

Changes in the Traditional Family System, Poverty and Associated Parenting Challenges on Adolescent Behavioural Outcomes.

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ABSTRACT

This study reports the result of a qualitative investigation of the changes from extended to nuclear family system, the parenting challenges facing such nuclear families and the influence of such challenges on the behavioural outcomes of children. The study is based on interviews and focus group discussions with 130 participants which include literate and non-literate parents, in-school and out-of school adolescents. Findings reveal that the changes in family composition, family relationships, clans and other kin groups are bringing about declining influence and effectiveness of parents. These changes are producing movement toward nuclear-family systems, eroding extended-family forms and other types of kinship groups. The respondents also reported modernization, economic and social pressures, poverty, polygamy and increased divorce rates as some of the challenges to parenting. These challenges were also associated with negative behavioural outcomes of the children. Suggestions for improvement were made by the respondents for the modern nuclear family parents.

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INTRODUCTION

One of the most treasured values of the African peoples is the family and most especially the children. This explains why child birth is celebrated. From birth children are raised by the members of the community who are made up of the extended family members such that person is defined in terms of the community to which he or she belongs. This follows a Yoruba proverb which says *Oju kan lo n bimo, igba oju lo n wo o* meaning that a child is born to a parent but the rearing of the child is done by the entire members of the extended family system which may be up to two hundred in number. This explains why among some tribes in Yoruba, in Nigeria a person is identified by the *agbo ile* (meaning community) to which he/she belongs. This sense of commitment to the community is gained through the family, the lineage, the clan, and the tribe. It is the expectation of the extended family members that through this child rearing method, their offspring will achieve successful transition from childhood and adolescence to become responsible adult members of the society.

Among many African societies the family is not simply made up of father, mother and children. It comprises a whole group of persons: the head of the family with his wife or wives, his children, and grandchildren, and also his brothers and sisters with their wives and children, his nephews and nieces, in a word, all those persons who descend from a common ancestor. The tasks performed by families include physical maintenance, socialization and education, control of social and sexual behaviour, maintenance of family morale and of motivation to perform roles inside and outside the family, the acquisition of mature family members by the formation of sexual partnerships, the acquisition of new family members through procreation or adoption, and the launching of juvenile members from the family when mature (Mattessich and Hill 1987). For example, traditional rites are put in place to ensure successful transition and positive behavioural outcome from adolescence to adulthood in some tribes in Africa. These are fast becoming a thing of the past as modernization, urbanization and various factors have brought about some changes in the traditional family system. There seems to be a gradual change from the traditional extended family system to the emerging nuclear family system with

attendant challenges for parental functions and hence the behavioural outcomes of the adolescents transiting into adulthood.

Change can be both threatening and lifesaving; yet, a society undergoing rapid and constant social change cannot expect its institutions to remain fixed. Social Change is the transformation, over time, of the institutions and culture of a society. The modern period, although occupying only a small fraction of human history, has shown rapid and major changes, and the pace of change is accelerating Georgas, (2003). Murdock (1949) made an important distinction regarding the relationship of the nuclear family to the extended family; that the extended family represents a constellation of nuclear families; the nuclear family of the paternal grandparents, the nuclear family of the maternal grandparents, the nuclear family of the married sons, married daughter, married cousins, and other distant related families. Thus, in focusing on a particular nuclear family in the traditional system, it is a mistake to assume it is an independent unit, because the extended family is essentially a constellation of nuclear families across at least three-generations. The important question is the degree of contact and interdependence between these constellations of nuclear families and their impact on the adolescents' behaviour. In the past, close family ties provided a built-in measure of economic, emotional and social security to adolescents and families, but this traditional support for families has been disrupted as families are moving from the rural to urban areas, as families are migrating in search of work, and as individual family members leave the village in search of educational and economic opportunities Georgas, (2003).

