

Dynamics in Family Patterns in Tanzania: The Case of Kijitonyama Ward, Kinondoni District, Dar Es Salaam Region, Tanzania

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Abstract

The family as an imperative social institution is currently undergoing different changes in the world. This paper examined the changing patterns of family in Tanzania in terms of ideas and practice. This study employed qualitative research approach and comparative research design. Patterns which were pulled out for comparisons include; family type, mate selection, authority patterns, forms of marriage, fertility pattern, single parent family, marriage without children, cohabitation and homosexuality. The results of this study revealed that there are mixed pre-dispositions and intricacies with regard to the transformation of family patterns in the Tanzania. First, the empirical data portrayed that many family patterns have been eroded by globalization and that Tanzanian families can hardly extricate themselves from the fast shifting world. Second, the findings showed that despite the rapid changes observed in the family patterns, not everything has been adopted by the Tanzanian families. This is because some of the global forces were perceived as threats to Tanzanian norms and values. This study recommends that since social changes are ongoing and inevitable in the globalizing world, more studies have to be conducted to understand to what extent the families respond to these changes across ethnic groups found in Tanzania and elsewhere.

Keywords; family, family patterns, culture, change and globalization

1. Introduction

The family is one the social institutions which has been experiencing numerous changes worldwide (Furstenberg 2015, Georgas 2006, Goode 1963, Holborn & Eddy 2011, Hughes et al. 1999, Kinnear 2002, Luscombe 2014, Omari 1991, Schaefer 2001). Changes have been observed in terms of social and economic roles and relationships within the families and have been both internally and externally driven (Omari, 1991). The debates about family patterns have been motivated on one hand by modern discourses (progressive thinking), and on the other hand by traditional discourses (conservative thinking). Central to the debates is on how families are either positively or negatively affected by changing social, moral, and economic dimensions (Smart and Neale 1999). Scholars such as Bauman (1993), Beck (1998), Giddens (1991), Pryor & Rodgers (2001) Skolnick & Skolnick (1986) who belong to the modern discourse, view families as dynamic and fluid institutions that are always in transition and shaped around by social changes. These changes are in many cases positive i.e. the demographic revolution of family size after the WW II is one of the positive changes following the tremendous and unprecedented population growth rate in the post-world wars period. Scholars who support the modern discourse of family patterns are informed by the neo-liberal perspectives which emphasize on individual development (individualization), creativity, and invention and live as per their own memoirs (Kinnear 2002). The traditional discourses view changes in the family as destruction of morals and social life of a given community (Browning and Chiappori 1998, Becker 1981, Charles et al. 2008, Wittenberg & Collinson 2007).

To them, change in family size has led to the breakdown of traditional ways of social and economic assistance in the world communities---which depended on extended family. Major changes in Tanzania in terms of family structure, roles and ideas started gained momentum during the colonial period with urbanization and colonial education which introduced new social-norms and values in the Tanzanian families (Lema 1976 and Omari 1991). Other changes were observed during the post-independence periods; which were further accelerated by development strategies and policies like ujamaa and villagization campaigns (Omari, 1991). The ujamaa and villagization campaigns were advocated by the first president of Tanzania, Mwl. Nyerere. In fact, the ujamaa and villagization campaigns had an intention of restoring or rather creating a “family web” characterized by the traditional family structure commonly known as extended families (Ibhawoh & Dibua, 2003).

This was done so as to facilitate the production process and distribution of goods and services. The underlying philosophy during the ujamaa and villagization campaign was that the individual would not benefit by himself but he or she put on value when considered as part and parcel of a greater family network or web (Ibhawoh & Dibua, 2003). Other enormous changes were observed during the neo-liberal era which became obvious in the 1980s in Tanzania. The neo-liberal era in Tanzania came to replace socialist ideology with new modern values and norms which impacted on the family structures, roles and expectations. The impact of neo-liberal era was evident in changing the size of the family from extended family to nuclear family and different life style like cohabitation, single parent family to mention a few (Ibhawoh & Dibua, 2003).

