Clifford O. Odimegwu *Editor*

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This work is dedicated to all the emerging African scholars who are dedicated to change the African narratives.

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It is my candid hope that this seminal work on family demography in Africa will be helpful to stimulate further research in this field.

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Chapter 1
Introduction

Clifford O. Odimegwu

1.1 Introduction

While the increasing growth in the world population occurs exclusively in developing countries, the African continent is a significant contributor to this increase. The principal factors responsible for this growth are intrinsically associated with family factors. Population increases due to high fertility (Bongaarts and Sinding 2011; Odimegwu et al. 2015), increased life expectancy resulting from improved health care (Population Reference Bureau [PRB] 2012, 2014, 2015) and increased access to food production. Africa is synonymous with high fertility and a young population. The most prevalent and severe problems today occur in sub-Saharan Africa (Sippel et al. 2011). Of the 48 least developed countries in the world, 69% are located in Africa (PRB 2014, 2015). While it is expected that the population may double by 2050 (Homann et al. 2015), potential change in family structures could change this tide.

Family context remains a major issue for consideration in respect of the structure and functioning of the family. Family is the main artery providing a healthy environment for both individual and family care (Fahey et al. 2012; De Silva 2005; Johnson and Benson 2011; Odimegwu and Adedini 2013). However, the various interconnections often remain vague and not clearly delineated. While most family models place greater value on individual characteristics and personal interactions, little attention has been paid to the nexus between these traits and the contextual family environment, where they come from, live, work or socialise.

Demographic and economic decisions are often essentially family-based decisions, and these directly or indirectly impact on the nation and the world at large. Decisions on family size, income and occupation are all made at the family

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level but may exert positive or negative impacts on the national demographic structure, economic growth and development (Canning et al. 1994; Bloom et al. 2001). Therefore, as sub-Saharan African countries are trying to embrace sustainable development, the understanding of family factors and changes therein is crucial to the achievement of the goal. In addition, as the family context impacts family roles and capacities, family member interactions, family wellbeing and individual health (Odimegwu and Adedini 2013), the analysis of the resultant transition in family structure, which could also affect the individual members of the family and the society at large, is indispensable in achieving sustainable development.

The African family evolved from the early nomadic hunting-and-gathering societies, polygyny and larger kinship groups, characterised by a traditional crafts and barter economy (Caldwell and Caldwell 1990). Larger family size was encouraged, governance is the patriarchy system, and sexual fidelity of most, especially the husband, was not important as more children permit the family to farm more territory and to achieve economies of scale in domestic labour and trade in a labour-intensive economy (Caldwell and Caldwell 1990; Lerman and Wilcox 2014). Children were valued as apprentices and next-generation managers of the family enterprises (mostly farming and agricultural businesses).

However, the forces of civilization orchestrated by industrialization affected the traditional societal structure and have been paving the way for a more nuclear family with external-based production, which is beyond the reach of the family compound (Lerman and Wilcox 2014; Wenke 1984). Specifically, the usual two-parent families are fading away; the traditional extended families – which include parent(s) and kin from outside the nuclear family – have given way to the micronuclear family (a parent and children). Marriage rates are declining, together with the total fertility rate, although with an increase in nonmarital childbearing (Lerman and Wilcox 2014; World Family Trend 2015). Ibisomi and De Wet (2013) reported different changes in African households and families in the face of globalisation.

The advent of modern technology, expansion of global markets, education and the mass media have altered societal values and the family structure (Lerman and Wilcox 2014), leading to the emergence of communities where neighbours are strangers (Lerman and Wilcox 2014). Parents now tend to adjust their child-rearing behaviour to perceived environmental risks, especially the economic realities. Coupled with the above are the general effects of demographic transition outcomes, such as falling infant, child and even adult mortalities that occurred as a result of the adoption of the use of contraceptives and the industrial revolution (Bongaarts et al. 2012). Fertility control therefore results in fewer children and fewer extended families.

Family transition, which is a shift in the family and household structure, is mostly occasioned by people living longer, fewer children, increasing urban settings and higher living standards, all of which are family factors. It is closely tied to possible change in family member statuses and roles (Bongaarts 2008; Bongaarts and Sinding 2011; De Silva 2005; Fahey et al. 2012). These changes are appraised via change in residential aspects, economic aspects and social group aspects.

Family transition is demographically and economically ambivalent. The loss in traditional values nevertheless provided some opportunities (Pailhé et al. 2014). It is expected that as the family unit transitions from a traditional institution to a more liberalised modern family, this will result in changes in income, nutritional status, educational advancement, reduction in mortality and thus increased life expectancy and a general improvement in the of quality of life.

In Africa, there has been progressive decline in household sizes (Durham 2004; Fahey et al. 2012; De Silva 2005; Ibisomi and De Wet 2013). Family at the household level has transited from large and extended families to nuclear and kin units. The changes also included a transformation from traditional to expanded units but with less pressure of family formation, increase in female-headed households and gender equality, although not equity. The suspected drivers of family transition include delays in marriage (possibly resulting in a lower fertility level), more usage of contraceptives, reduction in unintended pregnancy, self-assertiveness, increase in socioeconomic status, women empowerment and a rise in autonomy for women and longevity. This could engender cohabitation, shorten marriage duration and result in less social connectedness.