Pressing issues that affect the pulse of family life and investigations of families worldwide, concerns about welfare of children and families, the cultural underpinnings of human behaviour in general and interpersonal relationships, more specifically, the changing ecology of childhood, changes in family composition and family relationships have come into focus. The most important changes occurring worldwide are the following: clans and other kin groups are declining in influence. These changes are producing a worldwide movement toward nuclear-family systems, eroding extended-family forms and other types of kinship groups. (Arnett, 2002; Comunian and Gielen, 2001; Isiugo-Abanihe and Obono, 1998; Gielen and Comunian, 1998, 1999; Shweder et

al., 1998; Super and Harkness, 1997; United Nations Development Program, 2001; United Nations General Assembly, 1989).

Since families are not static entities; they are composed, decomposed, and decomposed again with new members, with the traditional family serving as a life-phase transition to other family arrangements (Roopnarine and Gielen (2005); Booth, 2002; Friedman, 2000). In Sub-Saharan Africa where traditional practices have been interrupted the society may be classified as in *transition* (Agiobu-Kermmer, 1997). If the goals set by the 'modern society' are different from those earlier set by the indigenous society, the individual may follow the modern trend. This is because it may be more accepted and more popular to do so. The result is the disintegration of the earlier set of goals and values. Nigerian traditional extended family system seems to be undergoing such disintegration. The generally set goals seem to be materialistic and individualistic as against the traditional goal of together ensuring successful transition of adolescents to responsible adulthood and collective responsibility for each others welfare. In the rural area though, there still seems to exist traditional values, however, these are rocked by the waves of principles of democratization, industrialization, urbanization and modernization, the vehicle of which is education-western education (Akinware and Ojomo 1993, 40).

Adolescents in the traditional family setting were expected to exhibit altruism. However, modernization has been found to have negative effect on the altruistic behaviour of adolescents across cultures. Whiting and Whiting (1975) studied children's behaviour in six cultures - in Kenya, Mexico, the Philippines, Japan, India, and the United States. They defined altruistic behaviour as actions to benefit another person and egoistic behaviour as actions to benefit the child himself. They found that the most altruistic children were from the most traditional society in rural Kenya and the most egoistic from the most complex modern society in the United States. The other children fell between these extremes according to their degree of modernization. Focus groups with Lagos residents identified the issue of maintaining discipline and moral training in the presence of modern education and urban life as a major concern. (Aina et al. 1992).

Modernization and poverty brought about weak parent-child bonding resulting in breakdown in the upbringing quality of children, with associated negative behavioural outcomes at adolescence such as delinquency, dropping out of school, stealing, lack of respect for authority, rule of law and other behavioural problems (Katari, 1997). Poverty decreases the altruistic allocation of resources, or the ability and willingness of either the modern nuclear or traditional extended family to satisfy the needs and preferences of its individual members. African subsistence agriculture is elastic and encourages joint contribution from other members of the family. Visitors to the family are included in the provision of support in the extended family as captured in the Ghanaian proverb, "A guest is a guest for three days and then you give him a hoe" (to help on the farm). With departure from the farm, salaried families cannot support poor relatives who are unable to find stable employment. The majority of poor non-farm families often are left in the amorphous non-formal sector of petty trade and services. The non-formal process of living on "magic," as the Ghanaians termed it in the 1981 economic crisis, provides shifting sands for family formation.

It follows that; families who are migrants to the urban centres may become integrated, nuclear, upwardly mobile structure or an unstable female-headed structure. The direction taken by the family may depend on the job success and attitudes of the father in the generation that migrates to the city. Less successful urbanizing families may devolve towards transient, male-headed or small, women-headed units, or extended family clusters in which women and their children are subunits. Over time, in the city and suburban centers women may bear children by different fathers in a manner that optimizes the probability that at least one of the men in their network will be able to provide remittances for child care, or social connections that help them to find a job. By modern family standards, these irregular units are failed families and so may not meet the daily challenges of parenting functions in the family. The parents may turn to the children for support through menial jobs. The adolescent may likely drop out of school, become delinquent and exposed to sexual risks, sexual infections and in the case of girls unsafe abortion and the grave consequences for the family and the society at large.

