

THE POLITICS OF GENDER IN CHILD ADOPTION

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Abstract

The child is the traditional reason for marriage. Children are revered and esteemed as source of pride, strength, security and economic prowess for the family. Thus, a family's strength is measured by the presence of children in that family but sometimes this traditional expectation is defeated by the issue of childlessness. This condition is known to be the cause of marital instability in African culture just as marital success is based on the ability of a couple to procreate. Child adoption is the plausible option for the childless couple in our society as it affords them the opportunity to have children they can call their own. However, adoption is not without challenges. Certain socio-cultural practices, norms and values that border on gender keep affecting the practice of child adoption. It is against this bedrock that this paper seeks to x-ray those gender issues that are fueled by culture and how they affect child adoption practice. The paper was substantiated with a survey and a comparative review of some empirical studies on the subject matter. The instrument for data collection was a twenty-point structured and open-ended online questionnaire while the population was fifty male and female members of the Counselling Association of Nigeria (CASSON) and the Anglican Diocese of Ideato WhatsApp platforms. They were purposively and randomly enlisted to participate in the study with equal opportunity given to every one of them. Analysis was done in simple percentages and for the unstructured responses an open-coding technique was used to identify patterns in the responses. From these patterns, categories and subcategories were identified, to group the responses. The findings show that women (70%) resolve the problem of childlessness by adopting a child but more men (59%) do so by marrying a second wife. The most preferred sex in child adoption is the male (75%). The husband's preference for the male child (92%) female child (8%) while the wife's preference for female child (57%) male child (43%). The study recommends a mass enlightenment programme to re-orient the people out of the culture that limits the woman's access to child adoption.

Key Words: Child, child adoption, childless couple, gender, male preference,

Introduction:

Recent studies show a growing incidence of child adoption in Nigeria in general and Igbo communities in particular (Oladokun, Arulogun, Oladokun, Morhassan-Bello, Bamgboye, Adewole & Ojengbade, 2010; Omosun & Kofoworola, 2011; Avidime, Ameh, Adesiyun, Ozed-Williams, Isaac, Sullyman, Idris & Ojabo, 2013; Ohachenu, 2016). This is to mitigate the negative social and economic effects of childlessness. In all cultures, childlessness is recognized as a crisis that has the potential to threaten the stability of individuals, relationships, and communities. Statistics show that its high prevalence among couples ranges from 10% – 20% in sub-Saharan Africa, between 8% and 12% of

couples worldwide and 20% of Nigerians (Omosun & Kofoworola, Avidime et al, 2013). This situation provides a strong reason for child adoption.

Apart from the misconceptions, stigmatization, financial burden and procedural bottlenecks that bedevil the practice of child adoption, studies show that several social and cultural issues bordering on gender impinge on the practice (Adewunmi, Etti, Tayo & Rabiou 2012, Bokaie, Farajkhoda & Enjezab 2012, Joshi, Prasad & Kushwaha, 2015). The empirical studies and everyday experiences reveal gender inequalities in child adoption even in social reproduction, distribution of income, property ownership, credit and control over earned income in the family. Also, resource allocation is gender-biased within household and continues on a higher-level outside the family setting. The socio-cultural context of the society in which the prospective adopter lives pose some serious threat too.

This paper sets out to present a review of empirical studies on the gender issues in child adoption, examine its various dimensions in Igbo communities. Essentially, it seeks to identify, assess and develop actions to address the inequality that come from different gender norms, roles and relations; unequal power relations between and among groups of men and women in relation to child adoption practice.

Theoretical Framework: The Social Capital Theory

The Wikipedia Dictionary defines social capital as “the networks of relationships among people who live and work in a particular society, enabling that society to function effectively.” To Bourdieu (1980) social capital is an essential form of capital, along with ‘economic capital’ and ‘cultural capital’; and that they are interrelated. In his words “social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.” In operational terms, social capital can be said to refer to the social networks to which one belongs in society; notably the bridging networks, the linking networks and the bonding networks. These are “the broad connections that help people expand opportunities; connections to organizations and systems that help them gain resources and bring about change in the desired direction and connections that give a sense of belonging and help people get by respectively” (Bourdieu, 1980).