The perspectives of family context should permeate the research parlance, to enhance provision of effective solutions to human and societal socioeconomic and demographic challenges. Where the understanding of these nexus is lacking, holistic family care and societal sustainable development could be hampered. The family is a unit of society, and holistic understanding of the day-to-day interactions of family members is crucial to a nation's development. While the current paradigms omit the family context, this study questions the current paradigms and previous conjectures in order to pave the way for the interjection of ideas on the improvement of the quality of life of men and society at large.

The thrust of this project is to examine the family context and consequences of family transition in Africa towards the achievement of sustainable development goals.

Sustainable Development Goals data sources are the following:

1.1.1 Data Sources

Although there is a dearth of comparative data on family by its definition, scattered data may exist on households, mostly defined by community. National Censuses and Demographic and Health Survey datasets may, in most cases, contain some relevant household variables, some of which can be used as proxies for family parameters. However, since DHS only began towards 2000, it is appropriate to use the various National Censuses datasets that cover the study period (1960–2015). The different studies reported here used population census across Africa countries for the years (1960–2015), selected from different subregions.

While there are studies on African fertility trends and demographic changes (Bloom et al. 2001; Bongaarts and Sinding 2011; Bongaarts 2008; Johnson and

Benson 2011; Sippel et al. 2011), family structure, family transition, fertility, children or adult wellbeing (Odimegwu and Adedini 2013; Fahey et al. 2012; Lerman and Wilcox 2014), there is a relative dearth of literature on the context and consequences of African family transition.

Apart from being unique in its approach, this study is intended to apprise policymakers of the interactions between contextual aspects of the family and the role of family member and their wellbeing. It provides indicators into how changing family structures could benefit through social policies and programmes that facilitate changes in the provision of education and resources, which would enable the African region to achieve sustainable economic development.

Chapter 1 introduces the context and content of the Book chapters. In Chap. 2, the authors conducted a systematic review of family demography research in Africa. They found that there are family transitions in Africa due to socioeconomic factors, religious, health and political changes. There are research gaps on topics such as same-sex marriages, cohabitation and father-only households. Families in Africa are responding to socioeconomic and other changes that are happening around them. Family research is still understudied in Africa.

Etieyibo in Chap. 3 discusses the notion of the extended family in the context of justice and obligations. He contends that the African notion of family (a) is a consequence of the African communal and holistic ontology and (b) that although the obligations that are imposed by this family structure are more wide-ranging compared to the nuclear family structure, when properly harnessed, it can provide a strong foundation for social and political development.

Ntoimo et al. reviewed existing theories for the study of family in Chap. 4. They noted that many demographic studies of the family in sub-Saharan Africa have not been anchored on any theoretical orientation. The major focus, strengths and weakness of nine theoretical perspectives is highlighted. Advancement in understanding family dynamics in the subregion would depend heavily on the correct application of existing theories and models.

In Chap. 5, Amoo and Mutanda conducted a review of African family household typologies from the nineteenth century up to twenty-first century. Chapter 5 highlighted that the prevalence of the nuclear family in Africa is less than 15% and the alignment between globalisation and the transition from extended to nuclear family structures could be a distant reality in Africa. The study concludes that virtually all family types are characterised with a mixture of declining and increasing family sizes in each of the countries selected but with considerable reduction in polygamous and extended family households. The obvious diversities in the African family and emergence of the cohabited couple family, single parents, childless couples and a general decline in family sizes could be harnessed for sustainable development through the redirection of government efforts to these new family household typologies in Africa.

Emmanuel Amoo, in Chap. 6, examines trends and determinants in family formation. The study validated the life course framework that timing and types of union are determined by variations in education and socioeconomic status, among others. It concludes that there are declines in levels of women marrying at younger

age, cohabiting and the proportion having sex at younger ages. The authors recommend an increase in women's access to higher education and reproductive health services, in order to heighten the age at marriage and thus reduce morbidities or other health hazards attributed to early marriages.

In Chap. 7, Adedini et al. provide evidence on union dissolution and its trends, patterns and determinants in sub-Saharan Africa, by analysing the most recent Demographic and Health Survey data of 15 sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries. Analyses were conducted based on the women recode data of the DHS. Findings showed enormous changes in the levels and patterns of marital dissolutions in SSA. The programme and policy implications of these results are discussed.

Ntoimo and Mutanda, in Chap. 8, using pooled data obtained from the Demographic and Health Surveys in Africa, examined single parenthood in Africa. The results show that over 22% of women aged 20 to 49 years in Africa were unmarried mothers. The significant factors associated with never-married parenthood among women in the region include current age, place of residence, highest level of education, occupation, household wealth quintile, birth order as first-born child, experience of intimate partner violence by respondent's mother, access to the media, community level of poverty and community level of female education. Notably, most of the determinants were similar across the subregions in their direction of association. Among all categories of single mothers in the region, the never married were the most vulnerable in all eight indicators of multidimensional deprivation. In conclusion, unmarried motherhood is obviously a common nuptiality pattern in contemporary Africa. With its diverse implications for wellbeing, family-oriented policies, programmes and studies have become more imperative.