In response to these changes, almost all development strategies now recognize the problems confronted by families. The Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations (1987) listed the problems faced by families in developing countries, including poverty, low levels of education, poor health and nutrition, inadequate housing and sanitation, and unsupervised and unwanted children. Changes in social policy, the structure of the family and the workplace, social security provisions, life expectancy and other aspects of society have had the unintended result of increasing the female proportion of the population on low incomes or in poverty. This is a social process in which the incidence of poverty among women becomes much higher than among men. Yet until recently, in the design of development policies and programmes, families have remained an invisible layer sandwiched between the individual and the community. As stated by the Agency for International Development (AID) in 1990, many development programmes have been designed and their impact measured with emphasis either on the individual level or on the national level. Also, according to the United Nations (1987), the emphasis in development activities is almost always on individuals and only rarely on families as units. Policies and programmes have been focused on individuals who comprise the family - children, mothers, the young, the ageing - whose interests and needs are related, but not identical, to those of the family. Thus, children's allowances where this exists, are based on number of children; educational programmes are based on children in primary and secondary schools, and occasionally on vocational training for adults; and health programmes are based on prenatal care, postnatal care, and child health. The broad range of issues that simultaneously affect family members, and that family members may perceive to be their most urgent problems, finds no forum in these fragmented, issue-specific initiatives. This void leads to lack of commitment and participation at the level of the family entity, which is the management unit that cares for family members. By materially rewarding an individual-centred approach to family problems, existing programmes may contribute to the breakdown of family functioning which ultimately have adverse influence on the behavioural outcomes of adolescents who are in the transitory phase of their lives where adequate support from the family is required for an overall positive adjustment in adulthood.

The main functions of the family whether extended or nuclear, are childbirth, child rearing, social discipline, and inculcation of societal and family values and support of its members. A family setting provides the child with a first look at life, whether this is a single-parent family, a dual career family, a foster parent-child relationship, a more traditional nuclear unit, or even some non-traditional family arrangement. The family teaches what is expected of people and what they can expect in life. The family also imparts the values that shape a person's beliefs, abilities, and actions. Even though there are changes taking place as noted above, it is anticipated that the family will continue to be a major institution in Nigerian life and in much of the world for many generations to come. This paper therefore expands literature by focusing on the changes in the traditional extended family system to other forms; it's associated parenting challenges and children behavioural outcomes. Specifically the research tries to answer the following questions: What is a family? What does parenting involve? Why in your opinion is the traditional extended family system seem to be breaking down? How does the change affect the parents and children? In what ways is poverty influencing parents and adolescents' behaviour? What are the other challenges to parenting?

Materials and Methods

The research was carried out in Ibadan, Oyo State. Ibadan is an urban centre with a lot of commercial activities. It has been a capital city since 1967 when the first creation of states in Nigeria was carried out. As a capital city for 35 years, people from various parts of the country reside there. Participants were selected from the Ibadan Metropolis. This is because it is the seat of economic, cultural and social activities in the state. As such, the area comprises of the desired population for this study.

The collection of qualitative data was carried out in two stages. Firstly, it included the development of focus group discussion/n-depth interview guide, which consisted of 12 open-ended questions, for the purpose of carrying out focus group discussion. This was because the interactive situation in each group could assist in bringing to the surface aspects of the research, which might not otherwise be exposed. It served as a reality check, stimulated people in making explicit their views, perceptions, motives and reasons. In this way the study is made culture relevant. Focus group discussion has been

found to be an attractive data gathering option when research has to do with probing into aspects of peoples' behaviour (Fontana & Frey, 1994). The guide was given to four experts in the fields of psychology and sociology and corrections were effected.

