has made a significant contribution to feminist theory. The western feminism that I discuss refers to the historical and political movement of feminisms in the west,

turn, "perceived [African women] as helpless victims of unconscionable and sometimes masochistic patriarchy that treats its womenfolk as little more than chattels and easily dispensable properties" (Ajayi-Soyinka, p. 73). As such, in the height of second wave feminism when a particular image of the western woman was the model for all women, the goal was to make African women more like western women (Steady, 2005, p. 316).

Alongside this rise in the 1970s in the "pitying" of African women as victims with no agency, African women's history became a growing field (Berger, 2003). Prior to this time, African women's histories were elided and were thus "invisible in the historical literature" (Okorobia, 2003, p. 99). The emerging literature on African women's history glaringly challenged the modernization paradigm of development that insinuated that underdevelopment and women's oppression were embedded in traditional pre-colonial societies. This literature thus gave justification for African women to begin to criticize development discourse as well as western feminism's crusades of empowerment. Moreover, it also gave a basis to critique second wave feminism's assumption that all women were the same (Ajayi-Soyinka, 1995). By 1975, The United Nations International Women's year conference in Mexico City also provided space for African women to highlight the inapplicability of western feminism's meta-narratives to their realities. However, it was not until the 1980s that African women's position and status began to be studied systematically (Mama, 1996).

Since the 1980s, there has been a proliferation of research and publications on African women, mainly by African scholars. Prominent scholars have interrogated the position of African women as subordinate in history as well as stressed the impact of colonialism and its role in diminishing women's social, economic and political status. In many pre-colonial societies in

which was informed by white middle-class women's ideas, perceptions, interests and experiences.

sub-Saharan Africa, women had access to political power and governed their own affairs. Many African women were autonomous and actively participated in the economy (Agbese, 2003; Berger & White, 1999; Steady, 1981). Women were traders, market women and farmers, whose accumulated profits provided for themselves and their families (Beoku-Betts, 2005; Berger & White, 1999; Mba, 1982; Sudarkasa, 1986); they were not dependent on men to be "breadwinners" or sole providers for their household (Denzer, 1992, p. 117).

It has been argued that colonial rule altered the position of African women. Economically, the pre-colonial economy was restructured and the new economic system that was introduced provided men with more opportunities than women. For example, agriculture and food production in many pre-colonial African societies was the domain of women. However, under colonialism, emphasis on cash crop economy and encouragement of male participation by colonial administrators brought African men in control of agriculture (Agbese, 2003; Mba, 1982; Okome, 2002; Steady, 1981). Politically, with the importation of European gender ideologies that restricted women to the domestic realm, African women's involvement in decision-making bodies and control over their own affairs was significantly reduced under colonial rule (Berger & White, 1999, Mba, 1982; Oyewumi, 1997).

Despite recognition of the active role accorded to women in pre-colonial societies, and colonialism's role in eroding women's political, social and economic status in many societies, it has been debated whether gender equality existed in pre-colonial Africa. Egodi Uchendu (2005), for example, argues that though Igbo women had a certain level of political rights and privileges, they were still under the control of men (p. 207). Mba (1982) and Aina (1993) have also asserted that women did not receive equal representation in key decision-making bodies in society. Hanson (2002) and White and Berger (1999) similarly noted that men had more access to

political power. However, Mba maintains that the public domain was the world of both men and women, and each had significant roles to play (Mba, 1982). In contrast to Uchendu, Mba and Sudarkasa have argued that pre-colonial African women occupied a complementary, rather than subordinate, societal position to men (Mba, 1982, p. 37; Sudarkasa, 1986, pp. 25, 29). Berger (1999) has argued that pre-colonial societies such as the Hadza of Tanzania, the Mbuti of eastern Congo and the !Kung on the desert fringes of Botswana, Angola and Namibia, were highly egalitarian.

Perhaps the question of subordination is not the appropriate one to query. Rather, as Sudarkasa argues, the conceptualizations of subordinate and superordinate do not provide an accurate reflection of the "social and ideological realities of the people concerned" (p. 26). As such, it can be agreed that women in pre-colonial Africa do not fit neatly into the framework of subordination that has been previously posited by western scholarship; rather the history of pre-colonial African women challenges the simple dichotomy of subordinate or superordinate. It also defies the commonly held myth that pre-colonial society was similar to the patriarchal structures of Europe, which restricted women to the private sphere.

Although the issue of subordination has been addressed, it is still constructive to consider how some aspects of gender hierarchy were present in pre-colonial society and may be beneficial for understanding contemporary societies as well as cultural practices in Africa. As McFadden (1997), Lewis (2001), Mama (2001) and Aina (1998) have argued, it is important to critically interrogate pre-colonial African social structures and consider that gender hierarchies may have been present, and consequently interacted with colonial structures to marginalize women and exacerbate gender inequities.

As a case in point, pioneers of African women's movements recognized the combination of

African patriarchy and colonial patriarchy in contributing to women's inequality as illustrated by

Johnson-Odim (2009) below:

> In the twentieth century massive numbers of women, poor and rich, educated and
> uneducated, were deeply involved in resistance to European colonialism and male
> domination at both the local and national levels. The 1890s rebellion led by Charwe
> in present-day Zimbabwe, the 1929 women's rebellion in Eastern Nigeria, the
> 1940s women's marches in Senegal as part of the strike of African male railway
> workers so beautifully chronicled in Ousmane Sembene's *God's Bits of Wood*,
> (1960) the Mau Mau Rebellion in Kenya (1952–1960) and the revolution against
> the French in Algeria (1954–1962), are a few among the many examples of women
> critically centred in African resistance. From the 1970s through the 1990s women's
> roles as troop support and combatants against the Portuguese in Angola and
> Mozambique and apartheid in South Africa are all well documented. Women's
> resistance to European colonialism also often involved confronting African male
> collaborators, and ultimately, the patriarchal practices of African societies. (pp. 51-
> 2)

These women's actions in the debate on feminism in Africa, have been pointed out as feminist in

nature, thereby symbolizing that feminist action is not a foreign export to Africa[4] (Mekgwe,

2008). However, it has also been noted that feminism in contemporary Africa is more than a

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[4] That being said, the term "feminism" is relatively modern. It was "coined in the late 19th century in Europe. It is therefore anachronistic to speak of it other than in our relatively recent history in Africa, as elsewhere" (Dosekun, 2007, p. 43). Thus, by arguing that feminist actions by African women is not a foreign export, I refer to how and why African women historically resisted the conditions that oppressed them as women (Dosekun, 2007). Moreover, as I discuss in Chapter Two, just because the term was coined in Europe does not preclude the existence of the phenomena in African contexts.

women's liberation movement that solely focuses on the oppression of women; it is also about acknowledging and fighting against the intricate relationship between gender, neo-imperalism, racism and the geographies of underdevelopment embedded in the global political economy (Lewis, 2009; Johnson-Odim, 2009).

On the other side of the African feminism debate, scholars like Amadiume (1987) and Mba (1982) have proposed reinstating the dual sex system as a solution to the gender inequalities in modern African societies. Dual sex theorists believe that there were no gender hierarchies in pre-colonial societies and highlight that colonialism has produced contemporary gender inequalities. The dual sex system is deemed as being "true" to African societies (and for addressing contemporary gender inequality) as it empowered African women in pre-colonial societies. Within this dual sex system, political interest groups were defined and represented by sex (Aina, 1993, p. 5) and women conducted their own affairs without male interference (Agbese, 2003). In the dual sex system, men and women's rights were protected and respected and "not one gender was privileged or devalued" (Nzegwu, 2001, p. 23). However, this dual sex system proposal raises concerns of plausibility and effectiveness. It appears to be a pathway to further undermining women and exacerbating women's inequality rather than minimizing inequality. It incorporates women into an existing system and institution without transforming and challenging the relations of power between men and women within the institution.

Not only are debates on feminism in Africa connected to the pre-colonial understanding of women's role and status, the feminism debate also cannot be extricated from the postcolonial politics of patriarchy and nationalism. This political discourse criticizes feminism for being western-centric and it "disguises a deep-seated conservatism thinly masquerading as a healthy populism…and placates the unease of patriarchal nationalism, which routinely invokes the

charge of spiralling 'westernisation' to attack African women's radicalism" (Lewis, 2009, p. 211). But to label African feminism as "un-African" implies, as Amina Mama (1995) argues, that:

> The 'real' African woman…is content with her subordinate position as wife, mother and beast of burden. She is passive in the face of abuse, tolerant of all forms of infidelity; her only real ambition is to retain respectability by labouring for the maintenance of a stable marriage and family and seeing to the satisfaction of her husband's desires. (cited in Dosekun, 2007, p. 43)

Moreover as Mudimbe (1988) and Appiah (1992) have inquired, can we unequivocally claim that there is an "African" identity and an "African" culture? Did this specificity of "Africanness" not materialize as a result of the European gaze? Thus, this essentialisation of Africanness is in itself a western-centric argument materialized through the critique of feminism as "un-African."[5]

In this dissertation, I aver that African feminism is necessary in the African context. This African feminism sees the importance of critiquing local and global patriarchies, understanding the role of colonialism and neo-colonialism in gender relations and the ways in which neo-imperialism is oppressive. I view patriarchy as a social construct that both men and women can be implicated in maintaining and reproducing. Bibi Bakare-Yusuf's (2003) work on African feminism guides my approach:

> African feminism requires a theoretical account of embodied gender differences that is grounded in the complex realities of African women's everyday experiences.

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[5] Although I use the terms "African Feminism" and "African Women", I understand Africa as a fragmented plurality whereby there is no unitary and closed identity. I also believe that an African woman's "identity is necessarily connected to very specific gender configurations, forms of access to and control over means of production, participation in civic and spiritual life, inheritance rights, individual choices and so on, all taking place in particular African locations" (Bakare-Yusuf, 2003, p. 10)

This theory must specify and analyse how our lives intersect with a plurality of

power formations, historical encounters and blockages that shape our experiences

across time and space. This account must also recognise the concrete specificity of

individual gendered experience, and how this connects to and is different from the

experiences of others. We need a framework that enables us to examine what it

means to be who we are, and at the same time encourages us to realise who we

want to become. These requirements will provide the means to theorise the

changing modalities of African women's existence, even as we recognise the

different traditions and cultures that bind contemporary African women to other

women in other times and other places. From this perspective, "culture" and

"tradition" can be seen as unfinished projects that are continuously being

transformed by cultural actors. In this way, we will be able to move away from

deterministic propositions, Cartesian oppositionality and reductive notions of

African exceptionalism. (p. 1)

Hence, an essential point of departure in this dissertation is that the discourse of African

exceptionalism should be inapplicable to feminist understandings, approaches and activism

in Africa. Transcending this exceptionalism discourse deters the prevalence of binary

constructions of the west and Africa. It also opens up opportunities for African feminist

thought and action to arise "from focusing on lived experiences and the intricacies,

nuances, contradictions and potentialities of everyday life" (Bakare-Yusuf, 2003, p. 10).

To this end, I am able to bring in an African feminist perspective to analyse the neoliberal

city.

Thus, my research investigates whether and how women's lived experiences have

been changed by, as well as have informed, neoliberal development and planning discourses and practices in Ibadan. As such, I explore how women make meaning of urban development and planning projects/policies through the ways in which they understand how these projects/policies have captured and/or missed their reality. Most importantly, I investigate the complexities of subversion and compliance with urban development projects and policies that women concomitantly engage in while navigating everyday urban space. Further, I examine the ways in which Ibadan women articulate their visions for urban development and planning, and the extent to which these visions challenge the narrative that "feminism is un-African" and the literature that also stipulates that poor women are not really attentive to gender issues as they care more about "bread and butter" issues.

Dissertation Structure

The remainder of this dissertation is organized into six parts. In Chapter Two I discuss my theoretical framework by locating my research within the growing scholarship on African urban spaces and subjectivities, feminist geographers' approach to the urban and African feminist perspectives on African women. I argue that in order to understand and engage in productive discussions about the urban in Africa, a postcolonial urbanism discourse that is informed by a feminist perspective that recognizes urban and development planning as inextricably linked to gender, imperialism, and colonialism is imperative. It is from this foundation that I argue we can attain a transformative urban and development planning tradition that is informed by African women's realities, practices and activities.

Chapter Three outlines the methods and methodologies that shape my research. In the chapter, I discuss my personal and political relationship to my dissertation topic. I also describe

the postcolonial feminist methodological approach that I used in the research followed by a detailed discussion on research design and methods. I conclude the chapter by highlighting the dilemmas and challenges encountered while in the field.

In Chapter Four, I suggest that understanding the lived reality and politics of urban space from the viewpoint of Ibadan dwellers provides a more nuanced and multidimensional understanding of Ibadan that eschews a developmentalist and interventionist framework. Moreover, I argue that contrary to survivalist accounts, women often frame their issues within a positive and negative rights discourse and do not view themselves as victims but rather as subjects with entitlements. Women's rights discourse enables them to call into question the government's limited and gendered approaches to women's issues that often tend to shy away from feminist politics of gender and socio-economic equalities in attempts to label such social transformation projects as "un-African". Instead, the government engages with the neoliberal notion of individual responsibility through empowerment approaches that are rooted in patriarchal and cultural ideologies of gender relations and roles. These approaches are myopic in that they neglect women's desires for change and also fail to understand that the ways in which women engage with and navigate the city goes beyond typical patriarchal assumptions and expectations.

In Chapter Five, I explore the exclusion of women from urban governance and local decision-making processes. I contend that cultural religious discourses and political violence play critical roles in women's political exclusion and that when women do have the opportunity to participate in formal politics it is often in gendered and classed ways. I emphasize that women are interested in politics and are cognizant of the ways in which it is gendered and impacts upon

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government understanding of women's issues. I also discuss women's proposal for transformative change in gender relations in Ibadan politics.

In Chapter Six, I assert that despite women's exclusion from formal politics, women engage in informal politics to challenge the imposition of neoliberal urban planning. I argue that women have alternative plans for the city that are rooted in a populist politics that is concerned with the social and economic welfare of Ibadan dwellers. By working within neoliberal and patriarchal rhetorics, women have been able to call into question the neoliberal assumption that the market can solve socioeconomic disparities. They have also challenged the patriarchal prerogative that stifles women's voices and their claims to the city as equal inhabitants.

In the conclusion, Chapter Seven, I highlight the key themes that emerged in the dissertation and connect my approach and findings to the goals of attaining an urban development and planning tradition that achieves social transformations. The chapter also includes a discussion of the limitations of my study. I address some of these limitations by providing suggestions for future research.

Conclusion

In sum, this dissertation challenges hegemonic western discourses, theories and models of development and urban planning interventions. My research contributes to recent scholarship on African urban spaces, subjectivities, and development and to the growing literature on gender studies in African urban scholarship. Further, my research reflects a new scholarly approach that emphasizes the imperative of understanding southern women's approaches to the city and their potential contribution to urban development and planning theories and praxis. The study addresses current feminist concerns about centering the lived experiences and knowledge of women of the global south (Nagar, Lawson, McDowell, & Hanson, 2002) so that the centering of

western experiences and knowledge can be dislocated to create space for new geographies of theory (Roy, 2009). My research aligns with feminist goals by privileging Ibadan women's experiences and knowledge to put forward more transformative policies that are unavailable to them through discourse and practices of a narrow developmentalism. My aim to examine and understand discourse and materiality from the viewpoint of Ibadan women opens up potential theoretical spaces for theorizing urban space and subjectivity in African cities. By highlighting the gaps between women's everyday lived reality and urban development and planning, as well as detailing the importance of prioritizing local knowledge production, my research contributes to contemporary scholarship that is concerned with more equitable and socially just forms of urbanism.

CHAPTER 2 -TOWARDS AN AFRICAN FEMINIST POSTCOLONIAL URBANISM
APPROACH

Introduction

This chapter introduces the conceptual and theoretical foundations of my research. I

locate my research within the growing scholarship on African urban spaces and subjectivities,

feminist approaches to the urban, particularly those of geographers, and African feminist

perspectives on African women. Structurally, I begin by illustrating how western approaches to

African cities have shifted from the urban as a crucial site for national development and

modernization in the post-independence era to the urban as crisis and as an irrelevant player in

the global economy during the era of neoliberal restructuring. I argue for the need to replace

discourses relegating African cities to the periphery with discourses challenging westernized

ideas about the urban in Africa. In taking this stance, my approach for theorizing Ibadan builds

upon Jennifer Robinson's (2006) theory of postcolonial urbanism to challenge the discourse of a

global urban hierarchy. However, I posit that Robinson's approach, as well as other Afrocentric

critiques of western approaches, lacks a gender analysis of the urban. It is from this gap that I

highlight the importance of incorporating the lens of feminist urban geography into Robinson's

postcolonial urbanism theory. I also strongly caution that an African feminist perspective is

needed to mitigate the fact that western feminist urban scholarship has rarely emphasized the

experiences of women living in African cities. Instead, women's lived experiences as knowing

urban subjects who contribute to the shaping of the city and who in turn shape the city are often

neglected in exchange for an approach that merely enumerates their problems (Awumbila, 2007).

Given African women's imperial and neo-imperial relationship to the west, I engage the

literature that questions the use of western gender constructs in African contexts and declares the

feminist project as antithetical to African values. I contend however that a feminist perspective that is grounded in African women's reality is a necessary element of my project. I conclude by emphasizing the connection between postcolonial urbanism, feminist urban geography and African feminism and how they combine to enhance my analysis.

African Cities: From Hope to Despair to Hope

In this section, I provide an overview of the academic and policy approaches to African cities from the era of decolonization to contemporary scholarship on African cities. I argue that there has been a transformation in the depiction of African cities as sites for African modernization and development between the 1950s and 1970s to the characterization since the late 1980s of African cities as non-functional, un-sophisticated and promoting overurbanization without development. I assert that the majority of these depictions and characterizations are anchored in western notions of urbanism and make the assumption that African urbanism should follow the trajectories of western urbanism. In this light, I use the critical work of Africanist urban theorists to argue for alternative ways of seeing African urbanism.

Burgeoning African Cities: Doorway into the Modern World

Prior to the economic crisis in the 1970s, research and policy agendas on African cities were rather "benign and optimistic" (Stren, 1994, p. 730). During the 1950s and 1960s, urbanization was perceived as a recent phenomenon on the African continent that had to be understood in its connection to colonialism[6] (Beauchemin & Bocquier, 2004). A large body of

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[6] "In some parts of Africa, earlier urban systems had decayed and 'new' colonial settlements were established, sometimes from scratch and sometimes in the sites of earlier settlements.

work emerged examining urbanization during colonial times (Furedi, 1973; Mabogunje, 1968; Onokerhoraye, 1973) that explained this phenomenon as a result of the development of "new centres to control and administer the colonized population and to exploit and export natural resources" (Beauchemin & Bocquier, p. 2246) and the ensuing growth in rural-urban migration as fulfilling the colonial demand for labour (Beauchemin & Bocquier, 2004; Furedi, 1973; McCall, 1955).

Historical studies on urbanization also examined the gendered and racialized processes of colonial urbanization in Africa. Colonial cities were depicted as spaces where black bodies were under surveillance and highly regulated (Barnes, 1992; Demissie, 2007; Furedi, 1973) as cities were designed to be white-only spaces or segregated spaces between Europeans and Africans[7] (Beekmans, 2013; Martin, 1995; Njoh, 2009; Swanson, 1977). Because African labour was an apposite aspect of colonial success, black bodies were usually granted temporary, supervised and restricted access to the city. However, only certain black bodies could enter the city. For example, Ester Boserup's (1970) seminal work, *Women's Role in Economic Development*, describes urban areas as men's world. Boserup provided what is probably the first typology in English of cities in relation to gender (Moser & Peake, 1996). She specifically noted that two types of African towns were common, "male" and "semi-male" towns. In the former, males outnumber females because their labour was integral to the colonial economy and in the latter, some females were not only present but also visible and engaged in street and market activities. Thus, the city was not seen as a place for women and women's mobility was constrained and

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Elsewhere, colonial settlements were superimposed on and attached to existing towns and cities..." (Rakodi, 1997, p. 23).
[7] There were African contestation and resistance to spatial segregation (Beekmans, 2013). Although urban space was theoretically designed to be segregated, there was still mingling and cohabitation especially between African women and European men (Martin, 2002).

controlled[8] (Barnes, 1992; Chauncey, 1981; Jackson, 2002; McCall, 1955; Obbo, 1980).

Although women resisted these restrictions, their role in the city has often been portrayed as outside of the colonial economy and characterized as illegal and immoral because of their engagement in activities such as beer brewing and prostitution[9] (Bujra, 1975; Coquery-Vidrovitch, 1994; Davis, 2000; Furedi, 1973; Hay, 1988; Little, 1973; Mayer, 1963; White, 1986). As such, early urban research on African cities, especially those carried out by the Manchester School of Urban Anthropology, rarely depicted women as subjects of analysis, and when they were subjects, they were restricted to their reproductive role[10] (Moser & Peake, 1996).

During colonialism, African cities mainly serviced Europe, and little investment was made into the development of Africa (Falola, 1984; Freund, 2007; Heldring & Robinson, 2012; McCall, 1955; Rodney, 1982). As Rakodi (1997) aptly notes, "colonial cities developed not as industrial centres, but to facilitate the extraction of commodities and the politico-administrative system on which this depended" (p. 23). The colonial system dominated, exploited and dislocated African economies. As Saheed Adejumobi (2000) explains,

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[8] Women were sometimes perceived as agents or vectors of disease (Jackson, 2002; Martin, 2002). For example, in colonial Zimbabwe, single African women were subjected to compulsory venereal disease examination whenever they travelled to towns or near sites of production. These women were suspected of being both disreputable and diseased and thus inscribed into colonial space as stray women who were responsible for spreading disease all over the country (Jackson, 2002, p. 191).

[9] Despite the depictions of African women's work as illegal, some scholars have examined women's work as migrant labourers in formal structures of the urban colonial economy (Barnes, 2002). Chauncey (1981) also noted that African women were consciously recruited into towns in Northern Rhodesia because the ability of capital to extract greater surplus value depended on its success in relocating women's reproductive labour to the urban areas (p. 135). Companies in Northern Rhodesia viewed the sexual, domestic and other services women provided men in their compounds as non-monetary inducements for men to work in the copperbelt (Chauncey, 1981, p. 137).

[10] Some studies did move beyond women's reproductive roles by noting the ways in which towns/cities were sites for women's revolts against colonial oppression (see Coquery-Vidrovitch, 1991; Mba, 1982).

Most of the surplus generated by the [colonial] economy was repatriated to Europe,

which meant that the colonial economy was unable to generate the savings essential for

investment. Of course the exported capital added to the accumulating surplus of the

European countries. It was therefore no surprise that colonial Africa was very poorly

served in terms of capital investments…The European dominance of the economy, the

capital flight, and the low level of investment all ensured a very low level of capital

formation among Africans, and the concomitant underdevelopment of the indigenous

social classes. (pp. 501-2)

Regarding the positive contribution of the colonial economy to Africa, it can be argued

that the building of physical infrastructure such as roads, railways and ports are significant

contributions – albeit built solely for the purpose of the facilitation of the exploitation of African

resources. As Basil Davidson (1994) further points out:

Banks were founded, but Africans were given no share in running them. Shipping lines

expanded but they were always foreign. Great wholesale businesses were launched, but

not by Africans. Railways were built but by European engineers… Deep mines were dug

but always by foreign companies using African labour and foreign technicians. Huge

profits were made from these mines, but the lion's share of the profits always went back

to Europe or America…colonial development meant the transfer of wealth from Africa to

countries overseas. (p. 19)

Thus, after independence, Africa was left with incomplete infrastructures, and a dependent

economy as "western imperialism ensured the total disarticulation of the inner essence and

autonomous dynamism of the African economy" (Adejumobi, 2000, p. 504).

Despite the oppressive gendered and racialized nature of urbanization, colonial cities have been depicted as playing a pertinent role in social transformations in Africa. First, the city was noted for being a site of modernization and westernization. It was a space where Africans appeared to be de-tribalised and not as restricted to tradition as they were in the countryside. Thus, it was conceived as a space for civilization and the "door through which Africa is entering the modern world" (McCall, 1955, p. 160). Second, in a similar vein, the city was depicted as a place of relative freedom and elevated status for African women compared to their lives in rural areas (Little, 1975). These first two points, though "optimistic", are premised on a Eurocentric and untruthful construction of Africa as primitive. Third, the city has been highlighted for serving as a site for the education and politicization of Africans, which were critical foundations for the independence struggles from colonial domination (Furedi, 1973).

The Emergence of the Modernization Approach to African Cities

When the majority of African countries gained independence in the 1950s and 1960s, there was a sense of hope and promise in the air for the future of African states (and cities), especially if they followed the development premises of modernization theory. The city was viewed, optimistically, as an engine "of national development, not just for the individual countries but for the continent as a whole – modernization projects were undertaken by the postcolonial states and private individuals as markers of modernity and modernization" (Demissie, 2007, p. 2). In parallel with the focus on urban development, African cities saw an unprecedented level of growth in the post independence area. Accordingly, in line with the policy focus on the economic benefits of urbanization (Rakodi, 1997), when researchers studied African cities, they examined "the causes of urban growth; its implications; and the response

patterns of governments in terms of town planning policy, housing policy, and regional planning policy which might mitigate the worst effects of the primate city" (Stren, 1994, p. 730).

Urban research and policy agendas were heavily influenced by modernization theory that dominated mainstream thinking in international development agencies from the 1950s to the 1970s. With the modernization initiative, the primary goal of "development" was economic growth through planning by the state. This was believed to be attainable through stages that would move societies forward enabling "progress" to prevail. With "progress" in mind, the most influential theory at this time was W.W. Rostow's "Stages of Economic Growth" which argued that growth occurred in five stages: traditional society; preconditions for take-off; take off; drive to maturity; and the age of high-mass consumption (Rostow, 1968, p. 4).

By the early 1970s, modernization theory's prescription for "how to develop" (Hoogvelt, 2001, p. 35) was criticized for its universalistic assumption of linear progress. Dependency theorists such as Walter Rodney, Samir Amin, and Gunder Frank lambasted modernization theory for being ahistorical by using "backwardness" as a scapegoat for underdevelopment rather than examining the history of exploitation wrought by the expansion of capitalism during colonialism. While modernization theory advocated economic growth through capitalism, dependency theory critiqued capitalist development that was seen as the cause of extracted surpluses from Africa, whilst injecting, through unequal exchange, profits into the western European economy (Rodney, 1982).

The solution that dependency theory proposed was that, because contact with "developed" countries only produces restructuring and underdevelopment, the only choice that "underdeveloped" countries have is to delink from the west, and become "independent" from their diffusions of capital, institutions and values (Frank, 1992, p. 108; Hoogvelt, 2001, p. 35).

Thus, "delinking" promotes national autonomy and challenges the inevitability of capitalism[11] (Salih, 2006, p. 22). Although admittedly plausible in its assertion that there is a heavy dependency on the west and that unequal trade only aggravates the postulated problems of "underdevelopment", dependency theory is pessimistic in its views that "development" will only occur by "delinking" from the west. The major problem with this solution of "delinking" is that by commending socialism as the true path to development, it assumes that socialism will work in juxtaposition with the external capitalist global economy. More so, dependency theory's disproportionate focus on external causes obscures internal class structure and class analysis as a contributing factor to underdevelopment (Chilcote, 1978; Johnson, 1981).

Chaotic, Dysfunctional, and Failing African Cities: Gateway to an Urban Apocalypse

From the early 1970s to mid-1980s, "urban bias in spatial investment" (Rakodi, 1997, p. 55) was replaced by the flow of international aid to promote rural development and there was less policy and research focus on cities. However, "by the mid 1980s, in the face of world wide economic stagnation, the economic benefits of urbanization were revisited" (Stren, 1993, as cited in Rakodi, 1997, p. 127) and cities were again key targets of the development projects.

In 1991, a World Bank policy paper, "Urban Policy and Economic Development: An Agenda for the 1990s", proposed a policy framework and strategy to address urban challenges in developing countries. The new policy agenda focused on improving urban productivity, alleviating urban poverty, protecting urban environments, and increasing understanding of urban issues. As such, research on urbanization since the late 1980s has been primarily driven by "two basic characteristics of African cities: their poverty and their rapid rates of growth" (Stren, 1992,

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[11] For Amin, 'delinking' "is a matter of subjecting the mutual relations between the various nations and regions of the whole world of the planet to the varying imperatives of their own internal development and not the reverse" (as cited in Salih, 2006, p. 22).

p. 533). Within this context, studies on Africa were concerned with urban management and the increased informalization of urban life. Specifically, some research on women highlighted the gender differentiated labour market (Johnston-Anumonwo & Doane, 2011, p. 9) and women's place at the "bottom of the informal economy hierarchy" (p. 10), as well as the ways in which urban management is patriarchal and exclusionary (Beall, 2002; Mosiane, 2011).

While the neoliberal urban policy agenda was busy constructing African cities as unproductive, inefficient and non-functional, contemporary western hegemonic approaches to urban studies and theories also began to emerge. In the 1980s, with the increasing dominance of neoliberal globalization, studies of cities shifted and became more concerned with the connection between urbanization processes and global economic forces (Friedmann, 1986, p. 69). The urbanization in the world economy approach was informed by Manuel Castells' suggestion that the growth of third world cities should be considered "dependent urbanization" (Smith, 2005, p, 50). This consequently "developed into a theory of 'dependent urbanization', which attempted to apply world-system categories to the growth of cities in various 'zones' (core, periphery and semiperiphery) of the globe" (Smith, 2005, p, 50). A major limitation of this approach was that it was state-centric and therefore did not offer "a needed spatial perspective on an economy which seems increasingly oblivious to national boundaries" (Friedmann, 1986, p. 69).

In response to the inadequacies of dependent urbanization theory, Friedmann and later Sassen (1991) offered a world/global city conceptual framework for understanding cities that are integral to the world economy. Friedmann's thesis specified that there is a global urban hierarchy.[12] Based on Friedmann's classification of world cities, African cities were at the

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[12] For Friedmann (1986), a world city had to meet the following seven criteria:
    1. The form and extent of a city's integration with the world economy, and the
    functions assigned to the city in the new spatial division of labour, will be decisive for

bottom rung of the ladder; they were not of world city quality. Within the world/global city

discourse, African cities are examined through the dualistic lens of formal/informal,

planned/unplanned, order/disorder (Rakodi, 2008, p. 25), and functional/dysfunctional

(O'Shaughnessy, 2008). This dualistic lens framed African cities as aberrant, unsophisticated,

unmanageable and lagging behind - in need of catching up "with the primary world-class cities"

(O'Shaughnessy, p. 3). And when urban Africa emerges to inform theory in the west, it is within

a discourse of overurbanization (Myers, 2001) – and in this discourse, the cities have "earned"

the label of mega cities. However, the mega city discourse still frames African cities as a

problem because it is concerned with overpopulation, slum growth (Davis, 2007), and

urbanization without development (Locatelli & Nugent, 2009, p. 2). Accordingly, the mega city

discourse subscribes to an "Afro-pessimism that considers underdevelopment an endemic and

specific African feature, and the result of African inability to conform to an idea of 'modernity'

of neoliberal imprint" (Locatelli & Nugent, 2009, p. 3).

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any structural changes occurring within it (p. 70)
2. Key cities throughout the world are used by global capital as 'basing points' in the spatial organization and articulation of production and markets. The resulting linkages make it possible to arrange world cities into a complex spatial hierarchy (p. 71)
3. The global control functions of world cities are directly reflected in the structure and dynamics of their production sectors and employment. (p. 73)
4. World cities are major sites for the concentration and accumulation of international capital (p.73)
5. World cities are points of destination for large numbers of both domestic and/or international migrants (p. 75)
6. World city formation brings into focus the major contradictions of industrial capitalism - among them spatial and class polarization (p. 76)
7. World city growth generates social costs at rates that tend to exceed the fiscal capacity of the state (p. 77)

Out of the Shadows: Towards a Postcolonial African Urban Discourse

A strong Afrocentric critique of the world/global city paradigm has emerged and grown popular in the last decade. Prior to this time, the Johannesburg School had developed a large body of urban scholarship to counteract the Los Angeles School and Chicago School's dominance of world/global cities scholarship (Parnell, 2013). However, the urban scholarship from the Johannesburg School, until the last decade, was under-recognized internationally. Similar to the Johannesburg School's claim for alternative global urbanisms, contemporary African urban theorists have stressed the importance of "seeing African cities as important loci of global processes or generators of urban stories worth telling and learning from" (Myers, 2001, p. 7). Rather than focusing on the hopeless portrayals of Africa, alternative visions of theory and practice that challenge westernized ideas about the urban have been posited.

A dismissal of the relevance of African cities in urban theory, when disproportionately focusing on their lack and crisis, obfuscates "the creative ways in which African urbanites respond to these complex and challenging spaces, and how this has the potential to change the way the space functions and is read" (O' Shaughnessy, 2008, p. 6). In this light, Simone (2004) effectively argues that people in Africa should be seen as infrastructure and valued for the ways in which they negotiate and survive in urban spaces. His approach challenges the Eurocentric goals of focusing on the governability of African cities and people, and calls for a consideration of people's practices and experiences in the formulation of urban theories and policies.

My approach for theorizing Ibadan borrows from Jennifer Robinson's (2006) postcolonial urbanism theory. Although Jennifer Robinson does not espouse a feminist approach, her theory of postcolonial urbanism captures the way I think about cities of the global south. Robinson deviates from hierarchical and binary approaches to cities that often characterize cities of the

north as modern and global while cities of the south are viewed as non-modern and non-global. She argues that in urban studies, cities in the south are often only considered from a colonial and developmentalist framework and are therefore disqualified as cosmopolitan, modern and producers of knowledge. Robinson promotes a postcolonial approach that dismantles the hierarchical divisions that "continue to ascribe innovation and dynamism—modernity—to cities in rich countries, while imposing a catch-up fiction of modernization on the poorest" (p. 2). She therefore offers the term "ordinary cities" to conceptualize all cities as autonomous, innovative and dynamic, thereby allowing the recognition of difference as diversity instead of being viewed in terms of hierarchical binaries. The concept "ordinary cities" erases the false notion of time – space separation and enables all cities to be modern and cosmopolitan.

I consider Ibadan as a knowing, "ordinary city" and a site of modernity, thereby capable of imagining its own future outside of a hierarchical developmentalist intervention framework. In declaring that Ibadan is an "ordinary city", I reject the developmentalist approach to urban development and planning in African cities, whereby urban planning (as promoted through development intervention) is expected to operate within a neoliberal, capitalist and western paradigm. My research challenges the "global city" paradigm that values the urban experience of northern cities and diminishes the urbanness of many cities in the south (Mbembe & Nuttall, 2004; Nuttall & Mbembe, 2005; Robinson, 2006; Roy, 2009) by arguing for an autonomous space for de-centred and alternative narratives about "citiness".

Engaging Postcolonial Urbanism and African Feminist Urban Geography

Much of these Afrocentric critiques of world/global city approaches rarely account for gendered aspects of the city. Nor do they interrogate the ways in which African women are often

at "the bottom of the urban power hierarchy in third-world cities" (Amoo-Adare, 2011, p. 101).

As a case in point, Garth Myers' (2010) *Seven themes in African Urban Dynamics* in which he

identifies current and future directions in African urban research[13] does not include the

importance of gender and women to urban scholarship.

    Although there has been scholarship on African women's lives in colonial and

postcolonial cities (see Antoine & Nanitelamio, 1991; Burja, 1975; Chadya, 2007; Coquery-

Vidrovitch Hay, 1988; Izzard, 1985; Little, 1973; Obbo, 1980; Osirim, 2003; Musisi, 1995;

White, 1986; Sheldon, 1996; Snyder, 2000) as well as discussions on the need to include women

in and adopt gender-aware approaches to urban planning decision making processes (Amoo-

Adare, 2011; Beall & Todes, 2004; Todes, Sithole & Williamson, 2010), there remains a paucity

of theorizing on African women's approach and relationship to the city. Moreover, the existing

scholarship on women in African cities, as well as the scholarship on African urban theory rarely

engage each other.

    I bridge the two scholarships discussed above using an African feminist perspective that

is informed by feminist urban geography to speak to Robinson's postcolonial urbanism theory. In

so doing, I am able to examine the spatial and gendered effects of the global and local political

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[13] Myers' (2010) identified seven priority areas are: continued engagement with research on colonial legacies, but tied into means for overcoming these; baseline research and data creation for assessing informalisation and how informal and formal sectors and settlements work together or go together in cities across the continent; related research on hybrid forms of governance between informal and formal, particularly in the realm of service provision; research to critically analyse democratisation in urban dimensions, in terms of provisioning, poverty alleviation, amelioration of inequalities and socio-environmental justice; critical analysis of security issues, conflict resolution processes, crime and policing and health crises as they impact African cities; empirical assessment of the links between African cities and diaspora communities abroad in terms of how transnational organisations do, or do not, transform urban development; and learning from African artists, writers, architects and planners as they seek new visions of the continent's cities (p. 21).

economy while providing insights into women's experiences and navigation of everyday urban space. Feminist geographers' stance on gender as an instrumental force and a category of explanation in geographical processes as well as their understanding of the relationship between the city, local and global capital and women is leveraged in my analysis of women's lived experiences of urban space in Ibadan (Little, Peake & Richardson, 1988; Nelson & Seager, 2005; Peake & Reiker, 2013). For feminist geographers, "cities are the locations from which global movements of capital and information emanate, the locations of everyday lives that are buffeted, restructured, and terrorized by national and international forces, and the places where women act to mold social, economic, political, and cultural processes of change at all spatial scales" (Preston & Ustundag, 2005, p. 212). Specifically, I use the aforementioned perspective to further understand Ibadan women's encounter with global and local patriarchal systems of domination and oppression, especially in light of neoliberal restructuring. Moreover, this perspective helps illuminate how neoliberal projects of urbanization that entail western modernist visions of the city, and privilege capital interests over citizens' needs, reproduce spatial and gender inequalities (Brown, Lyons & Dankoco, 2010; Vives Miro, 2011, p. 3). Thus, a feminist urban geography lens on political economy will enable me to view Ibadan women as subjects who negotiate the complexities of urban life as well as contest and expose the contradictions of neoliberalism.

Employing a feminist urban geography lens then allows me to be "globally informed but locally grounded" (Mama, 2011). In my research, I answer Mariama Awumbila's (2007) call for the "need for 'home-grown' theory particularly in view of the fact that the experience of African women may differ from that of western women" (p. 53). As such, the work of feminist urban geographers enables me to use gender to analyze the African city but at the same time, an African feminist perspective allows me to be critical of the lack of African women's urban

experiences in western scholarship and the limits of its applicability to Ibadan women's lived

reality. For example, "feminist geographers bring into geographical inquiry the analytical

significance of gendered spatial divisions between public and private, particularly as they shape

work (paid and unpaid), and urban processes" (Nelson & Seager, 2005, p. 3). However, "these

dualisms are much less clearly defined in southwestern Nigeria where Yoruba women are

strongly represented in the public arena of production" (Hathaway, 1997, p.133). Nevertheless, I

do not view urban feminist scholarship and African feminism as incompatible. Rather, they are

both critical in developing a feminist approach to African postcolonial urbanism. Nonetheless,

my willingness to use a gendered approach to urbanism may seem "un-African" to some

Africanist scholars who contest the use of western feminist gender constructs to analyse African

women, these scholars have also questioned the relevance of feminism to African contexts, and it

is to this topic that I turn.

The Relevance of Feminism to the African Context

In this section I problematise contemporary debates on the usefulness of feminism in

African countries. In efforts to explain the current positions of African women in society, many

scholars have traced women's contemporary role and status to pre-colonial societies and have

argued that colonialism has adversely impacted upon women's social, economic and political

powers (Agbese, 2003; Beoku-Betts, 2005; Berger & White, 1999; Denzer, 1992; Mba, 1982;

Oyewumi, 1997; Steady, 1981; Sudarkasa, 1986). Some of these scholars have concluded that

postcolonial governments have inherited colonial systems of undermining women's voices and

authority. In so doing, gender inequality is often blamed on western imperialism and thereby

considered foreign to pre-colonial African societies and it is argued that western categories of

gender and understandings of subordination and patriarchy are irrelevant to African realities. Consequently, feminism has been contested and declared western and "un-African".

I specifically examine critiques of western feminism that focus on embracing motherhood as an alternative to feminism and point out the shortcomings of the glorification of motherhood in improving gender relations and ensuring gender equality. I contend that a rejection of feminism is premature as well as limiting opportunities to attain social transformations in African societies. Also, a framework that asserts that patriarchy and gender hierarchy are alien to African societies, and targets western imperialism as the main perpetrator of contemporary gender disparity and women's inferiority, disregards African agency and responsibility. Thus, taking an anti-imperial stance is valid but only to the extent that one must be cautious when claiming an African identity and embracing African values.

Embracing Motherhood

> *Orisa bi iya ko si. Iya la ba ma a bo (*There is no deity like the mother. It is the mother
>
> that is worthy of being worshiped) – Yoruba proverb

A rejection of western feminism has been frequently made on the basis that it does not capture the reality of African women's lives and the centrality of motherhood to these lives. To the scholars promulgating this view, motherhood is empowerment for African women and it has consequently been posited that African women do not require any form of liberation or empowerment rooted in Eurocentric feminist notions.

Kolawole (1997), for example, rejects feminism in favour of womanist ideology. Aligning more with Hudson-Weems' (1993) Africana womanism than Walker's "womanist is to feminist as purple is to lavender" (Walker, 1983, p. xii), Kolawole boldly asserts that African women are more interested in a womanist ideology that addresses their specificity. She thus

places a large emphasis on the difference between values of western women and African women, claiming that African women have different cultural needs. She argues that feminism is about the erosion of feminine attributes and along this line, she claims that "the African woman cherishes her role as a home maker as well as her status as a mother or a potential mother" (Kolawole, 1997, pp. 31-32). To African women, families are important and not the anathema as represented supposedly by western feminists. In a similar vein as Hudson-Weems, Kolawole dismisses the primacy of gender in African women's reality.

Catherine Acholonu (1995) also rejects feminism and proposes motherism as Africa's alternative to feminism. For Acholonu, motherhood is a critical essence of African womanhood. Similarly, Oyewumi (2003) embraces motherhood, arguing that it is the greatest public institution. Oyewumi (1997) also posits that gender is a western construct and that the category "woman" and "man" were invented during colonialism. Using the Yoruba language, Oyewumi notes that it is gender neutral and therefore claims that gender-based social categories are absent in indigenous conceptions. Rather, seniority, instead of gender, was the organizing principle in pre-colonial Nigerian societies. She consequently claims that western feminism is irrelevant for African women because patriarchy is not inherent to African cultures. For Oyewumi, it is misguided to blame the contemporary second-class status of African women on traditional culture as "the post-independence second-class status of African women's citizenship is rooted in the process of inventing them as women" (Oyewumi, 1997, p. 127).

In Ifi Amadiume's (1987) study of the Igbos of Nnobi, Nigeria, she notes that there were gender ideologies in the Nnobi precolonial system even though the Nnobi Igbos have non-distinctive gender pronouns. Amadiume argues that any inequalities that were present were offset by the flexible gender system; thus, females were not subjugated. Amadiume asserts that

because the Nnobi are strongly matrifocal, women were able to obtain favourable positions in both the domestic and public sectors of the traditional society. She unequivocally stresses the importance of wifehood and motherhood in pre-colonial Nnobi society; motherhood was glorified and this was made explicit in songs and oral stories. As wives and mothers, women had access to essential economic resources. Also, "women had an exclusive formal organization with specific rights involving the fertility and marriage of daughters. Motherhood was therefore economically and politically rewarding" (Amadiume, 1987, p. 162). Thus, women "have always been articulate and not mere objects circulated among or acted upon by their men-folk" as they politically capitalized on their roles as wives and mothers (Amadiume, p. 86).

Amadiume rejects western feminism in a similar manner as Oyewumi through her conclusion that motherhood and domesticity is not synonymous with the subordination of women. Rather, based on her study, mothers were highly valued and rewarded; they were elevated, rather than subordinated. She notes that gender relations were reinterpreted under the umbrella of colonial rule, western education and Christianity. In the postcolonial Nnobi society, women still cherish their social and cultural status as mothers but there are no longer rewards for motherhood. Amadiume laments that "in the contemporary socio-cultural context, the persistent identification of women according to the traditional role and expectations of motherhood can lead only to their exploitation and their marginalization from the power structure" (Amadiume, 1987, p. 171). Makinde (2006) has also argued that the Yoruba have historically empowered women. Women have mainly been empowered through their role as mothers "because the preservation of humanity depends on the role of mothers" (Makinde, p. 173). Makinde, like Amadiume, points out that through songs, languages, work of art and religion, Yoruba culture has emphasized the importance of motherhood.

Western feminism's agenda of targeting patriarchal oppression and gender inequality has also been critiqued as only relevant for elite African women (Oyewumi, 1997; Sofola, 1998), as non-elite women do not consider such issues, nor do they consider themselves disempowered. For Sofola, western-educated, elite women have been "dewomanized", and have fallen into the trap of "westernism" whereby women have become dependent on men. Sofola argues that in pre-colonial Nigeria there was a conceptualized system of co-rulership and there were no gender conflicts. It is only in the postcolonial world and from a western lens that society has become a "battle ground where the woman fights to clinch some of men's power and foreign cultures have both ignited and fuelled a perpetual gender conflict that has now poisoned the erstwhile social order of traditional Africa" (Sofola, 1998, p. 62). Moreover, Sofola argues that an illiterate woman does not care about the issues that matter to the elite and educated women. Instead, the illiterate woman sees her role as empowering, and always takes control over her situation and mobilizes other women to resolve any arising issues. Thus, to Sofola (1998), illiterate and "traditional" African women have relative power in contrast to the western educated elite African women. Feminism has also been portrayed as having no resonance for poor, illiterate rural and urban women who are mainly concerned with their daily struggles for survival. According to Oyewumi (1997), while elite women suffer more from the ill effects of male dominance, lower class women's "experience of male dominance is muted, probably because it is over shadowed by socioeconomic disadvantages" (Oyewumi, 1997, p. 155). For example, during the 2009 contentions over the Family Code[14] in Mali, Hadja Dembele, President of the

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[14] The proposed Family Code no longer states like the previous family law, that wives must obey their husbands. The new family code was contentious because many viewed it as an attack on religion and culture.

National Union of Muslim Women's Association told the BBC that all the poor and illiterate women, "the real Muslims", are against the new family law (Vogl, 2009).

Gwendolyn Mikell (1997) also makes a similar argument as Oyewumi, though she does not reject feminism *per se*. Mikell defines her own brand of African feminism as distinctly heterosexual, pro-natal, and concerned with many "bread, butter, culture and power issues" (Mikell, 1997, p. 4). Filomena Steady (1981), like Mikell, also does not reject the language of feminism but rejects mainstream western feminism and argues that "true feminism is the reaction which leads to the development of greater resourcefulness for survival and greater self-reliance" (Steady, 1981, p. 36).

In reviewing the literature in this section, the common thread in these scholars work is that motherhood is empowering and the attribution of the presence of gender inequality in postcolonial societies to colonial rule. Moreover, African women in these studies are often constructed in a binary to western women, as highlighted by the ways in which African women are culturally and historically different from western women, with differences in priorities and everyday lived reality. All the scholars discussed in this section converge on the issue that gender inequality and patriarchy are alien to African cultures. For some, embracing feminism would be disingenuous to African culture as gender inequality is not inherent to African cultures. As Hudson-Weems (1993) argues, in the African traditional philosophical worldview, there was no patriarchal oppression. Thus, it is important for an African woman to reclaim her past if she feels oppressed. Even when scholars have no qualms with the usage of "feminism", they tend to promote a survivalist feminism, which leaves little space for criticisms of gender relations.

Skirting Gender and Power Relations

> *African societies are so clearly demarcated by gender division that it would be strategically suicidal to deny this and pretend that gender does not exist* – Amina Mama (cited in Salo, 2001, p. 63)

It is interesting that the scholars who have embraced motherhood (and home making), and critiqued colonialism for its introduction of gender inequalities, have yet to question the effect colonialism may have had on the centrality of motherhood to women's lives. While I am not contesting motherhood's cultural value in pre-colonial society, I question whether colonial influence can be neatly tagged as affecting one aspect of culture, but not another. That is, is it possible to ascertain that the contemporary understanding of motherhood in African cultures has not been tainted by colonial motherhood and domestication projects? Thus, I am questioning the extent to which these scholars can accurately portray a pre-colonial society. As Lewis (2001) aptly argues, "…what we understand from the vantage point of the present to be pre-colonial and what we currently imagine to be postcolonial will always be deeply implicated in western discursive practices" (p. 3).

Also, in attempts to highlight cultural differences, some scholars in their very critique of the essentialisms of western feminism, have essentialized western feminism and failed to see the plural forms of feminism in the west. Additionally, they have essentialized African women as binarily opposed to western women in a manner that "reproduces the dominant discursive construction of Africa as everything the west is not" (Lewis, 2001, pp. 2-3). Moreover, essentializing African women as mothers calls into question the privileging of mothers over non-mothers, especially those who cannot have children.

Promoting motherhood as the centrality of African women's lives is dangerous because it reifies culture and underplays inequalities between men and women. While motherhood may be highly valued and women are respected, I argue that this high value placed on motherhood inhibits gender equality in African countries. Promoting the politics of motherhood does not challenge the power structures present in society and only further entrenches gendered notions and promotes patriarchal structures.