Guided by the Social Determinants of Health Framework, De Wet and colleagues, in Chap. 9, examine the changing composition, fertility and mortality patterns of adolescents in sub-Saharan Africa. In all countries, adolescents are highly concentrated in rural areas. Furthermore, the probability of adolescent fertility is higher in rural than urban areas. However, adolescent mortality is higher in urban compared to rural areas. They called for efforts to address the peculiar needs of rural adolescents in Africa.

J.A. Akinyemi and Stephen Wandera, in Chap. 10, provided evidence on family changes and the health consequences. Family norms, values and practices are deeply rooted in the sociocultural beliefs of societies. Using reproductive history data collected for demographic and health surveys in seven countries, relative contributions of changes in these characteristics to childhood mortality decline were estimated using multivariate decomposition techniques. The findings indicate that though family changes in the seven countries are diverse, some patterns still emerged. Prominent among these patterns is the declining proportion of women in marital unions. While the pace was fastest in Ghana and Namibia, the case was different in the other five countries. Contraceptive use increased, and family size followed a downward trend. Nonmarital childbearing increased only in Namibia and Ghana. Furthermore, the results showed that the proportion of changes in childhood death that could be attributed to family changes is less than 25% in all countries. The complex nature of the relationship between selected family indicators and childhood

mortality precludes a conclusive statement on the implications of changes in family structure for child survival.

In Chap. 12, O.D. Somefun argues that adolescent development is affected not only by individual factors but by the broader social environment in which families live. Her analysis, with health survey data from 12 selected countries in SSA, supports the family composition perspective as an explanatory framework to better understand the influences of the changing dynamics of familial life on the development of young people. The chapter found that the protective role of the presence of two parents in the household varied among regions studied, when adolescent development is operationalized as protective sexual behaviour (condom use and age disparate relationship).

L. Ikamari and Alfred Otieno, in Chap. 13, examine changes in families and households in East Africa. It covers changes in the family structure and functions and also in marriage in the three countries over the last two decades. The results show that families and households in East Africa have been undergoing gradual change as a consequence of social and economic changes taking place. In Kenya household size has declined from 5.7 in 1969 to 4.4 members in 2009. In Tanzania the household size has changed from 4.8 in 1970s to 4.7 in 2012. While in Uganda it has remained at 4.7 since the 1960s to 2014. In all three countries, family size is still fairly large, averaging about five children, having declined from around seven children in the 1970s. Fertility has also been on the decline in the three countries. In Kenya fertility has declined from 7.6 in 1969 to 3.54 children per woman in 2014. In Tanzania fertility is 5.5 children, having declined from 6.9 children per woman in 1978. In Uganda fertility is 5.97 in 2013, having declined from 7.4 children per woman in 1980s. Marriage is still early and universal in the three countries. However, over the years the three countries have experienced a gradual increase in monogamous marriages, a decline in polygamous unions and an increase in age first marriage, particularly among women. Currently the median age at first marriage among women in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda is 19.2, 20.2 and 18.2 years, respectively. The median age at first marriage for men is, on average, 5 years higher than that of women in each of the three countries.

In Chap. 14 Olatunji Alaba and colleagues examine continuity and change in families and households in northern Nigeria. They found that, in family types, household structure and relationships in the contemporary northern Nigerian settings, the high rate of divorce and remarriage have led to greater number of reconstituted families and single-person households. However, the traditional extended and polygamous family structures as practiced in the past remain the norm for most people.

Vesper H. Chisumpa and Pamela Chirwa-Banda, in Chap. 15, examined the levels and types of domestic violence, with focus on the socioeconomic dimensions of family violence and its implications in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). The chapter uses Demographic and Health Survey data (DHS) collected between 2011 and 2015 on domestic violence from 19 SSA countries, to investigate the association between educational attainment, wealth status, employment and family violence. Results show variations in the prevalence of family violence across countries but a high

prevalence of family violence – above 50% – in Cameroon, Congo DRC, Gabon, Sierra Leone and Uganda. In most SSA countries, it was found that women who were currently and formerly married, employed for cash and witnessed parental violence were more likely to experience family violence. Mixed results were obtained for education and wealth status due to variations in country contexts. The findings highlight the importance of understanding the socioeconomic dynamics of the family and gender equality outcomes in the context of the demographic transition and sustainable development goals. Policies and programmes should be targeted at strengthening families and their welfare.

Given the importance of family in African culture and the persistent occurrence of teenage pregnancy, S. Mkwananzi, in Chap. 16, investigates whether family dynamics spill over to teenage pregnancy and childbearing. Building on evidence from the developed world that family variables can have an effect on sexual attitudes and behaviour, she used data from Demographic and Health Surveys to estimate multilevel logistic models that identify associations between teenage pregnancy and family structure and disruption while controlling for demographic and socioeconomic factors, over and above describing the levels and trend of pregnancy and childbearing for teenage females in 15 sub-Saharan African countries. The findings underscore the influence that family has in the childbearing state of teenage females in sub-Saharan Africa and demonstrate that considering the broader familial environment reveals important insights into teenage pregnancy and childbearing in the area.