Using purposive sampling technique, in and out-of school adolescents, literate and non-literate parents were selected from Agbowo, Sabo, Aleshinloye, Mapo and Bodija representing high, medium and low density areas in Ibadan (Ayeeni, 1994). The researcher obtained the consent of the participants for each of the discussion sessions, for the use of tape recorder and was assisted by two trained research assistants. Informed consent of the participants were obtained before the interview started. Those who did not give their consent to take part in the study were not included. The focus group discussion which lasted for about 1hour 20 minutes for each set was recorded in a tape. On the whole, sixteen focus group discussions including adults and adolescents totaling 80 participants. Each group was made up of ten participants. The adults with age ranging from 35-55 years consist of female market women (N =10); female civil servants (N = 10) while the males were taxi drivers and civil servants (N=20). The adult groups were provided with refreshments at the end of the interview. The adolescent focus group with age range from 14-17years, were males (N = 20) and females (N = 20) from in-and out-of school adolescent population. The in-school adolescent consisting of two groups- male and female were selected randomly from second year students in the senior secondary class of Baptist Model College, Oritamefa, Ibadan, after due permission had been taken from the principal of the school and the parents of the participants. Two groups consisting of out-of-school adolescents, male and female were from Bodija Market because all of them work there to feed themselves and some even provide for their parents. The out-of school adolescents were assembled together and were assured of being paid for their time. The recorded discussions were transcribed and the themes the emerged were highlighted. The report was written based on global summaries.

Data analysis

Drawing on the principles of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss 1968, Grbich 1999; Silverman, 2000), the analysis has followed a number of distinct stages. These include, developing categories that illuminate the data by drawing on an understanding of the literature and knowledge of some of the factors that can influence change from traditional

system to nuclear family system. A number of categories within which to explore the data was developed. These categories were expanded as the analysis progressed to accommodate emerging themes relevant to the title of this article. The themes principally fell into three broad categories as indicated in tables 1-3. Moreover the analysis followed a pragmatic approach using the constant comparative approach to coding and analysis. With this, only on those data that are related directly to the overall topic were selected. Each transcript was coded with the core categories described above and with other concepts as they arose from the data. The results of the various interviews are as presented in tables 1-3 below:

RESULTS

Emergence of nuclear family system

Table 1

Item	Responses
Changes from the extended to nuclear family system	The extended family system is breaking down these days.
	In the olden days, we lived in community so we consider all our relatives and neighbours as family; the children were collectively care of by members of the extended family; but now we have copied the modern definition of family as consisting of mother, father and the children.
	The type of family that people now describe as consisting of father, mother and the children belong to the white man's definition of family.
	In modern times you can have many nuclear families occupying different flats within the same building but each family minds her own business.
	The children may be on their own, kept indoors for most part of the day. Other neighbours do not have to monitor other people's children. This is unlike the community life of the past where all adults take responsibility for the younger ones.
	The extended family is breaking down these days. So family is now a "man, woman and the children.

Traditionally, a family is more than a husband, a wife, and children. Blood relatives of both spouses are considered part of the family, and the extended family embraces all relatives, living or dead. Among many African societies the family is not simply made up of father, mother and children. It comprises a whole group of persons: the head of the family with his wife or wives, his children, and grandchildren, and also his brothers and sisters with their wives and children, his nephews and nieces, in a word, all those persons who descend from a common ancestor. In some areas there are no separate words for

cousins or nephews or nieces; every person is either a brother or a sister. It is not how large this family is that is important, but what role it plays in keeping together the members. In it, every person has a place. Parenting is taken as the duty of not only all members of the extended family but the whole community.

However, the family is a dynamic basic unit of the society and as such has its own share of the global changes (modernization, industrialization, urbanization, media, technology) occurring in human society. The extended family system seems to be giving way to the nuclear family system of rearing children. The emergence of the nuclear family system, as a replacement of the traditional extended family system, was noted by the participants from their responses. The nuclear families who occupy apartments within the same buildings are like strangers with each family preoccupied with the affairs of the immediate family alone especially with regards to parenting functions. Neighbours no longer correct children in the neighbourhood when not directly affected.

Table 2
Parenting Challenges

Urbanization	People move from village to the city in search of better life and do not always remember the people they left in the village. This is because there is nothing to share among extended family members more so when parents do not have enough for their children. Both parents in the city struggle to make ends meet at the expense of the time needed for child-rearing.
Poverty as a factor	Most men do not make enough money from their business.
	Parents go out early in the morning and come back late because of the hardship in the nation. Things are becoming so hard that everyone runs around to survive.
	When parents are not able to feed the children because of poverty, one will be forced to send some grown ups among them to do odd jobs in order to get money
Economic and social pressures	The financial aspect is a problem. Parents are not coping alone with their problems. Bringing up children is not an easy task and Some parents do not take time to know their children as they are too busy looking for money to make ends meet.
Lack of social support	To find someone to help you with money if you have money problem these days is usually difficult. So every family has to learn how to combine bringing up children with all other things successfully. This requires knowing how to go about things on a daily basis.
	Training children today is more difficult now than when I was young.
Family Structure (Polygamy,	Each man has about four wives so it is impossible to take adequate care of the children. This is a general problem now.