Despite its differences across culture and even in the same culture, the family has been closely associated with certain general principles such as its compositions, kinship patterns and authority patterns, how family is established, life style, conducting of marriage ceremonies (Schaefer, 2006). These general principles constitute the changing family patterns which are examined in the present study. The literature shows that there is a myriad of studies conducted in the area of family dynamics in the world. However, most of them were done in countries outside Tanzania (see for example Charles et al. 2008, DeFrain 2000, Georgas 2006, Natsem 2013, Ipsos MORI 2009, Hammond et al, 2015, Holborn & Eddy 2011, Hughes et al. 1999, Kinnear 2002, LaFave & Thomas (2012, Luscombe 2014, Oláh, et al. 2015, Ruggles 1987, Schaefer 2001, Wittenberg & Collinson 2007). Most of these scholars conducted studies in western countries (high income countries) from the 1960s. Their findings have portrayed rapid changes in their societies i.e. shifting from extended family to nuclear smaller families, decreasing of fertility rate, increasing rates of divorce, remarriage, cohabitation, single parent family and working mothers.

However, little do we know concerning the dynamics in family patterns in the contemporary Tanzanian families. Additionally, the previous and perhaps most prominent seminal work on family in Tanzania by Omari (1991) did not capture some important family dimensions such as cohabitation, single parent family, marriage without children, marriage after children and lesbian and gay relationships. Thus, this article would like to have a say in this area in order to understand better the dynamics in family patterns in Tanzania.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Multi-linear theory of social change

The foundation of evolutionary theory can be traced to the works of early thinkers like Morgan (1877), Tyler (1889), Spencer (1890) and Hobhouse (1906). These thinkers talked about social changes in different ways ranging from uni-linear to multi-linear models of social change. In this study, I employed Steward’s (1955) multi-linear theory of social change. This version of evolutionary theory was developed because of the intrinsic weaknesses observed in uni-linear and universal types of evolutionary change. This theory has a number of tenets subsuming the following; i) Changes are diversified in nature (Steward, 1955). In the sense that there is no one way of explain social changes and not necessarily going to the same direction like the way uni-linear theory of social change claimed. Rather, changes can occur in a variety of ways. It fundamentally means classification of different chronological patterns for different culture or types of cultures. According to Steward (1955), human culture has evolved along multiple lines and means different things across cultures. ii) Social changes are not necessarily portraying universal impacts (Steward, 1955). The theory in effect holds that not all social trends can be considered as universal. However, the theory acknowledges that these can come about in various ways and with diverse consequences. For example, the progression from smaller to larger, simpler to more complex, rural to urban, and low technology to higher technology can be experienced in a different way basing on the prevailing economic, technological and social-cultural realities.

This theory stresses the importance of distinctive historical, social and environmental circumstances that facilitate the explanation of a particular aspect of social change. Likewise, understanding the family issues in Tanzania cannot be either approached in a linear way or universal like the other families as there are different historical, cultural and social processes.

3. Methods and materials

3.1 Research design

This study adopted a comparative research design. Comparative research designs appraise the multiplicities of cases with regard to specific issues (Flick et al. 2007). This study compares various family patterns looking at what transpired in the past, current experience and future projections.

3.2 Research approach

This study used qualitative research approach. This was adopted because of its emphasis in understanding the in-depth and subjective experiences of the participants. Patton (1990) argues that qualitative research methods allow the researcher to study selected issues in-depth and in detail.

3.3 Sampling technique

Purposive sampling techniques were used to get information from the informants. In purposive sampling, informants are selected based on certain criteria (Patton, 1999). The criteria which were used to single out informants from the general population were; informants exhibition of knowledge on the information which were collected. Informants' age, education and sex were also used to gauge how different family patterns have evolved overtime.

3.4 Sample size

A total number of 20 informants constituted the sample of this study. The information obtained from this sample size was enough to reach the saturation point. In qualitative research attainment of the saturation point determines the sample size and not the number of people (Creswell, 2009).

3.5 Research design

This study employed a comparative research design to understand the changing family patterns in Tanzania. Patterns which were singled out for comparisons include; family type, mate selection, authority patterns, forms of marriage, etc. They were compared basing on how they have evolved overtime (from the past, present and future projections).