Finally, C. Odimegwu and colleagues reviewed the current state of family legislations and policies relevant to family in sub-Saharan Africa. They highlight the sundry policies and laws that are influenced by cultural and religious differences within and across regions. Issues relating to patriarchy and religions are seen in the policies relating to marriage, particularly in the Western African region, while more gender-balanced and child protective policies are seen in the Southern region of the continent. In the policies and laws of the Eastern Africa region, a shift to more generalised recognition of diverse family forms, such as civil marriages, can be seen, and the Central African countries' gender discrimination in inheritance and legalised marriages from age 15 for females remains problematic. In conclusion, the disparities in laws and policies that perpetuate gender inequality contribute to the continued vulnerability of females and children in sub-Saharan Africa.

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Chapter 2
Family Demography in Sub-Saharan Africa: Systematic Review of Family Research

Clifford O. Odimegwu, Nicole De Wet, Sunday A. Adedini, and Sathiyasusuman Appunni

2.1 Introduction

The traditional family in African societies is an institution that contains a husband with his wives and children, as well as blood or marriage relatives. In the African context, family is based on lineage, kinship and reciprocity (Wusu and Isiugo-Abanihe 2006). It is the basis of social organisations in Africa which gives primary care to the young and the aged, as well as the agent for social control (Takyi 2001). The institution is resilient in sub-Saharan Africa but responding to general socio-economic and political changes (Wusu and Isiugo-Abanihe 2006). Furthermore, HIV has played a pivotal role in the recent changes in family in sub-Saharan Africa, because of adult mortality of people in their prime age (Dintwat 2010).

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One could argue that sub-Saharan Africa is going through the second demographic transition, which is characterised by increase in divorce, increase in contraceptive effectiveness, change in abortion legislation, decrease in marriage and increase in cohabitation. Furthermore, this "second demographic transition" brings a plethora of living arrangements other than marriage, the disconnection between marriage and reproduction, and migration (Lesthaeghe 2010).

There is a growing body of literature on family transition in Africa; studies have been conducted on a variety of forms of family changes such as family formation, family size, family structure, family dissolution, living arrangements and the effects of family changes. This review argues that family in Africa is in resilience, and it is reacting to global changes. This paper seeks to review the documented studies on family changes in Africa.

2.2 Research Question

What are the types, determinants and consequences of family changes in Africa?

2.3 Method of Review

A systematic approach to all literature was used to identify studies on family change in Africa. This review included academic peer-reviewed journals from PubMed, JSTOR, Google Scholar and ScienceDirect. The keywords used for search were "family research", "family dynamics", "family transitions" and "family changes". The following specific words that represent family changes in Africa were also used in the search: "orphanhood", "single motherhood", "divorce", "family formation", "same-gendered families", "child-headed households" and "nuclear and extended families". The reviewed studies were only limited to African studies. To develop a comprehensive review, journal articles published from 1976 to date were included. Sixty-nine journal articles fitting the inclusion criteria that analysed the determinants of family changes and the consequences of family changes in Africa were reviewed.

2.4 Findings

2.4.1 Family Formations

2.4.1.1 Changes in Family Size

Studies have established that family size in Africa has changed and people are having fewer children in general (Ikamari 2005; Wusu and Isiugo-Abanihe 2006; Dintwat 2010; Madhavan and Schatz 2011; Mturi and Kembo 2011). Shapiro and Gebreselassie (2008) analysed fertility behaviour of 24 countries with multiple

Demographic and Health Surveys in sub-Saharan Africa and found that fertility transition had commenced in most of these countries. The study further highlighted that fertility decline is still ongoing in 65% of the countries (Shapiro and Gebreselassie 2008). Factors such as delayed marriage, female education, female labour force participation, migration, and fear of HIV/AIDS, as well as the high costs of living, lead to reduced fertility and consequently smaller families in sub-Saharan Africa (Ikamari 2005; Shapiro and Gebreselassie 2008; Dintwat 2010; Lachaud et al. 2014). Four reviewed studies noted that use of modern contraception has contributed to fertility decline (Heaton and Hirschl 1999; Shapiro and Gebreselassie 2008; Dintwat 2010; Mturi and Kembo 2011). There has been a decline in extended family support, leaving childrearing costs as the responsibility of the biological parents, so couples now want fewer children (Wusu and Isiugo-Abanihe 2006). However, one study by Heaton and Hirschl (1999) found that Hausa women in Nigeria still preferred larger families and married early, because childbearing confers social status in their culture. This shows how some ethnic groups are less susceptible to changes due to their cultural beliefs.