The relevance of this theory is the premise that social relationships matter for the functioning of human society and any feature of a social relationship that yields some benefits to the individual or group in social reproduction constitutes a social capital. It is against this theoretical background that we explore the place of the child and the multiple relationships/ opportunities it avails the individual in Igbo society as a social capital.

Basically, this theory as propounded by Bourdieu (1986, 1992) and as applied by Coleman (Doob (2003) is concerned with the dynamics of power in society and its obvious implication on reproduction of social inequality. Bourdieu's analysis draws special attention to structural constraints/limitations and unequal access to critical institutional resources based on class, gender and race. As a property of the individual rather than the collective, social capital "enables a person to exert power on the group or individual who mobilizes the resources."

In this paper, we seek to focus on gender and how it shapes the perception, motive and participation of men and women in child adoption processes.

The Child as a Source of Social Capital:

A child is a biological offspring of a couple or a single person be it male or female. The Children and Young Persons law of the Federation (2003) makes a clear distinction between a child and a young person. A child is any person who has not attained the age of fourteen years, while a young person means someone who is above fourteen years of age but below seventeen years. The child in Igbo communities is an important source of social capital and therefore commands a high premium among the people. Children are seen as blessings from God. They serve as security for the parents especially at old age. They are used to form alliances to combat external crises from the extended family or the outside society. They enhance the social status of a couple and to have children is the traditional reason for marriage in Igboland. Igbos extol the place of the child through the names they give to children. These include:

Nwabuisi - "The child is everything," Nwabugwu - "a child is honour of the parents," Nwabundo - "a child is a shield, a protection," Nwabude - "a child is a resounding fame, Nwagbo - "a child prevents misery, conflict" Ifeyinwa - meaning there is nothing like a child (Nwoko, 1986).

Child Adoption

In the words of Modell (2000), adoption is the legal act of permanently placing a child with a parent or parents other than the birth mother or father. An adoption order has the effect of severing the parental responsibilities and rights of the birth parents and transferring those responsibilities and rights onto the adoptive parent(s). After the finality of an adoption, there is no legal difference between adopted children and those born to the parents. The children can inherit the ascribed status of the adoptive parents, that is, they inherit the same legal rights as biological children. In other words, if the parent dies, they inherit on the same basis as biological offspring.

To Rothman (1998) "adoption is not just a program for children, it creates a legal family for children when the birth family is unable or unwilling to parent. It expands existing

families and engages adoptive parents in the priceless costs and benefits of parenting. Birth parents that voluntarily place their child with adoptive parents may also benefit from adoption. It frees them from the parenting role, which they may judge themselves unready to assume. Adoption also offers birth parents the hope for a better life for their child. Adoption meets the hopes of the child, the adoptive parents and the birth parents.

Thus, in adoption the adoptive parent and the adopted child do not have any biological ties but are connected permanently as parent and child. The adopted child is given the rights, privileges, and duties of a child and heir by the adoptive family. Child adoption is therefore a mechanism of providing a level ground for the various gender categories in disadvantaged position of childlessness a chance to access the all - important source of social capital – the child. This is a lifelong security to them and even the adopted child.

Types of Child Adoption:

Open Adoption

Open adoption is defined as sharing of information and or contact between the adoptive and biological parents of an adopted child. This can occur before, during or after the placement of the child (Berry, 1999).

Semi – Open Adoption

A semi-open adoption is similar to open adoption but the relationship does not include the sharing of information and typically involves the agency as an intermediary for on-going contact (American Pregnancy Association, 2016).

Step Parent Adoption

Stepparent adoption is adoption by relatives for example stepfather's adoption of his wife's children.

Relinquishment or Agency-Sponsored Adoptions

In agency-sponsored adoptions, social workers obtain consent from the biological parents or seek involuntary termination of their rights and then proceed to select and investigate adoptive applicants. Recommendations are subsequently made to the court and adoption concluded.

Subsidized Adoption

Some adoptions are subsidized hence they call it subsidized adoption. Financial assistance is given to adoptive parents and its purpose is to help poorer persons become adoptive parents and it is especially helpful in providing special needs children with homes because of physical or mental disability, emotional disturbance, recognized high risk of physical or mental disease.