In response to scholars like Oyewumi who have posited that gender is an invention of colonialism by highlighting the gender-neutrality of African languages, I would argue that their position is misleading. The presence of a gender-neutral language does not necessarily have to reflect social practices and realities (Bakare-Yusuf, 2004). While language has been linked with culture and practices, knowing the language and the foundation of the language does not necessarily illuminate all social practices, performances and actions. Nor does it tell a story of one's everyday experiences and reality. Non-gender specificity in language may mean that there may be no rigid gender hierarchy, but it does not incontestably rule out that there was no gender hierarchy present in African societies before colonialism (Bakare-Yusuf, 2004). Gender-neutral language does not indubitably translate into an absence of gender differences in society.

I also reject the claim that poor and illiterate women are only concerned about survival issues, not gender relations. This claim is fraught with class and gender implications. First, there is the issue of voice and representation. Who are the people speaking for poor women? Second, poor and illiterate women may not know or concern themselves with feminist theories, but it does not mean that they do not experience and recognize power relations that are embedded in gender inequality. For example, my encounter in Lagos in 2007 with one particular woman,

Mummy Moji,[15] comes to mind. She is a mother who is struggling to make ends meet; she is precariously employed doing odd jobs, mainly involving cleaning latrines in schools, and she is contemplating withdrawing her two young children from school. She complained that her husband refused to pay the children's school fees and always spent his money drinking and entertaining his friends. She also stated that she has no control over her situation at home and that her husband beats her and she sometimes sleeps on the veranda. Her conversation focused more on the relationship between herself and her husband and consequent impediments to making ends meet rather than her particular situation as a precarious hardworking mother and wife. Our conversation also reminded me of the common Yoruba phrase, *nitori omo ni mo se njiya ni ile oko*, which basically means that the woman tolerates the suffering in her husband's house because of her children. So for Mummy Moji, though she had no theoretical scholarly analysis, she still produced an analysis that indicates that gender relations matter and her life as a struggling mother and wife was not so glamorous.

Women as mothers may have more agency and power in Africa than it appears in the west, but this agency and power is not sufficient to address women's contemporary marginalisation in society. Women's value as mothers does not erase the structural inequalities women face and also limits women to their biological role without considering the role of socialization in contributing to women's marginalisation. As such, it is crucial to move beyond the semantics of the label "feminism" and ask, is it that feminism is irrelevant for Africa and African women or is the very word "feminism" problematic because of its western hegemonic roots?

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[15] This is a pseudonym. I also use pseudonyms in my empirical chapters for my interviewees.

Feminism: The Politics of Semantics or Cultural Hegemony?

Should culture be placed in a museum of minds or should we take authority over culture as a product of human intelligence and consciousness to be used to improve our existential conditions? - Molara Ogundipe-Leslie (1997, p. 456)

During nationalist movements, women's roles were prominent and many women violated traditional gender roles. However, in the years immediately following independence, there was no evidence of permanent changes in gender roles and gender relations (Geiger, 1987; Chadya, 2003; Mba, 1982; Schmidt, 2002; Urdang, 1995). Schmidt's (2002) research on women and nationalism in Guinea concludes that for Guinean women in the aftermath of independence, "female consciousness held sway over feminist consciousness" (p. 296). She uses the work of Temma Kaplan to make an important distinction between female consciousness and feminist consciousness. Schmidt specifies that the former occurs when women challenge forces that stops them from carrying out traditional gender roles especially those pertaining to family obligations. Feminist consciousness however, allows women to challenge socially constructed gender roles, particularly those perpetuating female inferiority and preventing women from exercising full rights and powers in the broader society.

Chadya (2003) highlights the complexities of challenging gender relations and roles, especially after a collective history of colonialism, indicating that it is not so easy, as Schmidt seems to allude, to navigate between feminist consciousness and female consciousness. During nationalist struggles and in the postcolonial era, male nationalists have employed an ideology of women as caregivers, nurturers and upholders of tradition and custom, and many women have also appropriated this "iconography of motherhood" (Chadya, 2003, p. 154). Thus, Chadya

interestingly notes that when women refuse to be only mothers and wives and to acquiesce to male authority, they are considered culturally and traditionally deviant.

In this vein, some African women who are conscious of the need for gender equality are reluctant to "name and own a feminist ideology" (Essof, 2001, p. 124), as the term feminism is considered too political and also "flavoured" by western cultural hegemony, and therefore antithetical to African culture and tradition. Yet other African feminist scholars such as Molara Ogundipe-Leslie (1994) and Obioma Nnaemeka (2003) have acknowledged the need for feminism in African countries – but have cautioned that it should not be too oppositional or "culturally deviant". Molara Ogundipe-Leslie recognizes the patriarchal nature of African societies and the importance of fighting for gender equality and also locates women's oppression in certain traditional practices. Ogundipe-Leslie, though she believes in the principal tenets of feminism, proposes Stiwanism instead to represent feminism in the African context. Stiwanism comes from STIWA, an acronym for Social Transformation Including Women in Africa. Ogundipe-Leslie argues that Stiwanism escapes the argument of imitating western feminism and it is also a less abrasive term with regards to obtaining support rather than the resistance the label feminism commonly produces. Obioma Nnaemeka, however, does not shy away from using feminism in her proposed alternative, nego-feminism (feminism of negotiation and "no ego" feminism). She bases this alternative on her observation of African feminism in practice. Nego-feminism is distinct from western feminism because it is deferential to cultural and local imperatives. For Nnaemeka, feminist struggles in Africa are about negotiation, accommodation, collaboration and compromise. Thus, nego-feminism "knows when, where, and how to detonate patriarchal land mines, it also knows when, where, and how to go around patriarchal land mines.

In other words, it knows when, where and how to negotiate with or negotiate around patriarchy in different contexts" (Nnaemeka, p. 378)

Although, I understand the rationale of being cautious so as to not appear as an abrasive feminist detonating patriarchal landmines, I do wonder if this approach is always in the best interest of women and if it will succeed in addressing problems of gender inequalities. If there is too much precaution, it is possible that solutions may be more band-aid in nature rather than transformational. As such, the feminism that I propose is in line with other African feminist scholars and activists such as Amina Mama, Patricia McFadden, Shereen Essof and Desiree Lewis. This feminism stresses the importance of naming and owning a feminist ideology as well as an acknowledgement of, and commitment to openly challenge, unequal gender relations, power and hierarchy. Also it is important that this feminism remains "firmly rooted in local experiences and practical situations" (Essof, 2001, p. 125), cognisant of African historical and cultural contexts and refrains from appropriating the cultural hegemony of western approaches (Essof, 2001; Lewis, 2001; Mama, 2001; McFadden, 1997). It is important to note that the feminism that I support does not paint all men as the enemy and all women as victims. Rather, some men are also victims of hegemonic masculinity and some women can be complicit in the exploitation of other women and men. This feminism also considers feminism as a political movement indigenous to Africa given the rich history of women's movements against injustices and patriarchal oppressions in Africa. Further, as in some Anglophone countries in Africa where the English words "auntie" and "uncle"[16] reflect the historic cultural emphasis on respect for seniority, one can draw parallel to the use of the word feminism, though etymologically foreign

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[16] In most Anglophone African countries, one does not address their senior by first name – but rather as uncle or auntie – whether they are related or not.

in origin, to describe a political movement that is uniquely African and places patriarchal and capitalist social relations and structures at the centre of its analysis.

In analysing the status of women in Africa, an anti-colonial lens, as well as caution against cultural imperialism is important. Nevertheless, precaution needs to be taken when glorifying the "traditions" and "customs" inherent to African pre-colonial cultures that enable the argument that notions and concepts of patriarchy are alien to African societies. Ignoring the deleterious effects of patriarchy for example will lead to more situations like the proposal of a bill against indecent dressing in 2008 in Nigeria. The female senator who proposed it rationalized that a dress code is a solution to rape and sexual violence against women. This bill adopted a blaming the victim approach rather than recognizing the possibility of the existence of gender inequality that promotes the culture of violence against women. Thus, it is dangerous to eschew the interrogation of power structures and socializing mechanisms that are present within tradition, custom and culture. I am not suggesting the rejection of (all) African practices, but while embracing the latter as a way of transcending internalized inferiority, we must always be critically reflexive. As Lewis highlights, there is no reason why "it should not be possible to critique western feminist discursive dominance while simultaneously disavowing patriarchal oppression in Africa" (Lewis, 2001, p. 3).

Inspired by the 2006 African Feminist Charter,[17] I use a "Feminist, no ifs or buts" approach to my research. In using an African feminist stance that critiques western discursive

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[17] This charter was drafted in 2006 during the first African feminist forum in Accra (November 15-19). The African feminist forum is a biennial conference that brings together African feminist activists from the continent and Diaspora to discuss key issues and strategies relating to the advancement of African women's rights. These African feminists embrace the use of feminism and are concerned about transformative changes as well as challenging discriminatory legislative proposals (such as those that infringe upon women's rights and that criminalize homosexual relationships).

dominance, I view African women as knowable urban subjects so that hierarchies of knowledge about the city and African women can be dismantled. In order to understand and engage in productive discussions about the urban in Africa, a postcolonial urbanism discourse that is informed by a feminist perspective that recognizes urban and development planning as inextricably linked to gender, imperialism and colonialism is imperative. It is from this foundation that we can attain a transformative urban and development planning tradition that is informed by African women's realities, practices, and activities.

Conclusion

This chapter uses an Afrocentric perspective to argue against the depiction of African cities as failed. To this end, a postcolonial urbanism approach that is more open to challenging western ideas about African cities and viewing African cities beyond the mega city discourse is proposed. I also emphasize the importance of incorporating an African feminist lens while engaging a postcolonial urbanism approach because women contribute significantly to the "citiness" of African cities. While engaging a feminist stance, I remain critical of African women's imperial and neo-imperial relationship to the west and western feminist scholarship. However, I reject the literature that declares the feminist project as antithetical to African values and the scholarship that uncritically overvalorizes the institution of motherhood and uses it as the basis to claim that feminism is irrelevant in the African context because motherhood is sufficiently empowering.

In using Robinson's postcolonial urbanism approach and a feminist urban geography perspective, I am cognizant of the need to recognize the specificity of African women's realities. Combining the two approaches allows me to bring gender into the postcolonial urbanism theoretical framework as it currently undertheorizes women's approach and relationship to the

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city. More so, the ways in which gender informs western discourses about African cities and the ways in which gender and other power relations shape cities must be kept in the foreground. By bringing in a feminist urban geography lens, it is possible to critically examine women's experiences in the city in relation to socio-economic and political processes in order to effectively understand how women interact, negotiate and subvert local, national and international power structures that contribute to and shape their material and gendered realities.

CHAPTER 3 -RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Introduction

This chapter discusses my research methodology and methods. I begin by providing an account of my personal and political relationship to my research topic, followed by a description of my postcolonial feminist methodological approach to the study. Next, I explain how I designed the project, briefly contextualize the study area and highlight the methods employed to collect and analyze data. I end the chapter by detailing the challenges and successes encountered while doing fieldwork in Ibadan.

Locating Myself: My Quest to Challenge Dominant Discourses on African Women and African Development

I remember that from a young age, as an immigrant to Canada, I used to be frustrated with the popular culture imaginaries of Africa. I have been asked so many times, by those familiar with the Jungle Book and other stories, whether I lived in a tree house or a mud house and swung from trees while I was in Africa. Instead, I provided information about my ancestral history but when that was less interesting to them, I fed them the lies that they wanted to hear. I told them that yes, I lived in the jungle, in a treehouse and rode elephants to school (though I had never seen any of the three in my entire life).

When I was 12 years old, in grade six, I did a presentation on Nigeria and with my penchant for dramatic flair; I included some embellishments, like how the Naira was worth more than the Dollar. Used to my stories, which they always considered believable, one of my classmates stole my Nairas. I thought this was rather humorous but I was also distraught because the Nairas belonged to my mother, not me. What I found humorous was that my "rich,

enlightened" (and gullible?) classmate was stealing from an "impoverished African" who used to live in a treehouse! So the point of this story is that while I somehow succumbed to dominant western discourse about Africa, I also found my own ways of resisting by letting some consider that perhaps Africa is not all they imagined it to be.

Unfortunately by age fourteen, my sense of pride about being a Nigerian eventually became threatened. I was ashamed of some stories I was hearing from other people and some images I saw on television that depicted Africa as backwards, chaotic and unruly. While I could not claim a Canadian identity (as I did not even have citizenship), I was not always so eager to embrace my Africanness either. This was not so easy to carry on at home however. My parents refused to speak in English to their children, and we still continued to eat food that other people did not eat in their homes. Imagine my shock, when I found out (I do not know why I thought other people were the same), that the way we did things in our house was not quite the same as the way other people did things. I clearly started to question my "normality" and became quite perplexed.

Needless to say, one of the things I intentionally started working on by age 13 was getting rid of my Nigerian accent, especially when I said words with Hs in them. I mean, how could I not? Especially when the kids relentlessly made fun of the way I pronounced some words? I would regret this however, at a later stage, when other Nigerians began to call me "Oyinbo" (White).

Thankfully at age 17, I was able to escape the overtly racist environment that I had reluctantly had to adopt as my home, especially after I realized that my parents' short-term plan to stay in Canada had transitioned into a long-term one. I used to tell myself that it was okay, we are going back home soon. After my dad finishes his programme, we will go back, we will go

back. I still wonder if that was a story my parents planted to justify uprooting us and placing us in what seemed to be a hellish environment.

When I left "home" (my parent's place in Canada), I soon met people who took away the veil that I had placed over my eyes. By that time, it was too late to change my name as I had already become Grace, but it did not mean that I could not change my attitude. By the way, I had to change my name to Grace, which is actually the English translation of my name, after so many people butchered my name unintentionally and also after they crudely and cruelly did play-on-words with my name. My name is Oore-Ofe, so I was called oreo-face (this is the one I most vividly recall). As I identified as a Black person, this christening, was an insult and I went home and cried to my parents (this was not the first occasion that I would burst into tears nor my last). I think that after my parents realized how perturbed I was, they finally suggested that I could go by "Grace". They explained that Grace is still my name but at least the change may alleviate some of my grief. They realized that my biggest grief was why did I have to come into a country where I felt so unwanted and treated like trash. My parents tried to remind me of my heritage and to remain proud of who I was. This was especially a speech I heard when my social studies teacher did not quite handle situations well when she was teaching us about slavery. The students all turned and looked at me (like it was not bad enough they had other things on me), and one boy quipped, "so you mean Grace (notice the name change) would have been our slave?" I cried that evening when I got home. Things got so bad at school to the extent that I never wanted to skip school (ironic), so that way I could hear what people had to say about me – as I did not want them talking behind my back. This resolution came after I heard from someone that X had told Y that "Grace is darker than my shit". And after I heard that this boy had told

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one of my supposed friends that he would not go out with her if she continued to be friends with me.

My new friends, all from African countries, helped me to see how unfair the portrayal of Africa is (although, I did know this). I suppose I should say, being around them helped me realize that I could help reveal alternative discourses about Africa rather than being embarrassed to be a black body in a room when the gloomful state of Africa was being discussed and being angry about the portrayals and at the same time frustrated because I could not do anything about it. (For me the most poignant example was overhearing a graduate school colleague, who ended up doing his PhD in International Relations at Oxford, telling his friends that African countries would be better off if they were still colonized – this was obviously in connection to a particular issue that was going on in a particular African Country at that time). My friends, being new to Canada, were quite shocked when people in Canada treated them as if they were uncivilized, and questioned them about their villages that they apparently came from. Subsequent conversations with some of my friends in recent years, still reveals this resentment when people still overtly espouse colonial discourses about Africa in the 21st century.

My recent experience at a wedding in September 2010 helped me to finally clearly see the importance of my PhD project to me. While at the wedding, I was talking with a former graduate school colleague. He was apparently knowledgeable about Nigeria and proceeded to tell me that most of Nigeria is rural. He then named three cities, Lagos, Abuja and Port Harcourt, as the only cities in Nigeria. That was when I realized that enough was enough. I was no longer going to politely sit and listen to people telling me about where I come from and waiting for me to confirm their knowledge. For a denial of their knowledge obviously would mean that something was wrong with me, and not them? Now that I am older and apparently wiser, I have decided to

focus on true stories. These stories are about people who live in African cities inside "real"

houses and who ride in motor vehicles and motorcycles, not on elephants.

Methodological Approach

My experiences have impelled me to study Ibadan as an African feminist whose focus is

to first and foremost build on the indigenous. The indigenous does not refer to the traditional but

rather to engaging the epistemological and intellectual resources of women to ensure that

"developmental change accommodates itself to …[the] values, interests, aspirations and or social

institutions which are important" in their lives (Nnaemeka, 2003, pp. 376-7). In building on the

indigenous, it also means that I am not focusing on Ibadan within a developmentalist framework

of "what ought to be" but I will rather account for what is (Ake, 1996).

As discussed in Chapter Two, there has been a disproportionate focus on leveraging

western hegemonic discourses on what qualifies as urban to describe African cities by their

absences. African cities have often been limited to developmentalist and modernization

discourses because of their colonial and neo-colonial relationship with the west. African women

have also been represented as the "other" "third world" women, rooted in tradition and primitive

in nature (Mama, 2004; Mohanty, 1991; Sen & Grown, 1987). As such, I strongly believe that a

project that engages Nigerian women, development issues, and urbanism must be done using a

postcolonial feminist methodology. This framework begins with challenging western production

of knowledge.

In the last three decades, many scholars have critiqued western knowledge production

about the non-western "other" (Minh-Ha, 1987; Mohanty, 1991; Said, 1979; Smith, 1999;

Spivak, 1990). A prominent critique emanated from literary critic and activist Edward Said

(1979). Drawing from Foucauldian and Gramscian concepts of power-knowledge and hegemony,

respectively, Said introduced the concept of Orientalism to describe the discourse that has

constructed the Orient and the Occident as binaries of each other. He also uses the concept to

highlight the discursive, historical, cultural normalization of the Occident as the central world

power. Maori scholar Linda Smith (1999) also contends that research has been an encounter

between the west and the "other". That is, research has been conducted from a western imperial

perspective, which presumed that western ideas are the "only possible ideas to hold…and the

only ideas that can make sense of the world, of reality, of social life and of human beings" (p.

56). As such, knowledge produced about the "other" privileged an imperialistic way of

understanding the lived experiences of Indigenous peoples rather than privileging Indigenous

knowledge systems. Views of the "other" became more formalized through imperial research

and entrenched ideas about the "other" into "explicit systems of classification and regimes of

truth" (p. 32).

    A key way of challenging the dominant colonial framework of seeing the world and

representing the reality of non-western people is by deconstructing western ways of knowing and

privileging non-western voices and knowledge (Fanon, 1967; Mama, 2007; Roy, 2006; Smith,

1999). Postcolonial approaches challenge development discourse that privileges the north as

progressive and advanced while depicting the south as backwards whose ultimate objective is to

catch-up to the north. Postcolonialism also posits that southern countries are part of "modernity"

and "progress" through the ways in which they have contributed to the wealth and advancement

of countries of the north (McEwan, 2001). Postcolonialism denounces "the notion of a single

path to development and demands acknowledgement of a diversity of perspectives and priorities"

(McEwan, 2001, p. 95) through the recovery of subjugated non-western voices and knowledge.

However, the decolonization of knowledge production does not necessarily imply complete

rejection of western systems of knowledge and theoretical frameworks but rather requires that non-western worldviews and concerns are centred in a manner that enables theory and research to be relevant, known and understood from non-western perspectives (Smith, 1999).

Similarly to mainstream western scholarship, problems of knowledge production have also been highlighted in western feminist scholarship. Feminist scholarship is rooted in the critique of positivist research as "malestream", which privileges the experiences and voices of those who have been traditionally excluded from patriarchal discourses (Harding & Norberg, 2005; Hawkesworth, 2006; Hesse-Biber, 2007). Feminist alternatives to the positivist paradigm insists that women be included in inquiry, allowed epistemic authority, valued for their cognitive styles and ways of knowing, and that their interests, and reality be made visible in order to produce knowledge that challenges gender and social hierarchies as well as deconstructs dominant patriarchal and scientific ways of knowing.[18] Feminist scholarship appeared to be emancipatory but early academic writings constructed white, heterosexual, middle-class, and western perspectives as universal (Hesse-Biber, 2007).

Although contemporary feminist research in the west has journeyed far from its initial approaches, pressing issues relating to power, voice, and representation regarding the reproduction of colonial relations of domination persist. For example, Nigerian scholar Mojubaolu Okome (2003) criticizes western feminists' pedagogy of evangelism within the literature on women and development and the global sisterhood movement that endeavours to free voiceless, powerless African women from their backward and oppressive cultures. Okome's major bone of contention is with the way western feminists have defined and understood female genital mutilation (FGM). Okome states that the term FGM is problematic because it connotes

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[18] This dissertation cannot address the wide variety of feminist methodological approaches.

that the intention is to control women by wreaking violence on them and also presumes that the societies in which it is practiced desire to "butcher, mangle, deform, assault, and batter their women en masse" (p. 68). FGM as understood by the west, portrays only one perspective, assumes that FGM is practiced in all African societies and that FGM can only be stopped with the intervention of western feminists. As such, Okome argues that the issue of female circumcision is over-sensationalized due to the need of some to play a messianic role, thereby rendering African women as victims with no agency.

Some non-western feminist scholars, though they critique western feminism, still think it is possible to work with feminism while doing research across cultural divides. Grewal and Kaplan (1994), suggest that for such research to successfully take place, feminism must be decentred, thereby allowing for a multiplicity of identities; and researchers must also pay close attention to place and context. Further, Grewal and Kaplan assert that northern dominance can be reduced if the relationship of "scattered hegemonies"[19] to gender relations is analyzed. So, feminists doing transnational research "need to compare multiple, overlapping discrete oppressions rather than construct a theory of hegemonic oppression under a unified category of gender" (p. 17). In this vein, Obioma Nnaemeka (2003) calls for multidirectional theories that have a defamiliarizing power on western feminist theory. She argues for a space that fosters a multiplicity of different but related frameworks from different locations to touch, intersect, and feed off each other in a way that accommodates different realities and histories (pp. 362-3). She eloquently argues that:

> Seeing feminist theorizing through the eyes of the "other", from the "other" place,
>
> through the "other" worldview has the capacity to defamiliarize feminist theory as we

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[19] This is defined as "the effects of mobile capital as well as the multiple subjectivities that replace the European unitary subject" (Grewal & Kaplan, 1994, p. 7).

know it and assist it not only in interrogating, understanding and refamiliarizing the

familiar in more productive and enriching ways...In this instance, westerners are led

across borders so that they can cross back enriched and defamiliarized and ready to see

the familiar anew. (pp. 381-2)

Thus, Nnaemeka contends that feminism should be open to multiplicities of centres whereby

differences exist in a manner that does not essentialize and/or "other".

Feminism and postcolonialism intersect to make an important intervention by challenging

the power of westerners to "other" and speak for non-western women. Postcolonial feminist

epistemology takes up the core feminist tenet of situated knowledge that values first-person over

third-person knowledge (Khan et al., 2007; Racine, 2009) and combines it with the postcolonial

politics of difference, challenging the construction of non-western women as monolithic,

voiceless, passive victims (Mohanty, 1991). Hence, instead of giving epistemic privilege to those

in the west, postcolonial feminism considers the relationship between knowledge and power

relations and strives for an analysis that produces transformative knowledge that can

consequently be translated into theory, practice and policy (Khan et al., 2007).

Postcolonial feminists critique the assumption that women have a shared experience of

oppression and that global sisterhood is a key answer to this oppression. In their critique, they

note that this understanding of oppression is based on the experiences of white middle-class

women and ignores concerns other than individual rights, particularly those centering on issues

of postcoloniality, racism, globalization and neo-imperialism (Ahmed, 2000; Mohanty, 2003;

Naghibi, 2007). Thus rather than the promotion of a universal brand of feminism, postcolonial

feminism "insists on local readings of 'ordinary women' [and emphasizes the considerations of]

theoretical and more far-reaching causes and consequences for the 'facts'" (Rajan & Park, 2000,

p. 66). For example, in "Reconfiguring the Native Informant: Positionality in the Global Age", Khan (2005) underscores the importance of having an analysis that disrupts binary thinking. In the article, Khan, a Pakistani-Canadian, confronts the problem of producing accounts that may confirm the west's image of the oppressed "third-world" "other". She posits that although her research on women imprisoned under the Zina ordinance in Pakistan may rightly draw attention to the situation of the women's unjust treatment and consequently catalyze local and international power brokers to pressure the Pakistani government, there is also the possibility that it might generate rescue missions (p. 2020). Khan also notes that in reading her account, western readers may remind themselves that they are in a better position and thus extrapolate that they are not oppressed (p. 2027). Khan consequently suggests that the best way to get out of her double bind is to complicate the process of knowledge production by making sure the western reader only knows about her research via an analysis of her own location in the west.

My project is a postcolonial one because I seek to draw upon women's knowledge and views of their urban reality that have often been in the shadows of hegemonic developmentalist discourses. While I self-identify as an African feminist, I am aware of my location in the north and I have also been educated in the western education system, thus it is pertinent to me as a Nigerian-Canadian researcher that my research does not produce knowledge about African women in a manner that participates in historical and contemporary expressions of "othering". As such, I break away from the monolithic categorization of African women as docile recipients of development (Anugwon & Anugwom, 2009) who are also situated outside of modernity. I also challenge the notion that there is an "African woman" by analyzing and locating Ibadan women in a specific time and place.

Clearly, it is important for me to choose an epistemological framework that is committed to the project of decolonization in a manner that redresses geopolitical inequalities and eschews the reproduction of power structures. My research thus employs a postcolonial feminist (PCF) methodological framework because I am interested in a critical methodology that engages the epistemological dilemma of whether and how Ibadan women's reality can be represented accurately. In using PCF as methodology, I begin from the everyday realities and experiences of my research participants and I examine these everyday experiences within larger social-political-economic-historical contexts (Anderson, 2002; Khan et al., 2007; Racine, 2009). I also treat participants as active agents of knowledge production.

Research Design, Context and Methods

My study is qualitative in nature and I draw on multiple research methods that allow me to examine a variety of agents, subjects and discourses. The primary method employed was in-depth semi structured interviews with women in six different communities in Ibadan. This approach enabled me to gain access to women's voices and hear their perspectives on development and governance in Ibadan as well as obtain a snapshot of their daily-lived reality. I also conducted key informant interviews with local government workers in the departments of Community Development and Town Planning, with a senior staff in the State Ministry of Women's Affairs, as well as with two local politicians. These interviews enabled me to gain insight into local and state government approaches to development, and the ways in which they understand and address women's issues. My other methods included the collection of secondary data and the use of observation, field notes and photographs.

This research was conducted in four phases: October - November 2010, February - April 2011, June – August 2011, and a follow up study from February - March 2013. In the first phase,

I went to Ibadan to establish contacts for the government interviews and to spend time gathering

secondary data including government publications and newspaper articles from the National

Archives Library and Women's Research and Documentation Centre (WORDOC) in Ibadan. I

also read newspaper dailies while I was in Ibadan to select articles relevant to my research.

During the second phase, I conducted one-on-one interviews with civil servants and local

politicians. I also continued with my secondary data gathering as well as spending this time

considering which communities would be most feasible for my next round of interviews. In the

third phase, I conducted one-on-one interviews with 48 women participants and continued with

my quest for secondary data. The fourth phase entailed filling the incomplete gaps from the

previous phases, such as completion of secondary data collection, and follow up with relevant

interview participants.

Study Area: Contextualizing the City of Ibadan

Ibadan is a city well known for its past military prowess and its historical prominence as

the "Harlem of Africa". It was given this title because:

> Between 1951 and 1966, some of the leading lights of contemporary arts and letters
>
> such as Ulli Beier, Es'kia Mphahlele, Wole Soyinka, Geoffrey Axworthy, Chinua
>
> Achebe, Dennis Williams, Gerd Meuer, Tchicaya U'Tamsi, Jacob Lawrence,
>
> Mabel Segun and Robert July coincided in Ibadan, drawn thither by the university.
>
> (Adesokan, 2009, p. 70)

Ibadan is also home to the first television station and university in West Africa, a large number

of research institutes, and it is currently Nigeria's publishing capital (Adesokan, 2009, p. 70).

Present day Ibadan[20] was founded in what is now South West Nigeria in 1829 as a war camp during the internecine warfare in Yorubaland (Awe, 1973; Falola, 1984). At this time it covered only a small area; from the centre (Ojaba), Ibadan spanned about one kilometre in all directions (Falola, 1984). By the 1850s, Ibadan had quickly become a thriving commercial centre and more and more people came to settle in it. Its location was economically advantageous because it was connected to several trade and communication routes; as such, Ibadan had trade contacts with many parts of what would become South Western, Eastern and Northern Nigeria. Moreover, because roads from Ibadan linked through to the three major ports in Lagos, Porto Novo and Badagry (where many Europeans were engaged in trade), Ibadan people traded in slaves and agricultural products with the Europeans.

Between 1850 and Ibadan's colonization in 1893, Ibadan had a thriving economy and its military prowess made it a super power in Yorubaland. Unlike other Yoruba towns, Ibadan did not have a monarchy. Instead, Ibadan "represented a federation of people from different places who came together voluntarily and who considered each other as equals" (Freund, 2007, p. 16). Leadership was based on meritocracy whereby those who had established military success became Ibadan's leaders (Chokor, 1986; Watson, 2003). Thus, Ibadan was controlled by a military chieftaincy that guaranteed peace and security and thereby helped catalyze its flourishing economy (Ajala, 2008; Falola, 1984). The less restrictive political and economic control over urban life and the people made Ibadan an attractive place for Yoruba migrants (Chokor, 1993). As a result, Ibadan's economy was diversified and dynamic; though a large

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[20] According to oral history, this is the third iteration of the city (Falola, 1984, 1999). The first and second settlements were deserted/defeated in the early 18th century and early 19th century, respectively. Note that due to the nature of oral history, exact dates concerning the first two settlements of Ibadan have not been consistent.

percentage of the population engaged in farming, other important sectors were trade and the craft industry (Falola, 1984).

Ibadan became officially integrated into the European economy upon its colonization in 1893.[21] The British exploited Ibadan as a supplier of raw materials (mainly rubber, palm produce and cocoa) to help build their industries (Falola, 1984; Lloyd, 1967; Mabogunje, 1962). During the colonial era (1893-1960), Ibadan became an even greater commercial centre (Lloyd, 1967) and was also an important administrative centre (Mabogunje, 1962). The economic opportunities in Colonial Ibadan drew various people such as Middle Eastern immigrants and Hausas from Northern Nigeria; "colonialism enabled the plural society to form, where apparently separate and antagonistic culturally defined groupings met in the marketplace with peaceful dealings guaranteed by the colonial protector" (Freund, 2007, p. 70). At independence in 1960, Ibadan emerged as the largest city in sub-Saharan Africa (Fourchard, 2003; Mabogunje, 1967). The influx of migrants had spatially expanded Ibadan from the small city that it was in 1829 into a much larger city with many residential districts.

Ibadan, as in its past, remains a commercially important city. It is strategically located as a point of convergence for all roads and rail traffic from Lagos State to the Northern states through Abeokuta, a city in a neighbouring state (Olutayo & Akanle, 2009). This makes Ibadan an ideal meeting point for commercial activities. As the dominant urban centre in Oyo state, the administrative and commercial functions of Ibadan transcend beyond state boundaries (Agboola, 1996). The federal establishments and institutions in Ibadan, research institutes and burgeoning fields such as telecommunications, banking and fast foods are attracting more and more people

---

[21] The British began to take administrative responsibility in different parts of present day Nigeria in the second half of the 19th century. They gradually annexed various regions as part of the British colony at different times. Frederick Lugard amalgamated Nigeria in 1914.

to Ibadan (Agboola, 1996; Olurin, 2003; Olutayo & Akanle, 2009). The economic activities Ibadan residents mainly engage in include crafts and trading, civil service, skilled professional services, and manufacturing. Some also engage in farming, especially those living in the suburban areas (Abiola, 2001; Agboola, 2005; Fourchard, 2003; Olurin, 2003).

Ibadan's population has been steadily increasing over the years. It has grown from a population of about 175,000 in 1911 to 600, 000 in 1963 (Fourchard, 2003). The current population of Ibadan, based on my calculations from the 2006 census,[22] is 2,559,853[23] (see Table 1), this number being a 28.3% increase from the 1991 census population of 1,835,300. The population of urban Ibadan in 2006 was 1,343,147 (52.47% of the total population) while semi-urban Ibadan makes up 47.53% of the total population. One municipal body does not govern Ibadan, rather, it has 11 autonomous local governments areas, five of which are considered urban, while six are considered semi-urban (see Figure 4). The mode of urban governance by 11 autonomous local governments has been in existence since 1991. Prior to this, the now defunct Ibadan Municipal Government was in charge of administration (Fourchard, 2003), however, because of increasing urban management issues, Ibadan was divided into 11 local government areas to promote better urban governance and development (Olurin, 2003).

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[22] As of the time of my research, the 2006 census was the most recent census. The census prior to the one in 2006 took place in 1991.

[23] Note that the population of Ibadan is contentious. It has been noted by others, through estimates, that Ibadan's population is at least 3 million plus (Fourchard, 2003; Olutayo & Akanle, 2009) calling into question the accuracy of the census. It has also been noted that the "National Census in Nigeria is a sensitive political issue because the federal allocation to the states is based on the population of the state" (Fourchard, 2003, p.25). Finally, the census is more than 6 years old and it is possible that the recent estimate of 3 million plus reflects the increasing influx of immigrants to Ibadan's metropolitan and semi-urban areas.

Table 1

Population of Ibadan by Local Government Area (2006)

Local Government	Male	Female	Total	% of
Akinyele	105,594	106,217	211,811	8.3%
Egbeda	137,527	146,116	283,643	11.1%
Ido	52,465	51,622	104,087	4.1%
Lagelu	74,220	73,913	148,133	5.8%
Oluyole	102,371	101,090	203,461	8.0%
Ona-Ara	130,615	134,956	265,571	10.4%
Subtotal (semi urban)	**602,792**	**613,914**	**1,216,706**	**47.7%**
Ibadan NE	163,844	167,600	331,444	13%
Ibadan N	152,608	155,511	308,119	12.0%
Ibadan NW	75,410	78,619	154,029	6.0%
Ibadan SW	139,622	143,476	283,098	11.1%
Ibadan SE	130,334	136,123	266,457	10.4%
Subtotal (urban)	**661,818**	**681,329**	**1,343,147**	**52.5%**
Total	**1,264,610**	**1,295,243**	**2,559,853**	**100.0%**

Note. The percentages have been rounded up to the tenth decimal point. Data extracted from the National Population Commission (2010).
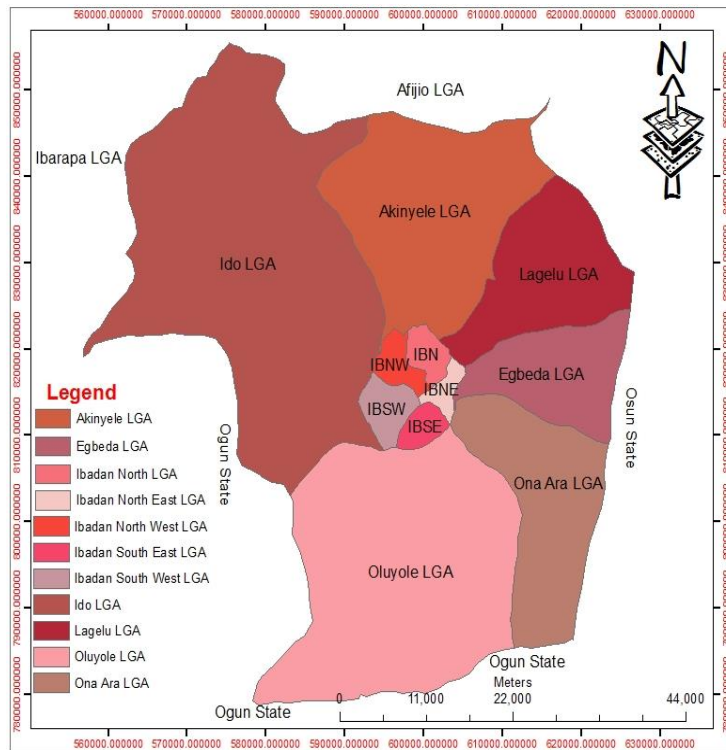
Figure 4. Ibadan Local Government Areas. The Five LGAs clustered in the centre make up metropolitan Ibadan. This map was commissioned from Saeed Ojolowo (2013) for this study.

Interviews with Key Informants

I chose to do my interviews in two of the five urban Local Government Areas (LGAs), Ibadan North and Ibadan South West. I selected these two LGAs because they are the ones I am most familiar with as well as having the most number of contacts. I also chose two LGAs so that I had a basis for comparative analysis. During the second phase of my fieldwork, I interviewed eight government workers and two politicians from these two areas for their opinions and views on urban development in Ibadan and the issues facing women. I also wanted to know of any projects that they or their department had pursued that had particular relevance for women. I had chosen two specific departments that I was interested in at the local government level, Community Development and Town Planning because they deal with development at the local level and the Ministry of Women Affairs at the state level because of my specific interest in government approaches to women. I was also hoping that I could interview more than two local politicians but it was difficult to find interviewees who had time for me. However, because interviewing them was not particularly critical for my research, I was satisfied with securing only two interviews. I was not too concerned about the number of people I interviewed as long as I had at least one senior personnel from each department.

I was connected to all the individuals I interviewed via one contact whom I met through a professor at the University of Ibadan.[24] It is very difficult to obtain any form of information from the government in Nigeria, much less, government officials. Thus, I was very fortunate to have a contact inside the government who could assist and vouch for me.

In Ibadan North Local Government, I secured interviews with a Community Development Officer who is in the Women Affairs branch of the Department of Community

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[24] I have withheld the names of my contacts and the specific departments they are affiliated with due to privacy reasons.

Development. I also interviewed an Assistant Town Planning Officer, and two Senior Town

Planning Officers in the Town Planning Department. In Ibadan South West, I interviewed a

Senior Community Development Officer in the Community Development Department and a

Senior Planning Officer in the Town Planning Department. At the state level, I interviewed the

senior personnel in the Women's Programmes and the Community Development Department,

both under the Ministry of Women's Affairs.

I introduced myself and the project to each individual I interviewed. I also explained the

consent form and had them sign it before I began each interview (see Appendix A). I did not

guarantee the politicians any privacy as they were public figures.[25] I recorded all the interviews

except for one with a politician who declined to be recorded.

The interviews lasted for an average of 45 minutes and ranged from 30 minutes to an

hour and half. I did not ask personal questions other than their professional qualifications and the

length of time they have been working with the government. I asked the politicians how they

became involved in politics, the reason why they chose to engage in politics, how long they have

been in politics and urban issues they pursue and consider to be of interest to women. The

questions I asked the government workers were generally about the types of urban policies and

projects they work on, how they identify women's issues and their approaches to gender. I came

up with a list of different questions for each department and for the politicians, even though they

covered similar themes, I tailored the questions to hold more relevance for the interviewees (see

Appendix B for the list of questions). At the end of each interview, I thanked the respondents

and asked them if they had anything else to add to what they had said or if they had any

questions.

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[25] Nevertheless, I use pseudonyms for them in my data chapters.

Interviews with Women in Ibadan

My interviews with women living in Ibadan were concerned with intergenerational understandings of development and lived experiences of urban space. The interview questions focused on some specific themes such as the role of transportation, housing, politics, religion, and reproductive and productive work in enabling and or constraining women's daily lives in Ibadan. These interviews offered an opportunity to understand the articulations of alternative possibilities to urban development and planning and provided insight into how interviewees think about change. I conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews with 48 women, ages 18 to 83, in two Local Government Areas of Metropolitan Ibadan. Within each Local Government Area, 24 women were selected through the use of purposive sampling. The major variables of concern for the study were income-level and age. The women I interviewed either signed informed consent forms or I obtained oral consent from those who could not read or write.

Choosing a purposive sample. In line with my postcolonial goals of shattering the universalism of "third world women", I employed social class as a variable in selecting my research participants. Far too often, research on women in the south, even the gender and development discourse, has disproportionately focused on poor women. The "bread and butter" discourse is mainly cited as an issue of paramount importance to African women (Mikell, 1997) and in so doing it homogenizes African women. I take the approach that development should not be solely focused on targeting the poor but also considered as something that is far-reaching and beneficial for all of society. As Jackson (1998) argues, "a poverty focus misses the range of interconnected gender issues across classes and socio-economic strata" (p. 60). This thus brings into light the questions of what should be considered a development priority area and from

whose understanding of "development"? Accordingly, I want to shift the focus away from "poor" people while not discounting the importance of poverty, but also adding other voices into development discourse by asking which women are silenced in poverty oriented development work. Win (2007), in "Not very Poor, Powerless or Pregnant: The African Women Forgotten by Development" challenges the mythical development target by asking whether resource poverty is a sufficient lens for viewing the lives of African women (p. 79). Win argues for a space for those who are not resource-poor to contribute to change processes in development. In making this argument, she highlights that unequal relations between women and men - as the common ground between poor and middle-class women - should be considered when making development interventions. While Win makes an important case for focusing on middle-class women, she loses sight of the power relations between women from different socio-economic classes. Bypassing the poverty lens should not eclipse an analysis of class differences among women. Rather, the ways in which women can also be perpetrators of social inequalities and oppressors of other women should also be kept in focus.

Using the lens of class helps to differentiate women in the global south and complicates the representation of African women. Class is also useful for considering the complex realities of women who do not fit the stereotypical image of the poor and powerless. Therefore, my goal of using social class is to serve as a marker to differentiate women's experiences, needs and priorities as well as to explore the dynamics of power and privilege as they intersect with gender and the politics of urban planning and development.

I used residential density as a proxy for class in my research. In each local government area, I selected three neighbourhoods based on the classification of Ibadan neighborhoods into low, medium and high densities. Before I entered the field, I had only intended on conducting

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interviews in two neighbourhoods in each local government. One neighbourhood was to represent a low-income area and the second a high-income area. However, upon arriving in Ibadan, I did more readings on the environmental profile (obtained from the Sustainable Ibadan Project) of the two Local Government Areas, and I noted the classification of the residential areas in Ibadan as low, medium or high-density. Ibadan's urban residential areas are spatially categorized into older and newer core areas, transitional and modern zones (Arimah, 1997, p. 21). The older and newer core areas date from the pre-colonial period (1820-1893) and the transitional zones were developed during the colonial period (1893-1960) while modern zones are a product of the post-independence period (1960-present) (Arimah, 1997; Mabogunje, 1962). The core areas are unplanned, and while some transitional zones are well-planned if they are Government Reservation Areas (GRA), other zones are only slightly better planned than the core areas. The modern zones located in the low-density areas tend to be well-planned while those located in the medium to high density areas are not as well-planned but do have some modicum of planning (Agboola, 2005; Arimah, 1997; Mabogunje, 1962).

The neighbourhoods I ended up selecting were based on the consideration of whether I had any contacts there and the level of ease by which I will be able to complete my interviews in a timely manner. Eight women were then chosen to represent each density area. Density (of population and housing) in Ibadan is often a good indicator of income-levels; for example, high-density areas house a major proportion of the urban poor while wealthier people live in low-density areas (Agboola, 2005; Mabogunje, 1962; Muench & Muench, 1968, Olurin, 2003; Oluseyi, 2006). Housing in high-density areas tends to be low-cost, while it is low-cost to medium cost in medium-density areas and expensive in low-density areas. However, one aspect of daily life that I have observed in Ibadan (and I suppose many other cities in Nigeria), with the

exception of low-density areas, is the ability to find people with varied incomes in many communities. As I was told by one informant, land is cheaper in some medium-density areas, so while you can have a family renting one or two rooms (often called: "face me I face you"), you can also find instances where a family is occupying an entire house or owning four flats in a house, living in one and renting out the other three flats. So while choosing three neighbourhoods does not always provide a clear divide with regards to class for those living in medium and high densities, it does act as a proxy for class and provides an insight into the material and environmental conditions of daily city life. For example, the fact that women living in high-density areas cited medium-density areas as spaces where they would like to live demonstrates that there is a spatial difference in terms of understanding where it is better to live, as well as affordability issues (see Figures 5, 6 and 7 which illustrate differences in housing in the three sample density areas). In this dissertation, I will refer to women from the low-density areas as middle-class women, although some of them could be classified as upper-middle class. Because women in the medium and high-density areas make similar incomes, I categorize them both as low-income class women although from time to time I will acknowledge the differences between the women in the two areas.[26]

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[26] Note that my conception of class in this dissertation is relevant to my particular study context and cannot be generalized to other parts of Nigeria.

Figure 5. Study area, Foko (high-density), Ibadan South West LGA. Picture taken by author (2011).

Figure 6. Study area, Ashi (medium-density), Ibadan North LGA. Picture taken by author (2011).

Figure 7. Study area, Oluyole Estate (Low-Density), Ibadan South West LGA.
Picture taken by author (2011).

The eight women who were selected from each residential location were divided into two age

categories, 18 - 45 and above 46 years, with four women in each category. These women, in five

of the six neighbourhoods were recruited through a snowball process that began with

acquaintances and/or contacts in each area. My recruiters introduced me as their *aburo*[27] or an

aburo of their friend. In the sixth neighbourhood, a high-density area in Ibadan North, I initially

did not know anybody who lived there or anyone who knew someone who lived there. After

asking around, I was finally connected to a gentleman who worked in the high-density area,

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[27] *Aburo* means younger sibling. However, it does not necessarily mean in this context that I am
their direct blood relative. Nevertheless, the purpose of calling me their *aburo* is to symbolize
closeness to them and indicate that I am someone they can vouch for so as to ease any anxiety on
the part of potential participants.

Yemetu. I met with him and we walked around providing some details about the research and asking women if they would like to be interviewed. This process was much more challenging because most of the women were uninterested and I also was not coming through a proper channel – even though some of them had seen the gentleman around before.

Choosing questions. Each interview on average lasted for at least an hour, but there were some that were less than an hour and there were some that lasted for two hours. Over half of my interviews were conducted in Yoruba[28] and the rest were in English. I began each interview process by briefly introducing the study and myself as well as explaining the importance of obtaining their consent. I went over each consent form (see Appendix C) and informed them of their various rights and that they could stop the interview at any time. I also asked them for their consent to record the interview on my digital recorder. After receiving their permission, I started the interview with "warm-up" questions that focused on the participant's background. The following questions were centred on participant experiences, behaviour, and view of the status of development in Ibadan. The questions did not focus directly on gender, especially with regards to their beliefs and/or attitudes until towards the end of the interview. The rationale for this was that I wanted the participants to feel more comfortable before exploring sensitive topics. After I finished my questions, I thanked the participants and asked them if they had anything else to add, and/or any questions they wanted to discuss that were not broached during the interview. Some participants for more clarification on the study as they were curious about the various types of questions I was asking.

Before I went into the field, I felt very nervous about my interview questions - I felt that the questions I had come up with before leaving Canada were inadequate. While I had an idea of

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[28] I am fluent in Yoruba but I also asked a colleague to verify the translation of my questions.

what I wanted to learn from my research partipants, I was not very good at coming up with non-academic sounding questions. By this, I mean that some of my questions were questions that not everybody would be able to answer because they may not understand them. Before I left for Nigeria, I did make a more deliberate effort to come up with relevant, clear and understandable questions. However, it was only after I had spent some time in the field that I felt more comfortable with my questions. When I got to Nigeria, I paid close attention to my surroundings, I observed daily activities more than I normally would, and I paid close attention to my own use of space in Ibadan and how it was a gendered and classed process. Immersing myself consciously into the environment helped me come up with questions that the women could relate to rather than some of the abstract ones that I had preliminarily drafted. Once I felt comfortable with my interview questions, I conducted a pilot interview to test the questions. From this pilot interview, I learned the importance of modifying some questions. Also, once I started conducting my interviews, I learned that it was fine to do away with some irrelevant questions and to include other questions that may have more relevance.

The questions I asked participants were open-ended, unless I asked follow up questions that sometimes required one-word responses (see Appendix D). The questions were designed to lead to answers and discussions on eight themes:

- Experience in Ibadan
- Experience in the neighbourhood
- Housing conditions
- Social reproduction
- Spatial relationships
- Experience of violence in the city
- Political participation
- Gender, culture and religion

Each participant was also asked to respond to questions that sought the following background information: age, marital status, place of birth, number of children, level of education, and

income.

The interviews took place at each participant's location of choice, with most of the

interviews taking place at either the partcipant's home or place of work, although two interviews

took place in my room in the unveristy residence where I was staying. I brought my interview

guide with me to each interview, with the exception of my last interview. I forgot to bring the

guide because I was frazzled by an incident that had taken place earlier in the morning. I had

witnessed my first mob killing[29] when I had gone out to take pictures earlier that morning. My

initial plans were to return to my hostel, gather the things I needed and proceed to the interview

location, but I only remembered my digital recorder and notebook. Thankfully because it was my

last interview, I remembered most of the questions, so I quickly wrote them down before I

started the interview. I usually bring my notebook with me to take notes during the interviews

but took fewer notes when I realized that taking notes was a possible distraction for participants.

I noticed that they would sometimes pause and/or slow down when they saw me taking notes.

Description of research participants. Below, I detail some of the demographic

characteristics of participants based on each residential area (also see Appendix E for summary

charts with more detail):

Ibadan North (See Figure 8).