2.4.1.2 Premarital Childbearing

Marriage is the context in which childbearing is socially acceptable in most countries (Ikamari 2005). Family formation has changed in Africa in that there is an increase of women who have children out of wedlock (Calves 1999; Wusu and Isiugo-Abanihe 2006; Mokomane 2006; Palamuleni and Adebowali 2014a, b). Palamuleni and Adebowale (2014a, b) studied the levels and patterns of premarital childbearing in sub-Saharan Africa, and the study revealed that premarital childbearing was highest in Namibia (26%) and lowest in Nigeria (5%). Furthermore, their study revealed that premarital childbearing was higher among women who had no formal education, compared to those who were educated. The odds of having a premarital birth significantly decreased with an increase in the wealth quintile in Nigeria, Rwanda and Namibia. Women who had early sexual debut had higher odds of having a premarital birth in Nigeria, Senegal, Congo and Namibia (Palamuleni and Adebowale 2014a, b). Premarital childbearing is one of the features of the second demographic transition (Lesthaeghe 2010). Therefore, we argue that sub-Saharan Africa is undergoing the second demographic transition.

2.4.1.3 Delayed Marriages

The other noted change in family formation is the issue of increase in age at first marriage in Africa. Marriage has traditionally been universal and early in sub-Saharan Africa, but this has changed in most countries. Garenne (2014) studied the levels and trends of age at first marriage for females in 33 sub-Saharan African countries and found that the average age of first marriage was 18 years for a cohort of women born in 1930 and it increased to 22.6 years for a cohort of women born in 1990. Age at marriage has increased for both males and females. For example,

Palamuleni (2010) noted that the singulate mean age at marriage (SMAM) for South African males increased from 31.0 years in 1996 to 32.5 years in 2007 and that of females increased from 28 years in 1996 to 30 years in 2007.

Research has shown that educated women are more likely to delay marriage, because of the years they spent in school and their focus on career advancement first (Garenne 2004; Ikamari 2005; Mokomane 2006; Palamuleni 2011). Ikamari (2005) found that risk of first marriage was 24% lower for women with primary education and 46% lower for women with secondary education, all compared with women with no education in Kenya. In addition, delay in marriage has been attributed to the increase in bride costs, because men will take time to save money for lobola (Dintwat 2010). Delay in marriage because of education and the increase in bride wealth show that family formation is resilient but changing, responding to socio-economic changes such as high cost of living, as well as women empowerment, in the form of increased female education. Postponement of marriage is linked to the second demographic transition, which proposes that further decline in fertility is caused by delay in marriage (Lesthaeghe, 2010).

2.4.1.4 Cohabitation

Marriage has been traditionally seen as the foundation of family formation, and couples had to be married before they started staying together and start childbearing (Calves 1999; Ikamari 2005). There has been a decline in marriages in Africa, and there is an increase in alternatives such as consensual cohabiting, which is one of the features of the second demographic transition. For example, in South Africa 5% of African women reported that they were cohabitating 1995 and this had increased to 14% in 2008 (Posel et al. 2011). A study on cohabitation in sub-Saharan Africa revealed that Southern Africa had the highest proportions of women aged 15–49 years who were cohabiting, with the proportion above 10% in Botswana, South Africa and Namibia (Mokomane 2006). Seventy percent of the selected countries in East and West Africa had proportions of cohabitants lower than 10% (Mokomane 2006).

There are three common interpretations of cohabitation, which are cohabitation as an alternative to marriage, a prelude to marriage and an alternative to being single (Mokomane 2005). Mokomane (2005) revealed that cohabitation in Botswana can be viewed as a prelude to marriage. Posel et al. (2011) noted a difference in the types of cohabitation between blacks and whites in South Africa. Cohabitation preluded marriage among whites, whereas it was an alternative among blacks. Cohabiting has been cited as an alternative to marriage among South African blacks, because of the high bride prices men have to pay if they decide to marry (Posel et al. 2011).

In addition, cohabitation has been attributed to unemployment of men, increase in the number of educated women who want to establish careers and premarital childbearing (Mokomane 2006; Dintwat 2010; Moore and Govender 2013). One would argue that this is evident of how the attitude to marriage is responding to changes in the economy, leading to high unemployment, changes in culture leading

to high cost of bride wealth and women empowerment, which is focusing on increasing women's level of education.

2.4.1.5 Changes in Family Roles

Four reviewed studies on family roles highlighted that the roles of fathers and mothers in their families are changing (Smit 2002; Montgomery et al. 2006; Kimani and Kombo 2010; Moore 2013). Men were traditionally responsible for economic provision in a household, and women played a domestic role. However, migration of men, unemployment and the increasing level of female in the labour force changed the role of men and women in their families (Smit 2002; Montgomery et al. 2006; Kimani and Kombo 2010). The involvement of women in the labour market has led to the change of a man's role in a family as the sole breadwinner and their involvement in domestic work (Smit 2002; Montgomery et al. 2006). Corroborating this finding, Montgomery et al. (2006) found that in the context of HIV, men responded by performing roles that went beyond economic support in South Africa. Men were observed engaging in activities such as child care, household chores and emotional support.

A study by Kimani and Kombo (2010) on the challenges faced by nuclear families with absent fathers in Kenya found that women had to fulfil their role as mothers, as well as play the role of the father in order to fill the gap of their missing husbands. Economic provision was traditionally a man's responsibility, but these women were left with that responsibility which was very challenging (Kimani and Kombo 2010). As a result, women were now playing a triple role, specifically the productive role, reproductive role and fulfilling community expectations. A study by Moore (2013) in South Africa revealed that notions of motherhood have changed from the nurturing role towards increased emphasis on achieving goals, such as high educational attainment, employment and financial independence. This shows how women's empowerment through increased female education and female labour force participation has led to changes in family roles.