Closed Adoption

The practice of closed adoption, in contrast, bars all identifying information from being shared between adoptive parents, biological kin, and adoptee. All decisions about who adopted which baby were made solely by agency social workers. (op cit)

International/Inter-Country Adoption

This is the act by which people in a country become interested in adopting a child from another country. It involves the adoption of foreign – born children by adoptive families (Borner, 2003, Miller, 2008).

Nigerian Adoption Eligibility Requirements for Prospective Adopters

1. **Age Requirements:** In Abia, Akwa-Ibom, Anambra, Bayelsa, Cross River, Ebonyi, Enugu, Imo and Rivers states prospective adoptive parents must be at least 25 years of age and 21 years older than the child to be adopted. For married couples at least one parent must meet the age requirements
2. **Residency Requirement:** Nigerian law requires the parent -child relationship be established before the court decision to approve the adoption can be finalized.
3. **Marriage Requirements:** Both single and married couples may adopt only that a single person would not be allowed to adopt a child of the opposite sex except in extra ordinary circumstances.
4. **Income Requirements:** Nigerian adoption process does not impose any income requirements on prospective inter-country adopters.
Generally, there is a thorough investigation of the adoption parties through the process of home study.

The Adoption Home Study:

Once you apply to adopt a child (whether you apply through an agency, an attorney or facilitator, or directly to the court in an independent adoption), the laws of all states require that you undergo a "home study" Home studies are conducted to evaluate your desire and commitment to adopt, to explore the reasons why you want to adopt, to evaluate you as a prospective parent, and to provide education about adoption (FRN Child's Right Acts, 2003).

The only legal way to do an adoption in Nigeria is to work with the respective state Social Welfare Office (usually named the State Ministry of Women's or Family Affairs). Prospective adoptive parents should not embark on black market adoption by attempting to process their adoption through local officials who may attempt to circumvent the legal process.

Summarily the process for adopting a child from Nigeria generally includes the following steps:

1. Choose an adoption service provider
2. Apply to be found eligible to adopt
3. Be matched with a child
4. Adopt (or gain custody of) the child in Nigeria
5. Apply for the child to be found eligible for orphan status
6. Bring your child home

• **Documents Required:** The paperwork involved in Nigerian adoptions is extensive and time-consuming to locate. Prospective adoptive parents are advised to consult with a Nigerian Attorney about the document requirements of the State from which they are adopting. The following is a list of some of the required documents:

- Birth certificates
- Marriage certificates
- Divorce decrees (where applicable)
- Proof of Nigerian citizenship
- Proof of U.S. citizenship
- Financial documentation – proof of financial assets
- Police reports
- Note: Additional documents may be requested.

Authentication of Documents: You may be asked to provide proof that a document from the United States is authentic. If so, the Department of State Authentications Office may be able to assist.

The Concept of Gender

Gender is an important dimension of every relationship in society. It generally refers to the socially constructed aspects of male–female differences as different from sex which is biologically determined variable. In the words of David (2004) gender “refers to the socially constructed roles, behaviors, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women.

Acker (1999) highlights five different interacting social processes where gendering takes place, notably;

- The construction of divisions along the lines of gender such as those produced by labor, power, family, the state, even allowed behaviors and locations in physical space
- The construction of symbols and images such as language, ideology, dress and the media, that explain, express and reinforce or sometimes oppose those divisions.

- Interactions between men and women, women and women and men and men that involve any form of dominance and submission.
- The way that the preceding three processes help to produce gendered components of individual identity, i.e., the way they create and maintain an image of a gendered self
- Gender is implicated in the fundamental, ongoing processes of creating and conceptualizing social structures.

Gender roles are individuals' roles prescribed on the basis of their socially identified sex which are the basis of the division of labour in most societies (Wood & Eagly, 2010). These roles are imbibed through contact with parents, school and the local media in form of folklores etc. Thus gender is a social construction as different from biological constitution.

3. Gender and the Customary Alternatives to Child Adoption

In our earlier discourse (ohachenu, 2020) we identified the customary alternatives to child adoption. They include 1. Polygyny 2. The Institution of Female Husbands (Amadiume, 1987) otherwise known as woman to woman marriage 3. The Institution of male daughters (Amadiume, 1987) meaning a daughter assuming the position of a son in the family 4. Procreation through a kinsman that is hiring a progenitor. 5. Bequeathing a child to one's childless relation. Each of these institutional arrangements is predicated on gender relationships in society.