Bodija (low-density area). The four women in the above 45 category ranged from 52 - 83

years of age. The women in the below 45 category ranged from 23-45 years of age. All of them

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[29] This mob killing was urban justice in action as the victim had stolen a vehicle. Many people
chased after him by motorcycle and on foot. They finally caught up to him when he crashed the
car. They descended upon him and he was beaten to death. Mob justice has become common in
Nigeria due to people's dissatisfaction with police and the justice system that are often perceived
to sell justice to the highest bidder.

are Christian.[30] Five are married, one is divorced, one is widowed and one is engaged. Seven out

of eight have children. All of them have post-secondary training (university, vocational or

training college) and three also have post-graduate training. Occupationally, one is a civil

servant, one is a management banker, one is a marketing director, two are store owners, one is a

student and two are retired (professor and banker). Three of the women have a secondary source

of income. The retired banker has a poultry farm, the civil servant sells cement and is a pastor

and the marketing director sells gold jewellery. The highest annual income, from primary

occupation, is C$120,000[31] and the lowest was the student's part time income of C$1,600.[32]

Ashi (medium-density area). The four women in the above 45 category ranged from 47 - 65

years of age. The women in the below 45 category ranged from 32-42 years of age. All of them

are Christian. Four are married, one is separated, and three are widowed. Note that the woman

who is separated was in a polygamous relationship and cited this as a major reason for leaving

the husband's house. All eight have children. Five of them have post-secondary training

(university, vocational or training college), one has up to primary three education and two have

no education. Occupationally, three are teachers, two engage in petty trading, one is an office

cleaner, one is a medical records officer and one currently does not participate in any economic

activity. Four of the women also have a secondary source of income. Of the three who are

teachers, two engage in petty trading, the office cleaner also hawks after her hours at the office

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[30] In the study, few Christian women were Anglican, Methodist or Catholic, and most of the women with these religious affiliations lived in low-density areas. A large majority of women in the study, particularly low-income women, belonged to different sects of African independent churches.

[31] The figures have been converted to Canadian dollars using an exchange rate of 150 Naira to a dollar. This was the average exchange rate during my interviews.

[32] I only obtained income from six individuals. One could not remember her income before retirement. I was hesitant to ask the 83-year-old woman for her income because I did not feel comfortable enough during the interview to ask, and since income is a sensitive cultural topic, I did not want to override my feelings and risk being potentially perceived as rude.

and the medical records officer braids hair. The highest annual income, from primary occupation, is C$1600 and the lowest is C$243.[33]

Yemetu (high-density area). The four women in the above 45 category ranged from 46 - 60 years of age. The women in the below 45 category ranged from 18-35 years of age. Three are Muslim and five are Christian. Three are married, two are separated, one is widowed, one is engaged and one is single. Note that the two who are separated cited that they were in polygamous relationships and left because they were no longer pleased with their husband's behaviour or because of situations with the other wife. Seven out of eight have children. One of them has post-secondary training (university, vocational or training college), four have high school education, one has up to primary three education, one has primary 6 education and one has no education. Occupationally, five engage in petty trading, one is a street cleaner and performs other menial jobs, one works for her mother selling phone recharge cards, and one is a clerk for Nigerian Breweries. None of them reported having a secondary source of income. The highest reported annual income is C$800 and the lowest is C$485.[34]

Ibadan South West.

Oluyole Estate (low-density area). The four women in the above 45 category ranged from 46 – 53 years of age. The women in the below 45 category ranged from 27 - 42 years of age. One is Muslim and seven are Christian. Seven are married while one is separated. All eight women have children. All eight have post-secondary training (university, vocational or training college), and two have post-graduate degrees. Occupationally, six are civil servants, one is a professor and one

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[33] Note that this is from seven women. One woman, a 65 year old, reported that she currently has no income. She lives with her family and is on break from her economic activity of petty trading because she currently has no finances to purchase goods.

[34] Note that out of the eight women, two who are petty traders said that they did not really know how much they make.

works as a petroleum marketer. Two women reported having a secondary source of income, one does fashion designing and sewing and the other one has her own business as a land speculator. The highest reported annual income, from primary occupation, is C$12,000 and the lowest is C$1,760.[35]

Challenge (medium-density area). The four women in the above 45 category ranged from 49 - 61 years of age. The women in the below 45 category ranged from 31-45 years of age. Three are Muslim and five are Christian. Four are married, one is separated, and three are widowed. All eight women have children. One has post-secondary training (university, vocational or training college), two have high school education, one did not complete high school, two only have primary level education and one has no education. Occupationally, four engage in petty trading, three are tailors and one is a hairdresser. One of the women, a petty trader, reported having a secondary source of income from hairdressing. The highest reported annual income is C$ 2500 and the lowest is C$160.[36]

Foko (high-density area). The four women in the above 45 category ranged from 46 - 62 years of age. The women in the below 45 category ranged from 24-42 years of age. Six are Muslim and two are Christian. All eight women are married. One openly declared that she is in a polygamous relationship and does not stay in the same house as her husband. All eight women have children. One has high school education, three did not complete high school, three only have primary level education and one has no education. Occupationally, seven engage in petty

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[35] Note that I did not obtain income from three of the women. Two did not seem to want to state their income and kept referring to how work with the civil service is nothing to write home about. I did not ask the professor for her income, because I somehow felt awkward asking as our rapport from the beginning seemed to be one of senior and junior. I was in her office at the university and my friend who is friends with the professor's daughter had referred me to her. So I hesitated because I thought given our connection, my question may be considered rude.

[36] This reflects seven reported incomes. One of the women avoided answering the question about her income and I did not press the issue.

trading and one is a tailor. None of the women reported having a secondary source of income.

The highest reported annual income is C$1733 and the lowest is C$120.[37]
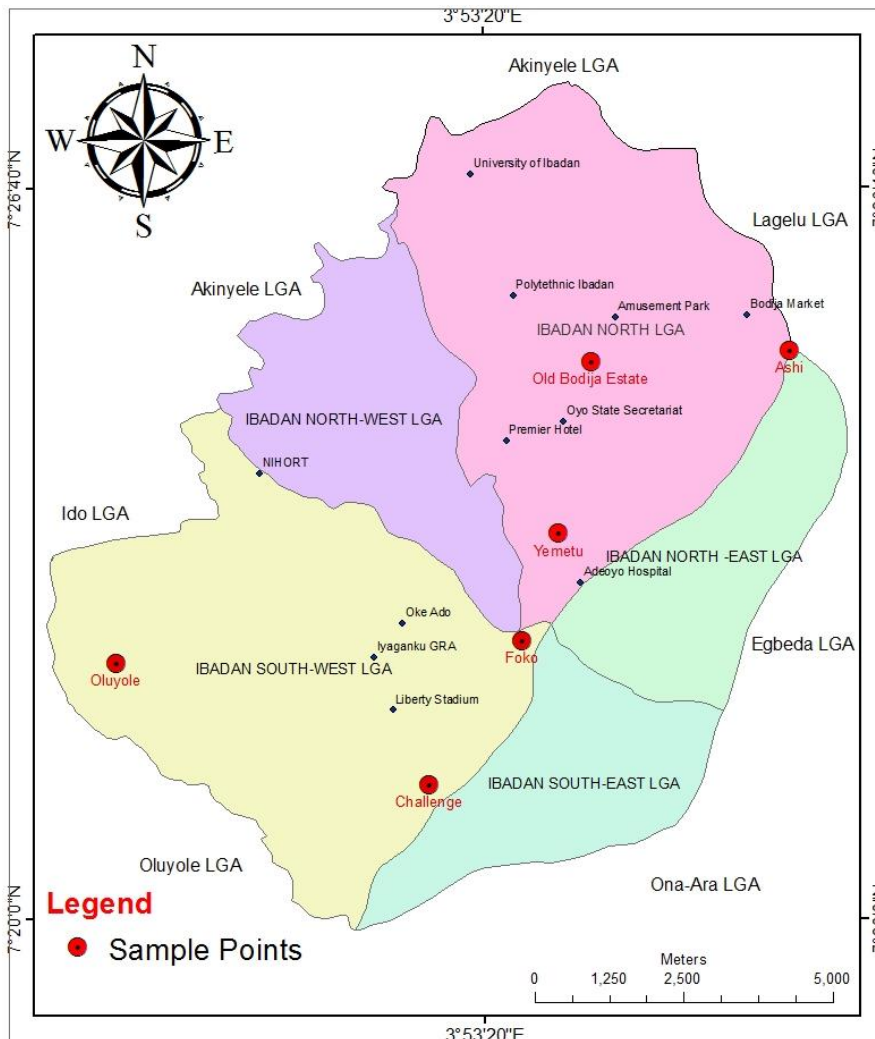
Figure 8. Research study locations in Ibadan. This map was commissioned
from Saeed Ojolowo (2013) for this study.

Research Participants and Religion. Although the interview participants were selected

based on age and class, women's religious worldviews in their everyday realities was a very

important aspect of my study. Regardless of women's religious identity (Christian or Muslim),

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[37] This reflects six reported incomes. Note that I obtained income level from seven women, but
the seventh woman, who is a petty trader, reported an income that appeared discrepant. I thought
the income she reported was much higher than other women in her trade and I suspected that
perhaps she did not calculate the profit accurately perhaps due to improper subtraction of costs.
The eighth woman did not want to state her income.

there were strong beliefs in the crucial role of God in improving the situation in Ibadan (and Nigeria in general) as well as the plight of women. Even though low-income class women were very critical of their material reality, they still managed to praise God for keeping them alive and helping them get through each day while holding on tenaciously to their faith that God will make everything better. God's name was invoked and weaved in seemingly natural ways in their phraseology during the interviews.

Although religion came across as a seamless aspect of women's daily lives, women also acknowledged the ways in which religion was constraining particularly through its reinforcements of gendered socialization and patriarchal hegemony. Nevertheless, women were also very careful not to come across as sacrilegious. While, they did not criticize God, they sometimes contradictorily criticized their culture, which they admitted was largely influenced by religious worldviews. Based on my limited[38] interactions with the women, I would argue that they negotiate the cultural and religious dissonance by re-focusing on God as the only one who can make things better – from women's condition to parasitic leadership to socio-economic equality. God is positioned as the only viable solution to situations that are not within their locus of control and to situations that they would otherwise deem hopeless. It is through God that they are able to retain a positive outlook.

Observations

I used observation as a supplement to my interview questions. While in Ibadan, I paid attention to my surroundings (what I saw and heard) and detailed this in writing. I often wrote descriptions of what I observed and ideas that occurred to me as a result especially in terms of

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[38] Limited because this was not an ethnographic study where I could observe and interact with them for an extended period of time. Instead my interaction with them was limited to our brief interviews.

connecting it to my research with regards to what I needed to understand more or other questions that I needed to ask the women. For example, paying close attention to the gendered use of space at various times of the day provided me with more insight about women's lived experiences. It thus prompted me to consider the ways in which some women do more than one job depending on the time of day and this enabled me to add another question to my interview guide about whether they had a secondary source of income.

Also, while I was not quite a true participant as observer (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002), I did engage in some of the activities that some of the women do, especially the women in the medium and high density areas. I took public transportation, and was thus able to appreciate some of the things the women were talking about during the interviews. Also, since I chose not to stay with family during the second and third phase of my research, I found that living by myself made me view the city as well as my reproductive and productive activities differently. I came to appreciate some of the challenges of obtaining electricity and water. For the first time, I had to make plans for how I was going to get water as there was not always running water where I was staying. What I noticed was that what I chose to do and at what time of the day was rearranged based on electricity and water. Thus, what I had been observing some women doing became more real to me, and also made me realize that there was more complexity to what they had to do.

I tried as much as possible to write in my journal after each interview. However, this was not always feasible due to exhaustion or lack of electricity. I would however try to catch up on the next day if I had the chance. As I was aware of the challenges of writing fieldnotes after my interviews, I made an effort to document some things about participants' setting and behaviour while I was taking notes during the interview. During the times when I did write fieldnotes, I

recorded the date, location, and descriptions of my participants. I oftentimes described what happened during the interview, whether I thought the interview went well and the connection made between myself and the participant.

I also took photographs during the fieldwork to supplement some of my observations. The photographs play an important role in helping me remember scenes that are related to most of the women's daily lived experience. I did not take any photographs of the participants, but I did take photographs of their environment. I took photographs of the markets, roads, gutters and public transport vehicles. I feel that I could have taken more photographs than I did but I was hesitant because I felt that taking photos visibly labelled me as an outsider as Ibadan is not exactly teeming with tourists. Towards the end of the the third phase of my research, I finally had the courage to take some photos and while I was in a particular area, one man approached me and spoke in Yoruba that I had to pay a fee for taking photos of their neighbourhood. Though I think he was joking – I will never know, because a major incident happened shortly afterwards – I felt more comfortable because the fact that he spoke to me in Yoruba meant that I was not the outsider that I feared I would be labelled as.

Data Analysis: Interviews and Fieldnotes

Each interview was transcribed and those in Yoruba were translated into English after transcription. After transcription and translation, I read the transcripts and begin manual open coding and identification of recurrent themes (Hsiung, 2010). After this stage, I then narrowed the themes, and categorized the key themes. Next, I went through the transcripts again and begin focused coding (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006). During this stage, I subdivided the categories to deal with the large number of responses that had been assigned the same code (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005). I also engaged in memo writing during the coding process (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006)

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to "ensure the retention of ideas that may otherwise be lost" (Birks, Chapman, & Francis, 2008, p. 69). When the subdivisions of categories were exhausted, I began conclusion drawing and verification (Miles & Huberman, 1984). During this phase, I compared participants' response with regards to specific themes (see Appendix F for further details).

I also coded my field notes and observation notes and looked for thematic patterns. I then recoded the field notes for these themes. After several iterative processes of re-reading and coding and there were no longer new breakdown of categories, I then began conclusion drawing and verification.

Challenges and Issues in the Field

Detailing fieldwork results alone does not always provide a clear picture of the nuanced nature of fieldwork and the complexity of power relations and tensions while in the field. As such, a discussion of issues that defy categories within formal understanding of fieldwork is pertinent. In this section, I discuss various dilemmas and problems I encountered while I was in the field. I highlight personal issues with regards to negotiating my identity and self-representation, dealing with my biases as well as detailing the successes and challenges I had with establishing relationships with my interviewees. I also explain the difficulties I experienced with translation and securing participants for interviews.

What Shall I Wear and how Shall I Travel?: Impression Management in the Field

Because I was conducting interviews in different residential locations and with differently classed women, I was always attentive to how I dressed (Henry, 2003; Mookherjee, 2001). When going into corporate offices, I had to make sure that I was appropriately dressed

for the interview location and I was very conscious of appearing fashionable.[39] I also ensured

that I did not take public transportation so that way I would not be late or potentially sweaty or

victim to one of the things that could go wrong while taking public transit. For an example of the

latter, some vehicles have holes in the roof, so during the rainy season, water tends to drip and

one can get wet. Also if one is not careful when jumping out of the bus, one's clothes can rip.

When I went to conduct my interviews in Ibadan's infamous "slum"[40] area, Foko, I

wanted to appear casual and not as if I was a well-to-do person, even though in reality, I could

not really mask this from them given my accent and the fact that they would soon find out that I

go to school abroad. Nevertheless, I wanted to paint myself as someone who at least understood

some of the things they had to go through and that I knew my way around the city or that I was

not afraid to take public vehicles and motorbikes. I thought that this would at least help them to

be more at ease with me. However, as it turned out, the women I interviewed indicated that

taking public transit was a luxury for them and that they sometimes opted out of it so they could

save money here and there. I was taken aback when I heard this during the interview, because I

with my privileged mindset, had thought that taking public transit was the cheapest way to get

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[39] In some parts of Nigeria, coming from abroad often entails a performance and a certain level of expectation. That is, there is a consciousness to not appear as an *ara oko* ("bush person" - derogatory Yoruba word for someone who is from the village). Thus, while I was interviewing the middle-class women, I subconsciously felt that I had to authenticate my insider-outsider status through my appearance.

[40] I choose to use this word because in Ibadan, Foko is referred to as a slum in daily parlance. This reference is often loaded with negative connotations and is used to capture unsavoury sanitary conditions and poor housing conditions (UN-HABITAT, 2003). However, I put the word 'slum' in quotation marks to also signal that it is a politicized terminology. The term is often used from an outsider's perspective and is a value judgment on those living in areas designated as 'slums'. The outsider's perspective often discounts the insider's perspectives and masks the experience and everyday reality of those living there (Sanjek, 1990; Low, 1996; Rakodi & Lloyd-Jones, 2002).

around Ibadan and that nothing could be any cheaper. Apparently, I forgot that walking is a mode of transportation.

Moreover, though I wore very simple clothing and shoes to Foko, I could not get away from the fact that my electronic gadgets (Blackberry phone and digital voice recorder) easily revealed something about me. One lady mentioned that she did not even have a cell phone and it would be nice if I could help her acquire one. Again, I was surprised because almost everyone in Nigeria appears to have cell phones since cell phones have become very affordable – one can buy one as cheap as ₦ 2,250 to ₦ 3,000 (C\$15 to \$20). Needless to say, I learned a lot about poverty and realized that I did not know as much as I thought I did.

At times, when I knew I would be interviewing very religious women in medium and high-density areas, especially those who were of sects that believed that women should not wear jewellery, trousers and make-up, I tried not to be too conspicuous in my self-presentation. I still wore my earrings, because I admittedly feel naked and uncomfortable without earrings, but I did not feel the need to accessorize as much, and I was very conscious not to wear any makeup or too much make-up as this may potentially alienate my interviewees from me. I found myself being overtly conscious about my dress. As the weather in Ibadan was very humid for me and because I knew that I would be interviewing in places without air conditioning or little to no electricity, I often wore sleeveless dresses. I realized that some may have frowned at this, but they may also be forgiving since I was probably in their eyes, "Americanized". Nevertheless, I tried to be as respectful as possible in my self-presentation.

Insider/Outsider

As a Nigerian-Canadian, I cannot characterize myself statically as an insider or outsider (Sultana, 2007). Rather, being a Nigerian-Canadian makes me an insider and outsider depending

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on the situational context (Wolf, 1996). My research participants viewed me as both an outsider and insider and I also felt as if I was both.

As a Nigerian, most research participants granted me insider status with regards to their expectation that I am familiar with and appreciate the important roles of culture, gender, ethnicity, language, and religion in their lived experiences. Thus, in discussions, participants engaged more openly with me without thinking that their beliefs and actions might appear unusual. More so, they appeared to be candid about their cultural concerns without thinking that I would judge them as betraying or belittling their culture.

As education is highly valued throughout most parts of South West Nigeria, some participants viewed me optimistically as someone who could speak on their behalf due to my PhD candidacy. Additionally, as I have remained abreast of Nigerian issues and chose to dedicate my research to Nigeria, my legitimacy seemed to be predicated on the notion that though I possess dual citizenship, I do and can understand their plight. They granted me insider status on the basis that I am someone who "cares enough about home to return". Consequently, my research provided a chance to vent frustrations that some did not have an opportunity to express as they are rarely granted an audience whose aim is to effect change. However, the onus was then on me to ensure that my research findings are granted an audience that will seriously consider policy change. After most of my interviews in the medium and high-density areas, the women asked me to ensure I told the government what they needed.

I was also treated like an outsider and I felt like an outsider because of my class and education when I was in the low-income areas. Women who were older than me and who would have ordinarily treated me like their junior in daily social interaction (based on cultural norms), were more deferential to me. They called me "Auntie" or "Ma". Moreover, there were a few

women in the low-income areas who could speak English but they informed me that they did not want to speak English during the interview because they were concerned that they may be grammatically incorrect or may use the wrong words. As such, I felt like an outsider because I felt that my social location intimidated them. However, the silver lining on this is that they had enough confidence in my Yoruba to think that we could conduct the whole interview in Yoruba, which in a way confers insider status.

My "outsiderness" was more distinct when I was talking with women who kept mentioning that they had to stop their education at the high school level or could not continue their education because of lack of funds. I felt the irony and guilt because we were meeting together for the sole purpose of fulfilling a requirement of my PhD degree.

The power differences were not as pronounced when I was interviewing women in the middle-class areas. Except for half of one interview, all the interviews in the low-density areas were in English. Some of the women identified with me by telling me about how they have travelled and/or lived and/or schooled abroad and/or have their child in school abroad. Additionally, the women who were older than me did not break the cultural boundaries of seniority.

Negotiating Participants' Power

As a feminist researcher, I tried to be as conscious as possible about the positionality and power of the researcher in the field (Ristock & Penell, 1996; Sprague, 2005; Wolf, 1996). To slightly reduce my power, I gave my research participants the opportunity to choose the location and time of our interview (Elwood & Martin, 2000). I think this worked well because at least the interviews were taking place in a space where the women felt relatively safe. I think going to the women (whether in their workplace or home) and allowing them to select the times that I could

come also gave them a little power, considering the researcher-participant power relations were often skewed towards me. I tried to minimize this power imbalance by offering the participants an opportunity to tell me whether they thought there were particular topics/questions I should have covered.

However, it did not take much time for me to realize the ways in which my research participants also had their own power and not just power that I "allowed" them to have (Sultana, 2007). I recall vividly that one participant took the reins of the interview process, by asking that we first pray before I could start interviewing her. Even though I was not a stranger to praying or to the pervasive religious culture of Nigeria, I was slightly surprised that she had wanted to pray. In my mind, it made the interview even more formal and it also sent clear signals to me about how I should conduct myself as well as the types of questions I should not try to broach.

Along this vein, I had some Christian women preach to me about the importance of being born again. One particular woman gave me Christian women's magazine articles to read, and also preached to me about the importance of being born again and being virginal. Once she learned that I was married, she then talked to me about remaining faithful to my husband especially when she learned that I had left my husband behind in Canada. Some women gave me advice on how to be a good wife, and the importance of bearing children in a timely manner. To these women in particular, there seemed to be something transgressive about me prioritizing my education over establishing a complete family. Though I was married to a Yoruba man, which they were happy about because it meant I did not "forsake our culture" and marry an *Oyinbo* (white) man, they still remained perplexed as to why I had not fulfilled the most essential step.

I was clearly uncomfortable that some of my research participants put me in a position that I could not necessarily escape. Ignoring their "sermons", eliding their questions, or not

saying "Amen" whenever they said a prayer for me (especially about children) would not only signify that I was rude, but also uncultured. Thus, in a way, I felt that I had given participants the opportunity to not answer any questions they felt uncomfortable with, and I tried to be careful not to be overly assertive with my feminist ideologies but they were not as considerate when I was on the receiving end of the religious cultural ideologies.

Obviously, my sense of entitlement as a researcher was cloudy and I needed to be more reflexive. I think that perhaps I was happiest when I felt I was giving participants' power, rather than thinking that they should appropriate power. I quickly learned not to get so annoyed and thought of ways in which I probably made some of them uncomfortable without knowing. Moreover, I convinced myself that these women's intentions were not deliberately intended to make me feel uncomfortable.

Reciprocity

I struggled with how I could show my appreciation to people who I had interviewed. I had been thinking about this when one of my contacts asked me how I would be compensating the interviewees. I told her that I was not sure as I did not want people to participate merely because of what they would get from it but because they were truly interested. I also did not want them to be focused on whether the answers they were giving me were satisfactory enough with regards to what they would be receiving. Further, I considered that remuneration, to a certain extent, would reinforce my social location.

I eventually decided that I would compensate some participants monetarily. The next challenge, however, was deciding on the sufficient amount. I knew I had to select an amount that those who I would be compensating would not find insulting. I finally decided on 1000 Naira

(about C\$6.67[41]). I decided that I would only give the money to people who lived in low-income areas as those in middle-class areas would definitely find this amount insulting and I could therefore not afford to compensate them monetarily. I, however, found other ways to reciprocate (Sprague, 2005; Wolf, 1996). For example, one woman wanted information on ways to attain permanent residency status in Canada and I provided information plus the best options for acquiring property. Yet others, when they mentioned that they have children or family in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), I gave my phone number and invited them to contact me for a visit or if they needed any assistance during their visit.

There were obvious challenges to compensating people for money. Although I pled with my contacts not to tell people that they would be given "x" amount of naira, or I told some interviewees not to mention this to others, the word spread around in Foko, the high-density area in Ibadan South West. I think this was partly because my primary contact had to go through another contact to help me secure participants. There was one day that I was particularly frustrated about the issue of remuneration and I documented it in my journal (July 22, 2011) as follows:

> *Okay, so the issue of paying people money for interviews has "bitten me in the butt". You see, I was paying 1000 naira to my interviewees in the medium density and high-density areas. In retrospective now, I think that perhaps 1000 naira was a little too much for those living in the high-density areas (as some make just a little more than this amount in a month) because once they heard from someone else that I am paying or giving them a token for the interviews then they also would want to do it and so that is what happened to me in Foko. I had to*

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[41] Based on the exchange rate from my study period in 2011.

interview some people who I did not necessarily want to interview but because they had somehow found out that I was paying, they tried everything they could to get an interview. On the first day, one woman I interviewed did not really live in Foko but she was saying that she grew up there and that she sleeps there when her husband is not around (which was apparently very frequent). But her residence is somewhere else…and I told her I could not interview her and I was basically accused of taking away her rights to be interviewed. So I eventually just interviewed her… and she got her money and she was happy.

Then yesterday, I was sure the woman was lying to me about her age I think that she was younger than 46 but she said that she was 46. So I tried asking her when she had her first born and she said that the person was born in 1970 and I started to wonder if maybe she was picking a random date because it seemed far away …you know then I later tried asking her who was ruling when her first child was born and she said she could not remember maybe Babaginda or Shagari…and I was just like, "okay o thanks" (in Yoruba, of course).

So what I suspect may have happened is that my contact just probably helped me get some of her friends who she knew would benefit. I mean I understand that there is poverty and everything but really to the extent that you have to lie (this was because I had already filled my quota for under 45)…I don't know. So that is it, I was slightly upset but at the same time I could not be too upset because I know they need the money…but at the same time that is why I hate it when money is introduced because sometimes you don't really end up having people who want to do it because they are interested but people who want to do it because of what they

gain from it. But who am I to talk – will I also not be gaining? I mean I am not even

paying the women enough…right?

Rapport

With the exception of about five women, I was able to establish rapport with my research participants. I also made a conscious effort to be an attentive and good listener (Anderson & Dana, 1991; Reinharz & Chase, 2002; Sprague, 2005). Admittedly at first, some of the women were either shy or in a hurry to complete the interview but as we talked more, they were more at ease. The women opened up to me and some who had mentioned they were in a hurry ended up providing detailed answers. As for those who had appeared shy or were avoiding eye contact at the beginning, they were smiling and some were even comical with some of their responses towards the end. I got along really well with some of the women to the extent that they commented after the interview that they really enjoyed our conversation. As for the other five women who I was not really able to establish rapport with, the interview felt more forced. During these interviews, I felt as if the women were uninterested and/or in a hurry to finish. They also were not as forthcoming with their answers and/or they did not elaborate very much.

One particular salient memory is of an interview with one woman whose behaviour almost made me cry at the end of the interview. She seemed to hate the very presence of me (perhaps this is an exaggeration, but I felt that way). She was not very responsive to my interview questions and all she seemed to care about was going to hawk her yams. After the interview, I could not help but ask her: "Mummy why did you not want to help me?" That day, I started to re-question my relevance and my purpose as a PhD candidate. I started to wonder why I was bothering with my questions and taking her time when there were other important issues for her such as her daily earnings. Up to this point, I had viewed myself as doing something good

with my research, coming to Nigeria away from my partner and dealing with the struggles of electricity and water that I had come to take for granted in Canada. Clearly, this woman did not care about anything I thought she should care about, all she wanted was money from the government; she did not even want to consider my other questions. Even when I wanted to consider her response by asking for elaboration she thought she was rather clear. Thus, I began to ask myself what was the point of my work if I was only perceived as a nuisance by this woman who cared more about making ends meet and increased responsiveness from the government than my project. I began to see how much space on centre stage I was taking. I focused so much on the potential of my research and failed to understand that some people could not care less (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002). Thankfully, in the end she was quite surprised that I gave her money and she softened up because it was more money than she would have made that day. However, by that point it was too late; the interview was over and I had to make a quick exit so I would not be seen blubbering on the street.

Securing Participants and other Interview Logistics

I did not expect that some people would be scared to do interviews with me. Because I was asking questions relating to women's perception of change and the status of development in Ibadan, some women were concerned that I would report them to the government or use some things they may say against them. Some of these women are used to the culture of government backlash/suppression when it comes to voicing criticism - as such, they were concerned that their responses could be traced back to them. Needless to say, these women declined interview requests. On a separate note, some women refused to be interviewed unless they knew they were going to be reimbursed. I on the other hand, did not want people agreeing to do the interview just because of compensation reasons, but I wanted people who were genuinely interested in sitting

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down and talking for one to one and a half hours. Although I did end up compensating most of the women in the end, I compensated them after the interview and most did not know that they would be receiving money at the onset of the interview.

It was not as easy to secure research participants as I thought it would be in some areas. Part of the reason is due to what I explained above. Another reason is that one of my contacts in the low-density area in Ibadan North had a family emergency for the entire duration that I was there and I therefore did not want to disturb her. So I had to find a replacement low-density area. In Ibadan South West, the contact I had in the low-density area disappointed me. She cancelled our interview and the other lady she connected me with was not very interested in doing the interview and she did not recommend other people because she said she did not know anyone who would have the time.

As for the participants I did secure, some did not want to be recorded. They were concerned that it could be used against them, especially if they said something particularly offensive against the government. This was a major concern for those who worked in government. They were apprehensive about the possibility of saying something that may implicate them and get them into trouble. I had to assure them as per the informed consent that I would not even mention their name. I also put forward the argument that it was really crucial for me to record them in order to attain accurate representation of what they were saying. In the end, out of the 58 interviews I conducted for this research, only one of them was not recorded as a result of the participant's refusal. This particular participant was a politician and I could not guarantee him any anonymity since he was a public figure.

As I wanted to ensure that I finished all my interviews in a timely manner, I could not conduct my entire interviews one neighbourhood at a time. Instead, I had to base it on women's

availability. So that meant that all my interviews overlapped. Thus, for example, I would go from one neighbourhood in one local government to another neighbourhood in another local government in one day. Depending on traffic, this was sometimes a one and a half hour journey between the two locations. This proved to be a tiring and expensive endeavour but it was at least efficient in terms of completing my interviews within my timeframe.

I conducted most of my interviews while the respondents were working. This was challenging in the sense that I rarely could do the interviews without interruption and sometimes while conducting the interviews, curious people would stop by and listen and want to make their contributions (which was not necessarily a bad thing), but it was problematic in the sense that the women I was interviewing did not always have privacy. As such, I wonder if they were always forthcoming with all information due to the presence of others.

Sometimes, I could not complete my interviews in one go because of interruptions from others or because some of the women had to go somewhere else, so I had to go back at another time to complete the interview. There were also a few occasions when I would show up for interviews and the potential interviewee would ask to reschedule - so that meant that I could not complete the interview on that particular day.

Researcher Bias

I have to admit that I had pre-conceived notions before I interviewed government workers during my first set of interviews. Growing up in Nigeria and even after I left Nigeria, I had come to view the "government" as corrupt, dysfunctional, useless, and responsible for the ills of Nigeria. As such, I expected most government workers and those I would be interviewing to fit these characteristics. I presumed that they would care nothing for the people in the city. I

therefore thought that all I needed was their own words to back up my hypothesis as to why the government was so unresponsive to the needs of the people.

It did not take long for my notions of government workers as the bad wolves to be challenged. At least those who I interviewed expressed their frustrations with the way the government functioned and operated in Nigeria. They also indicated that they wished those who were in positions of higher power would listen to their proposals. They also wanted increased funding to operate projects.

Although most of the people I interviewed did not really know about women's issues or those who did had a very "Women in Development" notion of women's issues and proposed solutions, they proved to be wonderful individuals who I now hesitate to criticize in my work. Prior to my interviews with them, I had no qualms challenging them but now with my dissipated bias, I am left with another dilemma of how to represent my government participants with whom I had unexpectedly developed rapport.

Issues of language and translation

I conducted a larger number (50%) of interviews in Yoruba than I expected I would. A major challenge I had was translating some English concepts into words that would have more meaning to my research participants. For example, when I asked what they thought about the issue of women's liberation and/or empowerment they did not seem to understand, whereas during my interviews with more educated and English speaking participants they understood what I meant in English. However, translating those words into Yoruba did not signify the same things for the women as it possibly did for the women who I interviewed in English. After a few interviews, I found other ways to get their opinion about what they thought about women's liberation and/or empowerment. I asked them more questions about what they thought about the

condition of women in Nigeria, whether they thought the condition should be changed and what they thought could be done to change the condition. This line of questioning seemed to have more resonance than the original.

Not only did I have some difficulty when trying to come up with ways to communicate more effectively in Yoruba with my research participants, I also experienced challenges translating the interview transcripts into English. Yoruba is such a rich and nuanced language that I had to be careful when translating to capture the actual meaning of the speaker rather than summarizing at best what they mean, even though the latter was always easier as the former did not always make as much sense in English. Nevertheless, there were some instances when I opted to summarize what some words meant for clarity purposes especially when the literal translation did not capture the intended meaning. For example, I used the words "*bawo lo ti ri?"* quite a few times during my interviews to translate the English words, "what's it like?" But if I want to now translate "*bawo lo ti ri*?" back into English, the literal translation in English means "how does it look?" but I chose to write it in my transcriptions as "What's it like?"

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the methodology and methods applied to my study. I have also provided a brief background on Ibadan as well as my interview participants that will help contextualize forthcoming discussions. The subsequent three chapters detail the analysis of empirical data and themes that resulted from the fieldwork described in this chapter. Chapter Four emphasizes women's experiences of neoliberal urbanism in Ibadan and their desires for government intervention in ameliorating its adverse effects. Chapter Five explains the ways in which women criticize religious cultural discourses and political godfatherism for facilitating their exclusion from formal processes of urban governance and decision-making spheres in

Ibadan. Chapter Six examines women's rights claims to the city and their feminist visions for

Ibadan.

CHAPTER 4 - *"WHAT MORE DO THEY WANT?"*: NEGOTIATING GENDER, CLASS
AND NEOLIBERAL URBANISM IN IBADAN

Introduction

This chapter is about women's experiences and perceptions of changes in spatial

inequality, infrastructure, economic security, and food security that have taken place in Ibadan as

a result of neoliberal economic restructuring and neoliberal urbanization. The discussions

highlight what women consider to be the major issues that have arisen as a result of these

changes. In this vein, government approaches to women's issues in the city will be discussed and

examined for the extent to which they capture what women cite as issues and concerns. The

chapter begins with a discussion on neoliberalism in Ibadan, the implications of neoliberal

approaches to the urban, and the ways in which neoliberal urbanism is gendered. I next describe

how the research participants and I perceive Ibadan. These descriptions elucidate the

complexities of everyday life in Ibadan, underline women's differential experiences and also

challenge afro-pessimist discourses on African cities. By engaging with women's lived

experience of Ibadan, I argue that women often frame their issues within a positive and negative

rights discourse[42] and do not view themselves as victims but rather subjects with entitlements -

although middle-class women tend to engage with a discourse of privilege[43] in relation to issues

of infrastructures that can be privatized. I next examine and critique government understanding

of and policy action on women's urban development concerns and how these are influenced by

obligations to the international community concerning development and gender goals. In so

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[42] While there is extensive literature on this topic, I borrow these terms and engage with them
simplistically to refer to positive rights as government obligations and negative rights as non-
interference from government.
[43] I use discourse of privilege to indicate that these women recognize that they have certain
infrastructure due to their class location.

doing, I posit that the government engages with the neoliberal notion of individual responsibility through empowerment approaches that are entrenched in patriarchal ideologies of gender relations and roles. I also argue that current government approaches to women are myopic in that they neglect women's desires for change and also fail to understand that the ways in which women engage with and navigate the city go beyond typical patriarchal assumptions and expectations.

Neoliberal Urbanism in Ibadan

Neoliberalism privileges the "free hand of the market" and minimizes the role of the state in market regulation. It is multiscalar in implementation and effect (Springer, 2010; Ong, 2006) and it redefines individual freedom "as the capacity for self-realization and freedom from bureaucracy rather than freedom from want, with human behaviour reconceptualized along economic lines" (Leitner, Sheppard, Sziarto, & Maringanti, 2006, p. 4). It is also "historically and culturally contingent and engage[s] with people in places to generate diverse and contradictory outcomes" (Nagar, Lawson, McDowell, & Hanson , 2002).[44]

Popularized by Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher and the "Washington Consensus", neoliberalism has become the predominant policy approach to global, national and local economies since the 1980s as a result of dissatisfaction with, and proclaimed inefficiencies of, state involvement in social and economic life. The shift from Keynesianism to neoliberalism was catalyzed by the dramatic rise in world oil prices between 1973 and 1979, "where the impact on the "First World" was severe economic recession, the "Second World" went into an economic

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[44] There is a large amount of literature on neoliberalism and this is not an exhaustive definition. For a succinct overview, see David Harvey's (2007) *A Brief History of Neoliberalism.*

tailspin that eventually led to its disappearance, and the "Third World" fell into a "debt crisis",

giving rise to a condition of aid dependency that continues to this day" (Springer, 2010, p. 1028).

Neoliberal ideology and policy, imposed by international financial institutions (IFIs) in

the form of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), have been prominent in Ibadan since

1986. As an import dependent country, the decline in world oil price affected Nigeria's foreign

exchange, which went from $25 billion in 1980 to $7.2 billion in 1986 and thus led to a deficit in

the balance of payment.[45] Consequently, Nigeria became a highly indebted country and had to

partake in the IMF and World Bank initiated debt rescheduling programme and conditionalities.

From 1986 to the late 1990s, the primary focus was on what Peck and Ticknell (2002) refer to as

"roll back" whereby public expenditure reduction, privatization of public enterprises,

devaluation, and trade liberalization (Adewumi, 2012, p. 123) were the order of the day.

In the 1990s, cities were recognized as crucial arenas for national development within the

international development agenda (see Chapter Two) and more focus has thus been placed on

promoting neoliberal forms of urbanization. However, in Ibadan throughout the tenure of

military rule (1983-1999), the international drive for the neoliberalization of cities was not

followed intensively. The focus was on ensuring political stability by curbing civilian riots and

protests. Moreover, Nigeria's political instabilities and military repression also signified that the

country was not a desirable option for foreign direct investments and it also faced foreign

diplomatic and economic sanctions.

An urbanization driven by SAPs has led to the deterioration of public infrastructures,

cutbacks in social services, wage freeze, exacerbation of gender inequalities and higher

incidences of poverty, and Ibadan as a potential "world city" or location of global financial flows

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[45] See Central Bank of Nigeria [CBN], 1990.

has only recently begun to be pursued fervently. Since Nigeria's return to civilian rule in 1999, cities like Ibadan, particularly under the governorship of Abiola Ajimobi (2011 to present), have become key sites for market oriented economic growth. They are expected to be entrepreneurial in nature and serve as attractive investment climates for global capital.[46] The urbanization of neoliberalism has been particularly catalyzed by the Nigerian civilian government's zest to make up for the lost years of SAPs and military rule. This hope was fueled by Nigeria's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), which had come to replace SAPs in 1999, and is coincident with Nigeria's return to civilian rule. The World Bank and IMF hailed the PRSP as a better alternative to SAPs because of its prioritization of poverty alleviation and its promise that countries could take ownership of their development plans.[47] Highly-Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC), of which Nigeria is one, were required to write PRSPs as a prerequisite to obtaining debt relief. Oluwasegun Obasanjo's[48] administration's response to the PRSPs was to declare that Nigeria would become the "China of Africa".

The vision to become the "China of Africa" meant that Nigeria would become "Africa's largest economy and a major player in the global economy" (National Planning Commission, 2004). Nigeria's PRSP and plan for prosperity was entitled, National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS).[49] The Local Economic Empowerment and Development

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[46] See Peck, Theodore & Brenner (2009) and Leitner *et al*'s (2006) discussions on the urbanization of neoliberalism.

[47] Malaluan and Guttal (2003) argue that, "in reality, country governments have little ownership over the structure, content and policy prescriptions in their respective PRSPs, thus making a mockery of Bank-Fund claims of national ownership, public accountability and broad based participation" (p. 2).

[48] Nigerian president from 1999 to 2007.

[49] One of the clearest signs of dominant ideas is their recurrence in similar shapes and forms in diverse texts, particularly official, governmental documents. Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) are a good example of a complex of ideas that has become ubiquitous: from Tanzania (PRSP Tanzania 2000) to Uganda (Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development

Strategy (LEEDS) was the localized form of NEEDS and also a predecessor to present day

revanchist neoliberal urbanism in Ibadan. LEEDS offered a blueprint for local prosperity

through the enhancement of city competitiveness and sustainable economic growth. The vision

for economically thriving cities was inscribed in Nigeria's Vision20: 2020 document. This vision

was inspired by Goldman Sachs listing of Nigeria as number 18 on a list of 20 countries they

predict would be globally competitive and the largest world economies by 2025 (Pereira, 2008,

p. 48). Thus as Mayer and Kunkel (2011) have argued, neoliberal urbanization in the global

south can no longer be perceived narrowly as being about an external imposition by IFIs, it is

also about "the interests of local regimes- whether authoritarian, democratic, or communist - in

imposing neoliberal projects for better positioning themselves in the global competition" (p. 13).

Nigeria's Poverty Reduction Papers and Vision 20: 2020 have also been influenced by a

"mega city" narrative that indicates that most of the global south population will be living in

cities within the next decade (Zeiderman, 2008). Since 2006, under the direction of Governor

Bola Tinubu, Lagos has been one of the most visible sites of neoliberal urbanization in Nigeria.[50]

Its vying to be globally competitive and "comparable to other major cities in the world" entails a

"new wave of regeneration schemes designed to "revitalise" ailing industrial cities with new

knowledge and service-based economic engines" (Kern & Mullings, 2013, p. 25) as well as "the

transformation of urban space through the process of creative destruction by which capitalism

achieves surplus absorption" (Afenah, 2009, p. 4). Thus instead of the focus on "roll back"

2000) to Nigeria, the respective PRSPs all contain elements such as market-led 'growth', private
sector 'development', 'good governance' and poverty reduction strategies. The power of this
complex is underlined by the power of the international finance institutions that champion its
effectiveness as a cure for all economic ills, despite the location of economies in complex and
varying contexts (Pereira, 2008, p. 48).

[50] The current governor of Lagos State, Babatunde Fashola, has increased the intensification of
neoliberal urbanization– Amnesty International has had to run campaigns against the number of
evictions and slum clearance in Lagos.

during SAPs, the contemporary form of neoliberalization is "roll-out", an "emergent phase of active state-building and regulatory reform" (Peck & Ticknell, 2002, p. 384) that constructs the state "as a gatekeeper of the neoliberal project, to ensure a stable investment climate and keep in check those marginalized during the period of roll-back neoliberalism (Afenah, p. 4).

In Ibadan, there are recent concerted efforts to follow in the footsteps of Lagos.[51] In particular, Ajimobi has been traveling to other global cities to make a case for capital investment in Ibadan and other cities in Oyo State.[52] In a 2011 speech, as published in *The Nation*,[53] Ajimobi used neoliberal "speak" to state his intention for Ibadan to become a thriving and globally recognizable city:

> This government will pursue a programme of urban development and renewal. We are not happy that Oyo State, Ibadan in particular, remains a *recurring decimal in discussions about urban degeneration.* We are going to institute a robust programme of urban renewal for our urban centres. We are going to address the challenges of our state capital, with utmost urgency, by initiating necessary processes to earn the ancient city the status of a *mega city*. We are going to partner with the private sector, international development partners and donor agencies, as well as other major cities around the world to *transform the state capital to the city of our dream.* We will return to the long abandoned initiative of city-twining for

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[51] Efforts made by previous administrations were minimal because they did not engage the mega city discourse to the same extent as Ajimobi. Moreover, Ajimobi is a member of the same political party (Action Congress of Nigeria) as the two Lagosian governors (Tinubu and Fashola) who intensified neoliberal urbanization in Lagos.

[52] See the official website of the Oyo State government for specific examples of Ajimobi's power point presentations to lure global capital to Oyo State: www.oyostate.gov.ng The following YouTube link to the powerpoint presentation on "investment opportunities in Oyo" may remain in existence much longer after the incumbent administration is gone: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zy8Xs6ao0MM

[53] A Nigerian newspaper

exchange of ideas on urban development and renewal and exploitation of

opportunities in education, business, health service delivery, youth empowerment,

with other major cities of the world. … This march to restoration requires a

collective resolve to change our attitude, *commitment to hard work*, *patriotism,*

respect for due process and diligence, as well as our general values (emphasis

added).

Ajimobi's pursuit of the "mega city"[54] is driven by capitalism and mirrors other projects of

urban redevelopment in the global south (see Huang, 2004). These projects are often

characterized by methods of marginalization such as "anti-poor legal order, regulations

against informal workers, hawkers, waste pickers, privatization of basic services like water,

sanitation, housing, health and education, and last but not least, restricting access to open

spaces for making viable more arenas for elitist consumption" (Banerjee-Guha, 2009, p.

97).

Ajimobi's use of "commitment to hard work" alongside "patriotism" in his speech is part

of the logic of neoliberalism that envisions the role of the state as "facilitator rather than key

agent of social and individual improvement in life" (Pereira, 2008, p. 43) while expecting

citizens to take individual responsibility for themselves and contribute in meaningful ways to the

development of the economy (Leitner et al., 2006). Ajimobi's use of "collective resolve" in the

speech is also the language used on billboards in the city. This is captured in the photo of a

billboard in Figure 9 where Ajimobi is encouraging the public to "*so owopo fun ilosiwaju ipinle*

Oyo" (join hands together for the prosperity of Oyo State).

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[54] The "mega city" that Ajimobi is referring to here does not carry the connotation of
uncontrollable population growth that depicts the city of the future but that of a controlled
growth that will enable Ibadan to become a recognizable "global city".

Figure 9. Billboard imploring Ibadan citizens to join hands together for Oyo State's prosperity. Picture taken by author (2013).

This "collective resolve" discourse asserts that Ibadan people should transcend their quotidian lived reality and allow the capitalist space of the imagined future global city to take precedent (Huang, 2004, p. 10). They are asked to make sacrifices and forget their needs as a key step towards moving from the realm of " urban degeneration" to the glorious transformation of Ibadan into a prosperous global city. This "prosperous place of hope" constructs the false narrative that there is indeed a "shared future" (Huang, p. 6). Rather, what ends up being created is a new geography of the city where a dual mode of centrality and marginality reigns and the majority of city dwellers become "alienated from their familiar urban space" (Huang, p. 115).

Thus the "prosperity for all" narrative is a neoliberal myth. As Peck, Theodore and Brenner (2009) cogently highlight, there is a disconnect between the ideological promises and potentials of neoliberalism and its translation in the everyday lives of people:

> While neoliberalism aspires to create a utopia of free markets, liberated from all forms of state interference, it has in practice entailed a dramatic intensification of coercive, disciplinary forms of state intervention in order to impose versions of market rule and, subsequently, to manage the consequences and contradictions of such marketization initiatives. Furthermore, whereas neoliberal ideology implies that self-regulating markets generate an optimal allocation of investments and resources, neoliberal political practice has generated pervasive market failures, new forms of social polarization, a dramatic intensification of uneven spatial development and a crisis of established modes of governance. The dysfunctional effects of neoliberal approaches to capitalist restructuring, which have been manifested at a range of spatial scales, include persistent if uneven economic stagnation, intensifying inequality, destructive interlocality competition, wide-ranging problems of regulatory coordination and generalized social insecurity. (p. 65)

Gendering Neoliberal Urbanism

Apart from the uneven spatialization of neoliberal urbanism, there are also concerns about the ways in which hegemonic masculinity interests contribute to the shaping of the city (Kern & Wekerle, 2008, p. 234). Although feminist thought has informed urban planning theory about the importance of gender, neoliberal urban planning designs remain exclusionary and rarely employ solutions with which women can identify (UN-HABITAT, 2012, p. 8). There is clearly an implementation gap between the acceptance of gender mainstreaming policy and its translation in the planning of cities (UN-HABITAT, 2012, p. 22).

Prior to the 1970s, development theorists and planners paid little attention to women and it was assumed that development was gender neutral (Warren, 2007). Ester Boserup's (1970) seminal work, *Women's Role in Economic Development,* introduced the approach of Women in Development (WID) by challenging the notion that women's status would improve with modernization. Instead, she argued that the modernization paradigm ignored women's contribution to development and rendered women's productive activities invisible. WID became popular in the early 1970s and called for the integration of women into existing development projects (Connelly, Li, MacDonald, & Parpart, 2000).

By the mid-1970s, WID was scrutinized for its liberal feminist approach of assuming that equality would be attained if women were treated like men. WID did not include an analysis of gender power relations nor did it question male privilege. Influenced by dependency and Marxist theories, a Women and Development (WAD) approach emerged in response to the limitations of WID (Razavi & Miller, 1995). WAD argued that women were not neglected like WID believed, but rather undervalued and overburdened. The position of WAD is that women are already an integral part of the development process and that the nature of their existing integration is in need of analysis. As such, WAD advocates posited that global capitalism and patriarchy are major sources of women's oppression because they exploit women's paid and unpaid labour. However, in the 1980s, the Gender and Development (GAD) paradigm, influenced by socialist feminist thought, emerged as an alternative to WAD (Visvavathan, 1997). GAD critiqued WAD for not questioning the link between unequal gender relations and capitalism, and women's exclusion from structures of power (Parpart & Marchand, 1995).

The GAD approach catalyzed the popularization of gender in the development sector and "gender equality became an objective of development" (Warren, 2007). This was particularly

crystallized by the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action (BPA) which called for women's empowerment[55] and established gender mainstreaming as a strategy for promoting gender equality. In particular, inscribed in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers is not only the promotion of economic growth as a vital aspect of a city's progress, but also the call to reduce poverty in cities. As it is assumed that the larger percentage of poor people in cities tends to be female[56] (Chant, 2008), part of the neoliberal influenced PRSP is the alleviation of this poverty through the empowerment of women. However, these strategies often employ "national narratives of 'mothers of the nation' [and] draw on universalized notions of women as citizens with circumscribed agency" (Oldfield, Salo & Schlyter, 2009, p. 3). Women's issues are accordingly viewed in limited ways and something that should be addressed by Women Affairs agencies and departments.