2.5 Types of Families

2.5.1 Emergence of Same-Gendered Families

One of the nontraditional family forms that have challenged society's notion of family is the concept of same-gendered families (Lubbe 2008). The same-sex marriage legislation and adoption rights for gays and lesbians in South Africa have led to the formation of nontraditional types of families (Rothmann 2011). Studies have been conducted to examine parenting and experiences of children from the emerging same-gendered families in South Africa (Lubbe 2007, 2008; Rothmann 2011). All

three of the identified studies employed qualitative research methods, and they are South African studies. Lubbe (2007) postulated that parenting and family are constructed; hence structural variables, such as the gender composition of families and the division of parental roles, are not as important as process variables, such as the quality of relationships and the quality of care the children receive. Another qualitative study by Lubbe (2008) on experiences of children from lesbian-headed families revealed that the children disclosed that they were from lesbian parents to their friends, after being aware that their friends were uneasy, in order to gain the acceptance of their friends (Lubbe 2008).

2.5.2 Decline in Polygamy

Polygamy, which is defined as the practice of one man being married to more than one wife at the same time, has been a family structure common in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa (Smith-Greenway and Trinitapoli 2014). Reviewed literature shows that polygamous marriages have declined in many African societies (Mere 1976; Hayase and Liaw 1997; Heaton and Hirschl 1999; Mokomane 2006; Fenske 2013). Using Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) from 34 countries in sub-Saharan Africa, Fenske (2013) found that about 40% of women who first married in 1970 were in polygamous marriages, whereas about 15% of women who married in 2005 were in polygamous unions. Reasons for decline in polygamy include delayed marriage, high bride price and the high cost of raising children (Heaton and Hirschl 1999; Wusu and Isiugo-Abanihe 2006). In addition, the increase in females attaining education has also played a pivotal role in reducing polygamy (Hayase and Liaw 1997). Two studies noted that Christianity led to the decline of polygamy in Africa, due to its negative moral judgement on polygamy (Hayase and Liaw 1997; Mokomane 2006).

2.5.3 Single Motherhood and Female-Headed Households

Another aspect of family transformation in Africa is the emergence of single motherhood (Wusu and Isiugo-Abanihe 2006; Dintwat 2010). The two main pathways into single motherhood are giving birth before marriage and experiencing a union dissolution through divorce or widowhood after having at least one dependent child (Wusu and Isiugo-Abanihe 2006; Clark and Hamplova 2013). Using survival analysis techniques, Clark and Hamplova (2013) found that approximately 50% of married women will become single mothers as a result of divorce or widowhood in sub-Saharan Africa. Two studies on the relationship between premarital childbearing and marriage found that premarital childbearing results in women being marginalised in the marriage market; hence they remain single (Calves 1999; Hattori and

Larsen 2007). Both studies found that women who had a premarital child birth and had been single mothers for 4 or more years were less likely to get married, compared to women who had no children. Two studies noted that the cultural practice of wife inheritance to keep family ties together is declining in Africa, resulting in some widows remaining single (Foster et al. 1997; Wusu and Isiugo-Abanihe 2006). The decline in wife inheritance could be attributed to HIV, which is encouraging this change in behaviour.

With regard to single motherhood, the phenomenon of female-headed households is increasing in sub-Saharan Africa (Siqwana-Ndulo 1998; Madhavan and Schatz 2011). For example, Siqwana-Ndulo (1998) surveyed 90 households and found that 62% of them were headed by women. The difference between a single mother and a female household head is that a single mother can be in a household headed by a male who is not her husband. In addition, the female head may not necessarily be the single parent; a grandmother, for example, may also be the head of household. The main causes of the establishment of female-headed households are male migration, widowhood and an increase in divorce and pregnancies before marriage (Siqwana-Ndulo 1998; Katapa 2006; Hattori and Larsen 2007).

2.5.4 Orphanhood and Child-Headed Households

An orphan is defined as a child below the age of 18 who has lost at least one parent (Ha et al. 2015). All the five studies that examined orphanhood noted that the HIV/AIDS epidemic has contributed immensely to the increase in orphanhood in Africa (Foster et al. 1997; Monasch and Boerma 2004; Hosegood et al. 2007; Meintjes et al. 2010; Ha et al. 2015). Ha et al. (2015) noted that there are 14.9 million AIDS orphans in sub-Saharan Africa. This shows how family is responding to the epidemic. Using Demographic and Surveillance Systems from Malawi, Tanzania and South Africa, Hosegood et al. (2007) found that the prevalence of paternal orphanhood is higher than maternal orphanhood, because men are older than their wives and the sex differences in HIV infection and survival times (Hosegood et al. 2007). In Tanzania, 5% of children under the age of 18 had lost a mother, whereas the figure was 9% for those who lost a father (Hosegood et al. 2007).

