

Chapter IV

FAMILY

1. Demographic, socio-economic and cultural forces have redefined traditional notions and structures of families. Populations are ageing; households are changing in size and composition; people are marrying and having children later in life. The nuclear and the extended family are both undergoing changes, while new family types are emerging. There is some recognition that notions of family go beyond institutional definitions and need to be reconceptualized around expressions of nurture and care, taking into account difference and plurality in popular understanding of what constitutes family.¹

2. The International Year of the Family,² observed in 1994 and the United Nations global conferences of the 1990s recognized that various forms of the family exist in different cultural, political and social systems, and reaffirmed that the family is a basic unit of society entitled to receive comprehensive protection and support.

3. A variety of circumstances render families unable to fulfill their basic functions of production, reproduction and socialization, as well as to meet the needs of their members in health, nutrition, shelter, physical and emotional care and personal development. Disease, drugs, crime, unemployment, poverty, famine, and displacement from war, environmental crises and natural disasters are some forces challenging families worldwide, often beyond their ability to cope.³ The increased participation of women in the labour market and their financial independence has also impacted on the family as an institution, particularly when it has not always been matched by a sharing of functions in the family, leading to new stresses and strains in balancing responsibilities at home and work.

4. Some trends are common to families in every region: smaller households, increases in divorce and re-marriage rates and longer years of widowhood, particularly for women. New family formations, such as reorganized families and single-parent households, are on the rise. These developments have important consequences for the provision of security and welfare support for dependents, particularly children, older persons, persons with disabilities and the chronically ill. This is especially true in countries where families and the community are still the main means of providing individual security.⁴

5. The family at the turn of the century faces the major demographic challenges of decreasing fertility and the ageing of populations worldwide. Although the AIDS pandemic has not yet posed a serious demographic threat - since some of the worst-hit countries also have high fertility rates - it has rocked the foundations of family security. The substantial increase projected in the world's older population, combined with other changes in family structures and life, raises crucial questions of housing, insurance, health care and welfare arrangements for older persons, which also means that a small number of working family members will have to support younger and older generations.⁵

6. Whatever its evolving form and the forces of change that shape it, the family has endured as a basic institution central to a variety of human interactions, relationships and development processes. It is both a catalyst for and reflection of the transformation of societies.⁶ In what follows, the global situation of families is viewed through the prism of family size, composition and structure, formation, extension and dissolution. The latter part of chap. IV, in the light of their relevance, looks at trends in single parenthood and widowhood.

Family size

7. Family is distinct from the concept of household, although the latter is used as a practical unit to measure and appraise changes in family size and structure. More data are available on households than on families, which with relevant demographic data are often used as a proxy to analyse some aspects of the family, such as size and incidence of marriage, birth, divorce and death.

8. Household size is a good indicator of trends in family size and structure. With some exceptions, there is a global trend toward smaller households, a shift from extended to nuclear households, a rise in one-person households and lower fertility rates. For example, during 1970-1990, household size decreased significantly in Latin America and the Caribbean and in eastern and south-eastern Asia. In 1990, the average household size had declined to 3.7 in East Asia and 4.9 in south-eastern Asia. In Latin American countries, the average fell to 4.7 persons per household, and in the Caribbean to 4.1.

In North African countries, household size increased on average from 5.4 to 5.7 persons. In other developing regions, it has changed very little, with average sizes between 5 and 6 persons.⁷ In general, fertility levels tend to determine household size in developing regions.⁸

9. Households are smallest in developed regions, with an average of 2.8 persons in 1990. The decline in average household size in developed countries is largely a reflection of a growing number of one-person households, especially among unmarried adults and older persons. Norway, Denmark and Sweden – which have the smallest average household size among developed countries (2.4, 2.3 and 2.2 persons, respectively) – also have the highest proportions of one person-households (45, 37 and 40 per cent, respectively).⁹

Family forms and structure¹⁰

10. Migration and urbanization have brought about salient and unprecedented changes in family forms and household composition. Male migration in developing countries has meant that many households are *de facto* headed by women who have to provide for their children and for household reproduction, often in the absence of needed remittances.¹¹ Not surprisingly, such female-headed households have a higher and more severe incidence of poverty than male-headed ones (even though as a principle the concept of headship in family has lost its former significance).¹²

11. Households where men, particularly husbands, are working away from home are not necessarily considered female-headed households.¹³ Figures on the extent of female-headed households vary depending on the culture and the concept of “headship.” In some regions, women may not always perceive or report themselves as household heads, especially when an adult male is present. Available statistics on men and women heads of household, although deficient in portraying the extent of women’s household responsibilities, do indicate the number of households that are solely supported by women.