The overwhelming prevalence of gender equality and women's empowerment in development parlance should have started to translate into significant changes in the status of women and gender relations. However, as many development feminist scholars have argued, progress is slow because of the ways in which gender has been depoliticized. Many feminists have begun to suggest that "gender" is just a buzzword, devoid of politics and incapable of contributing to social transformations, at least in the manner that institutions and other development organizations have taken it up. Feminists have therefore noted the failure of gender

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[55] Although empowerment is a contested term (see Batliwala, 1994; Chong, 2012; Cornwall & Brock, 2005; Kabeer, 1994; Murphy-Graham, 2008; Parpart, Rai & Staudt, 2002), a general understanding of women's empowerment is: the processes which enable women to take control and ownership of their lives through expansion of their choices.
[56] I use "assumed" because Sylvia Chant (2008) argues that there needs to be more sex-disaggregated data on poverty and a consideration of differences among women such as ageing in determining whether and how poverty can be feminizing (p. 173). As it is, "the value of income data in supporting the feminisation of poverty is dubious" (p. 174). This will be discussed further in a subsequent section.

mainstreaming and gender training in addressing gender inequalities (Ahikire, 2007; Batliwala &

Dhanraj, 2007; Mukhopadhyay & Wong, 2007; Pearson, 2005; Rao & Kelleher, 2003; Standing,

2007; Whitehead, 2003). Of particular relevance to my research context is the following

critique:

> The commitment to addressing gender disadvantage has mainly been translated in terms
>
> of practical gender needs. In the increasing market based approach to poverty alleviant,
>
> planners and development agencies will give priority to meeting women's practical needs
>
> in the name of gendering development policies, Initially there was evidence that they felt
>
> uncomfortable with interventions that would upset the local gender order, arguing that
>
> local 'cultures' should not be disturbed by external notions of equality and participation.
>
> (Pearson, 2005, p. 158)

Although government officials in Nigeria employ the term "gender" because of donor pressure,

international conventions, and the international development agenda, gender is often equated

with women rather than the interrogation of unequal gender relations. This WID approach is

much preferred because it has the effect of allowing policy makers to think that no radical

change were/are required in their institutional and personal attitudes and behaviour and that it is

women who need to act or be acted upon in order to "catch" up with men (Para-Mallan, 2007, p.

118). Anything that is considered a threat to culture, patriarchal norms and male privilege is

considered "western" and thereby difficult to implement.

Urban development and revitalization in Nigeria often do not take into account gender

differences in urban space with the exception of the recognition that women require the provision

of basic services in order to successfully execute their gendered roles as mothers, wives and

homemakers (discussed further in a subsequent section). Beyond, these basic services, urban

development planning is considered gender-neutral, thereby trivializing women's concerns and needs around public space (Beall, 1996; Chant & McIlwaine, 2013; Olabisi, 2013; UNCHS [United Nations Centre for Human Settlements], 2001).

Thus, the explicit focus on addressing women's poverty in Ibadan elides an analysis of how projects of urban renewal/redevelopment and city beautification further marginalize women (Kern & Wekerle, 2008). The emerging focus has been on empowerment programs for women that paradoxically proffer solutions rooted in the same neoliberal framework that played a role in increasing and exacerbating poverty (Vandenbeld Giles, 2014). As Charmaine Pereira (2008) aptly notes:

> In the absence of measures to eliminate social and economic inequalities, it is not clear how the creation of wealth will reach those who are denied basic entitlements, particularly women. When the economic and development agenda prioritises [Nigeria] becoming the largest and strongest economy in Africa, as opposed to social transformation and gender justice, then the reference to 'prosperity' can only mean prosperity for a few. (p. 43)

If we were to examine the "everyday lived experience as a significant site of neoliberal restructuring" (Kern & Mullings, 2013, p. 30), then it is possible to question the grammar of "prosperity" and "our [urban] dream" embedded in the neoliberalizing urban lexicon. Taking the lived everyday experiences of people in neoliberalizing cities into account would highlight the ways in which urban renewal processes are not gender and class neutral. Rather, they are projects that privilege and make space for particular forms of capitalism (formal over informal) and subjects while exacerbating the geography of uneven urban development by making it more

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difficult for a large majority of people to exert control over their everyday life (Huang, 2004, p. 137).

Feminist interventions in development, while laudable, are clearly not without a troubled past in the way they constructed African women (and other southern women) as oppressed victims of backward patriarchy (Ajayi-Soyinka, 2005; Lewis, 2001). More so, in present day Nigeria, there is the tendency to consider the imposition of a gender agenda neo-imperialistic because its "modernist roots [make] it difficult to escape western-centric notions of development with their tendency to locate answers within western frameworks and assumptions" (Rai, Parpart & Staudt, 2007, p. 10). Moreover, the western roots of international gender obligations also entail the privileging of western technical knowledge/expertise (Parpart, 1995).

While it is important to be critical of a neo-imperial gender agenda, it does not mean that gender cannot be taken up critically in Nigeria (see Chapter Two). Thus, gender equality should not be perceived as foreign to Nigeria and therefore an excuse not to critique patriarchal structures. Rather, steps to address the status of women in the Nigerian society ought to be socially transformational in nature and not solely focus on improving women's reproductive roles as wives, mothers, and homemakers.

The Dimensions of Ibadan: Cosmopolitan, *Olaju,* and Uneven Development

I love Ibadan. From the sounds of hawkers trying to convince me to buy freshly baked bread when I enter the city's toll gate on my way back from Lagos to the price haggling I engage in with market women when I am buying beautiful fabric at New Gbagi market. The hustle and bustle of the night economy sometimes makes me wonder if the city ever sleeps. The uniqueness of Ibadan never ceases to amaze me. One minute I am at the city core of the pre-colonial city, on the winding hill, snapping photos of indigenous houses that are almost 200 years old and

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clustered like sardines in a can. Within the next five to ten minutes, I am inside an air-conditioned glass building, briefly escaping the humidity, to deposit money into my bank account in a newer region of the city.

The sights and sounds of Ibadan surprisingly distract me from my own thoughts as I marvel at a woman carrying a huge load of yam on her head with her young child simultaneously tied to her back. I instantly think about how the separation between reproductive and productive spaces is blurred for women in Ibadan. Her situation also reminds me of how some of the women I interviewed told me that they cook in their shops instead of going home so that they can continue on into late evening with their business. They manage to send food to their husbands while some of their children join them in the shop to eat.

Shortly after the woman yam hawker passes, I cannot help but compare her to the woman whom I now glimpse getting out from the latest Mercedes Benz model as she instructs her driver to wait for her while she quickly grabs some tomatoes from Bodija market. I am curious as to why she did not send her house help. Perhaps she is like a few of the middle-class women I interviewed who insisted that they must be the ones to cook for their husbands because their husband refuses to eat food cooked by anyone else.

While I am busy observing and wondering, I note that there are two small children peering at me from their mother's lap as we wait for our public vehicle to finish loading. As they peer at me, I curiously wonder how comfortable it is to sit two children on one's lap with another child tied to her back. I quickly offer to hold one of the children as I have seen some other people do before.

As I wait impatiently for the bus to fill up (because the conductors and drivers refuse to leave unless the bus is full), many hawkers - women and children - come to sell snacks ranging

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from groundnuts to plantain chips. Some were also selling drinks - I call one girl over who seems to have a variety of drinks. I ask for milo but she says she does not have any. She calls over someone else who she knows has it and I make my purchase.

While sipping my cold chocolaty drink, a blind man with a walking stick accompanied by a small child goes from bus to bus asking for money. I am quickly distracted by a woman porter who I am astonished could carry such a heavy load on her head. She was at least 75 years old. I see her carry the purchases to the car of the lady who hired her and the lady compensates the porter 50 naira. I think that the woman is doing such arduous work for little compensation. I wonder what her situation is like at home. Is she like one of the women I interviewed who is widowed and takes care of her grandchildren? Or did she leave her husband because she's tired of being in a polygamous relationship like a few older interviewees expressed?

Before I can continue to ponder about the porter's situation, I hear the engine of the bus sputter and we are soon on our way. We drive past billboard advertisements ranging from spices to medicine and the latest Blackberry phone. Every time traffic stopped, there seemed to be a hawker at all the windows of the bus trying to sell something. I also notice the fast food restaurants are being frequented by people who are wearing the latest fashion and who appear busy on their ipads in the short distance from their cars to the restaurant. I giggle slightly because I know we Nigerians like to be ostentatious. Soon enough, we pass by shanty looking shops that are home to hairdressers and tailors. Some of the names of the shops have such cosmopolitan sounding names such as "Ruffy Arts and Designers" that are hard to reconcile with the appearance of the shops while some just have long names like "Amazing Grace and God's Best Beauty Salon." The names make me smile. I also notice that the environment surrounding the shops is not the cleanest but what really catches my attention are the dresses

made out of African fabrics that some of the women walking out of the shops are wearing. Their

styles resemble the ones that are now being copied and sold in the west for a pretty penny.

When I finally get off the dilapidated bus that almost tore my newly sewn outfit, I feel

hungry and I call after a young child who just passed by hawking very small, green tart apples. I

buy one from her for 60 naira, a price that I think is too high for an apple considering how

cheap and large the apples I buy in Canada are. As I near my hairdresser's shop, I stop to buy

puff puff, a delectable fried pastry, from a woman who is busy making them on the side of the

street, preparing to give a bucketful to who I presume is her daughter to go and hawk while she

continues to fry more and sell from her street location. I try to avoid gazing at the conditions in

which she's frying the puff puff and I pray that I will not have any stomach problems later on in

the evening. However, at first bite, my worries quickly dissipate as I savour the scrumptious puff

puff. When I enter the plaza, I overhear some women arguing with a man, but I am not sure what

their argument is about. I silently laugh at the thought that some people actually think women do

not speak their mind.

After I finish braiding my hair, I hail an okada. I climb the motorcycle and tell him to

take me to my next destination. I do not want to take a public vehicle because it is "go-slow"

time. An okada would get me to my destination faster and it also means that I do not have to

change my mode of transportation at the bus stop, as public vehicles are not allowed to enter the

estate that I am about to visit. While travelling on the okada, I notice a group of people working

together to catch a thief who appears to have stolen something from someone. I am slightly

amused that the thief thinks that an escape is possible. I am also saddened because urban justice

Ibadan style most likely means the thief will be killed. Before long, I sight a group of women

dancing and singing songs on the street campaigning for one of the politicians contesting in the

upcoming elections. By the time I enter the estate, the sights and sounds I love about the city have disappeared. But I now admire the beautiful houses - though their beauty is almost obscured by tall security gates. The area is amazingly quiet and if I was not so used to this contrast, I would be confused about whether or not I was still in Ibadan.

Once I reach my destination, I pay the okada driver and he asks me to give him a bonus since I appear to be well off. I banter with him and decide to add 50 naira to my fare. He consequently showers me with blessings and prayers. I enter through the security gates and I am relieved that the people I am visiting have their generator on. There has been no electricity in my hostel for days, and I am wishing I had brought my laptop to charge. My regrets soon cause me to shake my head at the deplorable state of service delivery that has deteriorated from the services enjoyed some 30 years ago as the women I interviewed had unanimously pointed out. Nevertheless, I take my seat and enjoy being spoiled. Unfortunately, the house girl attending to me looks like she was about 16 years younger than me. She barely spoke English and definitely did not speak Yoruba. I heard she was from a neighbouring French-speaking country. I wonder what her deal is and who had arranged for her to come to Nigeria. I did not want to start asking questions, as it was not my business. That put aside, the best part of my visit is that I am able to use a flushing toilet without having to pour water down to manually flush like I do at my hostel (yet I am grateful that I have a toilet and easy access to water unlike my interview participants who live in Foko).

Before long, it is time to go back to my hostel. My hosts implore me not to stay out too late – alluding to the tenuous security situation in Ibadan. Nothing has ever happened to me before but I am always warned about traveling after dusk, especially in places where there are barely any streetlights. But I love the night. It is when the women fry my favourite snack, akara.

It is when the men come out and make delicious suya. More so, it is when the roasted corn, yam and plantain the women sell smell so good and cause my mouth to water. My senses are usually overwhelmed, but I am overjoyed. I feel alive in this city. It is not like any city I have been to in North America or Europe, but that does not mean anything. This wonderful city is a city of complexities. It goes beyond the biased western characterization of it as yet another 'failed', chaotic and underdeveloped African city. Though poverty exists, Ibadan has its own richness. Though chaos abounds, it has its own order. At risk of over romanticizing, although many urban dwellers struggle, from what I have seen, they refuse to be relegated to the status of victims. Instead, they are agents, seeking a better life and looking for new ways to adapt.

When reading popular literature or engaging in discussions about African cities, it is as if there are no complex dimensions to African cities. African cities are often "banished to a different, other, lesser category of not-quite cities - or held up as examples of all that can go wrong with urbanism" (Myers, 2011, p. 4). However, the women I interviewed did not characterize Ibadan in simplistic terms and went beyond the common one-dimensional portrayals of African cities. One particular commentary that is memorable for me was the way Ebun described Challenge, the area she lives in, to highlight that Ibadan has a character of its own and people do not constantly bemoan its poverty:

Challenge is a lively place. … Challenge is a place that if you're depressed in your house, if you bring a stool and come sit at the junction, you will see several things that are funny to make you feel better, do you get? It's a place that is lively. You will see some that are acting somehow and you will be asking, 'was it a woman who gave birth to this person?' You will also see a child who is wearing trousers and the butt is showing

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and you will just be watching. You will see others who like to fight …and be debating each other. You will just notice that it is funny. (Personal communication, July 7, 2011)

As outsiders looking in, it is easier to see the ills and absences of Ibadan while voices of the insiders living within the city themselves are often neglected. Obtaining the perspective of city dwellers allows for a more nuanced and multidimensional understanding of the city. The women in my interviews do not view Ibadan as a city that is 'not quite', rather they describe Ibadan as a city 'that is quite' and a city they take pride in despite its development issues.

Understandably, the women, regardless of class and age, use similar terminology to describe Ibadan but their experiences of these depictions vary by class. For example, many of the middle-class women use the term "cosmopolitan" or "modern" to describe Ibadan while the low-income class women tend to use the Yoruba word, "*olaju*" which literally means "eyes opened", and loosely translated could mean enlightened/modern/civilized depending on the context. The middle-class women commonly use 'cosmopolitan' to describe the booming industrialization, westernized restaurants and stores and real estate development. "*Olaju*" was used to emphasize how Ibadan has gone from a 'bushy' existence to a more built up environment.

For the middle-class women, especially the above 46 category, a significant change that has taken place in Ibadan is that they no longer have to travel far for particular luxuries or other items that they are used to obtaining in Lagos or abroad. As Tobi mentioned,

Now you are proud of the city. There's money here, you don't have to run away. You don't have to go to Lagos – you know, shuttling between here and Lagos for business; although you can do that. But there's nothing you want to go and buy in Lagos that you cannot buy in Ibadan. (Personal communication, July 18, 2011)

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In a similar tone as Tobi, Bukky uses the term cosmopolitan to describe the various items that have become available in Ibadan: "Life has been good. It has improved tremendously in terms of what we have on ground… it is becoming more cosmopolitan" (personal communication, August 26, 2011).

Given the dichotomous comparisons between western cities and African cities in much academic literature and popular culture, the very use of the term 'cosmopolitan' is telling considering that many of the middle-class women using it have previously travelled abroad and thus have a basis for comparison. As such, the fact that they do not belittle Ibadan in this regard and still call Ibadan 'cosmopolitan' is indicative that Ibadan is indeed a city they perceive as coming into its own rights. Nevertheless, that fact that some travel to western countries for medical checkups and send their children there for postsecondary education also reveals their level of dissatisfaction with Ibadan's performance in the areas of health and education. Although, many did not verbalize dissatisfaction, the geography of where they access health care and education is an indirect statement about Ibadan.

The low-income class women say that there is *olaju* in Ibadan but for them it also signifies an increase in spatial inequality and they have not experienced *olaju* in the same personal manner as the middle-class women experience the cosmopolitan and modernized Ibadan. As Atinuke expressed,

> If you go through the Oluyole area you will enjoy it. You will think that it's a small London because the area is very, very neat and [because] of the calibre of people that are staying there … there are big, big companies though [there aren't many here in Ashi] there are some areas like [Oluyole] where all those things are. (Personal communication, June 30, 2011)

Sara, also articulated a desire to live in low density areas where the wealth is more apparent and the housing conditions are more conducive:

Sara: I do not even desire to be living here. It's money. If there was money, I know what type of neighbourhood I can live in. And my children.

Grace: What type of neighbourhood?

Sara: If there was money now, like Ring Road, Joyce B, Oluyole Estate, those types of neighbourhoods. That when one gets there, even if there's no light, one will still use a generator. But somewhere like here, even if one has a generator in this neighbourhood, it is dangerous. Because a lot of our mothers (elderly women) who live among us, they carry open-flame lamps [to see at night] when they want to go poop [outside as] there's no toilet. If they want to go poop and they pass by a generator [and trip], has one not gotten into trouble? So things like that. So like those neighbourhoods that have security watching them for instance, *if you ask them what they can say about this city, they will find something to say more than those of us who are living here.* (Personal communication, August 7, 2011; emphasis added)

While Atinuke and Sara used a wistful tone to depict the inequalities of *olaju*, Desola was very critical of the ways in which land has been allocated for formal businesses in her neighbourhood. Desola lives in Challenge, a medium-density area that is different from many medium-density areas in Ibadan because it is a vibrant financial district. In her opinion, she felt that a space for an open market should be prioritized over the space they have used to build modern restaurants that people like her do not even have the means and opportunity to frequent:

…instead of people selling things by the roadside, the place where we have the Mr. Bigg's should be used as the marketplace, not that the Tantilizers, Mr. Bigg's,

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etcetera are not useful, but they should find another place for them. (Personal

communication, June 27, 2011)

From Desola's viewpoint, she thinks the building of Mr. Bigg's and Tantilizers restaurants is a

sign of poor planning and does not meet the needs of the people in her neighbourhood. To her,

since the street vendors selling on the curbside barely have any space to sell and they are selling

"illegally", the government should have used the space as a market instead. She is also a

proponent of a market space because she cannot buy everything she needs from the street

vendors and as such, she still has to travel to the nearest community for a market. She argued that

if there were a formal market space, there would be more vendors and variety, and thus reducing

the need to travel to another market.

Desola's complaint bears no resonance for someone like Zainab who lives in a high-

density area characterized as a 'slum' and which has barely been touched by the modernizing

urban project in Ibadan. By contrast to Desola, Zainab actually wants companies to be built in

her neighbourhood so that she can partake in 'modernity' through her labour:

Zainab: If we could have more companies.

Grace: Companies?

Zainab: A company that will hire me,[57] perhaps for me to sweep the floor or mop the

floor, for me to make money there. If we had it.

Grace: What type of company?

Zainab: Like if I swept and mopped.

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[57] This is a translated quote. The person's original wording was *oluware,* which literally means one's god. But for simple English equivalency, it would mean "one". However, since Yorubas tend to refer to themselves in third person, the best English equivalency for what she is saying is "me". I have used me in this sentence to cogently capture, in English, what Zainab is referring to.

Grace: Yes. Like what type of company do you want? Is it like Coca Cola or Mr. Bigg's? Please give me an example.

Zainab: I can be sweeping the floor and I can clean their gutter.

Grace: Yes, I understand, I understand the work you want to do for them. What I'm asking is, what type of company are you talking about?

Zainab: It could be a factory, it could be another type of company, perhaps a bank.

(Personal communication, July 21, 2011)

Zainab's desire to work with any type of company and mop the floor or wash the gutter is her attempt to earn consistent income. This is indicative of the extent to which development is uneven in certain aspects while Ibadan concomitantly became more urbanized, cosmopolitan and rich.

However, some middle-class women are much more distanced from the 'unevenness' that has taken place in development. These differential responses hint at the ways in which neoliberalism has both classed and spatial effects. For example, Tobi in the middle-class group, noted the positive development in urbanization in Ibadan:

If there's no money in Ibadan, banks will not be springing up as they are springing up now…Ibadan is now financially stronger than before …when there's money, people build. People build houses, offices. You can see the skyscraper buildings. If there's no money, you can't do that. (Personal communication, July 18, 2011)

The poorer women on the other hand, often complained about the dearth of employment opportunities, the absence of opportunities to earn an income in the areas where they live, the shortage of money and the rising cost of living in the city. Zainab (62), lamented:

[Ibadan] is getting worse. It's worse. It's worse, everything. ... there's no money, we

don't have pocket money, we don't have savings. We're only working for hand to mouth

(food). It's worse. It's not like it was before. It was better then ... There's nothing now.

(Personal communication, July 21, 2011)

In sharp contrast to Zainab's comment, Solape, a 72 year-old middle-class woman,

declared, "So I have been quite happy in Ibadan. The cost of living is reasonable" (personal

communication, July 26. 2011). Solape's experience reflects the income inequality in Ibadan and

how class position affects women's experiences of economic restructuring.

Public sector cuts in social spending, intended to increase state efficiency and savings since

the era of SAPs, have significantly placed a greater burden on poor women whose gender roles

require they take care of family needs and reproductive tasks, when social spending no longer

meets social needs. Accordingly, this reliance increases women's productive, reproductive and

community roles (Moser, 1993) as it is assumed that "women [can] intensify their subsistence

and domestic labour to offset the cutbacks to social reproduction in both the labour market and

the state" (Luxton, 2006, p. 39). Further, due to retrenchment, redundancy and bankruptcy, many

more males are unemployed or do not have steady jobs, and therefore, women cannot rely on

them as breadwinners (Johnston-Anumonwo & Doane, 2011). The increased financial burden

wrought by economic restructuring on women means that some have sought to diversify their

incomes, work in the informal economy, and many work long hours like Bunmi, a widowed 49

year-old tailor and petty trader:

> In this our Nigeria, one job is not enough. … When I am done [at the shop] maybe
>
> around 5:30 to 6pm I will get home, when I get home, when it's about 6:30 to 7 pm, I
>
> will go to where I trade, because I will also sell my wares because there is no husband, It
>
> is only God. … I will go around 6:30pm, and I will come back around 10pm. (Personal

communication, July 7, 2011)

Bunmi's experience illustrates how paid work in the informal economy, given the long hours, is difficult to balance with women's reproductive unpaid work in the household. Women's experiences under neoliberalism are what Sylvia Chant (2008) refers to as the "feminisation of responsibility and obligation", whereby:

> women are increasingly at the frontline of *dealing* with poverty… [and] the unevenness between women and men's inputs and their perceived responsibilities for coping with poverty seem to be growing. In some cases, the skew is such that it has reached the point of virtual one-sidedness. (p. 176; original emphasis)

In this vein, some of the women alluded to the reversal of roles, stating that women, instead of men, have now become chief breadwinners:

> Remi: [women are] suffering o! They are suffering. Some have husbands. But the husband is not working. She's the only one who is working. Only the woman will be taking care of the children. (Personal communication, July 28, 2011)

> Ebun: But now where we are, it is women who are feeding the husbands because the husband does not have a real job… many men have become women and women have become men. So you see, the lack of money in the city is what is making women do stressful jobs. (Personal communication, July 7, 2011)

Women's candid declaration of the decline of the male breadwinner ideal is somewhat surprising because even though many women in many parts of Nigeria have historically participated in income generating activities (Lindsay, 2003) and wage labour (Okeke, 1997), whereby their income is sometimes more than their husbands, there has been a resistance (or

perhaps taboo) to articulate the fact that the male breadwinner rhetoric is but an ideal. Instead, women expressed that their income (regardless of the amount) is supplementary to their husbands, who were considered to be the main financial provider. Thus the male breadwinner ideal persisted "more in discourse than in practice" (Lindsay, p. 211). In my research, it appears that the male breadwinner ideal is what some women would like to exist in practice (due to the rationale that it is men's way of compensating for women's unpaid social reproductive labour[58]), but they are now willing to externally articulate that this is not reality. Despite this articulated invalidation of the male breadwinner ideology, older women like Desola were quick to point out that male headship is still intact: "… there are some men that it is even the wife who is catering for the home, [but] no matter how small a man is, he is still the head of the family" (personal communication, June 27, 2011).

It is not clear whether Desola personally believes the above as she explained that she thinks this way because the Qur'an and the Bible state that the man is the head of the family. Perhaps it was also a strategy to circumvent feelings of cognitive dissonance and to also avoid portraying herself as transgressing the gender hierarchy. By contrast to Desola, some younger women like Ebun above had no qualms highlighting that the socio-economic changes that have taken place in Ibadan have disrupted gender boundaries through her bold statement that, "many men have become women and women have become men."

Government Understandings of Women's Roles, Needs and Concerns in Ibadan

Ironically, political and policy approaches to low-income women rarely acknowledge the ambiguities and contradictions of the male breadwinner ideal. Instead, women's income continues to be viewed by the government as supplementary to the male breadwinner income, a

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[58] This will be discussed further in Chapter Six.

legacy of the colonial influence on the formation of the male breadwinner ideal as well as the colonial history of gender and labour in Nigeria (see Lindsay, 2003). Due to the elision of women's shifting reality as breadwinners and other lived experiences, women's place, space and role in the city are framed in particular and limited ways. Using the nuclear family model, it is assumed that women are primarily mothers and wives with house management duties. As such, there is a presumption that any concerns that women have about the city pertain to constraints that hinder the successful execution of their primary roles. For example, when I asked Dele, a high level Town Planning Officer, about planning issues that are of particular importance to women, his response was:

> Well, well, women. Women. I think *because they are basically at home…*provision of potable water and all the services too - they are of great importance to women - power, water supply [and] all the basic things because it is women that feel the impact more, that will take care of the home and children. *And they need all those things to really take care of the home.* (Personal communication, March 3, 2011; emphasis added)

While Dele's response depicts the reality of the infrastructural problems faced by women, it is an inadequate approach because it denies that all aspects of urban planning should incorporate a gender analysis (UN-HABITAT, 2012).

However, prompted by the Millennium Development Goal 3 ("Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women") and other international commitments to gender equality, there has been an increased focus on women by the government since 2000, specifically in regard to poverty alleviation, although the popular government approach to this goal is to keep patriarchal ideologies intact. Accordingly, mothering is very much connected to poverty eradication. That is, women are still perceived primarily as mothers, as Seun at the Oyo State Ministry of Women

Affairs pointed out, "*Women's issues involve anything that pertains to children.* You know women are in charge of the home [and things] that affect the family and the society"[59] (Personal communication, March 23, 2011; emphasis added).

In Ibadan, the most popular government approach for localizing international and national commitments to gender equality is via women's "empowerment". However, the way empowerment is taken up is depoliticized. It is reminiscent of the days when the Nigerian government first embarked on a large-scale promotion of women's issues and role in national development in 1987 through Miriam Babaginda's[60] implementation of the Better Life Programme (BLP). The BLP leveraged and operated within a conservative politics that promoted practical gender interests[61] (Molyneux, 1985) because it "conform[ed] to the patriarchal notion of socially accepted role for women and so [did] not challenge gender inequality and women's subordination" (Dibua, 2006, p. 299).

Based on interviews with staff at the Oyo State Ministry of Women Affairs and the Women Affairs arm of the Department of Community Development as well as with two local politicians in both local governments, "empowerment" was defined as income generation resulting from successful skill acquisition. Below is an excerpt of a conversation on empowerment with Fadeke in the Women Affairs unit of the Department of Community Development in Ibadan South West:

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[59] It is important to note that perspectives on women and gender espoused by the Women Affairs staff were not always operating within a binary realm. While they promote a particular notion of womanhood, some disagreed that women are the "weaker vessel" as denoted in cultural and religious discourses. Additionally, they all argued, as discussed in Chapter Five, that more women should participate in politics.

[60] Miriam Babangida (1948-2009) was the wife of Ibrahim Babangida who was the military president of Nigeria from 1985 to 1993.

[61] This refers to the basic needs required to improve living conditions.

Grace: … please ma, if you don't mind me asking, what does empowerment mean or how do you define empowerment?

Fadeke: What I told you, I've said it earlier on that you know after the training the government will give them a token to start.

Grace: Yes.

Fadeke: … we believe that they will not be among those people that are not skilled. They will be removed from the unskilled people. Even if it's catering they will be selling puff puff around. They will not be [unskilled] since we have trained them and tried all the possible best to empower them. *Empowerment is power. It's like, no let me use this one, you don't give somebody fish to eat but you teach him how to fish hmmm? Then you give him instrument for the fishing. That is the meaning of empowerment.* (Personal communication, March 16, 2011; emphasis added)

It is assumed that skill acquisition training will lead to self-reliance and thus poverty eradication. Moreover, the skill acquisition programs available to women were those that further entrenched gendered notions of women's work, as highlighted by Seun and Fadeke's descriptions below:

Seun: … we've been financing some of them and training them on argillite ventures, training them on sewing, baking and what have you to give them empowerment and to reduce poverty amongst women. So a lot of women are being established on small-scale businesses and that has reduced their poverty level drastically. (Personal communication, March 23, 2011)

Fadeke: …between Wednesday and Friday at Ibadan North Local Government, there was an empowerment program. Skill acquire program that was organized for the women in

this Local Government. We taught them how to make bead, tie and dye, popcorn, how to do soya milk and other things. Anything that can help them do anything [sic], instead of them being idle - something that *they can start with a little amount of money that makes them to be a better woman in their various homes*. (Personal communication, March 16, 2011; emphasis added)

The government's approach and their scope of women's empowerment is further limited by expectations that training and empowering women will enable them to become better mothers in terms of their ability to care for their children as highlighted by Aderinola below:

By training, well you train like 50 women after a week or a month you go to their community [when] we see them doing one or two things maybe having their own business you know *they can cater for their children*. We know we have achieved because we do visit them to know, 'the training you have acquired, are you using it or not?' (Personal communication, March 9, 2011; emphasis added)

Thus the ability to generate income as a means to provide for one's children and be "better women in their various homes" indicates that empowerment has taken place. Such empowerment interventions expect and encourage women to be more family oriented and altruistic (Chant, 2008, p.186) by taking on responsibilities that should be the role of the state.

The Women Affairs staff indicated that they catalyze empowerment by giving women free equipment or start up small-scale business money:[62]

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[62] When I conducted my follow up study (February – March 2013), I was informed by the Women Affairs division of Community Development Department in the Ibadan South West Local Government Area that they train about 150 women per year and the money and equipment they give to the women is free of conditions or obligations of future repayment.

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Aderinola: … you know training just involves maybe teaching people how to do this, do that. …*we want them to be self-reliant*. So that's why we train them. But when you train them and you leave them and you don't give the money or initial capital - you know a person that you train it is easy, very easy for the person to go back to his/her community to be just you know *still constituting that nuisance that we are trying to prevent*. So that's why we are suggesting that they should empower them. Immediately you train them, after their graduation you give them money or buy them material to start their business. For example, if it is tailoring, we encourage them to buy them sewing machines. (Personal communication, March 9, 2011; emphasis added)

Fadeke: … the development activities have been taking place in various respective Local Government Areas such as the purchase of equipment like sewing machines … hair dryers, clippers, deep freezers for those that want to embark on business like selling frozen chicken that is expensive because anyone that wants to purchase dryer must have it in mind that in Nigeria we have problem with the electricity so we have to provide generator to supplement it at least, even grinding machine. Well, after the completion of the program *)* after the completion of every training, it is necessary to empower them. You know … at least if those *people that are trained are empowered, they will be deleted from those that are roaming about the street*. (Personal communication, March 16, 2011; emphasis added)

It is important to notice the subtle ways in which Women Affairs conceptualizes empowerment to fit within acceptable norms of morality. Fadeke's emphasis on reducing street roaming posits skill acquisition as a method for ensuring that women do not resort to "prostitution" (and thus an indirect way to control women's sexuality). The empowered woman

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is supposed to be productive in particular ways that align with what is deemed acceptable by patriarchal structures and institutions; thereby indicating that the ideal city landscape entails the absence of certain types of women. Thus, curbing the proliferation of sex work is in line with the overarching goal of ensuring that women are good mothers and wives through the empowerment project carried out by government staff. Ironically, some women in my interviews alluded to the fact that some women they know are resorting to sex work as the most viable form of work precisely because they want to be good mothers who can take care of their children.

When "empowerment" is narrowly and primarily conceived as improving women's economic capacity, it erroneously assumes that access to resources increase women's choices and decision-making powers (Luttrell, Quiroz, Scrutton, & Bird, 2009). The prevalence of this limiting approach to empowerment is largely due to the 'feminisation of poverty'[63] thesis which "marr[ies] poverty reduction with women's empowerment" (Chant, 2008, p. 186). As Cecile Jackson (1998) argues, this has become an instrumentalized approach that uses gender as a means to achieving the development objective of poverty reduction. A disproportionate focus on poverty is insufficient because it relies on the assumption that women's subordination is derived from poverty alone (Jackson, 1998) while ignoring other structural issues and "any real linkage with the wider livelihood realities of women (Izugbara, 2004a, p. 81).

An equally important explanation as to why the empowerment approach taken up by government staff in Ibadan does not advance gender equality is because there is a conscious effort to set Nigeria apart from western ideas about feminism. This is mainly due to the need to appear sensitive to the "cultural tradition" that values male superiority. As such, "gender

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[63] Chant (2006, p. 2) explains that the 'feminisation of poverty' has three common tenets: 1) women represent a disproportionate percentage of the world's poor 2) this trend is deepening; and 3) women's increasing share of poverty is linked with a rising incidence of female household headship.

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equality" is conceived as unduly rivaling men. The Director of Oyo State Women Affairs, Seun, narrates this opposition and conflict by outlining the distinction between her understanding[64] of western feminist liberation and the Nigerian women empowerment program goals:

> You know women liberation talks about 'ah you don't need the support of your husband, you can do whatever you like, you can compete with your husband and whatever.' Whereas women empowerment is complementing … women liberation talks about women rivaling men competing with them, fighting them, equalizing with them but women empowerment talks about empowering women to complement the efforts of the men even at home front wherein the finances of the home will be carried by both of them and the women will not be depending solely on the men. (Personal communication, March 23, 2011)

Thus to symbolize and embody the "African difference," women's empowerment is interpreted and acted upon based on their identities as mothers and household managers. When a more transformational agenda or broader scope is agitated for, comments like **"what more do they want?"** that I overheard a male government staff state during a television program on gender inequality in Nigeria become common. The current approach, however, neglects that the material realities of motherhood is what leads low-income women, in most localities across the globe, to frame their daily concerns around their roles as mothers and other social reproductive struggles (Grover & Mason, 2013; Mora, 2006; Naples, 1998). Moreover, the fact that middle-class women, in my research, do not frame their needs around their children and other social reproductive issues indicate that women do not have a "natural proclivity" towards mothering

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[64] I use the wording 'her understanding' because I think that she has a misconception of women's liberation. I find it interesting that the most popular understanding of western feminism is very narrow – as it all seems to be based on radical feminism which is but one small aspect of feminism. Even then, radical feminism seems to be misconceived as well.

issues.[65] Rather, mothering becomes central to women's issues and policy concerns as a result of socio-economic circumstances and socialization processes that fail to address systemic issues. As such, and as discussed in subsequent sections of this chapter, there are many implications of maintaining policy and programming approaches towards women that do not value women's material reality of social reproduction and that discount age and class differences among women.

Empowering Women? When Poverty Alleviation is not Enough

Some social reproductive work carried out by women is considered by the government staff I interviewed to be the natural work that they should do. Thus, most often than not, their social reproductive work does not receive as much policy focus and attention with regards to making transformative changes. Women's social roles obscure the need for social provisioning by the state. For example, Aderinola's following commentary on women hawkers who carry their children on their back is more focused on the fact that they are doing demeaning work and not on the fact that they care for their children while working:

> At times when you go out, you see women hawking backing baby and still hawking on
> the road. By that, we know this person is not maybe well-trained or well catered for -
> maybe by the husband or by the parent… if they're well trained…they will not be
> hawking on the road. (Personal communication, March 9, 2011)

The usual response is to provide more skill acquisition training so the women can stop hawking and potentially make more money. It is rarely considered that more policy and programming focusing on childcare options and free government nursery programs are required. As I briefly discussed in my story at the beginning of this chapter, some of the women I interviewed have their children with them throughout the day or their children join them at their

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[65] Due to their class privilege, middle-class women often hire people to assist them with childcare and domestic work.

workplace when they close from school. Sara who lives in the high density area, Foko, noted

that some women keep their children with them because there are no free nursery schools in

Foko that are close by:

> …it's just that schools, you know they have become privatized. Schools now, like those
>
> nursery schools, if there is a school that is government owned that can be in our area.
>
> Like those who have the power to bring their child to nursery school, do you know that I
>
> would bring them (children) to the government's if it was close by? Some who have a
>
> small child [are] not able to bring the child to government school. The government school
>
> is far away. There is no time. But if it was close by, do you know that one will bring the
>
> child there? When one brings the child there, one would quickly return home. One would
>
> go to work, and the mind would be at rest. If they could do something like that in our
>
> area, we would be happy. (Personal communication, July 20, 2011)

Thus, urban planning and policy in Ibadan needs to transcend the concept of women's social

reproductive work as 'natural'. By doing this, it would be possible to see the ways in which

gender matters especially when determining the location and provision of facilities and services.

Furthermore, the assumption that skill acquisition training will reduce hawking activities

discounts other possible reasons for women's choice to hawk in the first place. Due to financial

circumstances, hawking is a secondary source of income for some women and not necessarily a

consequence of lacking skills. During the interviews, a teacher mentioned to me that she hawks

after work and another woman told me she hawks after she comes back from the office. On an

equally important note, because skill acquisition training entrenches gendered notions of

women's work and mostly prepares women for work in the informal economy, it may not

necessarily be a key to lifting women - especially women from female-headed households - out

of poverty given that the current economy has greatly destabilized and saturated the informal

market. For example, Funke, a low-income interviewee stated that her skilled trade is tailoring

but she is unable to continue to pursue this because business is not booming: "The reason why I

stopped [tailoring is] because there are too many tailors in our area – that's why I am not a tailor

anymore…[I] was not getting a lot of work" (personal communication, June 21, 2011). Instead,

Funke works as an office cleaner with a meager income and also hawks after work.

The Women Affairs staff unequivocally argued that the empowerment project is

successful once the trained women begin to work. However, if the women working in their

newly acquired skilled trade experience financial insecurity due to low profit margins as they

"lack regular salaries and are completely dependent on consumer demand for purchases of their

goods and services" (Osirim, 2003, p. 541), can one say they have been empowered?

At the Periphery: Elderly Women and Poverty

Clearly, there needs to be a re-evaluation of the government's prevalent approach towards

women. Three key changes are needed. The first is to employ a broader perspective on poverty

that moves beyond 'fixing' poor people and that also embraces "the notion that poverty is not

just about incomes but inputs and which highlights not women's level or share of poverty, but

their burden of dealing with it" (Chant, 2008, pp. 187-8). The second change is to move beyond

a narrow view of empowerment as aptly pointed out by Chong (2012):

> The disconnect between extensive attempts towards empowerment of women and the
>
> reality of ordinary women's lives behooves practitioners and decision makers to
>
> conceptualize the empowerment of women within a broader social policy agenda that
>
> recognizes deeply embedded structural inequities that shape their experience, and the
>
> complexities that permeate the reality of women's everyday lives. Such a social policy

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calls for the need to consider the structures in which social actors live and operate, as

well their voices of experience, if advocates are serious about instituting reforms that

would bring sustainable change. This argument finds support in analyses that document

the instrumentality of grounding the notion of empowerment in the articulated

experiences of social actors as a means to better understand how societal structures

define, frame, constrain, and enable the process of empowerment. (pp. 536-7)

The third change that is needed is to view women as more than just mothers. Focusing

primarily on low-income women as mothers and household managers in need of empowerment

excludes women who are not often viewed as mothers in development parlance.[66] In terms of

age, this focus does not bring into light the issues that ageing women may face especially poorer

older women whose risks of poverty increases with age. Staff in the Community Development

Department and the Oyo State Ministry of Women Affairs made little mention of programs that

had been put in place to assist older women. Although, they occasionally assist widows, their

focus is mostly directed to women of reproductive age, thereby "stressing the intertwined nature

of reproduction and production" (Sen, 1995, p. 36) and associating diminishing biological

reproduction with less productivity. The dearth of focus on ageing in the international

development agenda signals that older people are perceived as "marginal to economic activity

and development" (Lloyd-Sherlock, 2000, p. 2157) and often stereotyped as burdensome (Vera-

Sanso & Sweetman, 2009).

The adverse effects of neoliberal policies such as the exacerbation of poverty and high

unemployment rates have revealed that older people cannot be neatly categorized as

unproductive and burdensome. As neoliberal policies have led to "increasing precariousness in

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[66] In social and cultural parlance – older women are very much 'mothers.'

the labour market including job losses, reduced household incomes and reduced employment security as well as social protection" (Izuhara, 2010, p. 2), younger people's capacities are constrained and are thus unable to "provide or care for the aged; instead of 'retiring' from work, the urban poor are forced to work deep into old age, both to support themselves and to help out younger relatives" (Vera-Sanso, Suresh, Hussain, Henry, & Harriss-White, 2010, p. 1). My research findings challenge the neoliberal assumption that older people are mainly dependents (Beales, 2012; Vera-Sanso et al., 2010) and reveal that neoliberal approaches such as state retrenchment increases the burden on the older poor, especially women, and can have adverse effects on the ageing process, worsening social deprivation and increasing social inequalities and restrictions faced by the elderly.

By contrast to the older middle-class women (some had retired as early as 58 years old), low-income older women remain economically active even to the extent that some have multiple sources of income. For example, Desola who is 61 and a tailor by training, stressed that even at her age she needs to diversify her income because she cannot meet her day-to-day needs:

> The challenge we are facing is that we don't have any money to spend. My husband is old, he's a pensioner, he's retired from government work. So the little I earn is what we use to eat... we need assistance, if I find someone to lend me money, as old as I am now, I can start trading and work to earn a little more, God will have mercy on us. (Personal communication, June 27, 2011)

Unfortunately, even when the women work every day in the informal economy, whether at one or two jobs, the amount they make is often inadequate. Fatima, (60), who hawks yams and walks long distances daily, describes the vulnerability of informal traders to economic changes:

…Back then[67] we didn't struggle at all. When we put our goods down, we sold. When there was supposed to be an increase, there was increase. But now, it's not straightforward like that anymore...the change we want to see is that it should be easy for us... that we shouldn't struggle before we make money. (Personal communication, August 4, 2011)

The trouble with struggling to make money is that it takes its toll on the elderly body. For example, Ayobami, (60), who is a street sweeper and does other menial jobs such as washing people's clothes and fetching water complained, "I am feeling it in my body that there are differences in my body than before... It is about work. You know when one does work...the body would be asking that one should reduce the trouble" (personal communication, August 2, 2011).

Not only do some of these women struggle to make ends meet to maintain themselves, they are also under mounting pressure to provide for their grown children, as well as grandchildren while being denied their rights to *jeun omo. Jeun omo*, in Yoruba literally means that one will eat the child's food. This means that parents reap the reward of taking care of their child, once the child is financially secure and able to ensure his/her parent's well-being. As Zainab, (62), explained: "A person has to first take care of their child, before the child takes care of the person. Taking care of one's child is important, if one takes care of their child, one will eat the child's food". And the child is supposed to say, "Mama, take this [money], hold on to it, use it for your pleasure". She highlighted that it is the woman who gains most from *Jeun omo*: "[The child] could give his/her mother one thousand, and give the father five [hundred]...This is part of a woman's enjoyment" (personal communication, July 21, 2011).

The poorer older women connected the high unemployment rates and underemployment of

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[67] Fatima is talking about the time period before structural adjustment policies (1986) were in full effect in Nigeria, prior to the late 1980s and early 1990s.

their children to their experiences of an increased financial burden and impeding them from enjoying *jeun omo*. Toluwanimi, (60), expressed her disappointment in the fact that the child continues to 'eat' when it is in fact her turn to 'eat':

Look at someone like me now, my children finished school, finished university, finished out of poly[technic], no job... . When I am taking care of a child of 40 years, *when will I get my rest?* A child of 40 years! A child of 30 years! There's no rest at this our age. If one is eating the child's food right now, is that too much? Someone like you now, I have someone like you, so [if] someone like you brings for me, why would I still be struggling? Do you understand? (Personal communication, August 2, 2011; emphasis added)

Toluwanimi, like many other poor women, blamed high unemployment rates for her current predicament. Other studies have also highlighted how the employment precariousness of adult children lead some older poor to use the little pension payment they receive or other income to support their relatives (Lloyd-Sherlock, 2000; Varley, 2013) and reduce their own consumption for the sake of family members (Vera-Sanso et al., 2010).

The women who are in their late 40s and early 50s and who do not necessarily have married children yet, are also concerned that their current investment in their children will be wasted. Although it is difficult for them to pay school fees that have risen dramatically as a result of cuts in social expenditure, they believe that investing in their children's education today means that the children will have the ability to take care of them tomorrow. However, given the reality that many graduates are unemployed, the poorer women reiterated during the interviews that the government should focus on job creation. Some also pointed out that the children of the poor are the losers in finding employment - as the Nigerian formal economy operates on a closed

'network' basis. Ayobami, (60), said:

> There's no employment for them to also succeed. There aren't a lot of places of
>
> employment in Ibadan and if there are, the ones they will employ are the ones who have
>
> probably given bribes so they can work... . The children of the poor, they will not find
>
> any jobs. The children who are educated they will hire them as drivers, some of them
>
> even are conductors for the taxis... there are no real jobs that are available for them to
>
> do… . What they can do that will make Ibadan better with regards to employment ... is
>
> for these children's tomorrow to also be good so that after tomorrow they can do
>
> something real, after they find an important job they can also be a help to someone,
>
> perhaps to their parents... (Personal communication, August 2, 2011)

While some women are still caring for adult children as dependents, other women's
grandchildren live with them. Caring for grandchildren is gendered because it is usually the
grandmother who takes on most of this caring work. As noted in the literature on grandmothering
and HIV/AIDS (Bock & Johnson, 2008), if the grandmother is the household head, it becomes
more onerous as she has to ensure that she is generating enough income.[68] For example, one
widowed woman interviewed spends most of her income on feeding, clothing and paying the
school fees of her grandchildren to the extent that there are some days that she forgoes eating.

The findings suggest that the lack of government policies and strategies to meet the need
of the elderly is influenced by the cultural notion of *jeun omo,* such that it is expected that
children will oversee the well-being of their aged parents as well as the neoliberal assumption
that families, especially women, will bear the responsibility for care work. As such, the

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[68] It did not come across in my study, however, that the grandmothers were taking care of their
grandchildren for HIV/AIDS related reasons. It is possible that the topic was not broached due
to the prevalence of HIV/AIDS stigma. There is also a paucity of research on HIV/AIDS and
grandmothering in comparison to studies done in South Africa.

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government places little priority on elder care and there is currently no national policy on the problems of the elderly. Recognizing that ageing and the situation and rights of the elderly are a broader social responsibility, and that *jeun omo* cannot be a substitute for social security nor an accurate reflection of reality, reform is needed to meet the needs of the elderly. Families cannot be assumed to be the key site for welfare provision as socio-economic inequalities currently indicate that this imposes unacceptable pressures on poor elderly women.[69]

More than just Mothers

The government and politicians' understanding of women's issues and concerns within the narrow framing of women as mothers does not account for the ways in which middle-class women's desires to engage with the city and/or desires for change transcend their identity as mothers. This could be explained by the fact that their class position signifies that they do not have to worry about the daily needs of their children in the same manner that low-income class women need to. Moreover, their mothering and house management duties are often transferred on to house girls and nannies. In addition, the group of middle-class women in the category of 46 and above did not have as many dependents at home as their counterparts did (some who were in the 45 and under category had their children in boarding school). The comment by 58 year-old Funmi that their children were able to fend for themselves was common among the middle-class women: "You can see all the children are grown up. It's only us (mother and father) who are at home…everybody is on their own now, so we thank God" (personal communication, July 14,

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[69] Ageing is no longer an issue that can be pushed to the periphery given the increasing size of the ageing population in Nigeria. The Nigerian Minister of Education recently confirmed this neglect in May 2012 by pointing out the need for a national research agenda on ageing (Federal Ministry of Education, 2012). However, there is also an urgent need for a comprehensive policy plan for how the elderly will be cared for, with particular attention paid to the intersection of gender, class, and ageing as analytical concepts in the framing of policy.

2011). Not only are most of the women able to support themselves, some also already have the opportunity to *jeun omo.* For example, Nike, an 83 year-old woman who lives by herself with assistance from a house maid, mentioned that her children take care of her by making her home more elder friendly.

A major concern the middle-class women had was the lack of recreational centres and open spaces, like parks. According to my interview participants, open spaces in the city were more common over 30 years ago before the neoliberal policy agenda and capitalist class interests started to drive urbanization in Ibadan. This suggests that urban development is more focused on meeting particular development benchmarks and transforming the city into a financial and business centre. Bukky, (53), complained that, "[when] you want to go for a walk there's nowhere! There's no park, there's nothing" (Personal communication, August 26, 2011). Middle-class women like Bukky want places to exercise and recreational spaces to go and unwind to be provided by the government as a public good.

Interestingly, when it comes to issues of water and electricity, middle-class women view these infrastructures within a discourse of privilege whereby they have the ability to be their "own local government." Being their own local government, means that they make their own provisions for electricity and water when government supply is inadequate. As noted by Nike, "I have permanent light. I have two generators" and Bukky, "Ibadan has always had a problem with water. A lot of us are overcoming it by having our own private boreholes." By contrast, low-income class women view these infrastructures within a discourse of positive rights - something the government should provide for them, especially considering that some of them have to walk long distances to collect water. For example, Titilola unequivocally declared, "what we desire is water. Pump water" and Mojisola implored, "they should do water for us. Because during the

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rainy season now, that is when we are enjoying the water. Once the rain is gone, there is no more water." Concerning electricity, Desola remarked, "they've done nothing…can you see that there is no light since morning, we haven't had light for 5 days now…we know that government has means to do it, they just don't want to do it." Thus, similarly to low-income women's perception of water and electricity, middle-class women viewed parks and recreational spaces within a discourse of rights – perhaps because the consumption of these goods are not easily converted to a private good like water and electricity.