3.6 Study area, population and timing

The informants who constituted the sample of this study were residing in Kijitonyama Ward, Kinondoni District, Dar es Salaam. Kijitonyama ward is a domicile of people from different areas of Tanzania. It also occupies the academic community of Institute of Social Work (a large number of informants were from the Institute of Social Work). Therefore, it was easy to share the historical, economic and social-cultural realities and how these realities mediated family patterns without necessarily travelling to the informants original areas (in up-country). Dar es Salaam population is growing rapidly due to movement of people from the rural areas of Tanzania looking for better opportunities such as education and employment (URT 2014). Averagely, about 16% of the Region population are migrants from other places in Tanzania and have recently migrated URT (2014). The Region was formerly occupied by Zaramo and a few other ethnic groups particularly Ndengereko and Kwere. However, due to urbanization many people of different ethnicity almost from all tribes in Tanzania have migrated to the Region in big numbers. Other minority groups include the Indians, Arabs, and Europeans (URT 2014). The study was conducted in four months from November 2016 to February 2017.

3.7 Data generation methods

Three methods of data generation namely; interviews, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and documentary review were employed. The adoption of these methods was promised on the need to explore the dynamics in family patterns in deep.

FGDs were specifically meant to understand the groups' dynamics and varied pre-dispositions with the regard to the topic under study as suggested by Creswell (2009). Two FGDs were held, the group size being 4 and 5 participants respectively, while those who participated in interviews were 9 informants.

3.8 Data analysis techniques

Data analysis technique employed was content analysis. The use of content analysis was useful because it enabled this study to interpret the meanings of what the informants portrayed and also the content of the text reviewed to the context of the informants as pointed out by Hsieh & Shannon, (2005).

4. The findings

In this section, the findings of the study are presented and discussed. The discussion is focusing on the selected family patterns in the current Tanzanian families. These patterns are such as family type, authority patterns, mate selection, forms of marriage, cohabitation, single parent family, parents without children, lesbian and gay relationships.

4.1 Family type

According to the informants, there are currently two types of families in Tanzania namely; nuclear and extended families. However, the predominant family type is extended family. The informants pointed out that the extended family type is as far as the history of human kind in Tanzania. The predominance of extended family has been aggravated by its underlying benefits in the families and communities at large. Some of the benefits include; assisting each other when need arises, and generally act as safety net to members. The informants' opinions were mainly informed by their personal experiences. One of the informants had the following to say; I would like to say that extended families are more prevalent than nuclear families. Most of the extended families are found in the rural areas while a considerable number of nuclear families are found in urban areas like Dar es Salaam. The extended family has been popular because of the ability to strengthen the spirit of togetherness, protect more family members from unfavorable social conditions like diseases, economic hardships (Female informant, 50 years, University education, Kijitonyama).

Ibhawoh & Dibua (2003) are of the view that the history of extended families in Tanzania goes far back to the pre-colonial period and even after colonialism, the pattern has not changed much. Mwl. Julius Nyerere ideology (the first president of Tanzania) of socialism was also an extension of extended family or family hood. Thus, the ujamaa resettlement villages aimed at creating social and economic units that could bring all people together under one roof of social life. According to the informants, despite the influence of modernity on Tanzanian family structures, extended families will continue to manifest themselves because they are linked to family social welfare as it is one of highly dependable institutions of welfare services in the Tanzanian societies, in most of the rural areas and even in urban areas to some extent. 13 informants out of 20 informants who were interviewed about the dynamics in family type foresee that in the future both extended and nuclear families will exist in the Tanzanian societies. They also pointed out nuclear will be more noticeable in urban areas and a lesser Bachelor Degree of extended form of family due to globalization and urbanization but it will continue to be unacceptable form of social life in most of the rural communities because of the challenge of traditional norms and values.