(a) **Polygyny:** This is an act of marrying a second wife in the bid to get a male successor or mitigate the problem of childlessness. In this arrangement the male husband is more concerned with the continuity of his patrilineage, succession and inheritance without regard to the effect on the first wife. This is a clear case of politics of exclusion against the first wife as she is completely out of the scene. She feels alienated, humiliated and isolated.

(b) **The Institution of Female Husbands (Amadiume, 1987) otherwise known as woman -to- woman marriage:** This is a cultural provision of a childless woman marrying a wife in her name and she bears children for her husband. She cares for these children as her own and they are duly acknowledged as hers. This is done when the husband is still alive or at his demise. This raises a gender issue as this coping strategy is only allowed under customary tradition but prohibited for Christian mothers by Christianity which prescribes resignation to the will of God in the event of childlessness. The Christian philosophy and belief is that it is God that gives children. Moreover, this arrangement benefits and includes the male gender while marrying second wife excludes the woman.

- (c) **The Institution of Male Daughters (Amadiume, 1987) meaning a daughter assuming the position of a son in the family:** This is a situation where a couple with only female children keeps one of their daughters from getting married but living with them and bearing children for them. They make her a male head and perfect that through traditional rites of notification (with ceremonies) to the kinsmen for the legitimization of the offspring from that arrangement. This and the above practice are what Amadiume (1987) branded as "male daughters, female husbands." This arrangement constitutes a gender issue in that it exposes the female child to sexual abuse and molestation as she is free to be accessed by any interested man and will be subject to accept them as they come or stand to face their wrath if she turns them down. The gender issue further x-rayed is the same restriction by Christianity as highlighted above.

Procreation through a kinsman:

A childless man can arrange with his relation to make children for him. It is a secret affair that is only known and arranged by the couple. This is favorable to the woman gender in that it affords the opportunity to procreate and have her children.

- (e) **Bequeathing a child to one's childless relation.**

This is a situation where a caring relation gives out his or her child to a childless relation. The child is to live with the couple until she gets married or dies. This is mostly done with female children as they are known to only belong to a family by marriage. For the male child he leaves for his family at a later time, probably when he's ready for marriage.

4. Gender and Modern Child Adoption

Several empirical studies attest to the fact that gender shapes the participation of men and women in child adoption. The study by Ukwuome (2013) reveals gender difference in the perception and acceptance of adoption. One-third of the female group view adoption as the last hope for childless couples while the remaining two-thirds said that adoption is alternative for infertile couples as it will serve to comfort them. Their male counterparts said that they dislike adoption as the people in their community may not have a good attitude towards them. 65% of the respondents agreed that men would rather remarry than go for child adoption. This finding is in line with what Bharatiya (2005) said that men in developing countries would rather remarry than go for child adoption. Result of the study also shows that 67% strongly agreed, 8% disagreed while 4% strongly disagreed that an individual's gender determines his acceptance of child adoption, Thus the study delineate that gender plays a major role in influencing the attitudes of couples towards child adoption.

Results of a study carried out in Northern Ghana by Nachinab, Donkor and Naab (2019) highlight the fact that husbands have negative reaction to child adoption because of their preference for a biological child and marrying a second wife. The interviewed women had this to say:

For my husband he will not agree. He has children with my rival so he will not agree to bring in a child that is not his. If he had no child and I was the only wife, maybe we could talk about it but as it stands, he will just disagree.

"My husband has married another wife so he will not agree for us to adopt a child because he knows that my rival will start having children soon."

My husband will not agree to go for adoption because he will think the adopted child does not have his blood. In a family here, they want their own blood; if not they will not see you as part of them.

It is in view of women's plight and predicaments in child adoption practice that we set out to investigate the role gender plays in the practice of child adoption. This is an empirical research paper as it sets out to review researches carried out in the past by some researches on the above subject matter. Our online survey to investigate people's perception, knowledge and assessment of gender issues in child adoption is guided by these research questions:

Research Questions

- 1) Which of the spouse is more affected by the state of childlessness?
- 2) Which of the spouse is stigmatized for not having children?
- 3) What option/s does each spouse choose to solve the problem of childlessness?
- 4) If resolving problem of childlessness is by child adoption which spouse shows more fulfilment for the adoption?
- 5) What sex is preferred by each spouse?