12. For the period 1985-1997, women were reported as heads in 9 to 42 per cent of households. The highest percentages are in southern Africa (42 per cent) and the Caribbean (36 per cent). The relatively late age at marriage, a high prevalence of visiting and consensual unions and a tradition of female headship account for the relatively high figures in these regions. Polygamous unions often provide separate households for wives of the same man.

13. Male migration, family dissolution and matrilineal traditions in kinship groups are thought to be behind the relatively high rates (more than 30 per cent)

of female headship in parts of sub-Saharan Africa.¹⁴ The seasonal migration of men contributes to the high number of women-headed households in some countries, as does the number of women who migrate in response to economic opportunities in others.¹⁵ In 1990, 56 million of the world’s 118 million international migrants were women – a global ratio of 90 women to 100 men. In parts of Europe, women immigrants outnumber men, and in Africa (barring southern Africa) there are nearly as many women immigrants as men.¹⁶

14. Changes in the size and structure of the household and the family have important repercussions for social and economic policies, given the interrelated functions of women and men in society and in the family. Nonetheless, while family structure is considered to be a proxy for variables directly affecting the children’s well-being - decreased attention, affection and communication - research in the United States shows that family structure, in and of itself, is not necessarily predictive of child well-being. Children living with two biological parents who do not get along can experience as many problems as children from disrupted households or those in which fathers have been absent.¹⁷

15. Social, economic and demographic trends have engendered changes in family roles, often requiring a delicate balancing act. Increased divorce rates, lower fertility rates and the increased participation of women in the labour force have shaken the edifice of the “traditional” family structure, in which mothers are caregivers and fathers are income-earners. Women are increasingly income-earners although men have not to the same extent become caregivers. Even though evidence suggests that the more men and women cooperate economically, the more equally they tend to divide child-care responsibilities, in two-parent families fathers spend only a third of time mothers do in providing childcare.¹⁸

16. A variety of economic, psychological and sociological factors affect the ability and willingness of men to support their children economically and become involved in child-rearing activities. Among them are employment status, relationship with the child’s mother and personal experience. Some of the most powerful of these influences are gender-based attitudes, cultural expectations and traditional stereotypes, including the roles of men and women in family life, limiting opportunities for both sexes,¹⁹ and the economic structure of the community. In all economies, in two-parent families poverty reduces the time men spend with their children because fathers migrate or work longer hours.²⁰ Policies to address these issues are needed.

Family formation

17. Family formation varies from legalized marriages and customary unions to consensual unions and visiting unions, among others. The age at which families are formed varies as well. Some cohabiting couples have children and then legalize their unions; some separate, get divorced or become widowed for life, while others choose to form a new family at later ages. For a majority of men and women, marriage – recognized by law or custom, sanctioned by religious or civil authority, involving obligations from both partners and followed by procreation – remains the predominant form of union.²¹

18. The age of first marriage has important implications for family size and living conditions. In rural areas, men and women tend to marry at an earlier age than in urban areas. The higher the level of education, the higher is the age of first marriage. The average age at first marriage varies considerably among countries and is different for women and men within countries. In general, women marry at an earlier age than men. The mean age of first marriage of ever-married people between the ages of 15 and 50 is highest in western Europe (Sweden), with 31 years for women and 33 for men. The lowest, among countries for which data is available, is in southern Asia (Bangladesh), with 18 years for women and 26 years for men, and in sub-Saharan Africa (Niger), with 17 years for women and 23 years for men.²² Most developed countries are moving towards later and less frequent marriages. Cohabitation is often the way young singles first become established as couples, particularly in parts of Europe, where it is especially common in Nordic countries.