Four out of the five studies found that even though there is an increase of orphanhood, there is no evidence that there is a higher number of child-headed households as a result (Monasch and Boerma 2004; Hosegood et al. 2007; Madhavan and Schatz 2007; Meintjes et al. 2010). A child-headed household is defined as a household headed by a person who is less than 18 years old (Hosegood et al. 2007). Hosegood et al. (2007) found no relationship between orphanhood and child-headed households in Tanzania, Malawi and South Africa. Reinforcing this finding, Meintjes et al. (2010) also did not find evidence that child-headed households are a rapidly growing phenomenon in South Africa, suggesting that kinship networks still provide care for AID orphans. On the contrary, Foster et al. (1997) found that child-headed households are a new way of coping as people respond to the impact

of AIDS in families in Zimbabwe. Child-headed households were established because of the reluctance of extended families to take them in, death of relatives or the refusal of relatives to move in with children.

2.5.5 Child Fostering

Child fostering, which is defined as the custom of children living outside of the natal home, is practiced throughout much of sub-Saharan Africa (Monasch and Boerma 2004; Hosegood et al. 2007; Pillai and Sharma 2013; Grant and Yeatman 2014). There are two categories of child fostering, namely, crisis and noncrisis situation fostering. Crisis situation fostering is a strategy used by families to cope with unexpected and ongoing difficulties, for example, fostering as a result of the death of a parent (Monasch and Boerma 2004; Hosegood et al. 2007), divorce (Grant and Yeatman 2014) and migration (Monasch and Boerma 2004). Alternatively noncrisis child fostering is a strategy to strengthen kinship ties (Pillai and Sharma 2013) and also sharing the cost of children (Wusu and Isiugo-Abanihe 2006). Wusu and Isiugo-Abanihe (2006) noted that the practice of noncrisis fostering to spread childrearing costs is declining, so that childrearing is the responsibility of biological parents only. Grant and Yeatman (2012) examined the change in child fostering patterns in 14 sub-Saharan African countries and found that there was a decline in non-orphan fostering and an increase in crisis orphan fostering in countries where there was high HIV prevalence.

2.5.6 Nuclear and Extended Family

There are three types of families – nuclear family, single-parent family and extended family (Dintwat 2010). The sub-Saharan community has been traditionally dominated by the extended family, which comprises generations of close relatives living together, as opposed to a married couple living with their biological children (Wusu and Isiugo-Abanihe 2006). Two reviewed studies noted that the concept of family in an African setting has reduced in size to become nuclear, which consists of only father, mother and children due to urbanisation and modernisation (Amoateng and Heaton 1989; Kimani and Kombo 2010). Amoateng and Heaton (1989) noted that Christianity has eroded the basis of the extended family through its encouragement of individual achievement and the introduction of the nuclear family system. In the same vein, Adegoke (2010) noted that the extended family system, which used to resolve conflicts between couples, is no longer operating as effectively as it did in the past; hence divorce rates are increasing. However, a study by Siqwana-Ndulo (1998) found that extended families still exist and black families in rural South Africa are not moving towards the nuclear setup. Confirming this point, Frantz et al. (2015) noted that multigenerational coresidence is still a norm and a widely

preferred option in South Africa. As mentioned above, extended families are the main caregivers of orphans in sub-Saharan Africa (Monasch and Boerma 2004; Hosegood et al. 2007; Madhavan and Schatz 2007; Meintjes et al. 2010). This shows that extended families are still pivotal in most African societies.

2.6 Determinants of Family Changes

2.6.1 Women's Empowerment

Women empowerment can be defined as the extension of freedom of choice and action to a woman's life (Duflo 2012). It focuses on improving the ability of women to access elements of development such as health, education, economic opportunities and political participation (Duflo 2012). Women in Africa are becoming increasingly empowered, and this has had an impact on family. Progress in increasing women's educational attainment has been identified as one of the key factors contributing to a sustained fertility decline across sub-Saharan Africa (Shapiro and Gebreselassie 2008). Two of the proximate determinants of fertility, the use of modern contraception and the percentage in union, are influenced by women's educational attainment (Shapiro and Gebreselassie 2008; Palamuleni and Adebowale 2014a, b). Takyi (2001) and Adegoke (2010) noted that women who attained higher levels of education were more likely to divorce in Ghana and Nigeria. Furthermore, delayed marriages have been attributed to increase in women's education attainment and their preference for advancing their careers before getting married (Ikamari 2005). Mokomane (2006) noted that educated women prefer cohabiting to avoid the cultural subordination of wives to their husbands that is typical of traditional marriage in many societies in Africa. This evidence supports the argument that family is resilient but changing due to global ideologies such as promoting women empowerment as it is imperative for development (Duflo 2012).

2.6.2 Migration and Family Changes

Three out of the four reviewed studies on migration noted that despite its improvement in the welfare of people, labour migration of a spouse is associated with marital dissolution and consequently a weakened family structure (Modo 2001; Dintwat 2010; Anglewicz 2012). A study in Lesotho found that 10% of married men who migrated to work in South Africa abandoned their wives and remarried in South Africa (Modo 2001). Dintwat (2010) noted that labour migration of men from Southern African countries such as Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi and Zambia to South Africa resulted in men having "small houses", which are extramarital relationships where they had children. Most of these men divorced when they went back home.