The second major concern for middle-class women was the increased commercialization of their residential areas. The middle-class women posited that commercialization has led to increased traffic, noise pollution and worsening security, thus contributing to a decline in their quality of life. Solape did not welcome commercial development:

> This area that used to be peaceful, purely residential area has now been greatly commercialized… you must have noticed. There are restaurants, shops, super markets, banks in particular and these have caused a lot of concern for us, a lot of security risk has been introduced. And there is more noise, especially sometimes [now] that there are two big super markets just across the road from us and one of them in particular blares music often…I have to go there and tell them, "please can you lower the volume?"

Moreover, as expressed by 83-year-old Nike, the commercialization of residential areas is a political issue. She mentioned that the area she lived in is supposed to be purely residential, as agreed upon with their landlord, the Oyo State Housing Corporation. However, the infraction of this agreement is made possible by political interference:

> The housing corporation won't approve something for them to start there [but] they will start there by force. The politicians will back them up. We have eatery, he has no parking

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lot. He's using the foot path and the housing corporation didn't approve the eatery. But the politicians are backing him up. … But right inside the estate, apart from the people that opened their shop why do they have to put a restaurant (*claps her hands in anger*) that has no parking space? A foot path! You walk from one block now [and when] you get to that block, you have to go on the road, killed or knocked down by *okada.*[70] You see, that is a disturbance that we are having.[71] (Personal communication, July 12, 2011)

In sum, the quality of life concern of this group of women deserves attention because recreational centres and parks contribute to multiple dimensions of well-being. Also, the issue of commercialization of designated residential areas is a quality of life issue, especially for older people like Solape and Nike who are possibly less able to cope with environmental stressors (Phillips, Siu, Yeh, & Cheng, 2005). The concerns of the middle-class women, as reflected in the interviews, are also valid development issues even if they are often not given top priority. These concerns further add to the argument that the government has to broaden their approach to women.

Empowerment Discourse and Urban Food Security: Challenging the Neoliberal Notion of Individual Responsibility

Women's empowerment as undertaken by, and reflected in, government policy and programming leverages the neoliberal ideology of individual responsibility through the expectation that women can be the solutions to their own problems. My discussions with low-income women revealed that food insecurity is their biggest urban concern, yet, government

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[70] An okada is a motorcycle.

[71] Ironically, urban renewal projects as discussed in the section on food security below, frame street trading stalls as illegal and in need of demolition, however, businesses like the one Nike describes are often left alone – therefore suggesting that particular urban projects are classed and possibly gendered as most of the stalls being destroyed belong to women, while businesses in the estates are usually owned by men.

workers rarely mentioned urban food security as a key issue – perhaps because it is assumed that when empowerment leads to economic autonomy, food security would automatically be addressed. However, this approach relies on the "neoliberal reconstruction of the state as a facilitator" (Pereira, 2008, p. 43). By contrast, women do not view food security as an individual responsibility but rather as a government responsibility. As such, to the low-income women, food security is construed as a rights issue and they view food as something they are being deprived of. It is not a 'people are starving, because there is no food" discourse as they perceive food to be in abundance in Ibadan. Their reasoning is that access to food is limited by their financial insecurity, geographical location and rising food prices. Moreover, low-income women's awareness of the geography of access to food through their association of middle-class neighbourhoods with food security buttresses their perception that there is indeed food in Ibadan. They simultaneously view Ibadan as a city of plenty and constraints where the government has power but little political willingness to change current food insecurity challenges.

Perception of Food Availability, Rising Food Prices and Declining Purchasing Power

Twenty-eight out of the 32 women living in medium and high-density neighbourhoods identified the change in their purchasing power in the food market and their growing sense of food insecurity as their major challenge in Ibadan. Of the 28 women who expressed alarm at the rise in food prices and their decreasing purchasing ability, 39.3 percent were head of households. Access to food was more of a struggle for these female-headed households and they also spent a larger proportion of their income on food. None of the 16 middle-class women residing in the low-density neighbourhoods cited access to food as a concern for them. When asked to describe how they spent their income, in comparison to low-income women living in the medium and high-density areas, low-density area dwellers spend a lower percentage of their income on food.

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This finding is consistent with other studies in low-income countries that have highlighted that the urban poor spend between 48 percent to 85 percent of their income on food (Cohen & Garett, 2009).

From the perspectives of some of the low-income women interviewed, food availability does not appear to be a problem in Ibadan (see Figure 10). Rather, the problem appears to be the affordability of the food and the availability of money to purchase it. For example, women food traders, explained that the majority of Ibadan's inhabitants do not have money to purchase the food items due to government failure to pay salaries on time which in turn affects their own food security.

Fatima, a high-density resident pointed out that, "If the government would release money and pay the salaries then we would be happy because that would affect us. Because we would put out our goods and it will sell. But since they are not paying, what will they spend...how can they buy from us who are selling?" (personal communication, August 5, 2011). Echoing this sentiment, Ayesha, a high-density resident said, "I don't like the way the whole city is. …There's no market. We're not selling. [The government] should bring out money"(Personal communication, August 5, 2011).

Figure 10. Major food staple items (in abundance) for sale at Bodija Market, Ibadan. Picture taken by author (2011).

Moreover, the rise in fast food consumption by the middle-class and the rise in "modern" restaurants and grocery stores in middle-class areas signals to low-income women that food shortage is not the issue. In fact, some women pointed out their desire to live in these middle-class areas because they assumed that residing there means that they will eat better. For example, Jemimah noted that, "[there] is real breeze[72] in [those areas]. I would not be eating *oka bula*, *garri*[73] and beans. All those rough things. I would be eating good food; if you see me, you would be like, 'ah!'" (personal communication, August 19, 2011).

Whether or not the food consumed by middle-class people is nutritious, they are still perceived as eating well. In contrast to studies in North America where fast food restaurants are

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[72] The use of the word breeze refers to a clear difference between the two environments and the standard of living.

[73] These items are cheaper food staples. Oka is also known as amala and it is made into a thick porridge from yam flour. It can be eaten with abula, which is a mixture of gbegiri (bean soup), ewedu (draw soup) and tomato pepper sauce.

more common in areas with low socio-economic status (White, 2012), in the city of Ibadan, fast food prices are too exorbitant for the urban poor. Sometimes the cost of an individual meal is enough to feed a low-income family for at least one meal if not more.

Increases in food security are directly attributable to neoliberal restructuring measures such as exchange rate depreciation, increased importation of food and the contemporary rise in global food prices. When Nigeria first adopted SAPs, the exchange rate was NGN2.02 to US$1.00 (Imimole & Enoma, 2011) and in 2013, it was NGN155.75[74] to US$1.00 (CBN, 2013). Across all age groups, women consistently emphasized that the price of food in Ibadan has gone up and that they are experiencing difficulty in getting enough to eat. Mojisola said, "the money we were spending back then let's say if we had two naira, we would eat and there would still be leftovers and there'll also be money remaining to spend on other things…There was plenty back then, but now, everything is expensive" (personal communication, July 15, 2011). Similarly, Aanu noted that,

> there have been changes [in Ibadan]. From around 1973 to 1979, Ibadan was good to the extent that you could go to the market with 20 naira and you would buy lots of different types of food. But now, if you bring 5000 naira to the market, you can barely buy anything. (Personal communication, June 27, 2011)

Ayobami also recalled, "when I first came to Ibadan,[75] things were easier then. Things were easier. To eat and to drink, there was no difficulty. Everything was enough to the extent that you can't say that you don't have anything" (personal communication, August 2, 2011).

Older women expressed shock that the time of abundance of their childhood and youth (1950s - 1970s) is a sharp contrast to present day Ibadan. As highlighted by Sike, "[the] period of

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[74] As of June 21, 2013.
[75] Ayobami moved to Ibadan in the 1970s.

1950 to 1960 the life we were living [in Ibadan] then is not like now. The little money we had then we could manage it but we can't manage it now" (personal communication, July 16, 2011).

More disconcerting for some women is their anxiety about where their next meal would come from and working menial and precarious jobs to provide for themselves in their old age. The issue of urban food insecurity is important for poorer older women due to the feminization of later life (Gist & Velkoff, 1997) and their increased risk of poverty in old age (Lee & Shaw, 2008). Contrary to neoliberal assumptions that older people are mainly dependents who rely on their families for financial assistance and care (Beales, 2012; Vera-Sanso et al., 2010), poorer older women are also shock absorbers as far as economic activity and care work is concerned. As such, under neoliberal restructuring, class disparity concerning food security among older people matters even more.

Forgoing eating or eating fewer meals were common and frequent coping strategies among poorer women, regardless of age. This coping strategy was more common among female household heads. Aanu poignantly explained,

> Sometimes, I'm unable to eat breakfast. Sometimes I only eat once a day. I make sure my children eat though. But me, sometimes, I do not eat. I search for something for my children to eat. But me, I find a way to manage the hunger. (Personal communication, June 27, 2011)

Another common coping strategy most women employ is purchasing particular foods based on their level of affordability instead of preference. Tola, a high-density resident lamented the fact that even when there is money to go to the market, "there are particular things you end up having to buy, it's not necessarily what you desire to eat that you end up buying" (personal communication, August 2, 2011).

A major implication of these coping strategies is low nutrient-intake as skipping meals or

forgoing purchasing preferred food (often with richer nutritional values) for cheaper food that

have fewer nutrients pushes them below the predetermined food energy requirements. This

further undermines their overall productivity. Forgoing eating is not ideal for anybody but it is

especially a critical issue in the elderly as malnutrition can cause a series of health problems

(Hickson, 2006). The women are certainly aware of the nutritional implications of not having

adequate money to purchase what they want. Janet who is 65, cogently explained,

> I want to have enough to eat. You know there are various types of food. If one has
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> money, one will eat what is good. They will eat what they want. All those things they are
>
> selling like those nutritious drinks that go well with an elderly person's body … and other
>
> things elderly people should eat I desire to have money to be buying those things.
>
> (Personal communication, July 1, 2011)

Global and Local Political Economy of Food Security

The women's stories of food abundance and their declining purchasing power accurately

reflect the precarious situation of Nigeria's economy combined with the rise in global food

prices. Since the early 1980s, due to the country's excessive dependence on petroleum export

earning, the global oil-price shocks have adversely affected Nigeria. During this period, import

demand could not adjust quickly enough to declining foreign exchange revenue and so the

government resorted to foreign borrowing to facilitate importation of manufactured and

intermediate goods. This policy response resulted in current account and balance of payments

deficits, reduced foreign exchange reserves and an increased interest payment on debts (Adedeji,

Handa & Darku, 2005). Consequently, living conditions greatly deteriorated, public wage

increases were periodically undertaken and they became unrelated to productivity due to

inflation which eroded real purchasing power. Concurrent with the decline in real wages, there

has been a steady increase in food prices. Rising food prices affects Nigeria because domestic

food production has been on the decline and food imports have increased. For example, Ibadan

used to be very active in agricultural activities (Fourchard, 2003), but now most of Ibadan's food

is imported, either from outside the country or from other agriculturally active parts of Nigeria

(mainly Northern Nigeria). Both have implications on the cost of food and thereby food security.

Food from outside the country reflects high import prices, which are affected by the global

economy. Food supplies from other parts of Nigeria are affected by the dearth of support

infrastructure, particularly the inefficient transportation system and the high cost of fuel, which

constrain the movement of farm produce across the country. In addition, poor weather conditions

experienced occasionally in the Northern states negatively impacts upon food production. Thus,

the fact that most of the available food in Ibadan is imported contributes to high food prices. A

way of mitigating high food prices is through the promotion of urban food sovereignty by

focusing more on large-scale food production in Ibadan.

While women have to deal with rising food prices, some also have to deal with other

threats to their food security such as the urban development politics of banning street trading.

Since Governor Ajimobi's election in April 2011, in efforts to make Ibadan 'more attractive" and

modern, he has focused on making roadside trading illegal. This particular project entails

western modernist visions of what the city should look like (Brown, Lyons & Dankoco, 2010).

The elite play a role in constructing this vision and as such cast street traders as deviants in urban

public space (p. 668). During the interviews, the middle-class women viewed street trading as a

major issue in Ibadan especially when it occurs near their estates. They view it through the lenses

of aesthetics and security as highlighted by Ayo and Bukky below:

Ayo: I would like to see Ibadan in a beautiful aesthetic you understand. Yes, to wear a beautiful expensive look. I want all the shanties to be removed. All these hawkers here and there all the shanties along this Ring Road I want them to be removed, I want them to be replaced with beautiful flowers, you understand? (Personal communication, August 23, 2011)

Bukky: …We have this trading culture of cluttering streets [even in] well-laid out streets. Even Bodija. If you go to Bodija now, you will see kiosks and all kinds of little things so if you could have that because all those things … deface the environment aesthetics and act as hideouts for miscreants. Because when you have so much clutter… People in groups like anywhere you find the Sabo, the Hausa community, they just gather. This one is making wrist watches. This one is repairing shoes. And then before you, what it is the person brings, what we call the *eleran*[76] he brings his platter with meat and then someone is selling fish and before you know it, it is supposedly like where I live around the Ring Road. Oluyole Estate. It's supposed to be a beautiful government estate. But if you see around the Mobil filling petrol station it's a different life. In the evening it can be taken for a market. The government is clearing them out and making legislation. But you know what happens? You clear them and they come back … so those are the little things which you know the things which make it not so pleasant. Because as I said, when you have these type of things it encourages delinquency. They hang around - they come to smoke and use drugs around the place and cause a problem. Because you know if you're coming

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[76] A person who sells meat.

home in the evening you can be robbed you know because the place is not clean.

(Personal communication, August 26, 2011)

Middle-class interests and rights clash with low-income livelihood interests; for the middle-class women, they feel they have positive rights to a clean and secure environment[77] whereas low-income class women traders want to exercise negative rights, calling on governments to refrain from intervening.[78] In this particular situation, where rights and interests collide, the rights of the low-income class are rarely safeguarded as the urban is construed as the primary site for market-led economic growth, where capital interests prevail over citizen's needs (Vives Miro, 2011, p. 3). More specifically, Ajimobi's goals for Ibadan are to make it attractive for regional and foreign investors,[79] which is in line with the *Nigeria Vision 20:2020* goals for Nigeria to become one of the top 20 global economies by 2020 (National Planning Commission, 2009). As such, street traders, in certain urban spaces in Ibadan, are viewed as contravening planning and zoning ordinances. Ajimobi has cautioned that the urban renewal programme of his government, like anywhere else in the world, would not come without some measure of pain. Thus, the people need to take it as their sacrifice towards beautifying the state and making it better than it used to be (Sanmi, 2012, para 3-4). This begs the question of, who are the people making the most sacrifice? In short, as noted by Vanessa Watson (2009), urban planning, as guided by neoliberal policy, is anti-poor and promotes social and spatial exclusion (p. 151).

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[77] Although I talk about "clash of interest" in a way that seems to promote low-income class interest, I am not trying to belittle the security concerns of middle-class women as a large majority of them postulated that there is increased criminality with high unemployment rates which in turn contributes to their sense of insecurity. Ironically, the low-income class women feel that the middle-class women are safer behind their gates and with their security guards whereas middle-class women feel that security issues are a major concern for them precisely because they are well to do.

[78] This will be discussed further in Chapter Six.

[79] Purging Ibadan of road side traders is also seen as a means to prevent accidents and floods in Ibadan. However, the manner in which it is being executed is questionable and classist in nature.

Banning street trading has two major implications for urban food security. First, those who rely on street trading for the source of their livelihood will face harsher financial circumstances once expelled from the streets. More importantly, the expulsion and the demolition of street stalls are often unaccompanied by alternative relocation for the women – though Ajimobi has promised that new market sites are being built. Nevertheless, the 'illegal' structures were demolished before alternatives were provided. For example, traders in Ibadan recently protested that the government should provide another area for them to sell their goods (radionigeriaibadan.com, 2012). Further, if the government were to come up with relocation sites, their decision would need to bear in mind that it should not be at an additional cost to the traders. As pointed out by participants during my interviews, many cannot afford to pay to rent stalls, the location may be too far as some will be unable to pay transportation costs and some may also refuse to go to the relocation site.

The second implication is that food distribution is affected when informal food vendors are no longer allowed to sell cooked food on the street because the informal sector plays an instrumental role in guaranteeing food access for the urban poor (Crush, 2013). One key coping mechanism that low-income women in Ibadan resort to - especially low-income female-headed households - is buying prepared food from street food vendors because of the economies of scale of street food production and other factors affecting food production. The majority of low-income women do not purchase food in bulk because they cannot afford to, as they are likely to face higher per-unit cost. However, because street food vendors do not face the per-unit cost, street food is a cheaper and more affordable option for some of the women compared to cooking their own food. Most of the women interviewed in the medium and high-density areas use kerosene stoves to cook. Kerosene has become increasingly expensive over the years, therefore

affecting women's ability to cook frequently. In comparison, street vendors are able to cook in large volumes and often use firewood, which costs less to operate than kerosene stoves. Consequently, if street food becomes less available, then the food security situation will be exacerbated.

The Nigerian government has not turned a blind eye to food insecurity issues. In recent years, the government has taken policy measures such as the release and distribution of grains from the national grain reserves at subsidized prices; the removal of tariff (2006) and import duty (2008) on imported rice, and technological investments to increase domestic production of rice. However, an understanding of the experiences of women in Ibadan reveals that beyond the aforementioned efforts by the government there is the need to do more. Some policy responses could focus on strengthening social safety nets; formulating more sound monetary policy for the control of inflation which has eroded the purchasing power of many; increasing access to low-interest or no-interest credit for women; stimulating the economy with more job creation; and conscious attention to the transformation of the transport system (especially railway system) as this would facilitate the bulk movement of food from production centres to the markets, and thereby decrease food costs. Some of these policy responses align with women's aspirations for urban food security in Ibadan as narrated below:

> Remi: [If I were a leader], I will make people very comfortable I will provide food for them … give them money - not put any interest…If I am opportune to be there I will try to make the people comfortable, especially the women. (Personal communication, July 28, 2011)

Tola: If we had more women in top positions, they would understand the food situation. A woman would know what we need. …I desire to be a politician... I would first focus on reducing the price of food. (Personal communication, August 2, 2011).

These policy options suggest that solutions are possible; food access can become less precarious. If there can be more political will, there can be a way paved towards enhanced food security in Ibadan.

Conclusion

Women's empowerment, as reflected in government policy and programming in Ibadan, leverages the neoliberal ideology of individual responsibility through the expectation that women are the solutions to their problems. While skill acquisition can be useful, the government's approach is problematic because they use a conservative women in development (WID) approach. Empowerment in the form of skill acquisition training is buttressed by the adage recited by Aderinola during the interview, "if you train a woman you train a nation. When you train a man you train an individual." This adage is disconcerting in that while it promotes the "betterment" of women, it also configures women to be useful insofar as they can use their gendered productive and reproductive work to contribute to development. Thus, the burden of development is disproportionately placed on women and women's roles are also limited to what they have been assigned to play in the patriarchal script of development. It seems then that the only possible way for the government to talk about women's empowerment is within the confines of engaging women in ways that do not contradict this script.

Urban planning in Ibadan as it concerns women is also inextricably tied to this same patriarchal script that is prevalent in the empowerment discourse. In this light, while Ibadan women do not necessarily view Ibadan as a failed city in the same manner as western discourses

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on African cities, many, specifically low-income women, believe that the city and the government are failing them. It is clear that their experiences and lived realities are not adequately captured by policy and reflected in planning and programming. Although Nigeria, due to the forces of global political economy, has to oblige the international community, it is important that Nigeria's approach is first rooted in the reality of the majority.

Solutions pertaining to Ibadan's development should not draw their inspirations from non-African solutions. Rather they should be solutions that are created by Africans and rooted in African realities (Fanon, 1966, p. 255). Thus, criminalizing street vending as part of a modernizing, western urban development project is akin to trying to produce a mirror image that becomes an obscene caricature when reflected back because it is difficult to mirror something that cannot be reproduced in the exact same manner as the original. The urbanization history and current urban economy of Ibadan are too different from many western cities to implement a sweeping policy that has serious ramifications for the majority of Ibadan's populace.

Redevelopment and city beautification as promulgated by Ibadan town planners and Governor Ajimobi are rarely linked to local needs and processes and more focused on meeting international standards and/or being recognized as a viable city in the global city hierarchy. Striving to be recognized as a modernized city by western standards not only reproduces a distorted mirror image but also reproduces particular discourses about African cities. While cities may have a new outward appearance, neglecting to address major urban planning and development concerns from the experiences and lived reality of low-income people and from a gendered perspective would be like putting old wine into a new wineskin - discourses on ills and absences will continue to abound.

I am curious about the selective ways in which the Nigerian government is biased about which aspects of international community dictates they will follow closely and which ones they will adopt their own interpretation. By this, I am referring to the fact that their approach to the city is more reflective of western standards whereas their approaches to women and gender are centred on retaining the "African difference". While the "African difference" is very important because the African reality matters, it becomes problematic when the African difference discourse is only deployed when it comes to matters of women and gender. The African difference must be executed in a manner that is respective of the African reality but also critical of gendered power relations that are propelled by ideologies rooted in patriarchal fantasies of gender.

CHAPTER 5 - SPARE TIRES, SECOND FIDDLE AND PROSTITUTES?: URBAN
GOVERNANCE AND WOMEN'S POLITICAL EXCLUSION IN IBADAN

Introduction

Political representation, representation, and participation are *sine qua non* for democracy; however, in most democratic countries of the world, women are underrepresented in the political arena and at key decision-making levels (de la Rey, 2005; Guzman, 2004). And yet women's inclusion in decision-making "is a fundamental human right and an issue of social justice" (Kethusegile-Juru, 2003, p. 49). Thus, at a very minimum, in a procedural and representative democracy, there should be a balance in the participation and representation of men and women in political life. In this vein, democracy is fulfilled when a conscious effort is made to reduce inequalities between men and women through the transformation of "power relations between men and women by promoting the equal distribution of power and influence between women and men" (Kandawasvika-Nhundu, 2010, para. 7).

As discussed in Chapter Four, there is a gap between Ibadan women's needs and interests and government agendas, initiatives and approaches towards women. In this chapter, I emphasize that the reasons why the gap exists is because women are largely excluded from formal urban governance processes and governments are inadequately informed about women's realities and experiences. I also argue that women are aware of, and critical about, the gendered nature of politics in Ibadan as a key factor operating against the participation of women in formal politics. They openly speak out against culture and patriarchy but are cautious to criticize their religious

affiliations[80] even when they recognize the role religious discourses play in their exclusion. Moreover, though women disagree with hegemonic patriarchal cultural discourses that propagate women's political exclusions, they hesitate to challenge the status quo because of their desire to be perceived as respectable women.

I begin the chapter by providing a brief literature review on gender and "good urban governance"[81]. I then illustrate that decentralisation as practiced in Ibadan to promote community participation is gendered and classed. I next highlight that in order for there to be a more equitable urban development, more women need to be involved in decision-making processes, particularly public offices. However, this is difficult because the political is gendered male. Culture, religion, and violence through political godfatherism play a central role in constructing women as outside of the political landscape and women who tend to participate in

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[80] The women I interviewed were Muslims and Christians. The Christians were Anglican, Catholic and from charismatic African initiated churches. Note that when the Christian women stated their religion, they would most often state their denomination as well. Or they would mention their church/denomination in passing during the interview. The Muslim women would just state that they were Muslim. Note that most Muslims in Nigeria are Sunni. The most prominent sects are Ahmadiyya, Sanusiyya and Quadriyya.

[81] I use quotation marks for good urban governance because I am aware of its neoliberal origins. The project of good governance was first promoted by the World Bank in the late 1980s to implement "market-friendly" forms of state intervention (Brenner, 2000, p. 2). Neoliberal market imperatives rely on transparent and democratic governance to succeed. Thus, in the context of the urban, a 'good' city's governance structures facilitate the free-market and allow neoliberalism to thrive. Good governance is ideal in theory because it embraces values such as local social solidarity and local democracy (Brenner, p. 6). But these values are often subordinate to economic imperatives, thereby fading out the centrality of its political dimension (Frey, 2008, p. 39). As Frey (2008) asserts, "in the context of unequal societies, such an apolitical governance concept only contributes to the strengthening of existing power relations" (p. 39). Thus the concept of good governance, as originally conceived, is contradictory because it is often not executed in a manner that creates transparency, diversity, and equality. In this chapter, "good urban governance" is conceived as something to aspire to and it is also often synonymous with gendered democratization, democratic consultation, accountability and accessibility.

politics[82] are often viewed as deviants. I also note that when women do partake in the political sphere, it is often in gendered ways - as political wives and leaders of women's wings of political parties. Moreover, these women who are in the political limelight as political wives and women leaders[83] are there because of their class position, thereby limiting the ways in which low-income class women can participate in formal politics. I conclude the chapter by examining women's proposal for transformative change in gender relations in Ibadan.

Gender and "Good Urban Governance"

Women's representation in local governance structures and decision-making forums in many countries of the world is abysmal (Federation of Canadian Municipalities [FCM], 2009; UNCHS, 2001). In most countries, women's constitutional rights are guaranteed, but in practice, they are rarely considered equal to men and politics is perceived as unsuitable for them (Drage, 2001). In this vein, constraining factors to women's political participation such as the adversarial nature of politics, culturally prescribed domestic roles and their lack of financial capital reinforces the stereotypes operating against women and that construe politics as a male domain (Drage, 2001; FCM, 2009).

During the 1990s, within many mainstream institutions and donors, and development circles, decentralisation came to be seen as an essential component of good governance and key to catalyzing and increasing women's involvement (Williamson, Sithole & Todes, 2006). Accordingly, proponents posit that decentralisation:

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[82] During the interviews, there was a general sentiment that women who participate in all levels of politics (local, regional and federal) are viewed as deviants.

[83] There are also low-income women leaders as there are usually women leaders for each ward in Ibadan. However, as I discuss in a subsequent section, these women leaders do not have a lot of political clout. It is their senior women leaders at the state level who do and these women are often middle-class women.

Improves efficiency and transparency, deepens democracy, promotes equitable

development and creates more responsive local government. It promises a closer fit

between the needs and aspirations of citizens and the services and support of government,

and fosters opportunities for participatory democracy and local empowerment.

(Williamson et al., p. 2)

Thus, the neoliberal notion of decentralisation is predicated upon the assumption that "once the

institutions of government have been engineered to bring these closer to localities, participation

and 'voice' will follow. Non-elite groups in society will automatically raise their voice and

demand accountability and a share in public goods" (Mukhaopadhyay, 2005, p. 10).

Given that men and women experience cities differently, "good urban governance"

emphasizes the critical role women should play in urban policy and planning processes so they

can influence decisions that affect their every day lives (Beall, 1996; FCM, 2009; Rezazadeh,

2011). A predominantly male presence in decentralized institutions often leads to the promotion

of men's interests and "women's lack of local representation may negatively affect them because

of men's unwillingness to represent women and because of the types of resources those

institutions control" (Patterson, 2002, p. 491). As such, the premise is that women's involvement

in urban governance will facilitate the representation of their interests and needs in urban policy

and investments as urban citizens who contribute to and use cities (UNCHS, 2001, p. 23).

Engagement in local government politics is ideally supposed to be easier for women

because local government is closer to their homes, thereby allowing them to continue to manage

domestic responsibilities and meet their family obligations (Evertzen, 2001; Maclean, 2008).

Further it has been argued that local government is the most viable level of politics women can

break into, thus making their participation in local government politics a crucial stepping-stone

to regional and national politics (Evertzen, 2001). However, Mukhaopadhyay (2005) cautions that "local government is often more hierarchical and embedded in local social structures than national government and so [it] is difficult for women to penetrate as independent political actors, or for them to raise controversial gender issues" (p. 13). For example, Elizabeth Rhoads (2012) research in Bali, Indonesia reveals that the decentralisation process lacks a gendered perspective through its revitalization of customary institutions that are not democratized enough to include women in decision-making (p. 35). Similarly in South Africa, the conservatism of local politics has, in many places, been recognized as a hurdle in increasing the number of elected women (Maclean, 2008, p.2). Moreover as Goetz (2005) notes, many national parliaments across the globe have a higher proportion of women representatives than in local government councils. Thus, as Patrick Heller (2001) argues, "to govern is to exercise power, and there are no *a priori* reasons why more localized forms of governance are more democratic" (p. 132).

Moreover, when women participate in local governance, their traditional roles as caregivers and homemakers are often reinforced thus obscuring their opportunity to influence decisions that directly affect them (Maclean, 2008). In some countries like Pakistan where quota systems are implemented, most of the elected female councilors are proxies for a male relative, husband, local government chief or landlord thus limiting their ability to stand up for women's rights and needs (Maclean, 2008, p. 2). In a comparative study of local governance in Asia, Jean Drage (2001) notes that:

> Even with quotas there are barriers to women accessing reserved seats and effectively
> participating once there. In some cases reserved seats are decided through indirect
> election and women in reserved seats have little autonomy. Reserved seats can be seen as

having an inferior status and a lack of constituency and the ability to be part of decision-

making can still be blocked from within the system. Considerable support and training is

needed to assist women to learn the way in which the political environment works and

support is also needed to help them fulfill both their public and private roles. (p. 6)

Elizabeth Rhoads (2012) further points out that quota systems do not necessitate participation

unless cultural and historical understandings of women are modified and underlying issues that

foster discrimination against women in politics are addressed (p. 50). Thus, as Matembe (2010)

contends, decentralisation cannot advance gender equality and equity unless central governments

promote and protect women's access to local governance and create structures of accountability

that enable women to exercise their rights. It is also necessary for local governments to adopt

specific practices and mechanisms to support and facilitate women's participation (p. 8).

Although evidence demonstrates that decentralized governance does not necessarily

improve gender relations and advance women's rights, interests and needs (Williamson et al.,

2006), "good urban governance" is possible when there is political will and attitudinal change.

For example, in Somaliland, Naagad, a non-government organization, has played a prominent

role in changing Somaliland men's attitudes towards women's political participation and in

gradually accepting that women's increased presence in governance need not be seen as a

challenge to their own right to participate (Smith, 2013, p. 23).

Similarly in Ibadan, attitudinal change is needed in order to promote "good urban

governance". Since 2001, the Nigerian government launched "The Global Campaign for Good

Urban Governance" to address the challenges of urbanization and provide local citizens with the

opportunity to contribute meaningfully to urban governance. The division of metropolitan Ibadan

into five Local Government Areas since 1991 and the inclusion of communities in decision-

making processes make Ibadan an ideal place to practice "good urban governance". However, as I argue in this chapter, local women's voices and experiences remain peripheral due to culture, religion, political godfatherism, and the first lady phenomenon, thus nullifying any attempts to attain "good urban governance".

Gender, Class and Participation in Ibadan

As I highlighted in Chapter Four, international commitments to gender equality such as the UN Decade for Women, the 1995 Beijing Platform of Action, the Millennium Development Goals and other global governance institutions have increased some governmental departments' awareness of women's issues and 'gender' in Nigeria. However, I argued that the ways in which gender is taken up is depoliticized and does little to change women's reality. Little advancement has been made given the 30 plus years of 'gender-aware' development (Chant, 2007, p. 5) because it is censored by patriarchal discourses and operates within patriarchal structures. It is buttressed by the advance of a neoliberal model of development that conceives women's subordination "in terms of lack of opportunities and resources and the need to advocate for policy responses that provide minimum economic and social well-being to enable women make decisions for themselves" (Mensah-Kutin, 2010, p. 9). As such, the greatest impediment to true 'gender -aware' development in Ibadan is the persistence of unequal gender relations and women's exclusion from decision-making processes.

The government workers and politicians I interviewed would argue that they are meeting the participation aspect of "good urban governance" as they involve people in decision-making processes. However, while the Ibadan community may be included in decision-making aspects concerning urban projects, only particular people have voices and/or exert influence. For example, Kunle, a Town Planning Officer mentioned that government officials often consult the

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community when they want to embark on a project; they either go to them or invite them for meetings at the Town Planning office. When I asked Kunle if women are present, he said yes. But when I asked him about the ratio of males to females, his response was, "actually you know in this society they allow men to talk so the women just come as observer[s]" (personal communication, March 3, 2011).

As a further case in point, the four Town Planning Officers I spoke with in both local governments stipulated that urban renewal improvement projects were not taking place in high-density areas like Foko in Ibadan South West because the people there are attached to their ancestral homes and have thus refused offers from the government to engage in renewal. However, the women I interviewed in such communities appeared to have no sense of attachment to where they live. When I asked the women who live in high-density areas the following question, "If you could live anywhere else in Ibadan, where would you live?" most of them responded that they would like to live in a medium-density or low-density area (they mentioned specific neighbourhoods during the interview). The women in high-density Foko consistently expressed dissatisfaction with where they live mainly because the lack of infrastructures increases their daily reproductive work. In this particular area, the houses where the women are living do not have toilets, kitchens and running water. Moreover, there is no waste disposal system in their area. As such, the women have to walk between 15 minutes to one hour to fetch water and dispose their waste (including faeces). They commented that they like the rainy season because they use rainwater for everything and therefore no longer have to spend time fetching water. In most of the women's mind, they conceived the low-density areas as a place where they would not have to worry about infrastructural deficiencies. They also realistically noted that if it was impossible to move, then the next desirable thing was for major

changes to occur in their area, such as reconstruction of crumbling buildings and provision of basic infrastructures.

Interestingly, what the women seemed to want is opposite of what the planners had concluded about the communities. This contradiction indicates that the government did not engage in discussions with them. More importantly, because men are rarely engaged in tasks that makes the place unbearable for the women (e.g., fetching water, cooking outside or in the corridor, and walking to dispose waste), they can easily gloss over the problems that highlight the impracticalities of the space they live in.

Women are also easily excluded from consultations that the councilors and Community Development Officers hold with the community at the local government level. The base representative of the community is drawn from the Landlord Association, which is comprised of property owners within each neighbourhood. At the level of the Landlord Association, a member is chosen to represent each neighbourhood in the ward on the Community Development Association (CDA). Each CDA then selects a ward representative to partake in the Community Development Council (CDC) at the local government level (see Figure 11).

Regarding local politicians' relationship with their constituents, each politician consults and relates with the CDAs in their ward (see Figure 11). As explained by councilor Mayowa,

> …we have community meeting they're doing together every Sunday. They call it CDA meeting. Community Development Association. So we normally go to that meeting to let them know the latest development in the system and so that we can interact together to know their problem too and if we have a problem or we have a program in the Local Government and we want them to accommodate that program

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we have to go to them … we have to carry them along so that we'll be able to know their problem. (Personal communication, March 16, 2011)
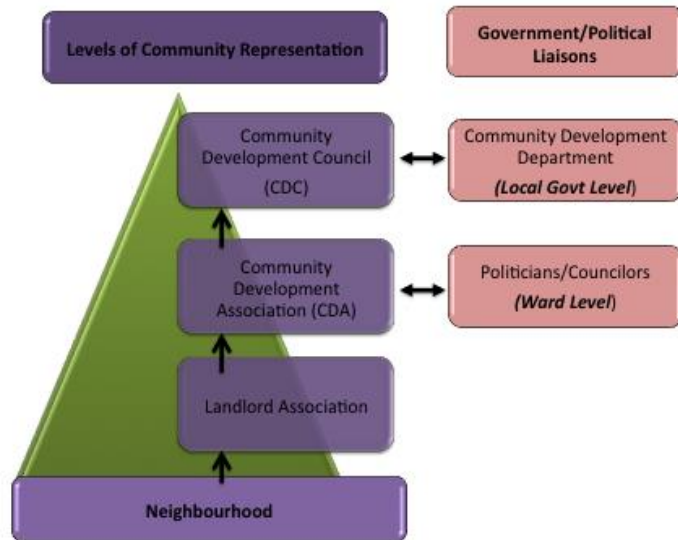
Figure 11. Community representation and relationship to Local Government structure in Ibadan. Figure designed by author (2012).

The Community Development Department liaises with the CDC (see Figure 11) representatives for their Local Government Area. As Aderinola, a Community Development Officer, pointed out, " … anything we want to do, we discuss with the representatives here. So it is the [CDC] representatives that will conclude or decide on what to do… by inviting their representative to the local government, when we talk to them we know their needs" (personal communication, March 9, 2011).

The premise behind using CDAs and CDCs is that they will accurately represent the voice and interests of the community. However, the conversations I had with low-income women reveal otherwise. They noted that the Landlord Association as the foundation of the CDAs and CDCs is exclusionary because they rarely get the opportunity to express their needs and concerns:

Busola: In this area, I think they only allow the landlords so they are the ones that will meet. I think maybe they use to meet I can't even remember or maybe I don't know but I know they used to meet and they discuss … but I don't think they allow other tenants to talk. I don't think they allow us to even come. But the landlord of each house will come. … [in] their discussion, if there's anything that pertain to the tenants then they can pass the information to us. If not, they continue within themselves.

Grace: Do you think the landlord represents your interests?

Busola: Well. They may not represent our interests. *But since they did not ask us and we're not allowed to talk or to participate we don't even know what they're discussing in their meeting.* (Personal communication, June 28, 2011; emphasis added)

Sara: They do landlord's meeting.

Grace: And do they leave any room for you - maybe to go and speak about the difficulties in your neighbourhood?

Sara: *They cannot leave any room, it is males who attend.* (Personal communication, July 20, 2011; emphasis added)

Ayobami: The ones who are like the landlord, our landlord does not live with us, s/he lives somewhere else. So those who are representatives go when they have been called. They go there to the landlord association meeting, *but nobody has asked us anything* (Personal communication, August 2, 2011; emphasis added).

Rayo: I have not seen a politician that did anything good for my area. No one has done anything good for my area.

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…

Grace: Okay, so there's no politician that you can say did well for your neighbourhood?

Tayo: There's no politician that has done anything here. They've done absolutely nothing.

Grace: What about Ibadan?

Tayo: They could have done it elsewhere or for themselves but not for us city dwellers who are suffering. Like now that we go and wait long in the sun to fetch water. Water that is coloured. The colour of this floor. We put alum[84] in it before we bathe.

Grace: You put alum in your water?

Tayo: We put alum in our water. We don't have any politician who will take care of water for us. (Personal communication, July 20, 2011)

In response to the exclusion, some have considered going over the heads of the association and going directly to the chairman of the local government and/or the government but they expressed that they prefer to stay silent either because they are afraid or because they feel that they are not supposed to say anything because they are women and/or not property owners. Desola, a low-income woman, expressed that she would rather use a suggestion box than speak out because of her fear of a violent backlash:

Desola: We've not had the opportunity to let them hear about it, maybe if we have suggestion box where we can write and drop inside it. The councilors of this neighbourhood don't do as if they know us again once they get to that position. Now, we don't have good roads, there is no government that has ever decided to go to any neighbourhood and observe it, to know what they need so that they can repair the road for us.

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[84] Alum refers to potassium aluminium that is used to purify water.

Grace: So you've not had the opportunity?

Desola: No

Grace: Is it that they don't ask you or you don't want to tell?

Desola: Even if we decide to go to the radio station to inform them, they may kill us. We are being cheated, but we surrender all to God. God will favour us. (Personal communication, June 27, 2011)

Funke, a low-income woman, highlighted that she does not want to speak out because she thinks she has to be much older and male before she can voice her opinion. She also noted that she's afraid to go to the government because the people in charge in her community may be able to identify her. Moreover, she complained that it is futile to speak when it is money that truly 'talks':

Funke: I don't have anyone I can tell o! I don't have anyone.

Grace: You don't have anyone.

Funke: I cannot tell anyone.

Grace: Why?

Funke: There's no reason. There are the elderly who can talk.

Grace: You don't want to say or....

Funke: I cannot go anywhere.

Grace: Why?

Funke: It is the elderly the ones who are older than us who are there. The ones who have built their houses are there.

Grace: You don't have any words because you don't have a house?

Funke: I don't have anything to say.

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Grace: Is it because you're young or a woman?

Funke: Because I am young and also because I am a woman.

Grace: Can you explain?

Funke: Because I am also a woman! That's why I cannot say … like the government that is there now, if one goes there and says this and that … They will ask what is my name they will ask where is my neighbourhood. And I don't like it.

Grace: That they are asking?

Funke: They are asking o!

Grace: Why don't you like it?

Funke: I don't like it.

Grace: Why?

Funke: There's no reason.

Grace: But if you're not happy with how you're living or your neighbourhood - there's nothing you will do about it?

Funke: There's nothing I can say.

Grace: Have you done something before?

Funke: I've not done anything before.

Grace: It's not because you don't wish to?

Funke: It's not that I don't wish to. I wish to. *But it's money that talks. There's no money.* (Personal communication, June 21, 2011; emphasis added)

The middle-class women do not face landlord issues as most of them are property owners and they have direct access to the government and key decision-makers. For instance, the Oyo

State Urban and Regional Housing Corporation is the 'landlord'[85] of the people who live in

Bodija Estate. Some middle-class women I spoke to who live in Bodija informed me that they go

directly to the Housing Corporation when they have issues. More specifically, I met one of my

interviewees while I was at the Housing Corporation. She was there to complain about the

violation of the agreement between the Corporation and residents stipulating that Bodija estate is

supposed to be a purely residential area. She told me that she has been a leading individual in

spearheading a lawsuit against the Housing Corporation for their breach. Also, the current

governor of Oyo State, Ajimobi lives in Oluyole estate, and some women, like Bukky, insinuated

during the interview that they have access to him: "Ajimobi, as I said, we've been living together

in that place for 23 years so he's a person we know…" (personal communication, August 26,

2011).

Unfortunately, the mode of urban governance that most low-income class women have to

contend with is gendered and classed because its foundation is the Landlord Association. As

previously mentioned, the Landlord Association members are property owners. Thus, people

who have the means to own a house usually have the opportunity to be part of this association.

Moreover, of the people who are representatives, there is usually a higher ratio of men to

women.[86] This is not only because more men tend to own property but also because of the

cultural and religious understanding that men are in charge of the home. For example, when I

asked Community Development Officer Aderinola if there was a higher ratio of males to females

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[85] The Oyo State Housing Corporation manages the land but the homeowner owns the property.
[86] A few of the women I interviewed, particularly in Ashi, mentioned that they had a landlady. However, it is not clear whether their landlady goes to the Landlord Association meeting. Even if it is the case, it is also not clear how many women who attend the Landlord Association end up being selected as CDA and CDC representatives. However, the government staff I interviewed noted that there are few women representatives but they did not provide precise figures.

among the community representatives she liaises with, she pointed out that there are more men and explained:

> You know even woman may be the owner of the property like the owner of the building but you know our culture - they will not allow you to be going. So the husband may be living with the woman but the husband will be representing the wife so that it will not be as if the woman is proud or she is you know riding the husband so that's why we have higher percentage of men to women.[87] (Personal communication, March 9, 2011)

To further support Aderinola's point, Atinuke, a resident of medium-density area, Ashi, noted that when the landlord/landlady is unable to make it to the meeting, s/he usually employs a male substitute. As a Christian, Atinuke explained the disproportional representation of men using a religious cultural discourse:

> Atinuke: … They prefer men.
>
> Grace: Why is that?
>
> Atinuke: ...that's how they normally do it. I've not been to one but people that do meet for meeting they prefer men to be there. They believe men understand better than the women.
>
> Grace: Do you think that's true?
>
> Atinuke: It's not really true but being that God has put them on us we have to be subject to them. We believe they are the head of the family so when all of the family is at home, you do not have any right to go for meeting. Your husband is at home you will now say

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[87] Note that had I not asked Aderinola about the gender ratio, she most likely would not have volunteered that women are largely absent from the CDCs they consult and liaise with. I do think that perhaps Aderinola was speaking more from her own personal politics rather than representing the department's stance hence why she may not have pointed out the gender disparity.

you want to go for meeting. No, it's not possible. (Personal communication, June 30, 2011)

When I understood that women were under-represented in decisions concerning the community, I made further inquiries from Aderinola about possible solutions:

Grace: So based on this recognition of the issue, do you think there is possibly any type of policy that you can do whether it's at the local government level or the state level that will say, "okay, of the community representatives or of the Landlord Association, there should be a particular percentage that are women." Do you think that's possible? Or?

Aderinola: It's possible but it's not possible. (*Laughs.*) You know the two cannot go together. When something is not possible you know why it's not possible. Even in Nigeria, politically we are agitating for 35%. Women have not been given that 35% in the federal seat there let alone local government so it is not possible unless there is a law that binds it.

 Grace: So it has to be a law.

Aderinola: Because in Africa, they don't normally allow women to be outspoken or to go for you know like coming first or leading so..

Grace: And why is that you think?

Aderinola: No that's the African culture. It's a cheat. It's a cheating on our part. But there's nothing we could do presently.

Grace: But in the future there's something you can do?

Aderinola: Yes. yes. Like maybe when there is development. When Nigeria is more developed than where we are now. For example you know we have Sirleaf somewhere there maybe Liberia.

Grace: Yah Liberia yes.

Aderinola: So it didn't start in a day *shey* you understand? Maybe in [the] future.

(Personal communication, March 9, 2011)

Aderinola's link between women's under representation in public office and their participation in urban governance speaks to Jo Beall's argument that "getting women themselves into the mainstream of public office and the bureaucracy is a vital part of engendering urban governance" (Beall, 1996, p. 5). More specifically,

Women constitute a significant proportion, sometimes a majority, of urban populations. Where democratic processes prevail, women in public office give meaning to the representative nature of democracy and institutionalize and legitimise women's voices in the sites of power. They also serve as important role models, which may permit and inspire other women to involve themselves in urban governance. Furthermore, women have particular experiences of and relationships to the urban environment to share. They have proved themselves to be effective change agents in the city, particularly at the local and neighbourhood level which they know intimately and on which they have strong views and invaluable suggestions. This experience and expertise should be drawn upon. (Beall, 1996, p. 5)

Unfortunately, women's participation in public office in Ibadan is very low. Since Nigeria returned to democratic rule in 1999, there have only been chairmen and vice chairmen and male councilors in all Local Government Areas.[88] Overall, "only 4% of Nigeria's councilors are women" (British Council, 2012, p. 55).

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[88] This is for 1999, 2004 and 2007 elections as obtained from the Oyo State Independent Electoral Commission. I was unable to obtain the data for the 2011 elections.

In Nigerian politics, women are mainly excluded because of the patriarchal discourses linking the political to the male. Aderinola's insight that if the 2007 National Gender Policy's[89] affirmative action benchmark for women's representation at the national level has not been reached, it cannot be expected that the local level would have a higher representation of women suggests that perhaps the local "looks up" to the national. Moreover, the hierarchal structure of Nigerian society helps make sense of the possibility that an acceptance of women at the broader level of national politics is needed before their acceptance is possible/happens at the local level. Additionally, my interviews with the women reveal that their perceptions of women's representation in federal and state politics, alongside their knowledge of cultural notions about women's political participation, helps them to explain and understand women's exclusion at the local level.

Culture, Colonialism and Religion: The Rendering of Women as Spare Tires, Second Fiddle and Prostitutes

The women are the helper; by virtue of that, they are to play an assisting role - - - it's like a spare tire. So when the real tire is defective, I mean burst or has a problem, then you can pick the other one and put it there. (E. Awoniyi,[90] personal communication, July 10, 2011)

During my interviews with women, the most cited reasons (across class, age, religious affiliation, and educational levels) for the marginalization of women in politics were cultural and religious. All the women clearly articulated that politics has been created to be a man's world and women's right to participate on an equal footing is suppressed. The interviews reveal and

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[89] The National Gender Policy is informed by global and regional declarations on gender equality.
[90] This is not one of my research participants - it is one of my colleagues from the University of Ibadan.

confirm C. Otutubikey Izugbara's (2004b) argument that "Men and women enter national imaginaries differently" (p. 25). In this imaginary, in Nigeria, men are viewed to be natural leaders. As expressed by high-density resident Ayobami:

> It seems to be men that they choose to be in the positions. The women, perhaps they look at them and say what can these people do? What can women do? [They think] that wherever men are, women should not be there to occupy those positions and that if they get there they won't even know how to do it at all. They come to these conclusions without ever giving women a chance. (Personal communication, August 2, 2011)

Men's natural right as leaders is predicated on the notion that they are the head of females. Many participants highlighted that this apparent inherent political right of men cheats women by presuming that the political is the domain of men.

Women, on the other hand, enter national and local imaginaries as biological and social reproducers who are supposed to stay out of public affairs and only enter as supporters of men. One low-income participant clearly illustrates this point through her argument that:

> They don't like to hear women's voices in public. Only men want to be the ones who will be talking [and] who will become a big person. The thing that [a] woman [is] for is that, she cooks the food, takes care of the children, that she also eats and takes care of her husband. (Mojisola, Personal communication, July 15, 2011)

Participants posited that women are often unwanted political participants because they are viewed as being incapable of making sound decisions and because it is culturally unbecoming for women to actively engage in political activities unless they are performing domestic and supportive roles. Women who overstep this boundary are considered to be culturally deviant.

The reason why the Nigerian political imagination and discourse excludes women as political subjects and views them mainly as mothers, wives and reproducers of culture can be partly located in the gendered formation of the Nigerian state. An understanding of the historical gendering of politics in Nigeria[91] enables an analysis of the false construct of women as outside of politics. As Mire (2001) argues, "African social and political thought cannot be understood in abstraction from the history of colonial encounter between European colonial conquest and African society" (p. 4). It is thus important to remain critical of the ways in which everyday discourses on women and politics feign to be ahistorical.