Female headed families)	<p>My father has four wives. My mother has four children. I am the second born. The first child is no more in school. She has stopped schooling.</p> <p>My mother has four of us for two men. I am the first and only one for my father. None of the two fathers is giving us money. I do not even know where my father is. So my mother has a lot of problems. This is why I am in the market to work in order to help my mother.</p> <p>The men marry many wives and neglect their children because they have no money. Men are fond of polygamy. It causes problems.</p>
	We have no good men they are into many marriages and concubines. The men do not take care of the children. Things are difficult and there are problems. Single parenthood is bad and causes great damage.
Modernization and inability of parents to discipline their children	<p>The introduction of foreign culture or idea has one way or the other encroached upon our normal system of maintaining discipline in the family such that children nowadays are no longer receiving effective discipline from their parents.</p> <p>No longer can modern parents allow their children to be corrected by neighbours, extended family members (where present) or even teachers in schools</p>

Parenting challenges identified by participants include urbanization, poverty, economic and social pressures, lack of social support from members of the emerging nuclear family to other members of the extended family and vice versa, polygamy, petty traders as female head of households, and modernization. Moreover, there is inability of parents to discipline their children probably because they spend most of the time outside the home at work to meet the daily demands of daily living expenses of modern times at the expense of spending time with the children. Thus the adolescent is left to sort out the transition to adulthood challenges with little or no support from parents in the emerging nuclear family.

Table 3: Adolescent Behavioural outcomes

Drop out of school and engaging in menial jobs for money	<p>I would have wanted to be in school because most of my age mates whose parents are well to do are in school.</p> <p>Since I am not in school, I must fend for myself. I cannot put my hope on any parent or any family relation to feed me. I do feel bitter when I see them but I have accepted my fate.</p> <p>I decided to come and carry load for people in Bodija market because there is no money for me to go to school or learn a trade.</p> <p>I have no one to educate me, that is why I am here as a butcher.</p>
<p>Joining bad group</p> <p>Begging</p> <p>Stealing</p>	<p>Some boys join bad group in school because of the wickedness they suffer from their parents at home or when the parents are not caring enough.</p> <p>The boys become drop-out because their father can not even feed them not to talk of paying their school fees.</p> <p>The children go out to beg for food outside and join bad peers.</p> <p>The girls can beg for money from their father's friend.</p> <p>If you put N40 on a table in the house, you will not find it there and may even start going out to pick from other people's houses thereby becoming a thief.</p>
Resilience	<p>I could not join bad peers who invited me many times to make quick money through armed robbery because of my mother. She normally wakes me up early in the morning to warn me against such things. I love her for that.</p>

The resulting behavioural outcomes as reported by the adolescents raised from the various types of emerging nuclear families include dropping out of school, engaging in menial jobs to earn a living and to support poor parents, joining bad peers to escape punishment from parents and as a way of receiving reward, begging from adults by girls who are engaged in hawking (a situation which exposes such girls to sexual abuse), and delinquent behaviour. Some of the adolescents however exhibit resilience where the parent is caring , supportive, responsive and available to provide the much needed pieces of advise and direction for the transiting adolescent.