4.2 Fertility pattern

The empirical data show that social changes have not spared fertility pattern in Tanzanian families. Discussions with the informants showed that most of the families would wish to have many children but due to economic challenges coupled with the vagaries of weather, a considerable number of families cannot afford bearing many children longer. Small family sizes are increasingly becoming popular especially in the urban areas. One of the informants had the following to say;

In my views, I would wish to have many children like my parents and grandparents but life has changed. One has to ask himself how he is going to raise his children if there is no consideration of the family size. Today, men and women are working in order to lessen the life challenges; women are increasingly going to school and would wish to bear a few children. I foresee that there will be small family size in the future (Female informant, 35 years, Bachelor Degree student, Kijitonyama).

Another informant had similar views but argued that the subject of family size depends on one's income level and therefore one can continue bearing children as long as there are enough resources to take care of the children. The informant had the following views; On my side, I do not think family size is an issue...the issue is how to take care of them! If I have all the resources needed for my children to grow, I can have as many children as possible (Male informant, 27 years, Diploma education, Kijitonyama).

The interpretation that can be accrued from the quotes above is that the small family size is now becoming fashionable because of the challenges in taking care of the children. One of the striking impressions is that the informants are aware of how families are mediated by the changing economy and would wish to respond to that by bearing a manageable number of children. The trend towards small family size particularly in the urban areas in Tanzania has also been renowned by numerous scholars including; Greene (2000), Joseph (2010), Mosha (2013), MoHCDGEC (2016), Mwageni (1998) and NBS (2013).

4.3 Authority pattern

According to the informants, most of the societies in Tanzania are mainly patriarchal. Gender roles and expectations have been favoring men when it comes to decision making in different aspects of social life in the families and community at large. The informants' pre-dispositions were informed by their own experiences, social cultural norms and religion. According to the informants although egalitarian system is emerging in some of the families, it will take time to be accepted in most of the Tanzanian societies.

I am of the view that patriarchal system is the most acceptable in our culture. We have been raised in the communities in which men make decisions, men are breadwinners. Even in my family I have seen that when it comes to decision making, my mother cannot make some important decisions prior to consult my father. She always says that let us wait for the father to resolve or to be consulted (Female informant, 47 years, Bachelor Degree student, Kijitonyama).

Another informant pointed out that patriarchal system is still evident in most of the societies at the moment. The informant had the following to say; In the past we had either patriarchal or matriarchal but today matriarchal is diminishing. Things have changed in the social organization of our communities. Today, the patriarchal system is gaining social acceptance because of the inherent weaknesses of the matriarchal system. It was a source of conflicts (Male informant, 64 years, Secondary education, Kijitonyama).

Another informant had the following to say; Listen to me my brother! God was not ignorant in the scriptures to say that men shall overrule women. He believed that this could build harmony in our families. I would like to say that the Holy Scriptures complemented the traditional African life which is largely patriarchal. The egalitarian life style is western oriented and has started creating problems like divorce because there won't be peace and harmony if two different people argue on the same thing. What is important for men is to be wise (Male informant, 62 years, Secondary education, Kijitonyama).

In the past, the most known matrilineal societies were the Zaramo, Luguru, Makua, Kaguru, Yao, Makonde and Makua (Foster 1995), from the southeast of Tanzania. However, these ethnic groups have not maintained their social organization due to villagization campaign in Tanzania in the 1970s (ujamaa resettlement), being exposed to Islam and Christianity (Dondegne et al. 2003 and Wember-Rashid 1995). Today, matrilineal kinship has started changing because of the factors mentioned above. Likewise patrilineal societies have also started changing leading to another form of decision-making among the spouses known as egalitarian (Male informant 35 years, Bachelor Degree student, Kijitonyama).

The informants of this study foresee that in the future patrilineal and egalitarian societies will co-exist in the Tanzanian families. The informants argued that the patriarchal system will continue to dominate because it is deeply rooted in the Tanzanian culture and has proved to maintain order (Male informant, 43 years, primary education, Kijitonyama). Similar observation on elevated men's position in decision making in the Tanzanian families was also made by Mosha et al. (2013), Mwageni et al. (1998) and Rweyemamu (1999). Other informants also argued that egalitarian system will also flourish in the future because of increased opportunities to education, massive sensitization on gender equality altogether have some impact on the social organization of the Tanzanian societies (Female informant, 34 years, Diploma education, Kijitonyama). The findings thus portray that despite the mixed views with regard to authority pattern in the family; patriarchal system continues to hold a significant stake in the Tanzanian families at the moment.