In Yorubaland and other parts of Nigeria, colonial administrators implemented indirect rule as a governance tool. The British believed that leaving local community affairs in the hands of local chiefs and rulers was a means of keeping Nigerian culture intact (Kirk-Greene, 1965, p. 246). The appointed chiefs and rulers were usually male and this system of indirect rule disregarded the fact that female leadership was part of Yoruba culture. In Ibadan and other localities in South West Nigeria, the *Iyalode* office was reserved for women in local politics. It was a female chieftancy title and enabled women to be part of the decision-making process in their community alongside male chiefs; although there was usually only one *Iyalode* in a council of ten male chiefs (Mba, 1982, p. 12). Despite minimal representation, Yoruba women were able to run their own affairs and directly participate in communal decision-making through their *Iyalode* (Mba, p. 12). As a spokesperson for women, the *Iyalode* served as an intermediary between the male chiefs and the women in the community. She was also autonomous in the

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[91] Although this chapter is about politics in Ibadan, an examination of the impact of colonialism in gendering politics is important for understanding the discourses on women in politics in Ibadan. Moreover, a discussion about the national does not imply irrelevance for the local, as the latter was where colonial administrative policies were executed and where Victorian ideologies of gender were practiced.

economic sphere by controlling the operation of the city's market system (Macintosh, 2009). The British also superimposed the Victorian ideologies of gender on many societies/communities in Nigeria. It was inconceivable to the British that Nigerian women could be chosen as indirect rulers because in Britain, the public duty of women was an extension of private role and as Mba (1982) asserts, the "British administrators worked for a government in which there were no women at any level" (p. 39). Helen Callaway (1987) also notes that the colonizers "assumed African women generally to be in a dependent and subordinate position to men even in areas where women were noted for their independent trading activities and their political power" (p. 51). Thus, colonial administration was based on the ideology that women should occupy the domestic sphere and men the public sphere.

Nigerian women were thereby rendered invisible in the governing processes of colonial Nigeria. The exercise of control they had over their own affairs in pre-colonial Nigeria became irrelevant and the representation and voice they had in decision-making was submerged under colonial rule (Mba, p. 38; Petsalis, 1990, p. 197; Okoh, 2003, p. 22). Under indirect rule, the British administrators and the 'native' administrators of indirect rule, "rarely consulted women on matters that affected them" (Johnson-Odim & Mba, 1997, p. 11). Colonial rule solely relegated women to the status of child bearers and housekeepers.

Victorian ideologies of gender and domesticity were not only used as a frame of reference by the British for administration in colonial Nigeria, but also instilled through the colonized education of boys and girls. The 1909 Code of Education was gendered (Okonkwo & Ezeh, 2008) in that it emphasized training males to become professionals while females were trained to become good wives and mothers (Denzer, 1992). By the early mid-twentieth century, girls' education was slightly reformed. Females were allowed to pursue education that would

allow them to contribute to the colonial economy. Nevertheless, their education continued to stress the importance of devotion to home and family regardless of economic status or education (Denzer, p. 122). Hence on the eve of Nigerian independence, there were more women, albeit few by comparison to the total population of women in Nigeria, who possessed tertiary education and professional training. Nevertheless, the gendered education system contributed to the "preponderance of the male population in the new emerging social elite, which provided the political leadership of the nationalism of the [mid] twentieth century" (Okonkwo & Ezeh, p. 189).

Women and men both collaborated in Nigeria's fight for independence from the British in the 1950s, although not many women were involved in the nationalist movements, and women's involvement was class based (Pereira, 2000). Nigeria became independent on October 1, 1960, but women's contribution to nationalism was quickly forgotten and postcolonial Nigeria was built on a "male privileging colonial ideology" (Nzegwu, 2001, p.6). In line with Yuval-Davis' (1997) and McClintock's (1995) approach, gender is crucial in understanding Nigeria as a nation-state. Nigeria was directly gendered through the feminization of Nigeria as a domestication project and through the imported ideologies of gender in the shaping of colonial society. In the post-independence era, Nigeria has been further gendered by the continual exclusion of women from the public sphere and the reinvention of tradition. Further, nationalism in Nigeria has been gendered due to the feminization of men (though they were invested with authority and more privilege than women) during colonialism that has resulted in the patriarchal colonialism of Nigerian women. This last point borrows from Evelyne Accad's (1990) argument in "Sexuality and Sexual Politics: Conflicts and Contradictions for Contemporary Women" where she examines the influence of patriarchal colonialism on gender in Lebanon. She asserts

that Lebanese men exercise patriarchal colonialism on the Lebanese women as a result of the

usurpation of power that the men experienced during colonialism (mainly because of their race).

This "race injury" of colonialism is transferred onto the gender realm because in the gender

hierarchy, men are dominant and thus able to psychologically regain some power that was taken

from them during colonialism. Therefore, men are able to restrain woman to their stereotyped

social roles. Resistance by Lebanese women is considered to be disloyal; similarly in Nigeria, in

that to argue for women's political rights is sometimes considered anti-traditional.

In addition, Nigeria as a nation is gendered through women's role as gatekeepers of

customs and culture. As Yuval-Davis (1997) notes, women's role as custodian of culture and

custom is pertinent in reproducing the nation. This has been exemplified in Nigeria in the post-

independence era by the National Council of Women's Society (NCWS). Elite Nigerian women

formed the NCWS in 1959 and it was supposed to be non-partisan and non-political (Mba, 1989,

p.71). The NCWS' aims were to "promote the welfare and progress of women, especially in

education and to ensure that women [are] given every opportunity to play an important part in

social and community affairs" (Pereira, 2000, p. 118). The NCWS was recognized as the only

NGO representing women's interest. However, the NCWS has mainly been known to serve the

interests of a sub-group of women. In NCWS' prime, they assured the federal government that

they did not desire political power as they had not forgotten their traditional roles as mothers and

wives. The NCWS, as Pereira argues, "employed the discourse of motherhood, and the

concomitant responsibility for family affairs and child rearing as the ultimate destiny of all

women" (p. 123). Thus, for women, their involvement in national affairs in the public realm is

limited to the extension of their domestic role (p. 124), a discourse that highly resonates with

Victorian ideology. As such, the NCWS did not make inroads in serving and capturing Nigerian

women's interests, needs and priorities. Rather, they reproduced the gendered nation and further gendered Nigeria by promoting and safeguarding women's role as wives and mothers. It is interesting to note, that based on Nigeria's pre-colonial history as previously discussed, the NCWS did not truly uphold the 'traditional' roles of women as women were historically involved in decision making.

In light of the preceding discussion, women are expected to put their mothering and wifely duties first and foremost. As such, political activity is assumed to disrupt women from performing these roles successfully. Even when women do succeed as politicians, the validity of their leadership potential depends on successfully proving that they are "good and responsible housewives and mothers" (Ibrahim, 2004, para. 42). Mayowa, a local male councilor, clearly demonstrates the foregoing point through the following statement:

> If you say you have a meeting by six in the morning and your children will go to school, you have to care for your children and your husband. This will portray you better and show you're a good woman and you can be a good leader. But if your home is not tidying up, you cannot come outside and say you want to be a leader. You have to show them a good example. (Personal communication, March 16, 2011)

The expectation is that women should be doting mothers and dutiful wives, which, according to this discourse, entails being at home often. During the interviews, most women, including the Community Development Officers (CDOs) cited that political participation requires attending evening meetings. Fadeke, a CDO, noted that there is gender imbalance in political representation at the local level because "responsible women" rarely partake in politics:

> I went for a programme yesterday, they told us that gender [inequality in representation] is so wider even at the local government now. Presently, [among] the caretaker chairman

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and the committee members there are only two women and the men are about 24. …

women are not participating in politics like men because of the odd time they meet. You

know they always meet at night. It is not easy for *a responsible woman* to leave her home

for a meeting at night. *Our religious and cultural aspects [do not] even give the women*

enough opportunity to participate in politics. (Personal communication, March 16, 2011;

Emphasis added)

These late night political meetings contravene the cultural and religious expectation that a

woman will be at home in the evening, and not "gallivant about". Because of these expectations,

it is then assumed that women who dabble in politics are prostitutes. Seun, who is with the

Ministry of Women Affairs, mentioned that, "a lot of people have erroneous ideas about women

participating in politics. A lot of people are biased; they think if you go into politics you become

a prostitute" (personal communication, March 23, 2011). Jade, who is middle-class, also

remarked, "but you know any woman that wants to get there... it's a problem we have in Africa I

mean Nigeria. Any woman in top office must be a flirt.[92] They believe that" (personal

communication, August 22, 2011). Tobi, a middle-class woman, further explicates the

prostitution narrative below:

Tobi: …if any woman joins politics they'll be like, "*ah she must have been sleeping with*

men. How can a woman be having meetings in the night?"…

Grace: Do all political meetings take place at night or is it just a rumour?

Tobi: It's not a rumour because they think that's the only time they can [meet]. I don't

know why. But they do it in the night. Okay maybe they allow themselves to go and do

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[92] The way Jade talked about being a flirt during the interview included engagement in sexual
intercourse.

their business during the day then they now come and I don't know why, and they feel a

woman should not be there in the night.

Grace: That she should be at home?

Tobi: Yes. (Personal communication, July 18, 2011; emphasis added)

Since the political meetings take place at night, it is assumed that a woman surrounded by

several men would be sleeping with them. In addition, given that the political sphere is

dominated by men, it is believed that for a woman to make it in politics, she must be using her

'bottom power' to rise.

Although women aspirants are not prostitutes, the moral narrative is nevertheless leveraged

against them. Many Nigerian women aspirants are subjected "to smear campaigns [centering] on

their alleged loose moral standing, [while] some are insulted directly" (IDEA 2006, p. 10). This

is problematic because male privilege and double standards obscure the applicability of the same

line of questioning to males. As Ibrahim (2004) asserts,

> It is well known…that many male politicians go on the campaign trail with girlfriends
>
> and/or sex workers. Male supporters see such behaviour as a normal sign of the virility of
>
> their leaders. Women candidates, however, even if they are not sexually promiscuous,
>
> indeed, even if they are saints, are expected to shoulder the burden of proof to show that
>
> they are morally upright. This suggests that the moral standards set for women politicians
>
> are higher than those for male politicians. (para. 42)

Moreover, husbands are sometimes ridiculed for not having control of their politically

oriented wives. This derision leverages the discourse that only loose women go into politics. As

such, this ridiculing or fear of being ridiculed has made it more difficult for women to obtain

support from their husbands. A husband's support (other than the obvious need for adequate

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finances) is considered a paramount prerequisite by some of the women I interviewed. Even if a woman had a supportive spouse to start with, it is possible the support may be only transient, as Titilayo, one of the government staff explained,

> [The husband] will just wake up and tell you he's no more interested or maybe he starts sleeping outside with another woman too and then when you now accost him, "why are you doing this?" He will say, "hey you don't have time for me again, it is this your career political thing you have pursued." That's it. (Personal communication, March 8, 2011)

There also seems to be a palpable fear that if women were to become dominant in the political sphere, gender relations will be weakened, and therefore pose a threat to national stability - as the discourse that males are head and therefore inherent leaders will no longer be tenable. This narrative was common in the Nigerian newspapers I read and was also proffered, during interviews, as an explanation for why men are so resistant to female participation in politics. Concerns centred on the fragility of male's natural dominance and the decline of women's role in reproducing proper morals and culture. There is an underlying fear that women will no longer be under the control of men. As Ayo, a middle-classed woman, pointed out, "it may not all go well with a man. You understand? And no man wants to play the second fiddle" (personal communication, August 23, 2011). Other women during the interview noted that some men have a "complex" and cannot handle competition from women; moreover, men view themselves as superior to women so it does not make sense that they would be under female leadership. Thus, female leadership is viewed as going against the natural order.

Other than the "natural" order of gender norms being threatened, it is also assumed by some, in popular discourse, that women who participate in political life will not have time for their children. Therefore the children will grow up to be immoral which has implications for the

stability of the nation. 'Donald' left a striking comment that speaks to this point on *The Punch's* January 5th, 2012 online article, 'Nigeria Can't Develop Without Women':

Its a fact 2day dat most of dis "women" in power nowadayz hv not [been] taking gud care of dere home n [not] particularly bring[ing] up gud morals in dere children but r busy pursuing politics n its entourage! So I won't blame deme coz u don't give what u don't hav!……women in politics is rather a disaster…..u knw where u belong na!!! (Donald, Jan 15, 2012)

Religious cultural discourses, in particular, play a central role in propagating patriarchal gender norms because "the belief that God destined men to be in charge and women to be governed by men is evident in many passages of the Islamic and Christian Holy Books" (Izugbara, 2004b, p. 13). In this vein, religion is "used as an instrument in defense of patriarchy. Christian and Islamic law gives central place to paternalistic interpretation to women's appropriate roles and socio-political arrangements of the society" (Ndubuisi, 2006, p. 2). During my interviews, leadership was often explained as something that is considered by society as inherently male because males have been ordained as head by God. Atinuke (low-income) and Zahra (middle-class) for example highlighted the blurring of the Yoruba culture and Christianity/Islam in constructing women's political role as unnatural:

Atinuke: … Yoruba people they want women to respect men in the house even in the society. Maybe that's the major reason why they don't give women opportunity. They believe men have the power to be ruling because from the Bible, woman was created from man… (Personal communication, June 30, 2011)

Zahra: I think in a situation you know God has made men to be our head so if we look to that as per our culture if we believe in our culture men must always be the leader…

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Grace: And do you agree with this view?

Zahra: I quite agree. Biblically, Islamically if you look.

Grace: But you yourself do you agree. Let's say for now you have all the qualifications to become president but somebody now says no you cannot become president because you are a woman like do you agree with it?

Zahra: um Islamically due to my religion.

Grace: hmm but let's say religion, now I know religion is very important so lets say religion put aside. What about your own personal feelings? Like I know that's what it says in the Qur'an and in the Bible.

Zahra: I know if women if we were given chance. I think we will still be able to perform better than the men …(Personal communication, June 30, 2011)

Many women I interviewed think that the ordaining of male as head and female as submissive is unfair because of the male tendency to exploit their designation as head. The women participants consequently called for increased participation of women in decision-making and governance. However, they did not want to challenge the dominant patriarchal cultural and religious discourses. Inasmuch as women acknowledged the egotistical[93] behaviour of males and males' fear of losing control over women if females were to go into politics, they did not critique the Bible or the Qur'an. Although women understood the position of their religious texts on gender relations, some women did not wholly believe that politics is not a place for women. They used religious teachings to highlight that women should not be excluded:

Ebun (low-income class): …women don't have high positions [because the men think] women will be the one making rules for them [especially] when the bible says women do

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[93] By this, I mean some males' inflated idea of their own importance and selfish reluctance to include women in the political sphere.

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not have custom to make rules…that's what they are quoting. But the world is more modern than that now. God left [the] command for everybody to love each other[94].

(Personal communication, July 7, 2011)

Nike (middle-class): Why should I be in the kitchen? I can be in the kitchen to take care of my family. That is what God sent us to this world to come and do. But it's not the only thing. You see when I traveled to Jerusalem …the guards that were taking us to the places where we were supposed to go and visit, when we were in the bus we were discussing the bible and discussing [that] women are next to God. In that sense, God has made women. We are mothers. We are the ones taking care of these children that he has sent to this world. Not men. How many men can put diapers on their children? How many men can take his child and feed the child like a mother? So we are next to God. And they misuse it. Our men. That is the reason why God is taking it away from them.

(Personal communication, July 12, 2011)

As illustrated by Nike's comment, sometimes even when women's place in the political sphere is justified, the interviewees ensured that they did not stray far from cultural and religious notions of women's role. They seemed to do this because they want to be, and also desire to be perceived as a good woman, wife and mother who is respectful to her husband and cherishes her matrimonial home.

Violence, Thuggery and Intimidation: The Masculinization of Ibadan Politics

"No one comes to earth without a disease. Civil-disorder is the disease of Ibadan"

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[94] She means that focusing on loving each other would reduce the propensity to promote women's exclusion.

– Yoruba praise poetry

Aside from religious cultural discourses on women's role in politics, the reality of the violence that pervades Ibadan politics is an impediment to women's participation in politics. Ibadan is a city where violence is a "recurrent feature in the sociopolitical life and a mark of [its] political identity" (Abdul-Jelil, 2009). As discussed in Chapter Three, present day Ibadan was founded as a war camp in 1829 during the civil wars in Yorubaland. Thus, as an original settlement of warriors, "civil disorder or organized violence is not a new phenomenon in Ibadan" (Abdul-Jelil, 2009). When Ibadan was founded, the hereditary monarchy system of traditional Yorubaland was abandoned in exchange for military and civil chieftaincies (Ogundayo, 2011). This signified that political clout came hand in hand with military prowess that also encouraged a system of patronage politics whereby *baloguns*[95] offered protection to clients who were loyal to them (Watson, 2009). Having a large following of loyal supporters was critical in determining who could hold a chieftaincy title. However, chiefs ensured that other chiefs did not become too powerful by recruiting their clients from the support base of other chiefs, which often ensued in violence (Watson, 1999). Civil disorder thus played a prominent role in the making of civic Ibadan.

In present day Ibadan, a political patronage system still exists in the form of political godfatherism. The gendering of modern politics in Nigeria has been greatly facilitated by the creation of political godfatherism that started with the nationalist activities of the 1950s. These father figures were the leaders of regional political groups that emerged in the 1950s and 60s (Albert, 2005). As Albert (2005) contends, their role was to "show the way for other Nigerians in a colonial system" (p. 87). The emphasis of the first generation of godfathers was primarily on

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[95] *Balogun* means "Lord of War" - an individual who is successful in war.

development issues, but they also focused on nurturing godsons (Albert, 2005, p. 88). However, the godsons of the godfathers of the second republic (1979-1983) "lacked the commitment to democracy needed for reproducing godfathers that produced them" (Albert, p. 88). Instead, contemporary godfathers serve as political gatekeepers, dictating who participates in politics. They are also responsible for most of the pre and post election violence. As Lawal (2011) argues, godfatherism adopts a style that is,

> …antithetical to democratic tenet and good governance. They recruit, train and empower thugs to harass, intimidate and victimize perceived political opponents and opposing views against their political ambition. This culture of thuggery has not only been imbibed and sustained as part of the country's political behaviour since independence to the present moment, it has been one of the potent causes of the low participation of women in politics. (para. 2)

The most notorious godfather in Ibadan was Chief Lamidi Adedibu who was the godson of Chief Obafemi Awolowo.[96] He, however, was not like his godfather; Adedibu profited greatly from his role as godfather and terrorized Ibadan politics from the 1990s until his death in 2008 (Abdul-Jelil, 2009). Adedibu retained his power by addressing the vulnerability of the poor through the introduction of an alimentary populism politics of *amala* and *gbegiri*[97] – the staple food of Ibadan, which he fed to the poor on a daily basis (Abdul-Jelil, 2009; Adesokan, 2009). He was also powerful through his use of political thuggery and violence in imposing political candidates for governorship, chairmanship and councilorship

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[96] Awolowo was a highly regarded politician and godfather as well as beloved by the people of South Western Nigeria, as well as many in the old Midwest.
[97] *Amala* is made from dried yam turned into flour, which is mixed and cooked in hot water until the desired consistency is reached. *Gbegiri* is a soup made from beans, which is often eaten with *amala*.

on the people as well as in removing those who betrayed him.

Adedibu not only alienated women from politics through his support of male candidates, he also played a role in some women's choice to shy away from politics through their association of violence with the political sphere. My interviewees refuse to participate in politics because of the violence that pervades Ibadan politics. For example, Damilola, a middle-class woman, disconcertingly highlighted the "do-or-die"[98] nature of Ibadan politics and stated that she would be interested in participating if not for the violence:

Grace: Do you have an interest in politics?

Damilola: I see politics in [Ibadan] like do or die.

Grace: What if it wasn't do or die? Would you like to become [a politician]?

Damilola: If there was no do or die.

Grace: So you are interested?

Damilola: ah, ah! I like it. (Personal communication, August 30, 2011)

Temilola, a low-income woman, who claimed to have been previously active in Ibadan politics in the 1960s noted that she no longer participates in politics because of the violence: "it's been long, but there's always quarrel among them, like going to people's house to wound them, abusing each other, fighting, singing abusive songs, that's why I withdrew from it" (personal communication, July 13, 2011).

Since politics is "do-or die", it becomes gendered male through the discourse that "those who possess the wherewithal take politics by force when force is required" (Agbalajobi, 2010, p. 78) and women are excluded as they often opt out of exercising force. The pervasiveness of violence thus gives more credibility to the discourse that the political is a male prerogative and

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[98] A popular phrase used to describe politics in Nigeria.

domain. Solape, a middle-class woman, pointed out that women are unable to contend with the violent nature of politics:

There are too many risks involved in Nigerian politics that I have to admit when it comes to physical strength, women are not as strong as men definitely… and that's one admission I'm not ashamed to make. We're not built that way. (Personal communication, July 26, 2011)

Moreover, there is a fear to speak out against the government because they believe that the godfather's foot soldiers are always "around the corner", ready to harm critics:

The person who talks and says this [and] that concerning politics - they quote them and kill them - that's why nobody wants to talk. Try to understand. And I want you to really understand. Ah ah! If we both do it, it will be good. Do you understand me? If we both do it, it's for it to be good. But when they are killing people - who wants to die? Why don't you just wait until it's your time to die? Focus on your work… That's why I don't see some women who will [contest]. As for me, they can never call me to contest. I don't want trouble. (Sike, low-income class, personal communication, July 16, 2011)

Women politicians are not immune from political acts of violence in Ibadan. As recounted by Vivian, a low-income woman:

Vivian: … there was a woman sometimes ago that they killed, the politicians want[ed] people to vote for them…We can't have women there the men won't accept it.

Grace: Why?

Vivian: They will kill her. (Personal communication, July 13, 2011)

Nigerian women aspirants have been "kidnapped, beaten up, sexually assaulted and shot at in order to deter them from participating in elections" (Denney, 2011, para. 6). UN Women in

collaboration with a coalition of Nigerian civil society organizations and activists have

spearheaded a pilot study in response to the issue of electoral violence against women. The study

tracked incidents of violence against women aspirants in real-time during the 2011 elections

(UNWomen, 2011, para. 3). Preliminary findings reveal that,

> 75% of the field monitors report[ed] an incident or incidents of violence that were
>
> targeted specifically at women. The largest number of these incidents reportedly took
>
> place during political campaigns or rallies, while others occurred at political party events.
>
> The perpetrators were identified as primarily party supporters and agents. (Coalition of
>
> civil society Nigeria/UNWomen/UNDP, 2011, p. 1)

Politics is gendered via violence because violence is associated with masculinity.

Violence is not considered a deviation but an accepted part of masculinity and there is a growing

connection in society between being a man and being violent (Jhally et al., 1999). The danger in

accepting violence as a masculine norm is that in Nigeria, the validation of violence also allows

politics to continue to be gendered and normalized as masculine. Accordingly, because violence

is gendered masculine, and politics in Ibadan has become synonymous with violence, it is easy to

say women do not belong. In this vein, since violence is gendered masculine, it is normal when

men engage in politics and by this logic, when women participate in politics, it is considered

abnormal. Thus, there has been a normalization of political violence in Nigeria. Terms such as

'tough', and 'strong' are used to describe 'real' men while the antithesis is often ascribed to

womanhood. Using this reasoning, since political power in Ibadan is sometimes attained through

violent struggle, 'real' men then belong in politics, and 'real' women do not. This explanation

further normalizes and masculinizes violence and praises women for staying true to their nature

by fearing violence and not participating in politics. The women who transgress risk having their womanhood called into question and are often labelled negatively.

In sum, not dismantling the notion of violence as natural and politics as masculine, and restricting women and men to a particular gendered script does not change anything; it only continues to situate women as outsiders and foreigners to the political terrain. Rather than problematize violence and condemn it as unnecessary, it further condones it. Masculinity and femininity need to be recognized as performances that are learned via socialization in order to disrupt the notion that politics is the purview of men.

First Ladies and Women Leaders

Given the high levels of political violence, when women do partake in politics in Ibadan, it is most commonly in gendered ways, as part of the femocracy in Nigeria, which can serve as a potential impediment to gender equality. Amina Mama (1997) defines femocracy as "an anti-democratic female power structure, which claims to exist for the advancement of ordinary women, but is unable to do so because it is dominated by a small clique of women whose authority derives from their being married to powerful men" (p. 81). Jibrin Ibrahim (2004) posits that the First Lady phenomenon has:

> … opened doors for women that had previously been closed. At the same time, it has created a dynamic in which political space has been appropriated and used by the wives and friends of men in power for purposes of personal aggrandisement, rather than for furthering the interests of women. (para. 1)

Moreover, the primacy of wives of men in leadership has meant that issues concerning Nigerian women are often not part of formalized decision-making but are instead placed under the

purview of the wives. This is a gendered and classed process. It is gendered because women's issues are not significant enough for formalized decision-making and politics. It is classed because it limits who can participate in contributing to what is considered women's issues and what should be done to address the issues.

In Ibadan, the governor's wife, Florence Ajimobi, started the Ajumose Food Bank initiative where she distributes a small package of grocery food once a month to 500 women in each local government as a poverty alleviation scheme (see Figure 12). This initiative, as described in the *Punch,*[99] is part of Governor Ajimobi's Administration's commitment to women's empowerment (Aboluwade, 2012). It is not clear however, how a small bag of food is supposed to empower women.

Florence Ajimobi employs key buzzwords such as 'empowerment' and 'poverty alleviation' to portray herself as a champion of women's issues. However, my analysis of her actions is more negative. Similarly to how Adedibu used to distribute food to poor Ibadan dwellers to secure acquiescence with his corrupt and violent godfathership, I picture Florence Ajimobi as a "fairy" godmother (in disguise) who is distributing food to curry favour for her husband. In her speeches during her food distribution events, she encourages the women to support her husband's neoliberal visions for improving Ibadan (see Chapter Four) as well as his ambitions for a second term of office. She also called on the women to register for her husband's political party so that they could garner the majority to win the 2015 elections.

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[99] Newspaper name.

Figure 12. Ajumose food bank parcels. Picture adapted from www.mrsfajimobi.com. Reprinted with permission.

Florence Ajimobi's speeches eclipse how certain urban projects executed under her husband's administration are disempowering some women traders. She also fails to question why it is only through the "Office of the First Lady" that women's issues are (superficially) addressed by her husband's administration. Thus, the high visibility of Florence Ajimobi's benevolent actions towards few women and championing of women's issues is part of a patriarchal script. This script narrates that as long as a political leader has a wife, there is really no need for women in formal political leadership positions – as the wife will be there to take care of women's issues. In this vein, women's visibility in the political arena is satisfactory as long as they are not

interested in transforming gender relations and retain their place as virtuous wives who are submissive helpmates to their husband as Mrs. Florence Ajimobi is described on her website[100]:

> Mrs. Florence Ajimobi can be likened to the virtuous wife of Proverbs 31 in the Holy Bible. She is a submissive and dutiful wife who has continued to be a capable helpmate to her husband, Senator Ajimobi, and has continued to be a strong pillar of support in his RESTORATION, TRANSFORMATION and REPOSITIONING agenda for Oyo State. (Original emphasis)

During my interviews with staff in the Women Affairs Division of the Department of Community Development and with a senior official with the State Ministry of Women Affairs and Community Development, it was mentioned that there are frequent liaisons between the governor's wife and wives of Ibadan local chairmen. For example, when there are issues pertaining to women at the local level, the Women Affairs branch of the Local Government Community Development Department hold meetings with the governor's wife. Also, when the Local Government Women Affairs staff meets with the State Ministry of Women Affairs and Community Development or the Commissioner, the wife of the Chairman is usually present. Whenever there are top-down initiatives that the State Ministry of Women Affairs and Community Development want to pursue, the State Ministry discusses strategies with wives of the chairmen. Moreover, the State Ministry of Women Affairs and Community Development often use the wives of the chairmen to hold local governments accountable to women with regards to programming and initiatives. Again, this set-up genders politics by not accounting for how women's issues would be taken up if a woman were to assume leadership. It assumes that leadership is male and that women will always be at the leader's (their husband's) side.

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[100] http://www.mrsfajimobi.com/meet-florence-ajimobi/

The chairman of each local government council monitors the relationship between Local Government Community Development Officers and women ward leaders of the incumbent political party which he represents. The Local Government Community Development Officers (CDOs) are unable to liaise with women leaders directly because the chairman is always present whenever CDOs consult with women leaders. This arrangement is problematic given the cultural context and the expectation that women are not to be too outspoken in the presence of men. Additionally, the women leaders are most likely to refrain from verbalizing their particular ideas for the community unless the chairman has given his approval and/or whether it is in line with the chairman's visions. Moreover, Jemimah, a women leader in Foko, revealed that women leaders often raise issues of importance to women in their ward with the state women leader[101]:

> Grace: … since you're a representative of women…what can you say about what women need?
>
> Jemimah: For instance, in this our neighbourhood, there are women, we have some who do not have a job. They don't have anything. And we will go see our boss.
>
> Grace: Your boss?
>
> Jemimah: There's a senior women leader for the state.
>
> Grace: Okay.
>
> Jemimah: We will complain that, "women need this, this, and that. Do it for them." They are who we use to bring women out when it's time for elections. (Personal communication, August 19 2011)

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[101] Although not verified, this senior women leader, in turn, would most likely liaise with the governor's wife.

The extent to which Local Government Community Development Officers interact with women ward leaders, unsupervised, is when the latter are asked to disseminate information on behalf of the local government to other women in the ward:

> What we do is we have women leaders. In this local government we have 12 wards. Each ward has its political woman leader so if there's any program we circulate a letter - we send a letter to them. You know we cannot just go to their community and be addressing them individually so we go through their women leader there is a forum for them where they normally meet to get the information. (Aderinola, personal communication, March 9. 2011)

It is clearly difficult to attain "good urban governance" when a gendered and dualistic nature of politics remains prevalent in Ibadan. Women's issues should not be left to the discretion of the governor's wife and/or wives of chairmen to decide which issues they will pay particular attention to. Rather, women's issues need to be taken up seriously by formalized governance structures and women should be given the opportunity to express their concerns. Also, the role of women ward leaders has the potential to make differences in women's lives if these leaders are able to communicate directly with Community Development Officers and the State Ministry of Women Affairs and Community Development.

The Road Towards Social Transformation

Women's optimism for the improvement of women's representation in the political landscape lies in their understanding of national and regional politics and gender. State and local governments are expected to be the primary and direct sites of identity and the allocation and distribution of resources, but the real location of power lies in Abuja, the federal capital, and the

networks that are established through the political parties and government. It is these networks of privilege and patronage, cemented through political parties, that become the conduit through which both the real and the perceived nature of power lies. This perception is one that informs many of the women with whom I spoke and interviewed.

Although interviewees were aware of women's exclusion from urban governance, often times when they spoke about the gendered nature of politics they would refer to national politics. As expressed by Desola, a medium-density resident, "women can be president, both men and women came to this world with the same head" (personal communication, June 27, 2011). Particularly, many praised the incumbent administration of President Goodluck Jonathan for its progressiveness in selecting the most number of women cabinet ministers (13) that Nigeria has seen to date. They also used the little gains women have made in national and regional politics to hope for a better political future for women. As pointed out by Ayo, a low-density resident, "you know they are just starting. And one day they will get there. At least we now have women commissioners, women ministers, women senators, women honourables, women as deputy governors…" (personal communication, August 23, 2011).

While an unprecedented in-road has been made with regard to the appointment of women to key posts, much remains to be done. As Lisa Denney (2011) has argued, "It is doubtful whether the top-down changes that President Goodluck Jonathan has made through political appointments of women will transform the role of women in politics without similar results being achieved from the bottom-up" (para. 10). Thus, it remains pertinent to continue to challenge the discourses and factors deterring women as well as investigate ways to ensure a more gender equitable urban governance.

Fortunately, many gender activists and organizations have been and remain active in challenging the marginalization of women in politics and advocating for change. Groups such as Women's Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative (WRAPA), Gender and Development Action (GADA), and Forum of Nigerian Women in Politics (FONWIP) have raised awareness among society and government. Their current priorities are for the government to follow through on the National Gender Policy's aim to advance affirmative action for women's representation in all governance processes as well as to implement the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

However, in the push to reduce the marginalization of women, there is a disproportionate focus on sensitizing, educating, and empowering women. For example, the Oyo State Ministry of Women Affairs and Community Development, as well as the Women Affairs branch of the Department of Community Development, usually target women for their sensitization programs. But is it possible for transformation to occur if only half of the population is being sensitized? There is a need for "a political environment that empowers women and simultaneously sensitizes men and transforms masculinist structures and processes on the importance and strategic relevance of increasing the role of women in national and sub-regional political decision-making processes for the advancement of democracy" (Mensah-Kutin, 2010, p. 30). Tola, a high-density resident, suggested that men can become more sensitized once they actually hear what women have to say and recognize that women have contributions to make to urban governance:

> Tola: You know that men act and behave in a way that asserts that they are the head of everything, so they use that to cheat women. Men would think that they are the ones who can plan and make everything work so that's the reason that I would give for why it is usually males who do it.

Grace: What do you think we can do about it?

Tola: *As women, we are the ones who know how things work in the city. We are the ones who know what's going on in the city very well.*[102] If they leave some room for women to occupy some positions, that would be good.

Grace: What are the steps that you think we can take to get there?

Tola: … so let's say they do a meeting they say that those women who have the opportunity or the time, they should please come o. … And [when] they allow women to talk or be part of the meeting, *you know from there they would observe the intelligence of the woman that if she's in office, she will also succeed and do good things for the city …* (Personal communication, August 2, 2011; emphasis added)

The women, including the female Community Development Officers (CDO),[103] noted that the way forward, with regards to transformative change, starts at a young age:

Solape: …As much as possible, we are telling women that you don't have to play second fiddle and ...you have to train your sons and daughters the same way.

Grace: Hmmm that's really important.

Solape: So that the next generation end up appreciating women. And don't already stereotype your children… our two sons cook very well, their father taught them to cook so...they can stand on their own and they will appreciate their wives more you know. So I believe in the up-bringing of children and *if we had such upbringing of the men who are now in authority I think they will appreciate the value of women more …* it will take quite

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[102] This will be discussed extensively in Chapter Six.

[103] Even though discussions in Chapter Four revealed that the CDOs employ a WID approach and a patriarchal discourse concerning women's empowerment, in their discussions about women and politics, they were very critical about women's political exclusion and gender relations in society.

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some time to get there you know but at least we must continue to make the effort to let the girls know that you have to be able to stand on your own to face your studies even the sky is not even the limit you can go beyond the sky you know ahh and to teach them to be self-confident without being arrogant … (Personal communication, July 26, 2011; emphasis added)

Seun: We should correct it from the home front…. they should let the boy child and the girl child perform the same role so that there won't be discrimination in the workplace about the position to be occupied by a female or a male. (CDO, personal communication, March 23, 2011)

Fadeke: We should not discourage our female children. You know these things started from when we were young, if the men are talking, a woman should shut up - even if they are talking nonsense. Anytime we have the opportunity to contribute to pour our mind …we should not allow inferiority complex to pull us down. If we continue like this, I am afraid. But we should start it from our home. We should encourage our female children to be even [participating in] school politics. (CDO, personal communication, March 16, 2011)

They also emphasized that in addition to teaching their daughters to be confident and telling them that they are not "second fiddle", they will also socialize their sons in a way that deviates from prevailing gender stereotyping and norms. It is the hope that this type of socialization will pave the way towards gender equality in the political arena. As one interviewee cogently remarked, "things like that should change. They should be saying it in stories that 'once upon a

time o, men were the only ones who were doing politics. But now, women are also doing it'"

(Tola, personal communication, August 2, 2011).

Conclusion

This chapter clearly illustrates, as I argued in Chapter Two, that gender is relevant in the Ibadan context and has resonance for poor and 'illiterate' women. Gender is not only an issue of concern to elite women as claimed by Sofola (1998), Oyewumi (1997) and Mikell (1997). The experiences and narratives of low-income class women discussed in this chapter dispute Oyewumi's (1997) point that the "experience of male dominance is muted, probably because it is over shadowed by socioeconomic disadvantages" (p. 155). Instead, they highlight that unequal gender relations magnify women's socioeconomic disadvantages.

This chapter also emphasizes that the constraints of political violence and religious cultural discourses operating against women in politics have implications for the ways in which women, often the middle-class, participate within the formal political system as political wives and women leaders. Nevertheless, both low-income and middle-class women believe that through the socialization of children from a young age, women's future participation in formal politics can become the norm. The findings in this chapter thus reveal that although patriarchal discourses construct women as apolitical and limit women's presence in governance structures and decision-making spheres, the interviewees' articulated resistance illustrate that they are indeed political through their critique of the status quo and their desires for improved gender relations.

Unlike my own alignment with "feminist, no ifs or buts" in Chapter Two, the reality of these women's lives means they must engage in a feminism of negotiation (Nnaemeka, 2003) as an initial, and possibly prerequisite, step towards the "feminist, no ifs or buts" stance. It cannot

be disputed that patriarchal structures and discourses are part of their everyday experiences. This helps to explain some of their seemingly contradictory responses that simultaneously critique and operate within patriarchal discourses. Despite these contradictions, as I will discuss in Chapter Six, it is possible that women purposely situate their political selves within a patriarchal discourse to expose its contradictions and to safely legitimate their contestation for voice, representation and rights to the city while concomitantly transcending their characterization as spare tires, second fiddle and prostitutes.

CHAPTER 6 -"DANCING WITHOUT DRUMS": THE COMPLEXITIES OF WOMEN'S CLAIMS TO THE CITY

Introduction

There is too much stress for the women. All men do is spend money, go out to play, and come back, meanwhile the woman is stressing about, 'what will this child eat?' She'd be *dancing without drums* in the middle of the night. That stress is enough for the woman. (Desola, personal communication, June 27, 2011)

Lai si ilu, ko si ijo, lai si ijo ko si ilu (Without drums, there is no dancing. Without dancing there is no drumming) – Yoruba saying.

The above well-known Yoruba saying explains the symbiotic relationship between drumming and dancing in Nigerian culture. However, Desola's reference to dancing without drums signifies that the woman is worried and her state of restlessness means that far from being stationary, she is 'dancing' with anxiety. As such, 'dancing without drums' has negative connotation that this particular woman is forced to dance as she is struggling to figure out how to make ends meet without having necessary access to urban social justice. However, there is also a positive meaning: she is dancing and focused on finding solutions without the assistance of drums, that is, without her rights to the city being fulfilled. In this manner, I view dancing without drums as a defiant act and I connect it to how low-income women in Ibadan employ maternalism as a political strategy. I engage with mothering as the ability to care and provide for children in one's care. Ideally, mothering would be easier under just socio-economic conditions, but this ideal condition has been made increasingly difficult for low-income women in Ibadan as neoliberal policy has adversely affected them and exacerbated socio-economic disparities.

Though not a perfect parallelism, I would like to use creative license to view mothering as dancing and socio-economic justice as drums to highlight that women use mothering (dancing) to challenge the lack of socio-economic justice (drums) under neoliberalism in the city of Ibadan.

In this chapter, I want to revisit and challenge the notion that African women's valuing of motherhood distinguishes them from western feminism (see Acholonu, 1995; Akujobi, 2011; da Silva, 2004) by examining Ibadan women's rights claims to the city. I note that women's individual and collective actions against neoliberal government impositions utilizes motherhood to lever political attention. However, I argue that while motherhood is central to women's identity, women do not necessarily view it as being the essence of their identity. Rather, women perceive motherhood as integral to their assigned gender role; it is viewed as work and an experience and status that qualifies them to participate in decision-making. Accordingly, women use motherhood as a political strategy; because they are very much aware of patriarchal gender inequalities, they strategically act in a manner that colludes with the patriarchal script (see Kandiyoti, 1988). By examining women's actions in the city, I suggest that positioning themselves as mothers is a "foot in the door" technique and thereby a stepping stone to their broader commitments to social justice. I begin by providing a brief overview on the notion of the "right to the city", starting with Lefebvre's concept of the "right to the city" and moving towards a discussion of feminist understandings of this concept including the relevance of an ethics of care. I next examine the individual and collective actions of women in reaction to the restriction of their access to urban space in Ibadan, engaging with the literature on maternalism to tease out women's seemingly maternalist actions in Ibadan. I finally examine Ibadan women's imagined actions to posit that women's visions for the city can be interpreted as feminist. By imagined action, I refer to women's visions of actions that they would like to take if given the

opportunity. I claim that women have alternative plans for the city that are rooted in a rights-based agenda, with interests in attaining what Parnell and Pieterse (2010) term four generational rights to the city. These rights are crucial for attaining full urban citizenship as they focus on policies and interventions on the individual, household, neighbourhood and macro-environmental scale and extend beyond the first generational right of meeting basic human needs (Parnell & Pieterse, 2010, p. 146). I thus suggest that we must consider the possibility that motherhood is not the motivating factor for women's political claims but rather a strategic catalyst for a more revolutionary agenda.

The Right to the City

The notion of the right to the city is attributed to the French social theorist Henri Lefebvre, well known for his critique of the alienating conditions of everyday life and the rights of urban inhabitants to the city. In his 1968 book, *Le Droit à la Ville*, Lefebvre envisioned that "… the *right to the city* is like a cry and a demand...It …[is] a transformed and renewed right to urban life" (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 158; original emphasis). The concept of the right to the city prioritizes the rights of urban dwellers over those of capital and the state, thereby restructuring power relations involved in producing urban space (Purcell, 2003, pp. 101-102). For example, one of the ways in which the neoliberal city is exclusionary is through the "reshaping of urban spaces in order to revive city centres and attract global capital" (Swanson, 2007, p. 709). Many cities of the global south are being cleaned and beautified in their bid to become a recognizable modern city (Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah, 2008; Bromley & Mackie, 2008; Linehan, 2007). Street trading, in particular, is seen as an affront to these urban renewal projects. Given that economic restructuring has increased informality in the south (Bayat & Biekart, 2009), many people, especially women, are street vendors and are being harassed and excluded from public space

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(Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah, 2008; Linehan, 2007; Skinner, 2009). Other than their unaesthetic appeal, street traders are associated with congestion, unhygienic conditions, increase in street crime, and spread of disease (Bromley & Mackie, 2008, p. 1491), and thereby considered a threat to a progressive neoliberal urbanity (Swanson, 2007). Thus, street traders are often expelled from the streets or relocated; oftentimes, unwillingness to comply can lead to state sanctioned violence and/or fines and/or confiscation of goods (Swanson, 2007). While being relocated is often the better of these options, the new relocation sites cannot accommodate all of the displaced/expelled street traders (Bromley & Mackie, 2008). Additionally, they may require fees, be inconveniently located and may not be conducive for business (Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah, 2008).

Thus, vendors are denied their right to the city as cities become "increasingly shaped more by the logic of the market than the needs of their inhabitants" (Bayat & Biekart, 2009, p. 815).   As such, a key component of the concept of the right to the city entails the right to participate in decisions that pertain to the production of urban space and the right to appropriate (access, occupy, use and produce) urban space (Purcell, 2002, pp. 102-103). As David Harvey (2012) further adds,

> the right to the city is, therefore, far more than a right of individual or group access to resources that the city embodies: it is a right to change and reinvent the city more after our hearts' desire. It is moreover, a collective rather than an individual right, since reinventing the city inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power over the processes of urbanization. (p. 4)

Lefebvre's original idea of the right to the city has since been expanded upon, notably to address other forms of power relations outside of capitalist class relations. Of particular

importance to my work are feminist critiques. In Tovi Fenster's (2005) critique of Lefebvre's notion of the right to the city:

> …his definition does not relate to the notion of power and control, which are identity related and gender related. Therefore, his definition does not challenge any type of power relations (ethnic, national, cultural) let alone gendered power relations as dictating and affecting the possibilities to realize the right to use and the right to participate in urban life. (p. 219)

Her research on experiences of citizenship and belonging among residents of Jerusalem and London, UK, revealed that the restriction of women's rights to participate in and to use the city is caused by the "dominance of patriarchal power relations" in the home and in public. She asserts moreover that in discussions about the right to the city, the public is in the foreground at the expense of the private, eliding the right to the home. Fenster emphasizes that in "isolating the discussion on the right to the city from the right to the home, Lefebvre creates a rather neutral 'public' domain which is sterilized from any power relations and that has no relevance to the realities of many women in cities" (p. 221).

Lefebvre's neutral public domain and seemingly gender neutral urban dwellers have been further challenged by feminist demands for the right to a non-sexist city. A non-sexist city is a city that is safe for women (Watson, 2010), responsive to women's needs and everyday realities, and does not restrict women to the "domestic aspects of cities and urban life" (McDowell, 1983, p. 59). Some women have been active in their demands for a non-sexist city. For example, since the 1970s, there have been "Take back the night" marches in many cities across the globe to protest urban violence against women (Wekerle, 2000). Also, utopian visions

have been articulated by material feminists[104] as detailed in Dolores Hayden's (1981) *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities*, where feminist designers experimented with egalitarian designs that promoted socialized housework and daycare. More recently, women's experiential knowledge and everyday life has been applied in the planning of cities in Nordic countries (Wekerle, 2000, p. 209). However, the majority of the world's cities remain sexist as gender differences in everyday experiences and gender perspectives on urban policy issues remain peripheral to planning agendas. As Clara Greed (2010) points out, in order to have a non-sexist city, "one needs to change the education, worldview, imagination, culture, awareness, priorities, and gender composition of those who shape it" (p. 7).

Feminist geographers (Lawson, 2007; McDowell, 2004) have also suggested that a feminist ethics of care approach can play a pertinent role in safeguarding the right to the city as it offers "alternative visions and practices that challenge the competitive growth paradigm from the perspective of everyday life and claims for care and justice" (Wekerle, 2013, p. 142). The literature on a feminist ethics of care argues against the marginalization of values traditionally associated with women (Tronto, 1993). Virgina Held (2006) notes that "the ethics of care as a feminist ethic offers suggestions for the radical transformation of society. It demands not just equality for women in existing structures of society but equal consideration for the experience that reveals the values, importance, and moral significance of caring" (p. 12).

Since the early 1980s, scholars such as Sarah Ruddick (1980), Carol Gilligan (1982) and Nel Noddings (1984) have highlighted that women's thinking and reasoning need to be brought

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[104] Material feminists focus on gender inequalities such as the exploitation of women's domestic labour and focus on changing social conditions that propagate these inequalities rather than concentrating on laws and policies.

to the foreground in moral theorizing. Prior to this time, there was a male-centric approach to moral theorizing. Carol Gilligan's[105] finding that women tend to integrate a care perspective into their moral reasoning catalyzed the scholarship on the ethics of care which enabled the rejection of "dominant moral theories that the more abstract the reasoning about a moral problem the better because the more likely to avoid bias and arbitrariness" (Held, 2006, p. 11). Accordingly, caring cannot be restricted to the private realm and seen as something that is the natural property of women or "an irresistible impulse" (Tucker, 2006, p. 189) they possess, but rather should be understood as integral to the domain of the public and integrated into the political, social and economic. Thus,

> the care frame favors gender equity by promoting the status of care without valorizing maternal caregiving. It positions the need for care as a normal, healthy, predictable, and ongoing aspect of every human life, and represents women's caregiving experience as broadly normative rather than peripheral to the social order. (Tucker, p. 197)

I use a western feminist perspective on the ethics of care because there is currently a paucity of literature on this topic in African feminist scholarship. While there is copious literature on the importance of motherhood in African societies, the literature is often descriptive and tends to focus on using motherhood to make distinctions between African women and western women (see Chapter Two). Accordingly, sweeping statements such as "the most important and enduring identity and name that African women claim for themselves is 'mother'" (Oyewumi, 2000, p. 1097) are often made based on the premise that western feminists loathe mothering while discounting western literature on maternalist movements and mothering.

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[105] See Gilligan's (1982) work, *In a Different Voice,* in which she illustrates that women and men arrive at moral decisions differently. Her work has been criticized as being essentialist however and subsequent work on the ethics of care has addressed this issue of essentialism (Held, 2006).

However, Filomena Chioma Steady's (2011) *Women and Leadership in West Africa: Mothering the Nation and Humanizing the State* offers a more analytical view of motherhood. She argues that there is a strong connection between mothering and leadership. Steady highlights that the women in her study view political leadership as a natural extension of motherhood and that key values of motherhood such as nurturance, compassion, protection and peace have the potential to increase societal welfare in comparison to current male-dominated ideologies and practices (p. 239). Steady's analysis of the relationship between mothering and leadership resonates with the ethics of care approach even though its focus is on mothering.[106] It is important to note that although Steady's arguments have resonance for my research findings in this chapter, Steady's claims that "mothering the nation emerges as the most important indigenous theoretical framework for understanding female leadership in West Africa" (p. 235) and "theoretical proclivities of the dominant western feminist discourse tends to view motherhood as a serious impediment to gender equality, by implication, female leadership" (p. 239) are slightly unsettling. First, the values associated with mothering (and women) and its connection to ideal political leadership is not unique to Africa. Second, Steady did not adequately demonstrate that motherhood enhances female leadership in Africa. Given the claims on the importance of mothers in African societies and cultures, one would think that there would be more women in political positions. In addition, the over valorization of motherhood is often used within a patriarchal discourse as an excuse to exclude women from the political landscape.

In this chapter, I posit that Ibadan women are framing their rights to the neoliberal city in terms of an ethics of care. As Buker (2006) explains:

The ethic of care, developed by feminists, challenges two basic assumptions of liberal

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[106] Also, Steady's focus on mothering is essentializing.

theory. The first assumption is a challenge to the private/public split, which has placed

women in the private sphere with a focus on care for others, and men in the public sphere

with a focus on competition with others.[107] The second assumption is a challenge to the

source for moral authority that liberalism has located in the individual's consciousness.