Discussion

This study revealed that the traditional family system in Western Nigeria is undergoing accelerating transformation. The modern nuclear family and other forms of families that are evolving in concert with urbanization, industrialization, modernization, and technology from the traditional family system carried with them some grave concerns such as erosion of influence from extended family members, parenting challenges, poverty, lack of support, individualistic attitude as against community life, and negative adolescent behavioural outcomes. The results are in agreement with the findings of Georgas, (2003) Akinware and Ojomo (1993, 40); Arnett, (2002); Comunian and Gielen, (2001); Isiugo-Abanihe and Obono, (1998); Gielen and Comunian, (1998, 1999); Shweder et al., (1998); Super and Harkness, (1997); United Nations Development Program, (2001) that the traditional family system is not only breaking down but the modern family forms are not coping with the demands of daily living in modern times in other parts of Africa and the world in general.

The resources of the traditional extended family that was engaged in farming or crafts could be expanded because extra hands could produce extra food and other products. Its boundaries were elastic to accommodate the needs of every member of the extended family thus ensuring a smooth and successful transition from adolescence to adulthood. Positive behavioural outcomes such as altruism are encouraged among adolescents. Industrialization, modernization, technology, and urbanization brought the growth of specialized wage labour and a quest for so-called better life in town. The economically productive work moved beyond the reach of the family compound. Individualized remuneration and liability in the urban life led to a redefinition of kinship obligations. The resources of the salaried family and the number of people who could be supported by its wage-earners were fixed. Living space in the neighbourhood of factories and other specialized worksites was expensive and non-expansive. Both husbands and wives suffer from the fact that the urban environment tends to reduce women's earning capacity in comparison with the costs of living. Both expect, as under rural condition that she will be economically independent and able to contribute substantially to the family income. Yet she may not be able to find a paid job, sufficient capital, or sufficient child-care

assistance to trade profitably in the urban setting. The husband is then forced into the unfamiliar role of breadwinner for his wife and children, and is alone held responsible for their financial support. He, meanwhile, may not regard his wife and children as having first claim on his wage or salary, often feeling that his mother, siblings, or cousins have prior claims. Where neighbours were strangers, the modern family became a "haven in a heartless world" (Lasch 1977).

Female headed households with little income are birthed when a man eventually abandon both wife and children in the pressure of demands from living in the urban centre away from the influence of the extended families. He may start another family or engage in casual relationships with other women where there is less economic demand on him. The wife on the other hand may marry another husband to make up for the suffering received from her first husband. Problem may arise however where either the children from former husband or the new husband fail to adjust. Such children may prefer to leave home than to continue staying in an unaccepted environment where the needs are not being met and the need for love and belonging is absent. Multiple relationships with men by the woman may not provide for the needs expected in the family. The result of all these as reported by the respondents is a cycle of polygamy, poverty, divorce, parental neglect and adolescent negative behavioral outcomes. On the other hand resilience is developed by adolescents whose parents are warm, responsive and offer guidance.

Conclusion

In this study, factors such as modernization, urbanization, economic pressures, polygamy, increase in divorce , parental work outside the family have been discussed as contributing to the breakdown of the extended family system and the emergence of the ill-equipped nuclear family system. The study has also highlighted some negative factors impact on the nuclear family making it increasingly difficult for vulnerable parents to meet all their children's needs. These include parental stress, negative social climate at work, work pressure and poverty, economic, developmental changes, the increased juggling of work and family responsibilities for mothers' leads to a reduction in satisfaction with the parenting role and feelings of resentment. Children from such families were engaged in child labour, dropped out of school and exposed to risks and

had tendency for negative behavioural outcomes. The views of the participants on parenting are in agreement with the definition of parenting found in literature. Strong evidence accrued in the discussion, indicating that parental warmth and acceptance, inductive discipline, non-punitive disciplinary practices, and consistency in childrearing are related to positive developmental outcomes. This implies that parents should acquire: bonding and attachment, (establishment unconditional positive regards and an acceptance of the adolescent), empathy, self awareness, setting clear limits, unconditional love, honesty and respect; and developmental knowledge (knowing what to expect of a child at various stages).

The findings of this study call for a type of support for families in order to ease the heightened level of stress conflict arising from conflicts between parenting responsibilities and parental work. This will have to do with intervention packages and social welfare policy formulation for families. It is imperative for Africans through its various policies to seek nurturing the family in newly emerging technological societies in a manner that maintains continuity from the past to future, and that avoids mistakes made by the industrialized countries.

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