19. Although early marriage for both men and women has declined in all regions, it is still common in many countries. In at least 22 countries for which data is available for the 1990s, more than one fourth of women aged between 15 and 19 are married. There are big differences among and within regions in the proportion of women aged 15 to 19 that get married. In Latin America and the Caribbean, for example, this figure ranges from 29 per cent in the Dominican Republic to 6 per cent in Costa Rica and 1 per cent in Jamaica. The highest proportion of women married between the ages of 15 and 19 are in sub-Saharan (barring southern) Africa (26 per cent) and South Asia (32 per cent).²³

20. The gender gap in the percentages of 15 to 19-year-olds ever-married is especially high in parts of Africa and south-central and western Asia.²⁴ In contrast, fewer than 2 per cent of women and 1 per cent of men aged 15 to 19 are married in eastern Asia, western Europe and other developed regions. Early marriage for men in this age group is much less common than for women in all regions, rarely exceeding 10 per cent. The

age gap between men and women at first marriage tends to be the highest in regions where women marry young, as in southern Asia and parts of sub-Saharan Africa. Wide age gaps between spouses often result in greater inequality and affect women's autonomy in decision-making in a marriage, especially with regard to family size.²⁵

21. Family formation occurs not only through marriage but also through informal or consensual unions or cohabitation. These unions, though socially sanctioned, may not be registered by the census. Available figures vary from 1 to 55 per cent. In developing regions, such unions are generally high in Latin America and the Caribbean and in some countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Data for 1992-1998 from a survey of selected countries show that more than 10 per cent of women aged 15 to 49 in six African countries and all seven Latin American countries surveyed were in informal unions. In general, these unions tend to be more common among poorer and less educated women and are predominant in rural areas and in countries suffering long-term wars and conflicts. Typically, when such unions dissolve women face dire social and economic consequences. Based on available data from selected developed countries, more than half the women aged 20 to 24 in six countries in western Europe were in cohabiting unions.²⁶

22. Most women and men get married at least once in their lifetime. The proportion of women and men older than 45 years that have never been married tends to be low everywhere.²⁷ Cohabiting generally becomes less common with age, suggesting that many cohabiting relationships ultimately result in legal marriages.²⁸ Where there is a high proportion of never-married women 45 years or older, tendencies to free union are confirmed by women-headed households with children born out of wedlock. Even where non-official unions are of long duration, it is more difficult for non-married than married women to receive assistance. Men who live in non-legal unions tend to contribute less to the family, with adverse impact on the well-being of children.²⁹

23. Polygamy continues to be common in sub-Saharan countries, but it is difficult to measure with precision because such unions are not registered in countries where they are illegal. Polygamy has important implications not only for family size but roles and relationships within it. The effects of polygamous unions on the lives of women and on step-families vary, depending on age gaps between husbands and wives, the rank of individual women within a marriage and the social and cultural circumstances in which they live.³⁰ In societies that do not sanction polygamy, long-term relationships with multiple partners, one of which may be a legal union, have implications similar to those of

polygamous relationships. Often children are raised by single parents or with the help of a member of the extended family.

24. Changes in marriage trends also affect remarriages. Until fairly recently, divorce was most often followed by another marriage. But as more people divorce, they postpone remarriage and choose cohabitation. Remarriage in the 1990s not only declined but occurred longer after separation than in the 1960s. In all forms of families, reorganizations can occur through marriage, remarriage or cohabitation of persons who have had children by former partners. Reorganized families have become an important family group given the prevailing rates of marriage and cohabitation.³¹

Family extension

25. In all countries, most women become mothers during their reproductive years. Gender equality, child survival, the availability of family planning, the age of the mother at the first birth and her level of education are some factors that influence the number of children a woman has and the size of her family.³² In societies where women are seen primarily as wives and mothers, girls have fewer opportunities to continue education and to perform other social roles, entering marriage and childbearing at an early age. Also, in many parts of the world, childbearing may be more heavily influenced by systems of gender relations, economic constraints, group norms and community and family expectations than by the position or desire of individual women.³³