Egalitarian form of decision-making in the family will also conceivably manifest itself in the future because of the increased education possibilities for women that are expected to empower women to negotiate with their husbands on different matters concerning their families.

4.4 Mate selection

Different informants revealed that the choice of spouses in Tanzania has been in the form of either endogamy or exogamy. The informants pointed out that exogamy is now becoming more popular among the youths because of exposure to education and globalization and it is more evident in the urban areas than rural areas. One of the youth informants, who spoke during the FGD with male informants at the Institute of Social Work, had the following to say; I would like to say that things have changed. It is difficult for me to go to the village searching for a wife. This is because most of us are no longer staying in the same place from primary education to higher education levels. For example, I am a higher learning student here in Dar es Salaam and when I finish my studies I expect to find employment opportunities in Dar es Salaam. Perhaps, I will be married to a person who is not of my origin. The most important thing is real love (Male informant, 27 years, Bachelor Degree student, Kijitonyama).

Another informant who shared her views during the FGD with female informants at the Institute of Social Work also said; Family influence in the selection of life partner is out of date. In this modern world tribalism, regionalism and religious influence cannot determine mate selection any more. What matters is love! (Female informant, 26 years, Diploma student, Kijitonyama).

Another informant remarked that; To me I do not accept the choice of the parents. It is not their marriage, rather it is mine. I know exactly what does it mean by marriage. That is why when things become difficult or not in good order in marriage, people say that it is because it was not our choice (Female informant, 32 years, Bachelor Degree student, Kijitonyama).

Another informant who had different views concerning endogamy and exogamy had the following to say; If you ask the current generation about mate selection, I am sure they will tell you that the history, cultures do not matter. On my side, these criteria matters a lot because in the past when we wanted to marry each other we had to go the parents first. We did that in order to get useful information concerning marriage life and the proper choice of a husband or a wife to be. As such, there were no or few divorce cases simply because we were choosing the right candidates either assisted by parents or the parents themselves. Nowadays, people use short-cuts which results into divorce and many other family problems (Male informant, 56 years, Bachelor Degree student, Kijitonyama).

Another informant had the following to say; It is true that things have changed but youths should take time to think before making decisions. This is because marriage is not like other things. It is something that lasts very long and it is permanent. I remember some years back, in our times parents were very instrumental in selection of the wives/husbands to be. In my tribe as Nyakyusa we had a system which governed selection of life mates. Parents were involved 100%, from the beginning to the end. The parents assisted in the selection process and sometimes had to recommend their choices. Parents were concerned with the family history and characters of the proposed suitor, assessing their behavior to establish if they were witch or not, if they were thief or not, if they had hereditary diseases or not. These were some of the criteria but today you see people have already engaged themselves as a parent you are just given information. This is terrible! (Female informant, 57 years, University education, Kijitonyama).

Endogamy refers to mate selection within ones class, race, ethnic group or religion while exogamy refers to mate selection outside ones kin group, religion and race (Hughes et al. 1999). Several informants particularly of higher age reiterated that endogamy was very prevalent in the past whereby the family played a great role in selecting the mates. They were looking at the family background in terms of religion, ethnic group, diseases like asthma, leprosy, diabetes, and character of the expected bride; in short intermarriage was not accepted in most of the Tanzanian societies. Some of the forces which have changed this trend include ujamaa resettlement programmes, exposure to education, immigration. Today, there are a few ethnic groups which still practice endogamy. Those ethnic groups include Maasai, Hadzabe, Tindiga and the Datoga community. In these societies mate selection is still determined by ethnic background. There is very little intermarriage with other ethnic groups (Male informant, 42 years, Diploma education, Kijitonyama).

The findings show clearly that there is a difference between old people and young people in terms of thinking. This has been attributed to the level of education and exposure to modern life which make children start deciding on themselves from when they are young. Other parents asserted that children have forgotten that they will never be like their parents even if they become old. So, traditional values have to be restored in order to have good marriage life like before.