Materials and Methods

The study targeted relatively educated people to ascertain their own views on the subject matter. They were purposively and randomly chosen to respond to the online questionnaire. That is to say that any person who wishes to respond to it was given the opportunity to participate in the survey. The population for the study comprised of fifty males and females that were accessed online from two WhatsApp groups the researcher belongs to namely; Counselling Association of Nigeria (CASSON) Enugu State chapter

and Anglican Diocese of Ideato platforms. The only socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents sought were their sex and educational attainment. The reason for this delineation is because the biodata of respondents do not constitute the salient variables for the investigations in the survey.

Twenty-point structured and unstructured questionnaire was the research instrument employed for the investigation. It examined the effects of childlessness on childless couples in particular and the society at large, the particular spouse that is blamed for the problem of childlessness, how each couple resolves the said problem, if by child adoption which sex is most preferred, the parent that shows more fulfilment for the adoption and the role external force/s for example relations, friends, colleagues play in resolving the problem of childlessness among affected couples.

Results/Findings

The data were analyzed using simple percentages and the qualitative data from the open-ended questions were collated verbatim into corresponding individual data files, separated by question number. An open-coding technique was used to identify patterns in the responses. From these patterns, categories and subcategories were identified, to group the responses. Responses were then placed into the appropriate category based on the research themes.

The findings from this survey that highlight the gender issues include the following: women (94%) are more affected by the state of childlessness while it is 4% men that are affected. 76% respondents said that it is the woman that is attributed to be the cause of childlessness and 96% also said it is the woman that is stigmatized for not having a child.

The unstructured responses confirm these findings. Worthy of note are these comments from two respondents in the Counselling Association of Nigeria (CASSON) Enugu State chapter WhatsApp group

"We live in an African society. That traditionally translates to unequal rights for women. Anything bad in a marriage just has to be the woman's fault."

"In Africa the belief is that the wife is the determinant of conception and even the sexes of children. And should there be a default in either conception or sex of the child, she is held responsible for that."

Other findings include, more women (70%) resolve the problem of childlessness by adopting a child whereas more men (59%) do so by marrying a second wife. The woman's reasons for adopting a child include to secure her marriage, save herself from the shame

and stigmatisation of being childless and comfort herself and experience nurturing a child, biological or not. The reasons for marrying the second wife as shown in this research include pressure from relations (which ranked highest with 96% among the options of the sources of pressure on the man), the thought that it is the wife that is responsible for the problem and that he wants a heir to continue and maintain the family lineage. Marrying the second wife is without regard to the devastating emotional trauma experienced by the childless partner and by this arrangement the first wife is excluded from the family processes. There will ensue acute competition between the two wives.

Findings show that the most preferred sex in child adoption is the male (75%). The husband's preference for the male child (92%) female child (8%) while the wife's preference for female child (57%) male child (43%). Responses on the man's reasons for this preference of the male child is solely to have a successor who will maintain family/lineage. Conversely the wife prefers a female child because she wants a child who will take care of her in old age. Using the exact words of a male respondent in Ideato Anglican Diocesan WhatsApp platform: *"Females are helpful. They help in caring for the home and even when they are married and leave the family they still remember to come back and help."*

Discussion of Findings

Each party in the adoption process plays out the gender issues, maintaining his or her interest. Hop (1980) points out that female children were by custom not allowed to perpetuate the family name but only helped in expanding the fame of the family. The preference for the male is being expressed in the people's sentiments and emotions as Hop writes "the congratulations are particularly warm in the case of a son, if it is a daughter, they are less enthusiastic, so little indeed that sometimes, they are more like expressions of sympathy." Conversely Kim (nd) reports that the results of a pilot study of open adoptive families in Korea show that the adoptive parents adopted more girls than boys and single mothers adopt more females in order to build their social capital. There are variations in the choice of the child to adopt as predicated by the gender of the adopter. In Igboland the man and his kinsmen want the male child while the wife wants both male and the female child. The man only needs the female child for fame and for befitting burial.

In the study on the perception of child adoption among the Igbo of Orlu North East, Imo State, Nigeria (Obachenu, 2016) it was found that more women (50.8%) accepted child adoption practice as against (49.2%) males because the men prefer marrying another wife and having their own biological children. Even, on investigation on those who do not accept child adoption men ranked highest with 51.5%.