26. The global trend toward fertility decline has nonetheless continued unabated. Total fertility rate has continued to decline both in countries with the highest and in countries with the lowest rates through the 1990s. At the world level, total fertility was 2.82 live births per woman during 1995-2000 (down from 5 live births per woman in the early 1960s). By 1995-2000, the total fertility rate fell to below replacement level (which is 2.1 births per woman) in 64 countries, most of them in the more developed regions.³⁴

27. In general, declining fertility follows higher levels of education and employment among women and greater availability and acceptance of contraceptive services. It can also be a consequence of adverse conditions, such as increasing costs and decreasing availability of child care and the poor participation of men in family and household duties, high unemployment, shortage of housing and a lack of maternity benefits. In eastern Europe and central Asia, the sharp drop in total fertility rate during 1990-1997 has been attributed in part to economic insecurity following the 1989-1990 political transition.³⁵

28. In some parts of the developed world, the high costs of child-rearing, overt and hidden, may have sharpened the trend toward smaller families. In the United States, for example, providing a child with food, clothing and shelter until age 18 can cost a family more than five times its annual income – with college tuition as an additional expense.³⁶

29. The combination of decreasing fertility and longer life expectancy is resulting in large proportions of ageing or “graying” populations (see chap. I). This has important implications for family size, structure and responsibilities, particularly in some countries in eastern Asia, especially China³⁷ and eastern Europe, for example, which lack adequate state-provided pension schemes and social security systems and/or where the family remains the primary unit of care for older persons.

Dissolution

30. Many see the progression from the extended to the single-parent family as involving a succession of family failures and the dissolution of any family type as being due to its inability to meet the needs of its members appropriately. The concept of family dissolution has different meanings. For example, in an extended family dissolution may be incremental, following the departure from the family of one or more children, while in a nuclear family dissolution can come about upon separation or divorce of the couple as well as a result of death of one or both members of a couple.

31. The number of separated or divorced men and women has gone up in almost all regions since the 1980s, although the proportions remain low in parts of Asia and Latin America. The proportion of women separated or divorced between the ages of 45 to 59 increased on average from 5 per cent in the 1980s to 9 per cent in the 1990s in Europe, from 9 to 14 per cent in other developed regions and from 7 to 10 per cent in Latin America and the Caribbean. The rate of divorce has slowed or reversed in many developed regions, including the Nordic countries, eastern Europe, the United States and Canada, where it has traditionally been high. The divorce rate in Canada, for example, fell for the third straight year in 1997. Sweden and the United States still have the highest divorce rate (about 50 per 100 marriages), followed by the United Kingdom, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Nordic countries and most countries of the former Soviet Union (about 40 per 100 marriages). In Europe, divorce seems to be on the rise among younger generations, with the highest probability of divorce occurring just four years after marriage.³⁸

32. In many countries in sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, more than one third of women experienced dissolution of marriage before

reaching the ages of 40 to 49 years. In countries with available data in Asia and North Africa, 11 to 34 per cent of women have experienced marital dissolution. In addition, women spend a considerable part of their reproductive years (between 20 and 49) single or in a second union. In sub-Saharan Africa, women spend a third of their reproductive years single or in a second union. Marital unions seem more stable in Asia and North Africa, where women spend 16 per cent of their reproductive years outside consecutive marriages or unions. In Latin America, the average is 27 per cent.³⁹

33. In any form, family dissolution –sometimes affected by social and economic factors—can have profound consequences for family members, particularly when necessary resources and support are not available. Data show that rising economic pressures increase the risk of marital dissolution. Poverty and spousal unemployment exacerbate the risk of family break-up; economic adversity also has been found to increase the likelihood of family disorganization and the risk of physical abuse and child neglect. If economic hardship is often antecedent to marital break-up, it is also consequent to divorce. Although evidence regarding the deterioration in the economic well-being of children following the divorce of the parent is clear, evidence regarding their social and psychological well-being is not. Analysis of studies of child well-being in divorced families in the United States shows that some children experienced problems, others did not and even showed improved behaviour, depending on the resources available to them and the amount of stress experienced after their parents divorced.⁴⁰

34. In many parts of the world, it is not divorce that creates single-parent and step-families, but parental death and orphanhood due to armed conflict (See Chap. XV on armed conflict) and the AIDS pandemic. AIDS has greatly affected family structure and functions, disproportionately increasing the vulnerability of families living in poverty and in developing countries, which have the vast majority of people infected with the human immunodeficiency virus.