In South Africa some mothers migrate to urban areas, leaving children with their grandmothers (Posel and Casale 2003; Hosegood et al. 2007; Moore 2013; Tangwe 2013). Posel and Casale (2003) noted that some of the women in rural South Africa migrate to look for employment in urban areas, leaving their children with grandmothers when their children get older and they have more expenses such as school fees.

2.6.3 Urbanisation and Family Changes

Reviewed studies showed that urbanisation has contributed immensely to family change in Africa. For example, urbanisation was associated with fertility decline (Shapiro and Gebreselassie 2008), delayed marriage (Ikamari 2005), cohabitation (Moore and Govender 2013) and decline in polygamy (Mere 1976; Hayase and Liaw 1997). Urbanisation has led to the decline in polygamy in Africa because of high cost of living, shortages of houses, a weakened kinship system and high risks of unemployment in the urban areas. A study by Hayase and Liaw (1997) on polygamy in sub-Saharan Africa found that there were lower rates of polygamy in urban areas, compared to rural areas in Senegal, Ghana, Kenya and Zimbabwe (Hayase and Liaw 1997). The study that examined the association between premarital childbearing and place of residence in sub-Saharan African yielded inconclusive findings. Premarital childbearing was attributed to residing in urban areas in Nigeria, Senegal, Congo and Namibia, but rural women were more likely to have had premarital childbearing in Malawi and Rwanda (Palamuleni and Adebowali 2014a, b).

2.6.4 Marital Dissolution

One of the themes on family change in sub-Saharan Africa that has been of interest to scholars is divorce. Family is central to African societies, with disruptions in family structure having socio-economic consequences on individuals, as well as the society at large (Takyi 2001, 2007). A study in Ethiopia found that 45% of first marriages in Ethiopia end in divorce within 30 years and 65% of women who divorce do so within the first 5 years of marriage (Tilson and Larsen 2000). All four studies that examined the association between HIV and marriage dissolution established that HIV was associated with marriage dissolution, either through divorce or widowhood (Porter et al. 2004; Floyd et al. 2008; Anglewicz 2012). A study by Porter et al. (2004) in Uganda found an association between HIV being positive and divorce or separation and widowhood. Discordant HIV-positive couples were more likely to divorce or separate, whereas concordant couples were more likely to experience widowhood.

Studies have found that childlessness is a determinant of divorce in Africa (Tilson and Larsen 2000; Takyi 2001; Reniers 2003; Adegoke 2010). The five studies that

examined the role of religion found that religious affiliation was significantly associated with divorce in Ghana and Malawi (Amoateng and Heaton 1989; Tilson and Larsen 2000; Reniers 2003; Takyi and Gyimah 2007; Adegoke 2010). Studies that considered the association between age at marriage and divorce found that women who marry young were significantly more likely to divorce (Amoateng and Heaton 1989; Tilson and Larsen 2000; Takyi 2001; Reniers 2003; Takyi and Gyimah 2007; Adegoke 2010). The three reviewed studies that examined the association between polygyny and divorce found that people in polygamous marriages were more likely to divorce, compared to women in monogamous marriages in Ghana and Malawi (Takyi 2001; Reniers 2003; Takyi and Gyimah 2007). Two studies found that less educated women were less likely to divorce than their educated counterparts in Ghana and Nigeria (Takyi 2001; Adegoke 2010). Other studies found that women who attained higher education were less likely to divorce, compared to women with less education, in Ethiopia and Ghana (Amoateng and Heaton 1989; Tilson and Larsen 2000). Contrasting these findings Reniers (2003) found no association between education and divorce in Malawi.

2.7 Outcomes of Family Changes

2.7.1 Effects of Family Changes on Children's Education

The reviewed studies on the impact of family changes on children's education found that parental absence has a negative impact on education (Chuong and Operario 2012; Thiombiano et al. 2013; Akanle et al. 2014; Ha et al. 2015). Two of the reviewed studies noted that orphanhood had a negative influence on children's education in South Africa and Zimbabwe (Chuong and Operario 2012; Ha et al. 2015). Chuong and Operario (2012) found that orphaned children were more likely to experience delay in education compared to their non-orphaned counterparts in South Africa. Supporting this view, Ha et al. (2015) found that orphanhood significantly affected children's access to education in Zimbabwe. Orphans were significantly less likely to be attending school and they were more likely to be school dropouts, compared to non-orphans (Ha et al. 2015).

Further, De Wet (2013) found that parent absenteeism was associated with adolescents working for 10 or more hours a week in South Africa. She further postulated that even though it is legal for them to work, the long working hours jeopardise their school completion, and these adolescents will be unskilled workers, who will struggle to find jobs in the long run. A study by Thiombiano et al. (2013) in Burkina Faso revealed that children who had divorced mothers had a lower probability of entering school, compared to children who had married mothers. Furthermore, Akanle et al. (2014) found that having one parent absent had a negative impact of the children's education and also increased the chances of children committing crime in Nigeria.