Another female informant insisted during an interview that; The today's youth generation in Tanzania prefers more exogamy than endogamy. The youths practice more exogamy than endogamy because of the following reasons; immigration, education and based on physical attractiveness. Most of the youths today tend to select partners who have a Bachelor Degree of physical attractiveness similar to theirs. Due to the fact that globalization is bringing the world into one village it is difficult to claim that endogamy will persist (Female informant, 48 years, Diploma education, Kijitonyama).

The findings of this study indicate that exogamy will continue to strengthen itself along with endogamy in some areas especially in the rural areas. The informants also foresee increasing rates of divorce in the Tanzanian societies because the partners do not know each other prior to marriage. The informants also foresee difficult marriage times in some of the couples following the intermarriage.

4.5 Forms of marriage

According to the findings, polygamy and monogamy are common marriage practices in Tanzania. The informants' views were influenced by their personal experiences and social environment. The informant pointed out that polygyny was very much prevalent in the past (before the period of colonialism) and has continued to manifest itself to-date. In addition, according to the informants the union between one man and two or more wives (referred to as polygyny) is normal in Tanzania especially in the rural areas but the union which consists of one wife with several men is abnormal in Tanzania. One of the informants had the following to say; I would like to say that polygamism is still obvious in some of the ethnic groups in the rural areas but in the form of polygyny and not polyandry. In African context, it is very strange to have one woman married to several husbands. Also, when compared polygamism and monogamism I find that polygamism is almost dying in the urban areas because of little resources (Male informant, 52 years, University education, Kijitonyama).

Another informant who spoke in favor of polygamism in the past societies had the following sentiments; Polygamism especially in the Kurya tribe was very common in the past and continues in some areas of Mara Region. Polygamism was preferred because men had enough land and livestock and thus they wanted many children to take care of their properties. Another thing is that polygamism was preferred because it was symbol of wealth and practiced more by the societies which had chieftainship (Male informant, 45 years, secondary education, Kijitonyama).

Different scholars like Manyama (2016), Mhando (2011) and Omari (1991) also documented that polygamism has been valued in some of the Tanzania societies because of its importance in the family survival, as households had to be self-sufficient in terms of producing and consuming what they produce. Some of the communities wanted many children and women as a symbol of wealth and status. Manyama (2016) in particular found that in the Kurya community, some women consented to go into polygamous marriage because they wanted to get some assistance in the production process and some were overburdened with household workload. Omari (1991) reported that polygamism was against the colonialist values and thus they took some initiatives to abolish it, for example agents of colonialism missionaries in particular condemned against polygamy and thus during the period of British colonialism, colonialist for example imposed a formal foreign legal structure in 1919 which was meant to reduce the powers of the customary tribal laws on marriage issues. After independence Tanzania instituted the Law of marriage act of 1971 which allows polygamy and allows the Kadhi courts in Zanzibar to settle all matters pertaining to marriage and divorce (Howland 2003).

Although polygamy is legally recognized, it is still strong condemned by activities i) polygamy subjugated women, it economically and emotionally oppressive ii) increases women risks of contracting HIV/AIDS iii) it is rooted in gender and human inequalities and violates the declaration of human rights of 1948, convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women CEDAW 1979 and the UN 1993 declaration in which Tanzania has ratified.

Following the widespread condemnations against polygamism and the legal procedures which do not allow the practice if the couples religions do not allow, some men have modified this and came up with defacto polygyny nyumba ndogo. This practice still exists in Tanzania both in rural areas and in urban areas. One man has one official wife and another or several unofficial wives. The informants were of the view that they anticipate the co-existence of monogamous and monogamous marriage in the future because they are underpinned by religions and culture. The informants remarked that monogamous marriage shall exist to a greater extent compared to polygamous marriage especially in urban areas where everything is carefully calculated.