The ethics of care relocates a portion of this authority in the collective political

community and argues for a moral imperative to provide care for those in need. (p. 55)

When feminist care ethics are prioritized, the autonomous individual propagated by

neoliberalism (see Lawson, 2007) is challenged and "new forms of relationships, institutions and

action that enhance mutuality and well-being" (Mahon & Robinson, 2011, p. 16) are able to

thrive. In order for a feminist care ethics to play a pertinent role in the 'right to the city', there

needs to be a "transformation of gender relations and the introduction of policies to achieve

greater equity between men and women in both the public and the private sphere" (McDowell,

2004, p. 157). An ethics of care approach enables the inclusion of women in decision-making

arenas while the "deliberative practice" (Tucker, 2006, p. 189) of caring associated with

women's social reproductive roles becomes politicized.

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[107] The public/private split in the western sense, is inapplicable to Yoruba women in South West
Nigeria because women (even though their domestic – wifely and mothering – duties are highly
valued) have historically played, and continue to play, a key role in the public arena of
production. As Patricia Stamp (1989) argues, it is through the colonial process and other western
forms of intervention that males have been rendered the 'legitimate' public while "women's
community have been relegated to the status of 'private' or informal to conform [sic] with
western ideology" (p. 116). Thus, while I do employ the ethics of care framework within an
African context, I am aware that the framework's use of the public/private dichotomy
inaccurately reflects the concept of the public in Ibadan.

"Good" Mothers?: Using Maternalism as a Political Strategy to Critique Neoliberal Urbanism

The low-income women I interviewed consistently highlighted the ramifications of neoliberalism on their ability to mother. Many of these women believe that 'good' mothering entails providing economically for their children. This belief has especially become more salient under neoliberal restructuring in Nigeria whereby social spending cuts since 1986 have significantly relied on women to absorb macroeconomic shocks. By comparison to the middle-class women I interviewed, these women have an increased burden in ensuring that their children have enough to eat and that their school fees are paid. An awareness of their increased burden and unjust social condition under neoliberal urbanism has propelled the women to publicly decry, both individually and collectively, the infraction on their ability to be good mothers.

Eighty one percent (n=26) of the low-income women in my study are employed primarily in the informal economy and out of those who are not, only two do not rely on the informal economy as a secondary source of income. Sixty nine percent (n=18) of those women in the informal economy are street traders. Some of these street traders not only struggle to provide for their children, their livelihood is also threatened by neoliberal urban beautification projects. Since 2011, as briefly discussed in Chapter Four, the current administration of Governor Ajimobi has been pursuing an urban renewal agenda that entails "cleaning up the streets." During some of my interviews that took place on the sides of the roads in Ibadan, some of the women, as highlighted by my conversation with Victoria, expressed their fears regarding the government crack down on street trading:

> Victoria: … they should have mercy on us because it was we who voted for them - they shouldn't chase us.

Grace: They shouldn't chase you?

Victoria: From the street. How we will eat is all we are looking for.

Grace: Okay, so you are scared that they could chase you any day?

Victoria: Yes, because that's what they are saying. They said they will chase all those on the side of the street. (Personal communication, August 4, 2011)

One woman was also very vigilant throughout the duration of our interview, ready to run and hide if need be. She had briefly mentioned that government officials had come to chase them away previously but she had returned because her livelihood was at stake if she had complied with them.

Accordingly, despite fears of being removed and possibly fined, the women prioritized their individual economic interest by retaining their access to the market so as to ensure they remained 'good' mothers. Clearly, the women's actions do not betray the rational neoliberal subject that is propounded by neoliberal ideology. In other words, they remained entrepreneurial subjects but not in the way the state envisaged it. They were prepared to subvert state policy because it challenged their roles as 'good' mothers. One salient memory for me was while I was in a car with a civil servant who, when we passed by a particular woman street trader, expressed disappointment that the very woman she expelled just a few days prior was back in the same spot. I, on the other hand, marveled at the woman's brazen subversion because she was the only street trader around[108] and therefore a highly visible target for 'punishment'. I understood, however, based on my discussions with the women in my study, that women like her resist because they have children at home to care for; motherhood is clearly a potent justification for disobedience.

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[108] There are some places in Ibadan that only have a few street traders, whereas there are others where street traders are highly concentrated.

Women also employ motherhood as a political strategy at the collective level. On August 4, 2011, while I was conducting interviews in the high-density Yemetu community, I witnessed my first all women protest in Ibadan. There were at least fifty women (some had their children with them) who were marching towards the state government secretariat[109] while chanting and carrying placards protesting against unfair police taxation. I do not have specific details about this protest;[110] however, I believe the little amount of information I gathered will suffice. The police would not allow them to trade their goods unless they paid a particular sum of money, a 'tax', to them. The women were calling the police thieves and made it clear that they refused to pay money arguing that the particular urban space where they conducted their trade should be tax-free. They needed as much of their money as possible to feed their children and pay their school fees. This protest reveals women's contestation of the power structures that lay claims over urban space in Ibadan. By engaging in this protest, they are asserting their rights to the city and their rights to pursue their economic interests. Interestingly, although women were promoting their individual economic interest (for the sake of their families), the fact that they organized as a group highlights that in the contemporary neoliberal city, social rights play a critical mobilizing role in the fight for the right to the city (Peake & Rieker, 2013).

Motherhood is the most viable platform for the low-income women to use to criticize the injustices of neoliberal policies; their claims to urban space would not have been taken seriously if they had resisted on the basis of gender equality. Given that Nigeria is a patriarchal society, as discussed in Chapter Five, women are often expected to limit their public voice and focus on being 'good' wives and mothers. However, they deploy patriarchy to obtain voice and strive for political identity by highlighting that being a 'good' mother and asserting a public voice cannot

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[109] As discussed in Chapter Five, the state plays a prominent role in Ibadan politics.
[110] I searched the local newspapers the following day for news of the protest to no avail.

be mutually exclusive. This is very similar to the mothers of the disappeared movement in Argentina whereby "collective mothering [was used] as a basis for social and political activism" (Burchianti, 2004, p. 21) to protest against the forced and unjust disappearance of their children by the military dictatorship (1976-1983). The mothers' protest was also viewed as a stance against the neoliberal policies of the military state that urged citizens to prioritize the interests of the state over social justice issues (Taylor, 2001). The women made a conscious decision to agitate against the state as mothers because it was "viable and practical" (Taylor, p. 106), allowing them to "perform their culturally appropriate role as 'good mothers'" (Burchianti, 2004, p. 141) in an oppressive patriarchal state that values mothering. The Liberian women's peace movement during the civil war (1989-2003) also leveraged discourses of motherhood. They claimed that they deserved to be listened to because of "their experience as household diplomats with the recognized authority to settle the disputes of their children" (Moran, 2012, p. 59). Thus, the women viewed themselves as the ones to instigate peace among the "fighting children". Their culturally accepted roles as mothers emboldened them to occupy public space as activists and demand for peace until they were heard and changes began to take place (Arvidsson, 2010).

As such, equality claims to the city, made by Ibadan women as mothers, may be considered more acceptable and less confrontational as they are not necessarily challenging patriarchal norms but rather living up to the expectation to be 'good' mothers. Moreover, from a political economy perspective, low-income women have little political influence and economic power, thus motherhood is the most viable base for resistance.

"We will Care for the City": Motherhood, Ethics of Care and Political Entry

In literature on western maternalism, it is noted that it is middle-class women who often deploy maternalism to gain political entry and to establish "institutions, policies or legislation

directed at poor or working-class women and children" (Michel, 2012, p. 24). There is also some similarities in the Nigerian context. As noted in Chapter Five, the National Council for Women's Societies (NCWS) used the discourse of motherhood to gain political attention but stipulated that women's role was solely for nation building and not to contend with men in the political arena. However, in my research context, the maternalism employed by the Ibadan women does not restrict them to traditional maternal and domestic roles. Although they leverage the existing gender order in their struggles, they do not necessarily support this order. Moreover, it was often low-income women who used motherhood discourses to resist neoliberal imposition and gain political attention.

As I have alluded to in both Chapters Four and Five, the middle-class women's first political recourse is not maternalism, though this does not mean that motherhood is not important to them. The women who do not collude with the state, sometimes have access to the political arena because of their class privilege or because they have the educational background to legitimize and frame their claims around gender issues that have been receiving international attention. For example, some middle-class women like Tobi spoke out on violence against women, which speaks to Fenster's (2005) argument on private rights to the city:

> If there is a fight between husband and wife in Nigeria now - I had a cause like that years ago. It was my husband and I; we had this quarrel… I went [to the police station] and they said 'ah it's husband and wife thing, don't answer her'. And they did not answer me you know. That is bad. They should hear me. Whatever I want to say. They should not say it's husband and wife thing. Even if it's husband and wife thing - that's why some women are killed or murdered because the women will not want to go anywhere because she feels or thinks nobody will answer anyway. We've heard cases of brutalization

against wives by husbands and the wife will run to the parents and the parents will say, "no way, go back". And eventually the woman died. You know because they think the woman should not talk. So women they don't talk. They think, "well, this is my lot". All those ones should talk. Women should be heard. Women should be given chance to express themselves…(Personal communication, July 10, 2011)

Clearly, Tobi, who also pastors her own church and thereby a staunch Christian, has no qualms with overtly denouncing certain patriarchal traditions. Further, a few of the middle-class women I interviewed are members of the Zonta club of Ibadan. Zonta is an international organization comprising executive and professional women dedicated to advancing women's status. The Zonta club of Ibadan is dedicated to community service and promotion of gender equality. For example, Zonta members demonstrated in Ibadan on December 4, 2012 to decry violence against women. This protest was part of the campaign of the UN Women's Sixteen Days of Activism against Gender Violence. Their target audience was the Oyo State House of Assembly members whom they were trying to persuade to legislate on violence against women (Ajayi, 2012).

In comparison to some western maternalist movements, Ibadan women do not have romanticized visions of family life (Michel, 2012) – because socio-economic circumstances and infrastructural deficiencies make their motherhood and domestic reality very difficult. As Mora (2006) points out in relation to Chile:

The representation of womanhood as demanding self-sacrifice and a duty towards children and husband does not imply working-class women's unconditional acceptance of traditional gender ideologies. Women indicate a keen sense of awareness of the lack of economic and social opportunities and of the sacrifices they have to endure, and often, anguish at the realization of the daily hardships of motherhood and home life. (p. 51)

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Mora's argument that working-class women do not accept traditional gender ideologies unconditionally is further demonstrated in my conversation with Tayo below:

Grace: You said that you go fetch water?

Tayo: We go fetch water.

Grace: But you don't desire to?

Tayo: I don't desire to be going to fetch water. It's too far. We go to Oke Ado to fetch water. That's where we go to fetch water. We can go to Liberty too.

Grace: So you could be pregnant 8 months and be going there?

Tayo: Even more than that. We have to bathe. And my husband also needs to bathe.

Grace: Does your husband also fetch water?

Tayo: No. It's just me.

Grace: Even if you're heavily pregnant?

Tayo: Not my husband. Men don't work in this neighbourhood.

Grace: Why?

Tayo: Ah! They won't work oh. *Walai*, I'm not lying. In God's name I'm not lying. Men don't help us to do work here. Men don't work. They don't fetch water. We have to go and fetch water ourselves. If it's keg we have to carry, if we happen to have enough money for vehicle - from Liberty, you know Liberty?

Grace: Yes.

Tayo: Yes, we could be fetching water from there and bring it home.

Grace: Okay. Why don't men work?

Tayo: We don't know why men don't work. That's the suffering they put us through. They don't fetch water with us, they don't take care of women in Nigeria.

Grace: Have you spoken with your husband to say, "please o, help me with this…?"

Tayo: … May God do what we desire for us. If we have water close to us, there would be no problem for us. If water is close to us there is no need. There are some places, you see in this Nigeria, if a man does work with his wife, they will think that the wife has put a spell on him. Do you understand? That's what's happening in Nigeria now. Even if a man were to sweep, they will be like "she's taken the pants from him, she's given him a dress. She's put a spell on him." That's what they'll be saying. …that's what they will be shouting. Do you understand? May God not let us put a spell on our husband. (Personal communication, July 20, 2011)

Although displeased with the gender division of labour and cultural discourses surrounding gender with which she lives, Tayo is careful in her framing of the issue. In order to maintain her image as a good Muslim and Yoruba woman, she does not suggest that men should be involved in social reproductive work. Instead, she wants God to divinely intervene in the provision of easier access to water so as to reduce the time and burden allocated to water collection. However, I would argue that the only reason why she is quick to point to this solution, rather than advocate for shared domestic responsibilities is because she fears the cultural and religious backlash.[111] Other low-income women, both Christian and Muslim, also shared Tayo's sentiments and thus had more proclivity towards tolerating the status quo than towards stirring the proverbial hornet's nest. I should be quick to point out that although the norm, not all Nigerian men are like those depicted by Tayo. My interview with Solape, a middle-class Christian woman, was filled with praises for her late husband, whom she called "liberated":

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[111] Tayo had implied in a previous conversation, quoted in another section, that the sharing of housework in response to women's increased financial responsibility would be ideal.

Solape: …my husband, he was an exceptional person. He was a professor of mathematics. .... *I call him a liberated man*, ... he did not inhibit me in anyway.

Grace: Hmm.

Solape: In fact, positively he encouraged and supported me, you know.

Grace: There are not a lot like that.

Solape: No, there are not many. And he was somebody who I mean, like he would - you know our house help closes at five or seven. He may even, he would wash after dinner he said he loves washing up so that he can be thinking about his math and washing at the same time you know. Ahh so again that made it easier for me to be myself.

Grace: Hmm.

Solape: I don't have to be afraid that I don't want to outshine him and this and that. I had no inferiority complex or anything he didn't feel that we were competing you know and I believe he very much saw my progress, as his own. I will show you this thing in a minute when we finish, when I was given an honorary Doctorate Degree at Uppsala University…

Grace: Oh in Sweden?

Solape: In Sweden, yes. I trained partly in Sweden and this was in 2003 I think. [In] 2003 he went with me to receive that award and not only that, he took it on himself to have it framed and it was his own idea he designed this frame and called the carpenter and so on and I mean to me he was as... I will get too emotional if I talk about him because he was just extraordinary so with that kind of person ... he didn't mind my travelling, in fact when I went for my PhD oral exams, I had to go to Stockholm for it...I went in July, we had a 3 month old baby whom I left with him

Grace: Wow.

Solape: Yes that's the one in Toronto now, he didn't even... he didn't even question me

like, "ah, ah what do you mean you're going?" (Personal communication, July 26, 2011)

Solape's experience clearly shows that it is possible to have men who would be able to set aside

constraining gender ideologies. Her concept of the "liberated men" is a step towards social

transformations that reflect women's desires for gender equality.

Although women are critical of traditional gender ideologies that foster inequality,

motherhood is a pertinent aspect of many of my interviewee's identities. Interviewees in both

social classes proposed that women's experiences of motherhood and domesticity should gain

them entry into city politics. Being in charge of and caring for the city is not something they

consider challenging or believe they are unqualified for. They view the political as an extension

of the duties and responsibilities they execute daily. In this sense, they feel they possess an ethics

of care that makes them more qualified for city politics than their male counterparts:

Ebun: The man is important too but a woman is important because she is very very

caring. Women, we are mothers for the men. If there are no women, the city will not

grow because a woman will know what's right at the right time. (Personal

communication, July 7, 2011)

Mojisola: …What the men cannot do, because, you know that the men they like

enjoyment, that they would first take care of themselves first before they remember the

city. But woman, a woman is someone who is kind. If a woman is in charge, in charge of

the government, so, everything that is not in Nigeria, she will make sure it exists. Like

free health care, will now exist. They will build schools. So they will take care of the city,

if it is that there is no safety. Like how we said there is no toilet, no bathroom, they will

do it all for us. Everything will go well. Whoever doesn't have a job, will have a job. Whoever is lacking, they will take care of him/her. So there will be a major difference. (Personal communication, July 15, 2011)

Busola: …women will even be better in politics. You can see the woman has a tender heart. They are not so rigid…and being a mother, passing through motherhood stage, taking care of children, you know, you should be able to know how to take care of the society you know the way you take good care of your children, you will take good care of them. You have the experience of taking care of the little ones and relating with people. Unlike the men some of them don't have direct contact with the children… (Personal communication, July 30, 2011)

Tobi: Ibadan would be different because men have been there all over the years and this is where we find ourselves. I want to believe that if a woman is there - a woman is like the caretaker, a woman puts things in order, a woman does not want to fail. All those put together will make Ibadan a better city. (Personal communication, July 18, 2011)

Although the majority of the women used the experiences of motherhood as a justification for women's entry into the political arena, low-income women also added that having more women in decision-making would improve Ibadan's development because they have better knowledge of the city, food security issues, and water and sanitation issues. Therefore, their inclusion in urban planning and decision-making processes would entail investment in infrastructure and a reduction in the 'reproduction tax'[112] on women (Chant, 2007, p. 52). For example, Adeola expressed that:

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[112] This refers to women's time burden spent on unpaid social reproductive work.

Adeola: If a woman is councilor or governor … she may look at all the things that - like right now you know for us to fetch water and throw out the garbage that is women's work, not men's?

Grace: Yes.

Adeola: So a woman may think, people are suffering from things like this. Like the water I said we don't have right now, she could find a neighbourhood and provide water for them. She may look at things and say, "ah, the women they don't have where they will be throwing trash." She'd provide a vehicle that will be throwing the waste away for them. (Personal communication, August 1. 2011)

Such reasoning was more common among low-income women because most of these issues are connected to the socio-spatial inequalities present in the city and their social-reproductive work, which have little resonance for middle-class women. For example, the major challenge Bukky, a middle-class woman, identified in her life is:

Bukky: You know the challenges I face now as a housewife really have to do with staff. You know as I said, I'm out of the house all day. I can wake up in the morning and the housekeeper may not turn up.

Grace: Oh.

Bukky: Now I have a running battle with my gardeners. I have two of them. I've not seen them and my flowers are due for trimming. So you know a lot of staff you don't have people who can do it. The quality of services that you get now is very bad. (Personal communication, August 26, 2011)

In contrast, Tayo, describes her challenge as, "we don't have a toilet here, we also don't

have water here. We have to go to Oke Ado to get water" (personal communication, July 20, 2011). Thus, the low-income women argued that because of their experiences, they would have more insight on how to formulate, plan and implement policies and programs to address some of the abovementioned issues. Although women make claims to the political arena based on very specific gender ideologies, it does not imply that they will promote an agenda that focuses solely on motherhood and domestic issues when given the opportunity to be in charge (Rakowski, 2003). Rather, I argue that they are akin to what Molly Ladd-Taylor calls progressive maternalists, as they combine "their motherhood rhetoric with progressive appeals to justice and democracy, rather than morality and social order… [Further, they stake] their claim to authority … not on their feminine capacity to nurture but on their professional expertise" (cited in Michel, 2012, p. 27). This was also the case with the women's movement in Latin America in the 1980s. Safa's (1990) research on Latin American women's movement highlights that women protested against the state because of its role in deterring them from effectively executing their roles as wives and mothers. The women "redefin[ed] and transform[ed] their domestic role from one of private nurturance to one of collective, public protest, and in this way challenge[d] the traditional seclusion of women into the private sphere of the family" (p. 355). Safa argues that although the Latin American women's movement was originally rooted in traditional notions of gender and not designed to challenge gender subordination, the subsequent inclusion of women into the political sphere revealed a redefinition of their "roles from a purely domestic image as guardians of the private sphere into equal participants as citizens in a democratic state" (p. 363). Similarly, in my research, women leverage patriarchal discourses surrounding gender to legitimize women's entry into the political realm.

Women's Feminist Visions for Ibadan

My conversation with the women concerning what they would hypothetically do if they were in charge of decision-making in Ibadan revealed that they are not restricted to safeguarding the patriarchal order of the day. Rather, they were more interested in broader equality claims and working on an agenda that caters to the people and attains what Parnell and Pieterse (2010) term four generational rights to the city:

[First generation rights are] the demand for political representation at the local or municipal level and the affirmation of the right to food, water and shelter are crucial for individual and household advancement in the city... . [Second generation rights are socio-economic rights] … achieved through the sustained delivery of affordable urban services to households and neighbourhoods (not individuals), and through viable service administration and finances, not just through infrastructural investment. [Third generation rights include] … the right to the city or a safe environment, to mobility or to public spaces. …What we term third generation rights form part of the public good and are more easily claimed in places that are free of environmental risk and economic and social exclusion. Implementation of these second and third generation rights (one might add fourth generation rights to climate-secure cities) rests on robust and capable subnational structures — contrary to neoliberal imperatives for lean and fragmented institutional state arrangements. Fourth generational rights include freedom from externally induced anthropogenic risk such as war, economic volatility or climate change. (pp. 148-9)

The first and second generational rights were very important to the low-income women, though some middle-class women also mentioned them and third generation rights were important to all the women, though more of a first priority for middle-class women. Fourth generational rights

were not discussed by the women perhaps because the fulfilment of the first three generational rights seem like pressing needs that could be fulfilled in the short-term. The following discussions on food security, housing, education, health care, infrastructures and amenities, and women and youth highlight the issues that were recurring themes that women consider to be top priorities for Ibadan.

Food Security

As discussed extensively in Chapter Four, low-income women struggle with food security because their purchasing power is incongruent with food prices. Accordingly, when discussing their vision for Ibadan, food security came up as a first generational rights issue. Most of the women focused on ensuring access to food at affordable prices. Tola, for example, noted that, "what is most important is the issue of food in the city and how the price will come down… that's what I would first focus on" (personal communication, August 2, 2011). Other women, like Victoria, also discussed that they will give money to women to purchase food items that they desire:

> Victoria: ah all those women who don't have food, who are begging for money, I will
> first settle them.
> Grace: What would you do for them?
> Victoria: I will give them money so they will find food to eat... You know there are some
> women who are sitting and are begging for money on the side of the street. (Personal
> communication, August 4, 2011)

While the recurrent themes were on reduction of food prices or giving out money, two women focused on food sovereignty, thus shedding light on the interconnectedness of city food systems and food security (Riley & Legwegoh, 2013). Jemimah noted that she would provide

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free fertilizers as an incentive for urban farming so that there could be food surplus: "if there's too much food in the city - it is not a problem" (personal communication, August 19, 2011). Meanwhile Ife, a middle-class Master's student, suggested that she would focus on large scale farming:[113]

> …large farms. Large scale farms. Not necessarily plantations but large farms. Farms that are large enough … they will provide job opportunities for young graduates and they would provide food for the state. Because in Ibadan, there is hardly anything growing in Ibadan. Most of the things sold in the markets are brought in from other states. Including meat and fish. Yah. Tomatoes, pepper, rice, all those things. They are usually brought from the north, so we don't have farms in Ibadan. We don't produce anything in Ibadan. (Personal communication, August 21, 2011)

As food is an essential aspect of daily life, it is important to the low-income women to ensure that people, particularly women, are provided for and do not suffer from lack of food. However, Jemimah and Ife's insight on the need to increase Ibadan's food sovereignty and food surplus is an important and sustainable approach to food security. A sovereign urban food system is also more compatible and feasible with the goals of providing food at lower prices.

Housing

Good housing quality is an essential first generational rights issue in Ibadan. For the low-income women in my study, housing is supposed to consist of more than just a roof over one's head, as basic services and facilities are also imperative. As pointed out in a recent study on housing quality in Ibadan:

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[113] Note that Ife was the only middle-class woman who focused on urban food security issues in her visions for Ibadan. However, her focus was not on the people who are impacted by food insecurity but rather an issue of practicality and sensibility that Ibadan should be producing its own food so that food does not have to be expensive.

The quality of a residential area not only mirrors the city development, planning

and allocation mechanisms between socio-economic groups, but also shows the

quality of life of the urbanites. The realisation of a decent home in a suitable living

environment requires the availability of clean air, potable water, adequate shelter

and other basic services and facilities. (Coker, Awokola, Olomolaiye & Booth,

2007, para. 5)

Throughout the interviews, many low-income women complained about their housing situation

and their limited access to potable water. The women in Foko additionally criticized the dearth of

basic sanitation in their area. For example, Amara, a resident of the high-density area of Foko,

expressed her dissatisfaction with her living conditions, including the congested nature of her

accommodation:

Grace: … where you're living now, what is it like?

Amara: There's nothing. It doesn't look like anything good at all. There's no

toilet,[114] there's no bathroom, there's no kitchen.[115]

Grace: Okay, so how many rooms do you have where you're living here?

Amara: Here? It's one room.

Grace: How many are living in that one room?

Amara: About six of us. (Personal communication, July 15, 2011)

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[114] The women I interviewed in Foko informed me that they do not have toilets in their houses or communal toilets nearby. Rather, they use the outdoors and defecate in nylon bags that they later dispose of in a nearby neighbourhood (this is discussed further in the Infrastructure and Amenities section).
[115] The women in Foko mentioned to me that they cook outside and/or in the corridor of the place where they live.

Some women's discontentment with the living conditions in their neighbourhood has prompted them to desire government intervention to reduce the negative externalities produced by poor housing:

> Mojisola: If they come and do the bathroom [and] all the gutter. If they can come and [fix] all of it. So, the houses that are falling apart, they should come and re-build them all. It shouldn't be that a child will play near there and the house will crumble. [Fixing the houses] will make us satisfied. (Personal communication, July 15, 2011)

> Nai'mah: There are some houses in my area that ought to be condemned because they don't have suckaway.[116] Whenever they flush their toilets you'll know in the fifth building that someone is flushing the toilet and the tenants don't have money to rent another house. The government needs to take care of such things; it does affect the whole area. The tenants are trying to manage the housing. (Personal communication, June 22, 2011)

Mojisola and Nai'mah's comments reflect a perspective that housing is a social service requiring government intervention. Specifically, they want the government to play a critical role in "the setting of standards for housing (space, health and sanitation, amenities) in view of public health consequences of bad housing on the populace" (Olotuah & Bobadoye, 2009, p. 59).

Despite the large number of women who expressed dissatisfaction with their housing quality, only two women focused on housing as part of the policy actions they would take if they played a role in decision-making in Ibadan. These two women briefly mentioned that they would

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[116] Suckaway is a common lingo for sewage/waste disposal system.

improve and subsidize housing as part of their vision for Ibadan. This is in sharp contrast to the current and historical public sector intervention in housing which have often benefitted middle-income families instead of improving the housing situation of the urban poor (see Ilesanmi, 2012; Olotuah & Bobadoye, 2009). Busola's discussion on housing was part of her vision of making people comfortable as she strongly believes that when people are comfortable, there will be fewer disturbances and more peace in the city:

> Well, I'll first make people comfortable. Whatever is the problem, make them comfortable - provide food for them, the houses also. Let them have shelter, where to stay, clothe them very well. …When they are comfortable … You may not even see robbers going about stealing when their wives are comfortable at home.
>
> (Personal communication, June 30, 2011)

Atinuke believes that housing should be a social right whereby everyone has access to good quality and affordable housing. As such, her vision for Ibadan is to have more government housing for low-income people:

> …not everybody can afford it because not everybody has money to build [a] house. But the one that is for government, it will not be the one that will be expensive, it will be the one that can be acquired. So in terms of housing [the government] should also be trying to build some houses and subsidize the rate for people so that everybody will acquire houses. (Personal communication, June 30, 2011)

Atinuke's vision clearly challenges the non-statist perspective that "the unfettered market forces of demand and supply should determine housing consumption; and that the ability of the individual to pay should determine production and provision of housing, without regard to the housing needs of people" (Ilesanmi, 2012, p. 4).

Although Busola and Atinuke explicitly addressed housing as part of their vision for Ibadan, the other women who complained about their housing situation also expressed their individualized desires to move into better housing or their own homes. The new and improved housing would address issues of congested accommodation, water, and sanitation as expressed by Ayesha and Adeola below:

Grace: … Please ma, it seems like you said that you desire to have your own house

Ayesha: I desire it o!

Grace: So if you have the opportunity to build your own house now, what would you put there, how many rooms would it have?

Ayesha: Eight rooms!

Grace: Eight rooms. How would it look? Please explain.

Ayesha: Ehn. It'll be nice, it'll be fine. It'll have water, it will have everything. It will have a well. It will have tap water. It will have a toilet. There is nothing that will not be there. (Personal communication, August 5, 2011)

Adeola: That place would be fine o. Because as we're all crowded together now that's not [ideal]. You know if we have a 3 bedroom or 4 bedroom flat, my children will have their own room. I will also have my own room. My husband will also have his own room. (Personal communication, August 1, 2011)

In most of the discussions, both Muslim and Christian women invoked God when they were talking about changing their housing situation; there is a strong reliance on faith and hope in God's provision:

Grace: What are the things you need so as to make life easier?

Bunmi: I live in a rented house, *God should provide my own house for me* and do good in my life, then life will be much easier.

Grace: Which type of house do you want to build?

Bunmi: If I build my own house, I will make a well and try to circulate water around the house, I will try to make things easy for me. (Personal communication, July 7, 2011; emphasis added)

Tola: All I see is that, you know, *may God build one's own house for one*. It's not easy living in someone else's house. There's no one who doesn't know how expensive housing is getting. But if God helps one with their work and they are making good profit, you know, to buy land, how long will it take? And *God will intercede* and one will succeed. *May God provide my own house for me.* (Personal communication, August 2, 2011; emphasis added)

Fatima: … *If God builds a house, a house of joy* for me.

Grace: Where would you like to build that house?

Fatima: *Only God can.*

Grace: Is there a particular neighbourhood?

Fatima: *Only God can* build for us. We haven't bought land. We don't have land. *If God finds a land* for us, there is nowhere one cannot build it. (Personal communication, August 5, 2011; emphasis added)

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Morenike: *God should provide for us* so that we can buy land, build house and move

there. (Personal communication, July 7, 2011; emphasis added)

The women have a strong faith that relies on the permissive will of God as well as their

expectations of what God should do for them. To both the Muslim and the Christian women,

God is viewed as being in control and shaping one's destiny. The saliency of religion in the

women's lives and perceptions, particularly as it relates to the promise of a better life, cannot be

undermined. Even when all else has failed them, as the common Nigerian pidgin phrase

states,*"god dey"* – that is, "there is still God." There is a greater reliance on God's divine

providence than that of human beings who may continue to disappoint them.

In summation, low-income women want their housing quality to improve. They no longer

want to "just manage" like many expressed to me during their interviews. To some, government

intervention is key to improving their housing quality and quality of life. Many others talked

about the power God has to provide better housing and improve their lives.

Education

Free education, particularly primary and secondary, was a key second generational right

to the city for low-income women. The women expressed their dismay with the retrenchment of

the state in education matters. The education sector benefitted tremendously from Nigeria's oil

boom in the 1970s; during this time, universal primary education was introduced and secondary

and post-secondary education were heavily subsidized (Adejumobi, 2000, p. 209). The economic

crisis of the 1980s adversely affected government expenditure on education and led to an

increase in the privatization of education**.** Public education remains underfunded and is often

considered to be low quality. Due to cuts in social spending, some complained that public

education is not completely free as explained by Funke:

Because if we say, "don't go to private school go to public school" when we now bring the child to public school the money they are collecting is almost the same as private school - and it shouldn't be like that. They said they should pay PTA money, pay for block, pay for toilet, pay for lesson, pay for everything. And it wasn't like that before. (Personal communication, June 21, 2011)

Some women enroll their children (or grandchildren) in private school sometimes because there are no public schools nearby or because they want their children to obtain better education than that which poorly funded public schools have to offer. It is important to note that private schools have different fee levels, and these private schools that some of the women's children go to cannot be compared to the schools that the more well-to-do children attend. Often, these schools are only slightly better than the public schools. Unfortunately, some children are unable to finish high school or enroll in tertiary education because the mothers cannot afford the required fees. Prior to the 1980s, federal universities charged minimal or no tuition fees but now, higher education has become increasingly inaccessible for low-income families because of high tuition fees of both federal and private universities (Uwakwe, Falaye, Emunemu, & Adelore, 2008, p. 163). One of my interviewees had uncontrollable tears streaming down her face when she explained to me that she continues to struggle to pay her children's fees because she wants them to have a good education so that they can improve their lot in life. Yet other mothers who struggle to pay school fees are discouraged from continuing as there are no job opportunities available for their children once they finish their schooling (Okafor, 2011).

Thus, for the women, in discussions about their visions for Ibadan, education was a top priority:

Toluwanimi: I will first focus on children. The students. The school fee that they are

paying now is too much. It's the rich that they want to be educated they don't want the

poor to be educated. There is too much suffering. Do you understand me? (Personal

communication, August 2, 2011)

Jemimah:…ah education. [It's the] most important - the school fees that are so

expensive.

Grace: School fees for primary?

Jemimah: Higher, and primary there is none that isn't expensive. Is it those who haven't

eaten that will now do that for their children?

Grace: Would you decrease the fees or just do free schooling?

Jemimah: If I have the power to do free school, I would do it. The school fees would be

decreased. (Personal communication, August 19, 2011)

In addition to providing free education, another woman, Remi, mentioned that she would also

ensure the free supply of books and free food during school hours:

[I will provide] free education. Government school - you know it was free before. They

had free books. And the government helps out with that...when they had free books

before, things were much easier…[I will be] taking care of students … they should eat.

Food that they eat in the morning, they shouldn't eat it in the afternoon. What they eat in

the afternoon they shouldn't eat in the evening. [Diversifying the food] can bring good

health/nutrition, it will deter sickness in the body of the children. But the food that they

eat three times in a row, it will not have any meaning in their body. (Personal

communication, July 28, 2011)

Middle-class women rarely mentioned the provision of free education. However, Bukky, a university professor working in the field of education, remarked that she would improve the learning environment as well as prohibit any form of child labour that deters children from attending school:

> Bukky: One of the things I would focus on is the issue of the children, the schools maybe because I am in education. You know schools, a good environment for students to learn
>
> Grace: And what is good? What qualifies as a good environment?
>
> Bukky: In terms of even the physical infrastructure - the environment. As a teacher I've gone to supervise students in the teaching practice and I've found students sitting on the floor and I think back to when I went to a private primary school and also for secondary school, a missions school. And I think back to the environment which we were educated, I don't know what kids can learn in that type of environment.
>
> Grace: Okay.
>
> Bukky: In terms of the kind of interactions you have in terms of provision, education that would be one thing I'll want to focus on. That and then the issue of health care there are so many kids I've come across that they have problems with their eyes. They have speech problems it's so sad that you have young children and we don't have speech therapists who can help them. In terms of things that are abroad you can use hearing aid. If a child does not hear, you can use hearing aid. If a child can't see, you can use glasses… so all the things has to do with health and education. They are quite important and then when you go out you see so many kids on the streets hawking. Hawking, you know. And there is nothing to enforce their rights to remain in school. I was speaking to someone. I went to visit her [and] she had a houseboy. I said, "this boy is not yet 11 he should be in

school!" So what is he doing full time? He's a houseboy and my heart went out to him. And I imagine that in another ten years, he would have lost out on everything, you know. So an education that should enforce all those kids to stay in school and not be put to labour. So I think those are the needs. …your heart breaks when you see it. Cause I know there was a day we were going along the road and my husband stopped and saw a young girl, she was selling ground nuts. She carried it to him. My husband was like how much is all this? And he paid for all. I said, "no, no, no collect it because if you don't collect it she's going to go back and sell." Because you see all the people come and buy, you know, and just harassing her. So those are the things that [I] would want to see changed. (Personal communication, August 26, 2011)

Overall, the vision for education entails an increased investment through the provision of free schooling in a high-quality learning environment that includes a free meal program. There is also a desire to ensure that all children, regardless of social class, are given the opportunity to be educated. A key step to making this desire a reality involves the curbing of child labour that deters children from attending school.

Health Care

Health care was also a major second generation right concern for many of the women, particularly low-income women. In Nigeria, like many other sub-Saharan African countries, primary, secondary and tertiary health care receive little public financing and households end up bearing the cost of health expenditure through 'out-of-pocket' payments or user fees (Ogunbekun, Ogunbekun, & Orobaton, 1999; Olakunde, 2012). The majority of government-owned health-care facilities are in a dilapidated condition, thereby increasing the demand for the private health-care sector (Hargreaves, 2002; Ogunbekun et al., 1999). Furthermore, available

healthcare services in urban areas are inadequate due to challenges such as shortage of practitioners, infrastructures, and drugs (Sule et al., 2008). Given these circumstances, wealthy Nigerians seek health care abroad or pay exorbitant fees to access high quality private health care in Nigeria while many poor Nigerians often resort to self-medication, traditional medicines, or delay seeking professional healthcare until their health condition deteriorates drastically. These practices often aggravate ailments, increase overall costs of treatment, and can be fatal (Adeniyi, 2006).

During the interviews, many low-income women talked about ensuring the provision of free health care, where medical care and drugs would be free for all. As Funke mentioned, she would "take care of how we will bring things that will bring healing to people - I'll say they can use it for free. I will not let them suffer from lack of money…" (personal communication, June 21, 2011). In addition to eliminating fees, some also mentioned that they would build hospitals in areas where there are none. For example, Titilola spoke of building a hospital in her area, Foko, to meet the needs of the people:

> You know that now, when I get to a neighbourhood like this and they don't have toilet, water, and hospital and it is something that they must have - in 6 months to 1 year, I will do that…And they will say yes, this person is ready to do what she wants to do and it is the person that they know will do what she says she will do. Everything that they need is what I will do for them. They would be happy to have elected me as councilor. (Personal communication, July 21, 2011)

Others also spoke of the need to reinstate the non-functioning hospitals like the one described by Jemimah below:

> Jemimah: There are no hospitals. The one we have, there are no drugs

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Grace: The one there that they wrote MDG[117] in front of it? Did they just build it?

Jemimah: Ehn it's been there for a while, but there is no medicine. If you bring a child there, there are no workers. Workers that they won't pay, will they stay?

Grace: Okay.

Jemimah: There's no medicine. Nothing. May God not let anything bad happen [because] *if one doesn't have money, one's life has been wasted*. (Personal communication, August 19, 2011; emphasis added)

The staffing issue highlighted by Jemimah has become far too common. Although Nigeria currently trains many health care professionals, like several developing countries, Nigeria loses many trained health practitioners to developed economies due to the prospects of higher remuneration. Health care practitioners in government-funded institutions frequently embark on industrial action to protest low or non-payment of their remuneration (Adeniyi, 2006). As such, paying health care workers a salary to prevent strikes was important to low-income women. Women like Desola were particularly concerned because they fear the mortality impact of health care worker strikes. Desola vowed that if given the opportunity she would, "take care of the hospital because doctors strike every time and most people die as a result of this. The pregnant women go back home during labour because the doctors are on strike" (personal communication, June 27, 2011). As a middle-class woman, Toni recognized that poor people cannot afford to access private health care when public workers strike, so her resolution is to create more jobs:

> If people have work they will maintain their life, they will maintain their family. *People are dying. People are dying*. Look now since maybe since January or maybe February this year or March, the hospitals especially the Adeoyo there they are on strike. They are

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[117] Millennium Development Goal

still on strike now. *Come and see how people are dying. People that can't afford to go to private hospitals. Come and see how people are dying now – [even] now as I'm talking.* So you see things like that - assuming they have their job, if they are sick, they will go to the private hospitals to go and treat themselves when the public hospitals are on strike. That is it. Work is the most important thing. (Personal communication, August 23, 2011; emphasis added)

In sum, women envision that money should not be an impediment to healthcare access in Ibadan. Aside from the elimination of user fees, there is an interest in building health care facilities in underserved communities and in improving the conditions of existing facilities. Further, another important focus is better remuneration for health care providers to improve morale and deter labour migration and labour strike.

Infrastructure and Amenities

Another common theme among all the women was the improvement of Ibadan's infrastructure and amenities. The pertinence of addressing electricity consistency and water access as highlighted by Sike, "we will not suffer from lack of water [and] we will not suffer from lack of electricity" (personal communication, July 16, 2011), was reiterated by low-income women because they are currently deprived of these services, which middle-class women are privileged to purchase because of their class status. With specific regard to water, women like Remi do not want to travel far to collect it and also want the water to be free:

Wherever there ought to be water, water should be there - and it will be government owned…it won't be that we will be paying to fetch water. Like what we're using right now, we use money to pay for it. And we have to go and buy more. (Personal communication, July 28, 2011)

Due to poor maintenance and inadequate planning for an expanding urban population, combined with privatization of state owned enterprises, electricity and water have become first generation rights issues that are yet to be met. Water access is correlated with household purchasing power (Foster & Pushak, 2011) while inadequate power supply has meant that some people are able to rely on alternative sources such as generators and solar energy systems that are only accessible to a small segment of the population.

Most of the women, at one point or another during the interview, mentioned the deplorable conditions of the roads in Ibadan. Accordingly, fixing the roads in Ibadan was one of the key third generation rights some women pointed out as part of their vision for the city. For women like Tobi, having good roads are an integral part of everyone's everyday life:

> Tobi: …I will think about infrastructures, the road, when you do the road, you are doing it for so many people. … you will touch every life in that town you understand what I mean?
>
> Grace: Yes.
>
> Tobi: Everybody. A mother will back the child. The father will carry the wife in the car. Even if they don't have a car they will take a taxi, if they don't have a taxi, motorcycle, if they don't have motorcycle, they have a bicycle, if they don't have a bicycle, they will have their legs. When the road is bad it tells on the people, it affects the psyche. Like when you're going in the night and the road is bad, … you will be getting into the pothole. Some people fall down and break their legs. Most especially when you don't normally pass through the place you don't get used to all the rubbish on the road. You're just going and you will be doing like a blind person. Before you get home, some people

fall down… so many injuries. So road, infrastructure like road is another important thing that gets across [to] the people. (Personal communication, July 18, 2011)

There was also a focus on making Ibadan more green and cleaning up the environment as another third generation right. There was a lot of concern among the middle-class women about the decreasing air quality and the rising pollution levels in the city. As such, for someone like Ife, greening the city is very important:

Ah my priority for the city if I was in the position of a planner for the entire city. Okay, let me do this in sections. In terms of the physical structure of the city, I will ensure that the master plan is followed. Ibadan will be very green…now by green, I'm not talking about the green revolution and all those kind of things. Really. Green in the sense that people will be able to plant. You have flowers, you have trees. It just helps apart from the general climate change issues… it makes the air very pure. (Personal communication, August 21, 2011)

Cleaning up the environment was also more of a priority for middle-class women in terms of their imagined action for the city. This is clearly illustrated by Funmi and Wuraola's comments below:

Funmi: The first thing I would address is this environmental issue, the cleanliness of the entire city. [I would] create awareness on how we can make the city more clean and what benefit the city can bring and … [on] the problems we can face if our environment is not clean and it's being polluted. (Personal communication, July 14, 2011)

Wuraola: Hmm environment. The environment - trying to clean up. The very first thing to do is try and clean up the city. Plant flowers, just very simple things that alone will

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create some land of cleanliness, inspiration for the people. (Personal communication,

August 3, 2011)

However, this crusade to clean up the city had classist undertones. During some of the interviews, there was a prevailing assumption that some low-income women, particularly those who live in 'slum' areas, are unsanitary and need to be taught proper sanitation methods and cleanliness. Tobi described a low-income area as "…you can see dirtiness all over the place. Now [since] there was rain, there's flooding. There was flooding because of blocked drainage. If the people don't throw garbage in the drain, there won't be blockages" (personal communication, July 18, 2011). On the other hand, low-income women like Sike often reiterated that there should be better waste management available to them:

They should give us a place to dump our waste so our neighbourhood will not be rough. So we can be neat. So we can be like those at Ring Road, Eleyele, you will see when you get to Eleyele and the quarters in Ring Road they are neat. You know that? (Personal communication, July 16, 2011)

Low-income women in other areas who also lack infrastructure and facilities do not construct themselves as victims of 'underdevelopment' but rather view their situation as a denial of positive rights to development. Busola, a medium-density resident of Ashi, specifically pointed out that the government should focus on development for all in Ibadan:

It's like development is not equal… *it should be all equal because we are all under the same government.* Everybody should enjoy the government. … We should be enjoying the payment of the taxes that we are paying. So why should some people pay tax - some will enjoy and some will not enjoy? So there should be equal development. (Personal communication, June 28, 2011; emphasis added)

What is often unconsidered is that low-income women are very much aware of the consequences of their environment and conditions. Moreover, they do not position themselves as subjects who are 'dirty' but as subjects who are doing the best they can given their circumstance. Instead of a heightened concern about how 'dirty' these women are perceived to be by middle-class women, there should be more focus on alleviating the daily burdens women experience as a result of living in their area. In Foko, many of the women do not have access to toilets, bathrooms, clean water and waste disposal. For some women like Mojisola, the biggest dissatisfaction they have with the area was the lack of sanitation: "There's no toilet. There's no bathroom. So if people want to poop, they will poop in a nylon bag to be able to go and throw out. All the gutter will be in a disarray" (personal communication, July 15, 2011).

Thus, the women are very much aware of their environment and do not revel in it, nor are they ignorant about it. However, they have to do what they can to ensure that their environment has some semblance of cleanliness. The women told me that they defecate in nylon (plastic) bags and walk long distances to dispose of it along with other domestic waste products. Their preference is to live elsewhere if the government is unable to step in and assist them. The women strongly believe that it is the government's duty to intervene as it is well within their rights as citizens to have access to proper sanitation facilities (see Greed, 2003; McFarlane, 2012). They are demanding help with building toilets[118] and proper bathrooms so as to have privacy which is a luxury as highlighted by Sara's description of the makeshift external bathroom made out of corrugated iron (see Figure 13):

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[118] Some of the women who live in Foko mentioned during the interviews that the previous governor, Alao Akala (2007-2011), had built a communal toilet in their neighbourhood. However, this toilet as of the time I was there in March 2013 had never functioned.

Look if we want to bathe now, we will use cloth to cover… If I have somewhere to go at

this time and there are people sitting out front, if there is a male, I won't be able to have

my bath. Because where we use cloth to cover, the wind can blow it away all of a sudden.

(Personal communication, July 20, 2011)

The current solution to the privacy issue is to bathe at the "crack of dawn" as mentioned by some

of the women. As such, the lack of the basics of bathroom and kitchen is something many

women in Foko want to redress. As pointed out by Tayo, "*I am a women who has suffered and*

seen various things it's my right to fix the city… as I am now, if I'm elevated to a high position, I

have to fix my area. A place where there is no toilet, bathroom, kitchen, there must be changes"

(personal communication, July 20, 2011; emphasis added). Tayo views suffering as a passage to

belonging in the city and therefore justifies her perceived inalienable right to have a say in

changing the city to meet her needs and desires.

Figure 13. Example of a bathing area in Foko, Ibadan. Picture taken by author (2011).

While low-income class women were more concerned about children with regards to their rights to education, food and employment, middle-class women tended to be more concerned about children's third generation rights to social amenities such as recreational spaces. Solape was so disappointed by the lack of provision in Ibadan that she pointed out that the people in Ibadan were no different from people in cities where they have parks that cater to children:

> You know, that is another area - more playing grounds for children. There are no parks for children to play, absolutely none in Ibadan. I mean it's just unbelievable, you know. *I mean people live in Cambridge (United Kingdom), they don't have two heads, and other cities abroad where they have parks*. Again, this will help children go out with their parents to play and relax and it develops their minds as well as their bodies, you know. But we don't have that. So, ok we have one here, maybe you have seen it, this rotary club grounds. It's mostly used for parties now, instead of it being used as a recreation ground for children. (Personal communication, July 26, 2011; emphasis added)

Yemi, a middle-class woman, spoke about how she would have green, recreational spaces accessible to all classes, whereby poorer children will not be gazing forlornly at the wealthier children who would be enjoying them:

> The first thing I would focus on is the social amenities in this city. You know when you work 8 to 10 hours a day times 5 just for you to have a place to refresh and not a place that will be very, very expensive that the masses will not even have the opportunity to go there. Not only the rich people will be there. *And the masses will go there and enjoy themselves.* I guess I will have that fixed. And it won't be in one place it will be in different places for different people. [Even] for [that] Foko area you can get a place that

[on a] Sunday evening or Saturday afternoon [people can go] and maybe [have] a drink

or something – it's not that you haven't taken the thing before but just going to have your

mind free. Seeing everything green, you know green speaks life to one's life. So that kind

of thing and the children too they *will have the opportunity of such - not going to places*

that it's only the high levels that are there while the less privileged will be at the gates

just looking at their members. Are they not children too? They are. So I will have that

thing in place. (Personal communication, August 24, 2011; emphasis added)

Evidently, there is a strong willingness among both low-income and middle-class women

to address spatial inequality by focusing on consistent power supply, improved road conditions,

and accessible waste management services. A key equality issue for some low-income women is

the provision of toilets for daily use in neighbourhoods where there are no sanitation facilities.

Middle-class women are very much interested in environmental sustainability and accessible

social amenities for everyone.

Women and Youth

During the interview discussions on their priorities for the city, some of the women were

also attentive to issues surrounding gender inclusion in politics and violence against women.

Atinuke, a low-income woman, spoke about having a more gender friendly government,

promoting women's education and economic independence and thus producing a more enabling

environment that will allow women to contribute more to decision-making:

I will first nominate women into my regime, into my government. After that then

anything that is needed in their house. I mean in their areas … Because women know

what they need. They know what they're lacking [more] than men. Men they don't know

anything. Women know a lot. So they're the one. They are the backbone of the

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government. [I will] keep them in my government… I will maybe establish women

affairs… That will make us to know that we will make a difference in the life of women.

Then those women that are not educated… we [will] educate them, settle them [and] give

them some money. Those who are not [working] will be working. Let them be occupied

with some things so it will not be only their husband that will be working in the house.