35. Worldwide, more than 8 million children under age 15 have lost a mother or both parents to AIDS since the beginning of the pandemic. The number of AIDS orphans in 23 countries studied is projected to double in two years and to reach 40 million by 2010.⁴¹ According to United Nations estimates, HIV infection and AIDS affect as many women as men in sub-Saharan Africa but are more common among men than among women in other countries. Fifty per cent of deaths from AIDS occur among men in sub-Saharan Africa, 67 per cent in Cambodia, India and Thailand, and 75 per cent in Brazil and Haiti.⁴²

36. Family systems in high-prevalence countries are already under stress from the impact of the pandemic. Grandparents and young family members will have to bear most of the burden of supporting AIDS orphans. In the absence of capable adult caretakers, children in numerous HIV/AIDS-affected households have assumed decision-making responsibilities and roles as heads of households. They care for parents and younger siblings dying from HIV/AIDS. They work long hours at household chores, supervising younger children and in income-generating tasks to support the family. Many drop out of school and jeopardize their own health and development needs. Additional consequences are growing numbers of street children and girls feeling increased pressure to marry.⁴³

37. In rural areas, the impact of HIV/AIDS on the health of rural women affects their ability to look after their families. The reduced productive capacity of rural women, who have principal responsibility for household food security, has far-reaching implications for rural poverty. Extended care-taking of family members afflicted with HIV/AIDS places additional demands on rural women's productive labour and time. This burden often falls disproportionately on older women and the girl child.

Single Parenthood

38. Single-parent families come into being for a variety of reasons – the death of a spouse, divorce, separation or desertion. Due to the complex interplay of social, economic and demographic factors, data suggest that most single-parent families are headed by women. Single-parent families, particularly where the mother is a teenager, are especially hard hit by lack of financial resources and support.⁴⁴

39. Single motherhood (among unmarried non-cohabiting women) is low in developed countries. However, recent European data show that many births to unmarried women occur within cohabitation (with the exception of Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland).⁴⁵ In addition, the delayed timing of first marriage helps to explain increases in unwed parenthood among women in older age groups.⁴⁶

40. Although in most countries most adolescents who have a child are married, a considerable proportion of adolescents become mothers as unmarried women. In many countries in sub-Saharan Africa, one third of births to women aged 15 to 19 occur among those who have never (or are no longer) married. In some countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, this figure ranges from 12 to 25 per cent. More than half of all adolescent births in France, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States are to women who are unmarried. These births

reflect a trend toward higher levels of childbearing among all single women, not just adolescents.⁴⁷

41. Changes in marriage patterns have also produced single-parent families. In developed countries, the single parent is most often the mother. In the United States and Canada, for example, mothers account for more than 80 per cent of all one-parent families (12 million, or a third of all families with children, in the United States in 1998, and 1.1 million, or 22 per cent of all families with children, in Canada in 1996). In Europe, the proportion of lone-parent families ranges from 14 to 22 per cent in 1991, with increases reported in several countries in 1998. For example, the percentage of children living with only one parent has more than doubled in Ireland and the United Kingdom since 1983.⁴⁸

42. As mentioned above, single-parent families headed by a mother tend to be economically worse off than those headed by a father. In the United States, for example, nearly 60 per cent of children with lone mothers live near or below the poverty line, with the mothers mostly unemployed. In Europe, lone mothers with children under 3 are less likely to be employed than all mothers with children of similar ages (barring Austria, Italy and Luxembourg). Extended family support, the quality and availability of child-care services and welfare benefits are some factors that affect women's ability to work outside the home.