4.6 Cohabitation

According to the informants, cohabitation in Tanzania is existing but to a lesser Bachelor Degree. In the past this was not obvious because it showed disrespect to the family members and it was closely connected to the family income, as some of the ethnic groups like Kurya, Maasai and all other pastoralist communities gained the bride wealth through sending off their daughters, as one of the informants remarked;

I would like to say that cohabitation is something new. In the past it was not socially acceptable but today is coming up. Most of the ethnic groups still recognize formal unions and some of the ethnic groups like the Kuria and Maasai are not allowing this union up to the moment because it is a sign of disrespect to the parents and also parents expect to get bride price as compensation (Male informant, 45 years, College education, Kijitonyama). According to the informants, this life style is more becoming apparent in urban areas than rural areas. Some of the informants pointed out that in urban areas people interact with others who do not mind about this. Other informants added that since these relationships miss blessings from the parents, they do not last long; they are temporary compared to formal marriage styles. These relationships emerge among the youth generation especially higher learning students in urban areas like Dar es Salaam and they are doing it in a very clandestine manner. One of the informants had the following sentiments;

Cohabitation is now emerging as a new form of marriage in Tanzania. Many young people especially those undertaking studies in urban areas like Dar es Salaam, have started falling into this trap while their parents are not aware that their children have cohabitated! It is also supported by the LMA of 1971 which recognize the unofficial union between man and woman after two years (Male informant, 42 years, Secondary education, Kijitonyama).

The informants foresee that in the future these relationships will be more prevalent particularly in urban areas than in rural areas. This is because of the modern life which makes people not to bother themselves with the traditional lifestyle. Some argued that when people migrate to the cities there is free life compared to the rural areas where people know each other well and thus fail to have full freedom.

4.7 Single parent family

According to the informants, this was not very common case in Tanzania in the past but it is now becoming common especially in urban areas. According to the informants in some of ethnic groups, single parents particularly women were marked with degrading words such as msimbe that means a woman who has no permanent area to settle, she is wandering from one place to another and muhuni if you are a man. One of the informants expressed himself as follows; Single parent family is abnormal if there are no good reasons like partners death. Otherwise people will call you msimbe especially if you are a woman and muhuni if you are a man but I see a different trend in urban where there is an increasing number of single parent family especially women but this was not acceptable in the past. Even in some rural areas people still devalue those who are not in formal union while they have already passed the reproductive age (Male informant, 41 years, College education, Kijitonyama).

Thinking in retrospect, other informants pointed out that since single-parent family was socially unacceptable to most of the communities in Tanzania, there was widows' inheritance so as to upgrade the widows' value in the eyes of the community. However, this has slightly changed today because of the turbulences of HIV/AIDs. Other informants pointed out that single parent family in Tanzania today is becoming a fashion especially in urban areas because of marriage unpreparedness, the desire for freedom and flexibility; divorce cases as pointed out by one of the informants as follows;

Single parent family incidences are growing up in our country. In the past, it was difficult to live in that way...unless you had a problem of marriage or following the death of your spouse...today it becomes a fashion. Probably, one the reasons is that people want to be free from marital problems and some bear children early (Female informant, 36 years, Bachelor Degree education).

The informants forecast that this family style will be more evident in the urban areas than in the rural areas for the reason that in urban areas there is more freedom. Others informants went a step further saying that this is a beginning of family breakdown and as such the families are losing their essence (Male informant, 45 years, Bachelor Degree education, Kijitonyama).

4.8 Parents without children

Different informants revealed that in the past it was considered abnormal for people to be in marriage without children in Tanzania. Unless there was problem attributed to infertility or something like that but it was not uncommon (Female informant, 35 years, College education). Other informants pointed out that the desire for children has not changed in African context. For people to have peace of mind, people are supposed to have children. The informants argued that people can decide to live without children but the problem comes from the surrounding people. They will have many things to say and some have different interpretations in most cases. Children were valued and still are valued because of maintaining the clan lineage, source of labor and security (Female informant, 28 years, College student, Kijitonyama).

Other informants said people can delay to be married but not to live without children at all. One of the informants had the following to say; Some of the couples delay to get children for economic reasons and some prefer a small family size for the same reasons (economic hardships). I foresee that this form of marriage will take time to be accepted because of the high value placed to the children in most of the societies (Male informant, 26 years, Certificate student, Kijitonyama).