You understand? By the time they do, they will be exposed. The more they [are] exposed

they will have something to give to the government. You understand? So that is that.

(Personal communication, June 30, 2011)

Alongside the promotion of a gender friendly government, a majority of the women mentioned

that their top priority would be women, and ensuring that women are well-taken care of and

financially secure. Few women like Nai'mah, however, spoke about addressing violence against

women. Nai'mah, a low-income Muslim woman, has experienced domestic abuse and finally

separated from her husband when he married another woman. Nai'mah specified that she would

address the maltreatment of women at the hands of men and also serve as an advisor to

maltreated women so that they do not become depressed:

Nai'mah: If I am a politician, I'll ask them to bring those men that do maltreat women,

put them in the prison for a year, when they get out they'll know it's bad to maltreat

women, they will know how to handle women. God created both male and females to be

friends, some men just maltreat women, if I am in a [such a] position, I'll really deal with

such men, the way they cheat women.

Grace: If you are in any post what will you do for your area?

Nai'mah: If I am in any high post, I'll first make the women happy, the divorcees the

widows, we will come together. Some women don't have an adviser that's why they die

young. They don't have an adviser, that's why things turn to be like that for them. It does

cause sickness in their lives, if I am in any high position, I'll call different women

together to advise them. Some women struggle with men and such men finally cheat

them, I've had such experience, such women do kill themselves because they can't suffer

again, but if they have an adviser, they will change that. (Personal communication, June

22, 2011)

Women were not the only specific groups of people that the interviewees wanted to help.

Some of the interviewees focused on the problems of youths in Ibadan, especially the high levels

of unemployment and its correlation to crime. It is believed that because youths are the future of

the city, there must be increased focus on them now. As Ebun pointed out,

I would embrace them so they take the right path. Do you know that in this country, the

people we need who are useful for us are the youths? But our governors and politicians

they don't recognize the youth. They say they are children. They are not smart. They have

forgotten that if there are no youths, and the elders die… If the elders die, the youths will

continue with the governance of the city. But our people they believe that they are

children they don't know anything. And they have forgotten that if they die, the children

will be governing. Are you getting [me]? (Personal communication, July 7, 2011)

In sum, a key aspect of women's feminist vision for Ibadan is the inclusion of women in

decision-making. There is a keen interest in addressing women's economic and political

inequality as well as the issues of violence against women. The interviewees were also attentive

to the employment needs of youth and the pertinence of grooming them for future leadership.

Conclusion

Both low-income and middle-class women's imagined actions for the city indicate that women have ideas to improve and bring prosperity to the life of Ibadan dwellers. Their plans also illustrate that women are not restricted solely to motherhood concerns but are also interested in social transformations. By working within the neoliberal and patriarchal rhetoric, women have been able to call into question the neoliberal assumption that the market can solve socioeconomic disparities. They have also challenged the patriarchal prerogative to stifle women's voices and their claims to the city as equal inhabitants.

Sadly, the current reality in Ibadan as of my last visit in February and March 2013 is that it is becoming increasingly difficult for traders to have trading space. While I was there, I was amazed that many areas where trading used to take place were now empty during the weekday. I was curious as to what happened to the resilience the women had spoken about and demonstrated in 2011. I discovered that the governor had hired youths (as an employment strategy) to chase the traders away. The youths travel in groups in the back of trucks and are ready to jump out any minute they see an infraction. They are given liberty to confiscate goods, charge fines and chase traders with batons. I was informed that the youths, who are largely male, can be forceful and therefore pose a violent threat to the street traders. As such, the street traders, who are mainly women, shy away from this violence and are not always ready to defy this new mode of enforcement. Also, I was told that the amount the women are fined and/or charged to obtain their confiscated goods is so exorbitant (more than the goods' worth) that they avoid this risk. As a result, the traders are becoming less resistant to staying away. However, I noticed that in the evening time and on weekends, when government employees are not working, the traders come out and do their work.

My informal discussions with government workers about this recent development revealed that Governor Ajimobi is trying to hire more people who will work on weekends to ensure that traders are cleared from the streets during the weekend. Despite the fact that this is the reality that traders now face, some continue to engage in protests and demonstrations. Meanwhile, the changes taking place are framed by the Ajimobi administration as necessary and people must cope with the short-term pain for the good of Ibadan. During my most recent visit to Ibadan, there were several billboard advertisements detailing the urban renewal plans of the Ajimobi administration. The consistent message was that everyone must come together for the good of Ibadan. Yet this message assumes a false sense of togetherness as the urban renewal project is classed in that it puts some livelihoods at stake while others remain largely unaffected.

Although neoliberal urbanism is a threat to many livelihoods in Ibadan, women's unrelenting resistance continues to question neoliberalism's viability. Moreover, women's feminist visions as discussed in this chapter offer an alternative to the current mode of planning that is incompatible with the lives of many urban inhabitants. The challenge, however, is finding ways for these visions to materialize. It is possible that the clarion call for togetherness, as advertised in Ajimobi's billboard advertisements, may ironically present a broader base for resistance against the deleterious effects of neoliberal urbanism in Ibadan – because the more people who realize how fictitious the "prosperity for all" message of neoliberalism is, the easier it will be to catalyze women's feminist visions for Ibadan.

CHAPTER 7 -THE POLITICS OF THE POSSIBLE: TOWARDS AN AFRICAN FEMINIST
URBAN FUTURE

Introduction

When I returned to Ibadan in 2013 for a follow up study, I was astonished by the changes

that had taken place since my last visit in 2011. Traders no longer populated popular streets like

Iwo Road and Ring Road that were once synonymous with street trading. Many government

buildings had been renovated and multiple roads were under reconstruction. As such, many areas

of Ibadan and key landmarks had become unrecognizable and I also overheard many people

praising the governor for Ibadan's transformational journey towards a world-class city status.

This transformation is inextricably linked to governor Ajimobi's wooing of international

companies to further industrialize Ibadan and his intentions for Ibadan to become a tourist

destination.[119] Despite the praises for Ajimobi, there was also a lot of grumbling that material

conditions had not changed, some even complained that they were worsening. The prevailing

theme was that if the government has finally exhibited a political willingness to address some of

Ibadan's deteriorating infrastructures, why would this political willingness not translate to the

realm of sustainable social welfare and equality? This question was also a key aspect of my

dissertation topic that set out to challenge the practice of neoliberal urbanism in Ibadan that

prioritizes the facilitation of capital flows over the reality of people's lives, particularly those of

its women residents. Through the use of an African feminist postcolonial urbanism framework, I

have argued that Ibadan's future can only be equitable if African leaders and policy makers

critically analyze the world-class city discourse. This analysis would need to: consider the ways

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[119] Much conversation has also been about how Ajimobi is aggressively pushing urban renewal
so that he can be elected for a second term. Ajimobi himself declared, "you can see that no
government has ever done what we are doing in Oyo State today and my performance in office
will break the myth of second term in office in the state" (Ogunsola, 2014).

in which neoliberal urbanism reproduces spatial inequality; acknowledge the importance of including women in urban planning; and politicize the ethics of care in decision-making. To this end, the focus of this chapter is on key findings and contributions of my research as well as on the study limitations and directions for future research.

Research Contributions and Findings

This study contributes to African postcolonial urban scholarship by adding an African feminist perspective that challenges the place of African women at the bottom of the global urban hierarchy. It also contributes to African feminisms through the illustration that "poor" and "illiterate" women produce nuanced analysis of class and gender, and through women's politicization of ethics of care as a strategic counter-narrative to the patriarchal emphasis on women's social reproductive roles as a justification for their political exclusion. Moreover, the study adds to the growing literature on gender studies in African urban scholarship by emphasizing Ibadan women's perspectives on and experiences of the postcolonial neoliberalizing city. Below, I highlight three key thematic findings from this study.

Feminism in Ibadan

My dissertation illustrates the ways in which research participants challenge the notion that feminism is "un-African". While none of my interviewees self-identified as feminists, I analyzed their articulated discontentment with the status quo, their informal political actions, and their visions for Ibadan as feminist.[120] The women's delicate balance of socio-cultural and

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[120] I did not ask the women during the interviews if they had a feminist identity. I also strongly believe that the women did not voluntarily claim a feminist identity during the interviews because of its stigma in the Nigerian context. Even though the women do not call themselves

religious expectations with their own desires for justice speaks to Nnaemeka's (2003) argument that feminism in Africa is about negotiation. I would argue though that this "negotiation" is more applicable to issues that obviously seem antithetical to religious teachings and cultural concerns about transgressing gender boundaries and appearing "western". However, if women are given the opportunity to contribute meaningfully to decision-making processes and planning policies as demonstrated by women's visions for the city in Chapter Six, African feminism as practiced in the African postcolonial context, may become less about negotiation and more about unapologetically challenging hegemonic patriarchal scripts about gender and the city.

Women's claims as urban subjects with entitlements, as discussed in this dissertation, indicate that they are aware of the ways in which the neoliberal political economy is not gender neutral and places more burdens on them. This recognition, and their subsequent refusal to allow their social reproductive and productive roles to substitute for government responsibilities, reflects a feminist politics that transcends the politics of motherhood and criticizes gender relations. This research also complicates the ongoing debate on African feminism by translating the ethics of care concept into the African context as an alternative to the motherhood discourse. This translation enables the critique of traditional gender ideologies and power relations and offers possibilities for moving towards a human (not feminine) ethics of care that redresses social injustices.

The Politics of the Possible: Women's Role in Urban Planning and Decision-making

My research reveals that urban development and planning in Ibadan, from women's perspectives, is incompatible with their needs, priorities and concerns. This is largely due to the government's belief in the social constructions of gender and neglect of the role structural forces

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feminists, most of their perspectives and actions resonate with feminist politics and that is why I do not hesitate to use the word feminist to describe them.

play in reinforcing gender inequalities. Although the importance of a gender lens in urban planning has become widely accepted by the international community, many planners require more understanding about gender issues (Malaza, Todes & Williamson, 2009, p. 2). As I have demonstrated in this dissertation, a key step to securing a more prosperous urban future for Ibadan is by including women and considering gender issues in urban planning decision-making processes. If women are given a platform to voice their visions for Ibadan and if these visions are incorporated into Ibadan's urban planning, there is a higher likelihood that the city would be more just and people's rights to the city safeguarded.

An urban planning tradition that embeds the notion of an ethics of care, as articulated by the research participants, has the potential to address social problems. This perspective on planning is attentive to African feminists' concerns about western neo-imperialism because it centres on values that derive from women's everyday realities and experiences that they want to politicize. Thus, the ethics of care is not an imported approach nor part of the western salvationist discourse. The feminist ethic of care approach to the city propounded by the women in my study supports an African centred postcolonial urbanism through its focus on "people before profit" thereby signalling that the current utopian vision for Ibadan to become a world-class city is not conducive for the majority of Ibadan dwellers. While my interviewees are appreciative of the concept of a more beautiful Ibadan with a thriving economy, it is important to the majority of them that the changes be more than just a facelift. Their desire is for changes that penetrate beyond the surface of a "better investment climate" for capital flow to a true investment in social transformation that embraces the ways in which African feminism is a politics of the possible for Africa's urban future.

Moving Beyond the Global North and South Dichotomy

By looking at Ibadan from an African feminist postcolonial urbanism perspective, my intention is not to point at the glaring ways in which Ibadan is different from global/world cities. Rather, if we can come to understand the experiences of women in Ibadan as "ordinary" women in an "ordinary" city, then it is more difficult to reproduce binary discourses about women in the global south. What my research offers by highlighting women's interests, needs and struggles in Ibadan is that these women are not passive victims. Nor am I proposing that we romanticize these women's lived experiences, particularly low-income women, and be amazed by how they manage to survive. Instead, what I want us to consider is that despite the differences in the lived reality of women in Ibadan in comparison to most women in the global north, we can look at similarities in the experiences of neoliberal restructuring. I intentionally included older women and middle-class women in my interviews to disrupt the idea that only a particular type of woman should be the target of development policy. Mainstream literature tends to ascribe multidimensional needs and interests to women in the global north, whereas the problems of women in the global south are not always presented as multidimensional and even if problems are enumerated, they usually can be linked back to the themes of poverty, patriarchy and corrupt and despotic leadership.

Understanding women's lived experiences and sites of resistance in Ibadan as well as in other localities across the world can open up possibilities for transnational solidarity across difference especially when there is a focus on "connections and strategic possibilities" (Kern & Mullings, 2013) to address social justice in cities. To this end, it is important to acknowledge the "diverse, yet related socio-economic and political contexts in which women struggle to empower themselves in order to negotiate discursive and material barriers in their everyday lives"

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(Johnston-Anumonwo & Oberhauser, 2014, p. 4). For example, if we look beyond the poverty in cities of the global south, we can see that there are similarities in women's experiences of neoliberal restructuring in the global south and the global north such as issues of social reproduction, economic precariousness, spatial inequality and the increased number of women working past retirement age. In so doing, we can see what Cindi Katz argues to be the "points of similarity that connect processes occurring in different places and at different scales in ways that enable the formation of new political economic alliances that transcend both place and identity" (cited in Kern & Mullings, 2013, p. 30).

The contestation of neoliberal urbanism by women through their subversive actions and feminist visions for Ibadan illustrate that women are not restricted solely to motherhood and basic survival concerns but are also interested in social transformations. Although some feminists may not consider the way my interviewees choose to engage in feminist politics by negotiating with patriarchy radical enough, it is important to remain cognizant of the multiple oppressions they face and the ways in which they are not complicit in dealing with these oppressions.

Study Limitations and Future Research Directions

The two constructs of class and age that I employed to select participants in this study were useful because the findings contribute to development literature on women in Africa by "diversifying" the women of development. The inclusion of age expands the focus to older women who often receive minimum attention and the inclusion of class highlights the ways in which class differences between women can exacerbate the effect of gender for low-income women as well as complicate the notion that "development" is only relevant to poor people.

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Nevertheless, the use of religion and ethnicity as constructs would also have been valuable in exploring the experiences of women in the city as well as their visions for Ibadan. However, my research would have taken longer to complete if I included these factors in the selection of interview participants, as there would have been more women to interview. Although, I did not select women based on their religion, I did have Muslim and Christian women represented in the study but the differences in their religious experiences and the ways in which religion shapes their relationship to the city are lacking in my analysis. However, as my study only included Yoruba women (with the exception of one woman whose background is Igbo but she was born in Ibadan and also fluent in Yoruba), understanding the experiences of non-Yoruba[121] women especially concerning their feelings of belonging and the consequent impact on their rights claim to the city would have been useful.

While this study has reiterated that women and men experience the city differently, I did not include men's voices due to time constraints and also because my primary interest and focus was on women's voices. Regardless, it would be interesting to investigate the ways in which the experiences of men differ in the city and the perception of their inclusion in decision-making processes as well as their visions for Ibadan. Thus, I recommend a future study that would examine the gender, class, ethnicity and religious dimensions of urban citizenship and belonging in Ibadan.

Finally and most importantly, in doing my research, I realized that a critical area of analyses was the role of women's organizations in shaping and reshaping discourses on women's empowerment, rights and gender inequalities as well as their strategies for understanding and translating the lived reality of women's urban experiences in their programming. Accordingly, I

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[121] I am suggesting the inclusion of non-Yoruba women because Ibadan is an ethnically and predominantly Yoruba city.

suggest a research project that would engage the ways in which women's organizations in Ibadan negotiate, challenge, contribute to, and/or are complicit with current domestic and international neoliberal policy approaches towards urban women. This research will provide further insight into women's rights in Africa and the importance of understanding how gender plays out in postcolonial political landscapes increasingly shaped by globalizing forces. Moreover, the findings will contribute to discussions on the pertinence of reshaping policy and public debates on social development and gender.

Conclusion

In sum, this study offers an alternative to the current trajectory for Africa's urban future that is rooted in the discourse that African cities are failed and in need of catching up to key global cities in order to develop. By using an African feminist postcolonial urbanism framework to analyze neoliberal urbanism, Ibadan women are highlighted as knowing urban subjects who challenge the gendered and development interventionist approaches to African cities. Positioning Ibadan women as knowing urban subjects also allows me to conclude that we must go beyond the prevalent and false binary constructions of the global north and south in neoliberal discourses that obscure common goals for urban social justice. As such, the women in my study refuse to be relegated to the realm of African exceptionalism through their gendered rights claims to the city. They also transcend their depiction as the "other" in mainstream western discourses through their refusal to be victimized and their contributions to southern urban theory and politics that focus on social transformations. With more political willingness and women's continued resistances, an African feminist urban future can prevail in Ibadan.

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APPENDIX A

Consent Form for Key Informants

Study Name: Women's Lived Experiences of and Aspirations for Urban Development in Ibadan, Nigeria

Researcher: Grace Adeniyi Ogunyankin
PhD Candidate, York University, Toronto Canada
gracie11@yorku.ca

Purpose of the Research: The research is concerned with intergenerational understandings of development and lived experiences of urban space in Ibadan, Nigeria. Specifically, this research aims to analyze how women's lived reality, experiences and political views in Ibadan are relevant to and inform the projects of urban development and planning.
Once the research is completed, the findings will be written up in the researcher's dissertation and presented to the researcher's dissertation committee.

What You Will Be Asked to Do in the Research: This study will require your commitment for an estimated total of 1 hour. During this time, you will be requested to participate in an in-depth interview with the researcher.

Risks and Discomforts: The researcher does not foresee any physical risk or discomfort from your participation in this study. However, there may be some questions you may feel uncomfortable answering. Should this occur, you are not obliged to provide an answer.

Benefits of the Research and Benefits to You: There are no direct benefits to you for participating in this research but knowledge gained from research like this could translate to policy changes that may benefit members of your community, including yourself in the future.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer will not influence the nature of the ongoing relationship you may have with the researcher nor the nature of your relationship with York University either now, or in the future.

Withdrawal from the Study: You can stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers, York University, or any other group associated with this project. In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed.

Confidentiality: All information you supply during the research will be held in confidence and your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. During the study, data will be collected in the form of hand written notes and audio tapes. Each participant will be

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assigned a code number/name and that code will be used on all data about the participant. The master code will be encrypted digitally on a password protected storage. The encrypted code will be kept separate from the data. Taped interviews will be transcribed and anonymised after transcription. The anonymised data will be kept in digital format on a password protected storage. The taped interviews will be kept in a locked filing cabinet.

Questions About the Research? If you have questions about the research in general or about your role in the study, please feel free to contact me or my Graduate Supervisor - Dr. Linda Peake either by telephone at (416)-736-2100, extension 33759 or by e-mail (lpeake@yorku.ca). You may also contact my Graduate Program – School of Women's Studies, 206 Founders College, (416)-650 – 8144, extension 1. This research has been reviewed and approved by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, please contact the Sr. Manager & Policy Advisor for the Office of Research Ethics, 5th Floor, York Research Tower, York University (telephone 416-736-5914 or e-mail ore@yorku.ca).

Legal Rights and Signatures:

I

_____
____, consent to participate in _____conducted by Grace Adeniyi Ogunyankin. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Signature_____**   Date**_____
Participant

Signature_____**   Date**_____
Grace Adeniyi Ogunyankin, Principal Investigator

APPENDIX B

Interview Questions with Key Informants

Local Government Councilors

- How long have you been a politician?
- What elected or appointed positions have you held in the local government?
- How did you become involved in politics?
- How long have you been working with the local government?
- Can you tell me the reasons why you chose to do politics at the local government level?
- What are the sets of issues and principles you support as a politician?

New Topic
- Can you tell me what urban development means to you?
- How would you rate the level of development in your ward?
    - Would you consider your community well developed?
    - What are the changes that you think need to take place in your community?
    - What types of initiatives have you planned and/or plan to pursue to effect these changes?
- Can you provide examples of some urban development policies/issues you've worked on?
    - Are there development policies that you think are particularly important for women in your community?
    - Do different groups of women (by ethnicity, religion, class, etc) have different priority needs?
- How do you identify your community's needs?
- To what extent do you consult with your constituency on matters that concern them?
- Do you remember an occasion when you presented your community's interests during a council meeting?
    - What was the issue?
    - Do you remember how it was received by the council?
        - Can you please say more about this?
    - Do you have further examples of occasions when you presented your community's interests during a council meeting?

New Topic
- Could you say something about your relationship with women's interest groups in your constituency?
-      Do you encourage women to get involved in community development programs?
    - In what ways?
- Do you remember any instances when you promoted women's participation in political power and decision-making in your ward?

o Can you say more about this occasion?

Community Development Unit

- Can you please tell me about your academic and/or professional qualifications?
- What made you decide to work with the government?
- How long have you been working in this department?
- What are your reasons for working in this department?
- Can you please describe the major functions of this department?
- Are there any particular projects or portfolios that you have been assigned to?

New Topic
- What is your department's approach to urban development?
  - Ex. How is development defined, What are the major indicators of development, etc
- How does your department measure the success of development in the community?
- How would you rate the level of development in the various wards of this local government?
  - Would you consider this LG well developed?
  - What are the changes that you think need to take place in this local government in order for development to be effective?
  - What types of initiatives have the department taken and/or plan to pursue to effect these changes?

New Topic
- Can you provide examples of the types of policies and projects the department works on
  - Can you recall an occasion when the department consulted with community members regarding any of these policies and/or projects?
  - How was the consultation advertised?
  - About how many people showed up?
  - Were there many women at the consultations? Do you have a sense of the proportion of women to men at the meetings?

New Topic
- Are there local issues which you think are of particular importance to women in the community?
  - How have local women expressed those issues?

- Have you been offered an opportunity to undergo any type of training program for your work?
  - If yes: Did these training programs address the unique needs of women?

- Can you please describe key women's issues that your department has been involved in?
  - How were these issues identified?

- Do you recall any occasions when you (and/or your department) encouraged women to get involved in community development programs?
    - Can you give a more detailed description?

Local Planning Authority

- Can you please tell me about your academic and/or professional qualifications?
- What made you decide to work with the government?
- How long have you been working in this department?
- Can you please describe the major functions of this department?
- Are there any particular projects or portfolios that you have been assigned to?

- What is your department's approach to urban planning?
- How does your department measure the success of urban development in the community?
- How would you rate the level of urban development in the various wards of this local government?
    - Would you consider this LG well developed?
    - Has the level of development of this LG improved over the years?
    - What are the changes that you think need to take place in this local government in order for urban development to be effective?
    - What types of initiatives have the department taken and/or plan to pursue to effect these changes?

- Can you provide examples of the types of policies and projects the department works on
    - Can you recall an occasion when the department consulted with community members regarding any of these policies and/or projects?
    - How was the consultation advertised?
    - About how many people showed up?
    - What was the gender ratio?

- Are there planning issues that you think are of particular importance to women in the community? If so, why do women care about those issues in particular?
- In what ways does you department apply a gender lens to various aspects of town planning?
- Can you recall working on projects that had any particular relevance to women?
    - Can you please provide more detail?

Ministry of Women's Affairs. Community Development & Social Welfare

- Can you please tell me about your academic and professional qualifications?
- What made you decide to work with the government?
- How long have you been working in this ministry?
- What are your reasons for working in this ministry?
- Can you please describe the major functions of this ministry?

- What do you think are the needs and concerns of women in urban areas?
    - Do you think there are differences in women's needs?
        - Can you please detail these differences?

- Have you been offered an opportunity to undergo any type of training program for your work?
    - If yes: Did these training programs address the unique needs of women?

- Can you please describe key women's issues that your ministry has been involved in?
    - How were these issues identified?

- Do you recall any occasions when the ministry encouraged women to get involved in community development programs?
    - Can you give a more detailed description?

- Do you remember any instances when the ministry promoted women's participation in political power and decision-making ?
    - Can you say more about this occasion?

- Could you say something about the ministry's relationship with women's interest groups?

- What is your relationship with the local governments in the state?
- How do you hold local governments accountable to women?
- Can you tell me about the types of awareness education and/or training the ministry offers to local governments?

APPENDIX C

Consent Form for Interviews with Women in Ibadan – English Version

Study Name: Women's Lived Experiences of and Aspirations for Urban Development in Ibadan, Nigeria

Researcher: Grace Adeniyi Ogunyankin
                       PhD Candidate, York University, Toronto Canada
                       gracie11@yorku.ca

Purpose of the Research: The research is concerned with intergenerational understandings of development and lived experiences of urban space in Ibadan, Nigeria. Specifically, this research aims to analyze how women's lived reality, experiences and political views in Ibadan are relevant to and inform the projects of urban development and planning.
Once the research is completed, the findings will be written up in the researcher's dissertation and presented to the researcher's dissertation committee.

What You Will Be Asked to Do in the Research: This study will require your commitment for an estimated total of 1 hour and a half. During this time, you will be requested to participate in an in-depth interview with the researcher.

Risks and Discomforts: The researcher does not foresee any physical risk or discomfort from your participation in this study. However, there may be some questions you may feel uncomfortable answering. Should this occur, you are not obliged to provide an answer.

Benefits of the Research and Benefits to You: There are no direct benefits to you for participating in this research but knowledge gained from research like this could translate to policy changes that may benefit members of your community, including yourself in the future.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer will not influence the nature of the ongoing relationship you may have with the researcher nor the nature of your relationship with York University either now, or in the future.

Withdrawal from the Study: You can stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers, York University, or any other group associated with this project. In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed.

Confidentiality: All information you supply during the research will be held in confidence and your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. During the study, data will be collected in the form of hand written notes and audio tapes. Each participant will be

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assigned a code number/name and that code will be used on all data about the participant. The master code will be encrypted digitally on a password protected storage. The encrypted code will be kept separate from the data. Taped interviews will be transcribed and anonymised after transcription. The anonymised data will be kept in digital format on a password protected storage. The taped interviews will be kept in a locked filing cabinet.

Questions About the Research? If you have questions about the research in general or about your role in the study, please feel free to contact me or my Graduate Supervisor - Dr. Linda Peake either by telephone at (416)-736-2100, extension 33759 or by e-mail (lpeake@yorku.ca). This research has been reviewed and approved by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, please contact the Sr. Manager & Policy Advisor for the Office of Research Ethics, 5th Floor, York Research Tower, York University (telephone 416-736-5914 or e-mail ore@yorku.ca).

Legal Rights and Signatures:

I**_____**, consent to participate in
_____conducted by Grace Adeniyi Ogunyankin. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Signature_____ __   **Date_____**
Participant

Signature_____ ___   **Date_____**
Grace Adeniyi Ogunyankin, Principal Investigator

Consent Form for Interviews with Women in Ibadan – Yoruba Version

Study Name: Women's Lived Experiences of and Aspirations for Urban Development in Ibadan, Nigeria
Oruku Eko: Igbe aye awon Obirin ati nkan ti won laka fun ninu Idagbasoke Ilu Ibadan, Orile Ede Nigeria
OR :Igbe Aye Awon Obirin Pelu Ero Okan ati Akitiyan won fun Idagbasoke Ilu Ibadan, Orile Ede Nigeria

Alawiri: Grace Adeniyi Ogunyankin
           PhD Candidate, York University, Toronto Canada
           gracie11@yorku.ca

Idi Eko Awari:
Eko awari yi wa laye lati se iwadi ati itumo igbe aye awon obinrin (latori iya agaba titi de odomobirin) ninu idagbasoke ilu Ibadan. Ni paa paa eko yi yoo lakaka lati se itumo aniyan awon obirin ati ero okan won fun idagbasoke ilu Ibadan nipase eto oloselu, ati bi awon ijoba se fesi si awon aniyan wonyi ninu eto won fun idagbasoke ilu Ibadan.
Nigbati eko yi ba pari, a o ko esi iwadi naa si inu iwe fun awon komiti oluko ti a ti yan lati wo boya alawiri yi se eko naa daadaa

Ohun ti a bere fun lo wo yin: A ni ero wipe e maa gbawa laaye fun wakati kan lati dahun awon ibeere wa. Alawiri yi o dari ibeere nipa eko yi.

Ifokanbale fun Ewu: Alawiri ko ro wipe ewu tabi inira wa fun eni keni ti o ba dahun ibeere re. Ti alawiri ba beere ibeere ti okan enikeni ko ba yonda lati dahun kii n se dandan lati dahun.

Anfaani Eko yi fun yin: Ogbon ati Imo ti o ba ti inu eko awiri yi jade lee ran awon ijoba lowo lati se eto fun idagbasoke fun ilu, adugbo ati agboole yin ni ojo iwaju.

Iyonda Ara eni fun Eko Awari: Kii se dandan tabi tulasi fun enikeni lati ran wa lowo ninu eko awiri yi. A gbabgo wipe enikeni ti o ba ran wa lowo ninu eko awiri yi se bee pelu iyonda okan won ni. Ti enikeni ko ba yonda lati ran wa lowo pelu ibeere wa, a se ileri wipe abasepo ti eni naa ba ni pelu alawiri tabi ile eko giga Unifasiti York ko nii baje.

Eto lati dawo duro ninu eko yi: Ni igbaku gba ni enikeni lee lo eto won lati dawo duro kuro ninu eko awiri yi. Ti enikeni ba dawoduro, a se ileri wipe abasepo ti eni naa ba ni pelu Eleko awiri tabi ile eko giga Unifasiti York ko nii baje.

Itoju Asiri: A se ileri wipe a o toju gbogbo idahun si ibeere tabi asiri ti enikeni ba fihan eleko awari yii. A se ileri wipe a ko nii tu asiri oruku enikeni to ba dahun ibeere wa. A lee ko gbobo idahun si ibeere wa si inu iwe tabi ki a fi ohun naa si inu kaseeti sugbon a ko nii ko oruku enikeni si ara idahun won. A o si lo ona itoju asiri to ga julo lati fi awon asiri wonyi pamo. A o toju gbogbo idahun ti akosi inu iwe tabi kaseeti si inu apoti owo ni ile eko giga unifasiti.

Ibeere Nipa Eko Awiri: Ti e ba ni ibeere kankan nipa eko awiri yii tabi ipa yin ninu eko naa, e lee dari ibeere yin si Oluko Agba fun Alawiri – Dokita Linda Peake. E lee pe Oluko agba yi lorii phoonu yi (416)-736-2100, ero 33759. E tun lee ko leta si Oluko agba naa si adiresi yi (lpeake@yorku.ca). Awon alaga eko giga fun unifasiti York ti se awari nipa eko yi osi dawon loju wipe eko awiri yi se deede pelu gbogbo ilakanna unifasiti York. Ti enikeni ba ni ibeere nipa ohun kohun nipa eko yi ti o lodi si eto tabi ominira won, eni bee lee ko leta si Oga agba ni ofiisi Awiri ni adireesi yi Sr. Manager & Policy Advisor for the Office of Research Ethics, 5th Floor, York Research Tower, York University (phone 416-736-5914 or e-mail ore@yorku.ca).

Eto Labe Ofin ati Ifowosiwe

Emi **_____**, yonda lati dahun ibeere ninu eko awiri**_____**ti alawiri Grace Adeniyi Ogunyankin se. O ye mi wipe mo yonda lati dahun ibeere ati lati ran alawiri yi lowo ninu eko re. Emi ko yonda eto mi labe ofin pelu ifowosiwe yi. Ifowosiwe yi je ami fun iyonda ti mo fun alawiri lati ran an lowo ninu ibeere re.

Ifowosiwe_____ ___   **Ojo_____ **
Eni ti o yonda

Ifowosiwe_____ ___   **Ojo_____ **
Alawiri

APPENDIX D

Questions for Interviews with Women in Ibadan

Background Questions
- Date of birth
- State of origin
- marital status
- children
- Religious status
- level of education
- Occupation
  - Wage work?
    - How long have you been in this occupation?
  - Income

Ibadan
- How long have you been living in Ibadan?
  - If not born in Ibadan - - why Ibadan if state of origin not Ibadan…why the move
- What do you like about living in Ibadan?
- What do you dislike about living in Ibadan?
- Is there anywhere else in Nigeria where you would like to live?
  - Why?
- Can you describe any changes that have taken place in Ibadan since you have been living here? (probe: housing, roads, water, transportation, politics)
  - What do you think of these changes? Have these changes affected you in anyway?
- How would you compare Ibadan to other cities you've been to?
- Do you think Ibadan is a better place now than it was 10 (20, 30, 40) years ago?
- When do you think is the best period in Ibadan's history?
- Are there any qualities/changes you would like to see in Ibadan?

Neighborhood/Community
- length of time in this neighborhood
- Can you tell me about your neighborhood?
  - What are some qualities that you like about this neighborhood?
  - Do you face any challenges/constraints while living in this neighborhood?
    - Have you ever had the opportunity to express these challenges/constraints?
      - Can you please give me more details?
- Can you describe any changes that have taken place in your neighborhood since you have been living here?
  - What do you think of these changes? Have these changes affected you in anyway?
- How do you feel about how your neighborhood/community is managed?

Social Reproduction/'work'
- How would you describe your average day from when you wake up in the morning?
    - Has your day(s) always been like this (- - getting @ changes over the years)
    - Capture: What time does your day start and finish?
- What do you do around the house?
    - Does anybody help you?
- (What are the major challenges you face [everyday])
    - (How do you deal with these challenges?)
- What would make your daily life easier?

Housing Conditions

- Household status (who lives here, how many people)
- How would you describe your current living space?
    - Probe: structural characteristics, type of house, # of rooms, essential facilities in the house, condition of the building, water and sanitation
    - If renting: how much do you pay?
- What addition/what change to your house/flat would make the biggest difference to you?
- Property ownership - if not renting
    - Is this house jointly owned?
- Female-headed household
    - Was rental property/or property hard to obtain/hold on to?

Spatial relationship
- How do you get around in Ibadan and for what purposes?
    - How easy is it for you to get around…
        - (to) where you worship, shop, work, hospital, friends…
    - What's the furthest you have travelled within Ibadan?
    - Can you tell me about changes that have taken place in your mobility over the years?

- How often do you travel outside of Ibadan?
    - If you travel, where do you travel to?
    - What do you travel for?
    - Are there any restrictions on your travel? Are there places you'll like to go to that you can't?

- What are the constraints you face in terms of travelling (ex. Finance, time, transportation)
    - If you don't travel would you like to? Why? Where?
    - Can you tell me about changes that have taken place in your mobility over the years?
- How does transportation impede and/or facilitate your daily responsibilities and productivity?
    - What improvements do you envision to the transportation system?

Violence
- Do you consider Ibadan to be a safe city?
  - Do you feel safe in Ibadan?
  - (Location) – are there particular parts of Ibadan that you consider to be more safe than others?

- Do you recall a time when you experienced/sensed danger or threat to your life
  - Could you please tell me more about it? (what was the circumstance)

Political Participation
- Do you belong to any club or society? / In what ways are formal and/or informal associations part of your lived experience in Ibadan?
  - Purpose
  - Capacity
- Do you think women should participate in politics?
  - In what capacity?
- Are you a participating member of any political party?
- Have you ever voted?
  - How did you decide who to vote for?
  - Which politicians have you been most satisfied with – why?
  - Which politicians or political regimes have done the most for Ibadan/your neighborhood
- How would you define political activism?
  - Do you consider yourself active?
  - Would you like to be more active than you currently are?
- Church/mosque groups/associations?

Relationship with government/CDAs

- Have you ever attended a training workshop organized by the ministry of women's affairs and/or department of community development?
  - or any training organized by governmental department/branch
  - what was the training about?

- Have you ever attended a skill acquisition program?

- Are you/have you ever been a recipient of microfinance, loans?
  - source?
  - What did you do with it?

- Do you/have you ever participate(d) in community self-help projects?
  - In what capacity?

- What are some projects the government has embarked on in your community?
  - Did you consider this beneficial?/ Was it completed to your satisfaction?
  - Were you and/or members of your community consulted before this project was pursued?
- What is your relationship with the Community Development Association in your community? (are they approachable - - do you go to them for complaints)
- Are there any particular programs you wished the government would pursue or offer?
- Have you ever had an opportunity to participate in any community forums regarding the development and affairs of your community?

Gender, culture, religion and politics

- What do you understand by women's rights?
  - Do you think women have these rights in Nigeria?
  - Do you think women should have these rights?

- What do you think about the issue of women's liberation?

- Have you participated in any program that spoke about women's rights or watched or read any advertisements

- How does your culture view women's roles in the community, home, marriage and politics

  - Are these views similar to your church/mosque (or religion)'s approach? (That is: (How does your church/mosque (or religion) view women's roles in the community, home, marriage and politics)

  - Do you agree with these views?

- Relations between men and women
  - What does being a woman mean?
  - Do you think that it is a duty for every woman to get married (have children….etc)
  - Do you think there are other ways women can live their lives?

- Let's talk a little bit about....
  - Do you think there are any differences between men and women...
    - like do men care as much about things like family, the neighborhood…
- If women were in politics would we have a different kind of city?
- If you were a city planner or a councilor what would you think are the most important things (to address) in the city
  - Or: if you were a planner what would be your first priority for the city/neighborhood?

APPENDIX E

Description of Research Participants

Name	Age	Marital Status	Occupation	Religion	Annual Income[122] (Naira)	Education
Bodija Estate (Low-Density), Ibadan North Local Government						
Nike	83	Divorced	Store owner	Christian	N/A	Cosmetology training
Funmi	58	Married	Retired Banker/ Has a poultry farm as a side business	Christian	₦ 8,000,000 (@ retirement)	Professional Training
Tobi	52	Married	Director – Public Servant (Sells cement on the side and is also a pastor)	Christian	₦ 720, 000	BSC
Solape	72	Widowed	Retired Professor	Christian	N/A	PhD
Omolade	39	Married	Management Banker	Christian	₦ 18,000,000	BSC + Professional
Wuraola	43	Married	Marketing director at a Publishing company/ sells gold	Christian	₦ 6,000,000	Currently doing MBA
Ife	23	Single	Student & Works part time	Christian	₦ 240,000	Currently in a master's program
Damilola	45	Married	Store owner	Christian	~₦ 3,000,000	OND
Ashi (Medium-Density), Ibadan North Local Government						
Funke	38	Widowed	Office Cleaner (hawks as	Christian	₦ 204,000	Primary 3

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[122] The reported annual income is based on their primary occupation.

			secondary source of income)			
Busola	42	Married	Teacher	Christian	₦ 228,000	BSc
Atinuke	32	Married	Teacher (Pastry Chef as a side business)	Christian	₦ 192,000	NCE currently doing BSC
Aramide	42	Married	Teacher (sells shoes and purses on the side)	Christian	₦ 108,000	Grade 2 + NCE
Janet	65	Widowed	Petty Trader – On a break due to dire financial circumstances	Christian	₦ 0	None
Sike	63	Married (but not living with husband)	Petty Trader	Christian	₦ 84,000	Commercial school
Adeola	47	Married	Medical Records Officer (braids hair as side business)	Christian	₦ 240, 000	NCE
Remi	50+	Widowed	Petty Trader	Christian	₦ 36,500	None
Yemetu (High-Density), Ibadan North Local Government						
Toluwanmi	60	Married	Petty Trader	Muslim	N/A	
Ayobami	50+	Widowed	Sweeper + other menial job (fetches water, etc)	Christian	₦ 72, 000	Senior Secondary School Certificate
Ayesha	60+	Separated (polygamous)	Petty Trader	Muslim	₦ 60, 000	Primary 3
Tola	35	Married	Petty Trader	Christian	₦ 144, 000	NCE
Yemisi	18	Single	Clerk at Nigerian Breweries	Christian	₦ 120, 000	Senior Secondary School Certificate
Victoria	35	Married	Petty Trader	Christian	N/A	Senior Secondary School Certificate

Fatima	50+	Separated (polygamous)	Petty Trader	Muslim	₦ 18, 000	None
Salewa	24	Single	Petty Trader	Christian	₦ 36, 000	Senior Secondary School Certificate
Oluyole Estate (Low-Density), Ibadan South West Local Government						
Yewande	42	Married	Civil Servant	Christian	₦ 360, 000	OND
Bukky	53	Married	Professor	Christian	N/A	PhD
Toni	46	Married	Civil Servant	Christian	₦ 360, 000	Bachelor's degree
Zahra[123]	40	Separated	Petroleum marketer	Muslim	₦ 1, 800, 000	HND
Yemi	27	Married	Civil servant	Christian	₦ 264, 000	Bachelor's degree
Sade	46	Married	Civil servant/ estate surveyor	Christian	₦ 360, 000	HND
Ayo	47	Married	Civil Servant	Christian	N/A	HND
Jade	41	Married	Civil Servant	Christian	N/A	Master's degree
Challenge (Medium-Density), Ibadan South West Local Government						
Aanu	52	Widow	Petty Trader/ Hairdresser	Christian	N/A	Primary 6
Desola	61	Married	Tailor	Muslim	₦ 156, 000	Teacher's Grade 2 Certificate
Nai'mah	38	Divorced	Tailor	Muslim	₦ 375, 000	JSS 1
Ebun	45	Married	Petty Trader	Christian	₦ 240, 000	Senior Secondary School Certificate
Bunmi	49	Widowed	Tailor/Petty Trader	Christian	₦ 60, 000	Primary 6
Morenike	31	Married	Hairdresser	Christian	₦ 180, 000	Senior Secondary School Certificate
Temilola	58	Widowed	Petty Trader	Muslim	₦ 48, 000	Primary 6
Vivian	36	Married	Petty Trader	Christian	₦ 24, 000	Senior Secondary School Certificate
Foko (High-Density), Ibadan South West Local Government						
Amara	26	Married	Petty Trader	Muslim	₦ 24, 000	JSS 3

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[123] Zahra stated that she usually makes 1 million naira a month but during the time I interviewed her, she said that her salary had recently gone down to 150 thousand a month because of the economy.

Khalidah	42	Married	Petty Trader	Muslim	₦ 18, 000	Primary 6
Mojisola	24	Married	Petty Trader	Christian	₦ 36, 000	SSS 1
Sara	56	Married	Tailor/Petty Trader	Muslim	₦ 260, 000	Senior Secondary School Certificate
Tayo	42	Married	Petty Trader	Muslim	N/A	None
Titilola	46	Married (Polygamous relationship and does not live with husband	Petty Trader	Christian	₦ 24, 000	Primary 6
Zainab	62	Married	Petty Trader	Muslim	₦ 24, 000	Primary 5
Jemimah	46	Married	Petty Trader	Muslim	N/A	Senior Secondary School Certificate

Legend

N/A – Not Available

OND – Ordinary National Diploma

HND – Higher National Diploma

NCE – Nigerian Certificate in Education

SSS – Senior Secondary School

JSS – Junior Secondary School

APPENDIX F

Data Analysis

After I finished transcribing all my interviews, I read through each transcript and did first

stage coding. I wrote down the codes beside the corresponding word/sentence/phrase/paragraphs

in the transcript using different colour pens and markers. Once I finished reading through all the

transcripts, I cut and pasted each code from each transcript into separate documents and then

amalgamated similar codes based on residential areas. Note that some statements fell under

multiple categories. I next embarked on stage two coding by breaking down the initial codes into

subcategories. This process entailed examining each code within each residential area to analyse

similarities and differences to derive subcategories. Once I finished second stage coding, I read

through responses in each subcategory to look for themes and concepts and to also compare

participant responses within each residential area and between residential areas. Below are some

specific examples of codes and subcodes from my interview data.

Examples of Codes and Subcategories from Interviews with Government Workers and Politicians

Poverty
- Poverty alleviation
- Women & poverty
    - Women expected to eradicate poverty based on their actions
- Perception of the relationship between gender & poverty
- Skill acquisition as being a solution to poverty

Urban/Town Planning
- Perception of town planning
- Scope of town planning
- master plan

- physical planning – associated with men's work
- Development control

Problem of improving women's situation
- training center
- vehicles
- lack of training
- lack of skill acquisition
- lack of materials such as books

Infrastructure
- Road networks/ Road access
- Water

- Electricity
- Drainage

Production, social reproduction, reproduction
- Shops
- Women sustaining family
- Women's engagement in domestic work
- Women & children
- Women and home
- Women as wives and mothers

Disease
- Cholera
- malaria
- disease eradication

Political parties
- Action Group
- PDP

Politicians
- Sarah Jubril
- Dora Akunyili
- Awolowo
- Akintola
- Sirleaf
- Babaginda

Government
- Government structure
- Accountability
- Government policies
- policy makers
- Bureaucracy

Empowerment
- skill acquisition as empowerment (Relationship between training and empowerment)
  - Self-employment
  - Financial independence
    - Escape from poverty

- Free interest loan to women
- Women's empowerment as complementing
- Empowerment as different from liberation

Housing conditions
- Smell
- Sanitation
- Number of people
- Disease
- Close proximity of houses to each other

Unemployment
- unemployment and women
  - problem of roaming – sexuality

Politics
- Gender gap in politics
- Women & Politics
  - Women's participation in (national) politics
    - prostitution/flirtatious
    - male dominance
    - time of meetings
    - women don't get sponsorship
    - lack of funding
    - cultural norms
    - religion
    - Supportive husband
      - Jealousy
  - Women and political representation
  - Wives of chairmen
- Stability in democracy correlated with increase in women representatives
  -

Community Development
- community's involvement
  - Public consultation

- ▪ Women as observer
  - o Self-help projects
  - o Community Development associations
    - ▪ Community development council
      - • Landlord association
  - o Vigilantes

Women's status/issues
- • lack of women's independence
- • Things that will improve position of women
- • What needs to be done for women
- • Importance of women's rights
- • Control of women's movements
- • Approach to solving women's issues
- • Women suffering

NGOs
- • NCWS

Transportation
- • Mobility – transportation for work

- • Movement – traffic congestion/bad roads

Financing
- • Individual
  - o For house
  - o For shop
  - o For small businesses

Problems encountered in doing job
- • insufficient funding
- • People's attitude
- • Government attitude
- • Traditional customs and norm
- • Political interference
- • Equipment
- • Favouritism – ethnicity & tribalism
- • Insufficient training

Education
- • illiteracy
- • Rights training
- • Politics (voting)

Residential areas
- • Government reservation area
- • Core area – indigenous area

Building Regulations
- • Ventilation

Examples of Codes and Subcodes from interviews with women

Finances
- • Uses of money
  - o pay off loans
  - o school fees
    - ▪ loans
  - o clothes
  - o shoes
  - o food
- • Financial insecurity

  - o School fees
  - o food
- • ideal income

Government
- • corruption
- • Useless projects
- • ideal

Ibadan
- Descriptive words (+ Qualities of Ibadan)
    - Dirty
    - Clumsy
    - Rowdy
    - Peaceful
    - Clutter
    - Dull
    - Population
    - congested
- Places considered well-planned + beautiful
- Places considered badly planned
- Industrialization/commercialization
    - Cosmopolitan
    - civilization
- Modernization – physical development
    - urban renewal
    - housing
    - uncontrollable development
    - people as impediment
    - government as impediment
- Comparison to other places
    - Abuja
    - Lagos
    - Port Harcourt
    - China
    - 'abroad'
- Education system
- Security
    - crime
- Infrastructure/amenities
    - Road
    - Water
    - Electricity
    - Health centers
    - Hospital
    - Leisure
        - Cinema
        - Recreation centers
        - Amusement parks
        - library
- 'Modern' vs. 'indigenous'
- Aesthetic
- Market
    - Trading
    - Hawkers
    - Dangers associated with hawking and informal street selling
    - Expulsion
        - relocation
- Sanitation
    - sickness
- Role of Government
- Technology
- Standard of living

Politics
Political Participation
- Voting frequency
    - Often
    - Sometimes
    - Barely
- Deciding factor - who to vote for
    - treatment of civil servants
    - manifesto
    - interaction
    - track record
    - public opinion polls
    - just like them
Politicians
- Characteristics
    - Politicians as liars
        - Empty promises – incapable of fulfilling promises
    - Politicians as corrupt
    - Men as dominating political affairs at the city level
- Individual Politicians
    - Ladoja
    - Ige
    - Awolowo

- o Obasanjo
- o Abiola
- o Afolabi
- o Adedibu
- o Babaginda
- o Shagiri
- o Fashola as icon for Ibadan
  - ▪ party to vote for
  - ▪ represents some changes they want to see in Ibadan
- Accomplishments of Politicians
  - o free education (?)
  - o built more schools
  - o good treatment of civil servants
- Male politicians (description)
  - o stubborn
  - o hard-hearted

Women
- women in power
  - o motherhood discourse
  - o 'soft'
  - o good performance
- Women's exclusion from politics
  - o Men
    - ▪ Ego Preservation
      - • Men as selfish
      - • Men developing complex (can't handle competition from women)
      - • Men as insubordinate (can't be seen as being subordinate to women)
      - • Men wanting control
  - o Culture/Religion as hindrance
    - ▪ Politics as inherently male
    - ▪ Leadership as inherently male

(male as head as ordained by God and culture)
- ▪ Women politicians considered Irresponsible
  - • Flirt/prostitute discourse
- ▪ Women should play supporting role
  - • Position wise
  - • Campaigning role (essential)
- o Women as their own enemy
- o Marital - no support from husband
- o Women should be included
  - ▪ Women put in more effort
  - ▪ Inclusion of women on grounds of morality
- o God is assisting women now
- o Sirleaf
- o Hopes for female governor + presidency
  - ▪ Women as different from men
- o Politics as a Dangerous and dirty game
  - ▪ Women lacking strength
- o Patronage and figurehead politics
  - ▪ Inclusion by appointment
- o Incremental involvement of women

- Late night meetings
  - Irresponsible women attend

Women's Rights
- political
- voting
- equality
- no rights
- religion – men as head
- Rights over children
- No money = no rights
- No rights because of bad government
- Women should be head of family
- Double standards
- Unenlightened about rights
- Tradition as hindrance to actualizing rights
- Men's fear of women being better as hindrance
- Standing up against violence against women
- Condition of women
  - Economically disadvantaged
  - Religion as hindrance to empowerment
  - Domestic abuse
  - Second class citizen

Transportation
- Better public vehicles
- More frequency
- Lagos state transportation as ideal
- transport union violence