43. Notwithstanding this, in some countries children living with their mothers alone appear to be better off than those living with both parents. In Kenya and Malawi, for example, a smaller percentage of children in female-headed households are malnourished than in male-headed households. In Botswana, children in female-headed households receive more education than do those in male-headed households. This may be associated with the greater control that some women may have over their income in the absence of men.⁴⁹

Widowhood

44. Nearly twice as many men as women over 60 were married, according to data at various points in the last decade: 79 per cent of men and 43 per cent of women. The largest gaps are to be found in Africa (84 to 38 per cent) and Europe (80 to 41 per cent) and the smallest in Oceania (75 to 50 per cent).⁵⁰ The discrepancy or gap is heavily influenced by widowhood, which is a form of involuntary family dissolution and which differs considerably between women and men in incidence and impact. There are more widows than widowers everywhere (an average of 4 to 1) because men tend to remarry more than women, marry at an older age and have a lower life expectancy at birth. Deaths from

AIDS have also increased the likelihood of early widowhood both for men and women.

45. Women's higher life expectancy and the greater likelihood and length of their widowhood have left them economically vulnerable in many countries. Most women are financially dependent on their husbands or male relatives throughout their lives, given that they lack inheritance and property rights in most countries and tend to be employed in the informal sector or other insecure or low-paying jobs that make them ineligible for pensions. Moreover, as families grow smaller and split due to migration and urbanization, larger numbers of older women are left on their own during their last years. Widowed women living alone run a risk of social isolation, in addition to their health problems often going undetected.

46. The impact of widowhood on older persons depends on their living arrangements. In developing regions, older persons are much more likely to live in extended households than in developed regions. In Brazil and Hong Kong, China, for example, about half of all older persons live in extended households, compared to only 20 per cent in France and less than 10 per cent in the Netherlands.⁵¹

Concluding remarks

47. Since the 1980s, a growing number of economists, sociologists, demographers and anthropologists have questioned the traditional portrayal of the family as an altruistic entity in which a head of household makes benign decisions in everybody's interest. The economic view of the household as a unified, "welfare-maximizing" unit that pools and shares resources has also been questioned. Many have taken apart these constructs of the household to reveal it as a place of "cooperation and conflict" and often of very unequal treatment along gender lines.⁵² This analysis of the family has important implications for addressing the social and gender impact of economic policies that call for fiscal austerity measures, such as a reduction in public spending on health and education.

NOTES

¹ A *household* is a socio-economic unit consisting of individuals who live together. The *family* within the household is defined as those members of the household who are related, to a specific degree, through blood, adoption or marriage. Based on the recommendations for national census, the *family nucleus* should be a primary aspect of consideration. This is defined as one of the following types (each of

which must consist of people living in the same household): (a) a married couple without children, (b) a married couple with one or more children, (c) a father with one or more unmarried children or (d) a mother with one or more unmarried children. Couples living in consensual unions should be regarded as married couples. The family nucleus, however, does not include all family types, such as brothers or sisters living together without their offspring or parents, or an aunt living with a niece who has no child. It also excludes the case of a related person living with a family nucleus as defined above, for example, a widowed parent living with her married son and his family. Source: Household and family characteristics in *Principles and Recommendations for Population and Housing Censuses Revision 1*. United Nations, 1998, pp.65-67.

² Proclaimed by United Nations General Assembly resolution 44/82 of 8 December 1989.

³ United Nations, Department of Public Information, "Families At Risk," DPI/1417-93757-November 1993.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ United Nations, *Report on the World Social Situation 1982*, p.17.

⁷ United Nations, *The World's Women 2000: Trends and Statistics*, 2000, Table 2 A, pp.46-50 (UN publication, Sales No. E.00.XVII.14).

⁸ United Nations, *The World's Women 2000: Trends and Statistics*, 2000, Table 2 A, pp.46-50.

⁹ United Nations, *The World's Women 2000: Trends and Statistics*, p.41.

¹⁰ Focus on parents and nuclear families is mostly due to the limited availability reliable data.

¹¹ United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, *Is There A Crisis In The Family?* Occasional paper no. 3, p.5 (Geneva, 1994).

¹² United Nations, *Improvement of the Situation of Women in Rural Areas*, Report of the Secretary-General (A/54/123/E/1999/66), 4 June 1999, p.11.

¹³ United Nations, *Improvement of the Situation of Women in Rural Areas*, Report of the Secretary-General (A/54/123 E/1999/66), New York, 4 June 1999, p.11.