Table 1: Distribution of respondents according to sex and level of acceptance of child adoption (% in parenthesis)

Sex	Level of Acceptance		Total	X ²
	Acceptable	Unacceptable		
Male	380 (49.2)	220 (51.5)	600 (50.0)	X ² = 2.896 df = 1 p = 0.102
Female	393 (50.8)	207 (48.5)	600 (50.0)	
Total	773 (100)	427 (100)	1200 (100.0)	

Critical Value of X² = 3.841

From the findings it can be seen that there was really no significant difference between the sexes in terms of acceptance or non-acceptance. The P value of 0.102 which is more than 0.05 showed non-significance. This implies that there is no significant evidence to claim that females are more likely to accept child adoption than the males. Also, comparing the x² value of 2.896 against the critical value of X² which is 3.841, (df=1, p=0.05), the relationship between sex and level of acceptance of child adoption was non-significant. This is a puzzle that needs to be addressed in future study.

On the distribution of respondents by assessment of adopters' fulfilment for adoption it was found that the mother shows greater sign of fulfilment 62% than the father (8.33%) as shown in the table below.

Table 2: Distribution of respondents by assessment of adopters' fulfilment for adoption (n = 1200)

Who shows greater sign of fulfilment?	Frequency	Percentage
Father	100	8.33
Mother	744	62.00
Both	260	21.67
None	96	8.00
Total	1200	100.0

Mothers had more fulfilment than the fathers. This is in line with the FGD /IDI results that showed that the adoption parties were happy, well-adjusted and had fulfilment and that the mother had more fulfilment and showed stronger affectional bond and attachment with the child than the father.

The FGD result shows that male children cost more (N500,000) than females whom they said cost N150,000.

One would expect that couples who have all male children would not bother for the fact that Igbo is a patrilineal society with a patriarchal family structure. The place of children as a social capital necessitates the need for a couple with all male children to consider child adoption; that is adopting female child or children for the purposes of representing the

family in patrilineage daughters association (Umuada), burial ceremonies (Akwa ogo) to boost the occasion of the burial of the parents., rooming in (omugwo) which will never be in place if the couple does not have a female child. They do not have such opportunity in their sons' families as it is the wives' mothers that have that right. The fact that female children attract special status and privileges due to their mediatory roles in linking lineages, villages, communities and nations through marriage they are considered for adoption. Thus, the need for network through prospective in-law relationships highlight another aspect of gender issue in child adoption.

Autonomy of the female gender in the issue of child adoption is another matter of contention. There was a case of a childless widow who was sent away from her matrimonial home because she adopted a child to immortalize her deceased husband's name. This is a clear issue of discrimination against the female gender in issue of child adoption. The opportunities to adopt differentiate along the line of gender as there exists broader gender norms of masculine dominance and feminine subordination even in the practice of child adoption.

Conclusion

Child adoption in Igbo society is a gendered process. It is predicated on the politics of men and women. The stigmatization and discrimination against women on grounds of childlessness on one hand and adoption on the other cause serious obstacles to the development of positive self-concept and have heavy psychological implications, to wit, adjustment / productivity, relationship of the adoption parties. This stigmatization is as a result of the effect of the conservation of culture especially customary and traditional practices that blame the woman for childlessness. This shows lack of knowledge on causes of infertility.

Recommendations

We therefore make these recommendations:

1. We recommend a cultural re-orientation (because all humans are born equal and are equal in every respect), to challenge the cultural constructions that impact the position of the women generally and deny them the opportunity to adopt children. We must know that culture is not static but is constantly developing and adapting to change. There should be specific programmes in school curriculum to impart the acceptable cultural values.
2. The government should enforce the law that empowers any person irrespective of gender to embark on child adoption at will without any molestation by family members.
3. The government and non-governmental organizations should use strategies like mass media enlightenment to expound the benefits of child adoption in the society.

- 4 Awareness creation on the viability of child adoption as an alternative solution for infertility should also involve husbands, key family members, community traditional social institutions and religious leaders in the community. This should be geared towards encouraging men to endorse and go for child adoption instead of marrying another wife as the latter arrangement gives room to competition amongst wives and fuels crises in the family.

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