The message that is communicated from the above quotes is that most of the families in Tanzania would not postpone family bearing without having good reasons as children are highly valued. The findings of this study confirm the previous findings by Manyama (2016), Mosha (2013) and Mhando (2011) who found that the value of children in the Tanzanian families cannot be overemphasized. Children's value is linked to social and economic assistance in the families. So, the childless families are considered abnormal in the eyes of the community and some of them face social stigma especially in the rural areas.

4.9 Lesbian and gay relationships

According to the informants these relationships in Tanzania have been considered immoral, illegal and thus not acceptable in Tanzania. The informants also said although the relationships are illegal and immoral; there are some people who practice this in secret. Following these negative attitudes, informants foresee that these relationships will take long time to be accepted in the Tanzanian societies. One of the informants had the following remarks; Lesbian and gay relationships are illegal in Tanzania but there are people who have started such relationships secretly. The government also knows about that and it is fighting against it. In my views, these relationships will probably become open in the coming generation but not in this generation. This is because youths are increasingly getting exposed to these foreign life styles (Male informant, 45 years, College education, Kijitonyama).

Similar views were held by all 20 informants involved in this study. The informants strongly condemned against lesbian and gay relationships that it is not the Tanzanian culture; it is immoral, illegal and contradict with all the religious doctrines and all other social institutions. However, the informants remarked that condemning against the practice does not mean that homosexuality does not exist. The current and next generations are getting more exposed to those illegal relationships through the media. The informants' views were in tantamount with the previous studies on homosexuality in Tanzania by Basomingera (2015), Magesa (2014) and Leshabari et al. (2013) which found that homosexuality is socially intolerable/unbearable and thus the people involved face stigma, abusive language, discrimination, deprived health care and harsh legal environment that criminalize them.

Table 1 the following table summarizes the key points written in this paper

Family pattern		Past	Present	Future trend
1.	Family type Nuclear Extended Blended	Extended family	Nuclear family, extended family to a lesser Bachelor Degree, Blended family to a lesser Bachelor Degree	Nuclear family, extended family on the way out, Blended family to a large extent
2.	Family size Large Small	Large family size	Small family size	Both small and large family size
3.	Authority patterns Patrilineal Matrilineal Egalitarian	Patrilineal and Matrilineal	Patrilineal, matrilineal to a lesser Bachelor Degree, Egalitarian	Patrilineal, Egalitarian to a lesser Bachelor Degree
4.	Mate selection Endogamy Exogamy	Endogamy, family influence to a greater Bachelor Degree	Mixing endogamy and exogamy, family influence to a lesser Bachelor Degree	Prevalence of exogamy and lesser family influence
5.	Forms of marriage Polygamous Monogamous	Polygamous (polygyny) and Monogamous	Monogamous, polygamous (polygyny) to a lesser Bachelor Degree	Prevalence of monogamous marriage
6.	Other life style: Cohabitation, adoption, single parent family, marriage without children, marriage after children, lesbian and gay relationships etc	No/low cohabitation	Increasing rate of cohabitation	Prevalence of cohabitation in urban areas
		Low rate of single parent family	Increasing rate of single parent family	Prevalence of Single parent family
		Low rate of marriage without children	Increasing rate of marriage without children	Prevalence of Marriage without children
		No/low lesbian and gay relationships	It is emerging but so secretly	Low rate of homosexuality but secretly done in urban areas
7.	Fertility pattern Small family Large family	Large family size	Small family size in urban areas Large family size in rural areas	Prevalence of small family size

Source: Developed from the empirical data

5. Conclusion

From the findings of the study, it has evidently been indicated that family as a primary agent of socialization has faced many changes attributed to globalization and urbanization. The findings also show that some of the family patterns have not changed and will take time to transform themselves because of the competition/resistance from religion, culture and state-oriented laws/regulations. That is to say, the Tanzanian societies have accepted or adopted some of the changes and rejected or still negotiate with some of the family dimensions which seem to be incompatible with the indigenous family patterns.

6. Recommendations

This study has found that the Tanzanian family patterns are complex and experience on going changes. The scale and depth of changes needs to be examined in diverse contexts. Therefore, different studies can be conducted to understand the status and place of different family patterns across ethnic groups in Tanzania and somewhere else.

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