¹⁴ United Nations, *The World's Women 2000: Trends and Statistics*, p.42.

¹⁵ United Nations, *The World's Women 2000: Trends and Statistics*, p.42.

¹⁶ United Nations, Trends in Total Migrant Stock, Revision 4 (POP/IB/DB/96/1/Rev.4), database maintained by the Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat.

¹⁷ Zimmerman, Shirley L., *Understanding Family Policy: Theories and Applications*. Second Edition. Sage Publications Inc. Thousand Oaks, California, 1995, p. 34.

¹⁸ United Nations Population Fund, *Enhancing Men's Roles and Responsibilities in Family Life, A New Role For Men: Partners for Women's Empowerment*, p.2.

¹⁹ Ibid., p.5.

²⁰ Jim Levine and Ed Pitt, Summary of *Fatherhood USA: A PBS Documentary Special*, Hosted by Senator Bill Bradley, 6 June 1998.

²¹ United Nations, *Report on the World Social Situation 1982*, p. 24.

²² United Nations, *The World's Women 2000: Trends and Statistics*, 2000, Table 2A, pp.46-50.

²³ United Nations, *The World's Women 2000: Trends and Statistics*, 2000, p. 25.

²⁴ United Nations, Population Division, *World Marriage Patterns 2000* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.00.XII.7).

²⁵ United Nations, *The World's Women 2000: Trends and Statistics*, 2000, p. 25.

²⁶ United Nations, *The World's Women 2000: Trends and Statistics*, 2000, p. 25.

²⁷ United Nations, *The World's Women 2000: Trends and Statistics*, 2000, p. 25.

²⁸ United Nations, *The World's Women 2000: Trends and Statistics*, 2000, p. 27.

²⁹ *Families and Future: A Regional Programme in Latin America and the Caribbean*, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean. Santiago, Chile, 1995

³⁰ United Nations, *The World's Women 2000: Trends and Statistics*, 2000, p. 28.

____ Ian Timaeus and Angela Reynar, "Polygynist and their wives insub-Saharan Africa:an Analysis of five Demographic and Health Suveys", *Population Studies*, vol. 52 (1998).

³¹ United Nations, International Year of the Family, "The Changing Family Structure," DPI/1357-93553-November 1993.

³² The determinants of "Male fertility", which refers to the number of children that a man has during his life time, have not been well developed. . Surveys conducted in several countries found that playing an important role in determining the number of children was important to men (United Nations, *The World's Women 2000: Trends and Statistics*, 2000, p. 33).

³³ Dixon-Mueller, Ruth, *Population Policy and Women's Rights: Transforming Reproductive Choice*, pp.109-39 (1993), pp.109-39. For more detailed discussion about the determinants of fertility and reproductive and reproductive behavior see to *The State of the World Population 1997*, United Nations Population Fund.

³⁴ United Nations, *World Population Prospects: The 2000 Revision*. Highlights ESA/P/WP.165, 28 February 2001.

³⁵ United Nations, *The World's Women 2000: Trends and Statistics*, p.35.

³⁶ *The New York Times*, op-ed page, Sylvia Ann Hewlett, [Have a Child, and Experience the Wage Gap](#), May 16, 2000, summarising the findings of a Rand Corporation study on women's downward mobility in the labour market after child-bearing, and another by Jane Waldfogel, an economist at Columbia University, on motherhood and the gender wage gap. Human capital theorists have emphasised that, given traditional roles in the family, many women anticipate shorter and more disrupted work lives than men. For such women, it does not pay to make the types of human capital investments that require sustained, high-level commitment to the labour force so as to be profitable and that depreciate rapidly during periods of work interruption. The human capital model shows how an adherence to traditional gender roles in the family can explain why women are less likely than men to pursue college and graduate study. See Blau, Francine D., and Ferber, Marianne A., *The Economics of Women, Men and Work*, Prentice-Hall Inc., New Jersey (1992), pp. 150-51.

³⁷ In China total fertility fell to 1.8 life birth per woman in the early 1990s, a sharp drop largely due to the one-child policy introduced in 1979. With rising life expectancy and low fertility, China's population is expected to age sharply: by 2025, nearly half will be 40 or older. In a country where the family is a critical social safety net, the grandparents of 2025 will, in large part, be parents of the 'one-child' experiencing the consequences of their low fertility. After 2025, the working-age population is projected to decline, by as much as 15 per cent over the following 15 years, leaving large numbers of older populations dependent on a shrinking pool of working people (Eberstadt, Nicholas, *Mis-Planned Parenthood: The Unintended Consequences of China's One-Child Policy*, *Milken Review*, First Quarter 1999, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research. (<http://www.aei.org/ra/raeberstadt2.htm>).

Although the one-child policy has been unevenly applied in China, having been generally more strictly enforced in urban than in rural areas, it has affected the sex ratio: in 1994, 117 boys were born for every 100 girls, compared to the world average of 100 boys for every 98 girls (Eberstadt, Nicholas, *Mis-Planned Parenthood: The Unintended Consequences of China's One-Child Policy*, *Milken Review*, First Quarter 1999, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research. (<http://www.aei.org/ra/raeberstadt2.htm>)). Approximately half a million more male than female births are

recorded each year, most likely as a consequence of under-reporting of female children, suspected sex-selective abortions and to a much lesser degree female infanticide (Amnesty International, *Women in China* (AI Index ASA 17/29/95), London (1995). An eventual imbalance between men and women of marriageable age is expected to lead to a shortage of brides and increased pressures for “trafficking” in women while encouraging a renewed balance in the longer term.

China is one of 22 countries where there are 95 or fewer women per 100 men. Most of these countries, predominantly in Asia, have a culture of strong ‘son preference.’ This not only influences reproductive behaviour and family size but leads to differential treatment of daughters and sons within the home. Such gender-based discrimination is especially evident in health and education and, in some cases (in Bangladesh, Egypt, India and Pakistan), results in higher mortality of girls than boys (United Nations, *The World’s Women 2000: Trends and Statistics*, p.7).

³⁸ United Nations, *The World’s Women 2000: Trends and Statistics*, p. 29.

³⁹ United Nations, *The World’s Women 1995: Trends and Statistics*, p.10.

⁴⁰ Zimmerman, Shirley L., *Understanding Family Policy: Theories and Applications*. Second Edition. Sage Publications Inc. Thousand Oaks, California, 1995, pp. 32-35.

⁴¹ United Nations Population Fund, *The State of the World Population, 1998: The New Generations*, p.18.

⁴² United Nations Population Division/The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), *The Demographic Impact of HIV/AIDS*, Report on the Technical Meeting (New York, 10 November 1998), p.6.

⁴³ United Nations Population Fund, *The State of the World Population 1998: The New Generations*.

⁴⁴ United Nations, International Year of the Family, “Families at risk,” DPI/1417-93757-November 1993.

⁴⁵ United Nations, *The World’s Women 2000: Trends and Statistics*, p.37.

⁴⁶ The Alan Guttmacher Institute, *Into A New World: Young Women’s Sexual and Reproductive Lives*, p.23, New York, 1998.

⁴⁷ The Alan Guttmacher Institute, *Into A New World: Young Women’s Sexual and Reproductive Lives*, p.23, New York, 1998.

⁴⁸ United Nations, *The World’s Women 2000: Trends and Statistics*, pp.39-40.

⁴⁹ United Nations Children’s Fund, *It Takes Two*, p.4, 1998.

⁵⁰ United Nations, *The World at Six Billion*, Table 12 (ESA/B/WP.154), 1999.

⁵¹ United Nations, *The World’s Women 1995: Trends and Statistics*, p.4.

⁵² See, for example, Sen, Amartya, *Gender and Cooperative Conflicts*, in *Persistent Inequalities*, pp.123-49, Irene Tinker, ed., 1990; Kabeer, Naila, *Benevolent Dictators, Maternal Altruists and Patriarchal Contracts: Gender and Household Economics*, in *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought*, pp.95-135 (1994); Folbre, Nancy, *Cleaning House: New Perspectives on Households and Economic Development*, 14 *World Development*, p.245 (1986). See also chapter xvii (Violence).