MARRIAGE PRESSURES AND PERCEPTION OF SINGLEHOOD AMONG YET-TO-MARRY WOMEN IN IBADAN METROPOLIS

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ABSTRACT

Despite the critical disapproval of singlehood in most African societies, Nigeria inclusive, it is most appalling that the age at which women make their first nuptial bliss is becoming late in recent times. Statistics have shown that the number of single women have doubled within a short space of time. The available chunk of studies have paid sufficient attention to the factors responsible for singlehood among older women. However, little studies have examined how different source marriage pressures influence how single women view themselves. Against this background, this article examines the sources of marriage pressures and how they influence the perception of singlehood among women in Nigeria. The study draws heavily on Marx Weber Social Action theory. A total of 24 yet-to-marry women selected through a multistage sampling technique were extensively interviewed. The study found that beside the direct marriage pressure from parents experienced by yet-to-marry women, they are also faced with indirect marriage pressure during gatherings with family, friends, and co-workers. The pressures sometimes translate to the women perceiving themselves as being judged, though most of them feel independent and free. They are of the opinion that they need to be careful in select-ing a partner in order not to fall victim of a failed marriage despite having waited for long.

Keywords: Marriage, Perception, Pressures, Singlehood, Yet-to-marry, Women

INTRODUCTION

Marriage is one of the most vital prerequisites for individual and societal survival (Rozita & Zaharah, 2009; Sharp & Ganong, 2011; Ntoimo & Isiugo-Abanihe, 2013, 2014). At the individual level, marriage is a social status that is strongly correlated with motherhood and fatherhood, which gives individuals their rightful place in the society (Olaitan & Akpan, 2003). At the societal level, marriage is the building block upon which the family institution rests. Since the family institution contributes to the mainte-nance of the social system, it is then appropriate to state that the marriage institution contributes immensely to the maintenance and sustenance of the societal structure (Kelani, 2016). This accounts for the reason the girl's life in Africa, for instance, in the south-eastern part of Nigeria, is essentially a marriage preparation. A woman is also expected to bear children, and to have children, it is only acceptable that such a woman must have a husband (Uchendu, 1965). Likewise, among the Yoruba people, the period within which a female child stays with her parents is

considered a critical period for her socialization. This is because she is usually being fraternized to take-up her motherhood's role while she is with her family of orientation and when she becomes a wife (Adewusi, 2017). The foregoing confirms the disapproval of being single in a typical African society, Nigeria inclusive. Thus, singlehood has no place in socio-cultural fabrics of many African nations, except for women who are religious celibates or espoused to spirits as priestesses (Ezumah, 2008).

However, singlehood among women is gaining serious attention among social workers, journalists and women activists. This is because the age at which women make their first nuptial bliss is becoming late (Morris, Sinclair, & DePaulo, 2007; Rozita & Zaharah, 2009; Sharp & Ganong, 2011; Wang & Abbott, 2013; Ntoimo & Isiugo-Abanihe, 2014; Indongo & Pazvakawambwa, 2015; Adewusi, 2017). For instance, more than 25% and 27% of black American women between 30 and 34 years old had never been married by 2000 and 2007, respectively, while 43.4% of them were yet to marry as at the first quarter of 2009 (King & Allen, 2009). Likewise in 2000, the proportion of yet-to-marry women within the age range of 45 – 49 years in Bangkok stood at 17%, while that of Singapore-Chinese, Kuala Lumpur-Chinese and Yangon was at 13%, 10%, and 15%, respectively. The proportion of single women aged 30 – 34 years in Indonesia rose from 2.2% to 6.9% within three decades, while as at 2000, 14.3% of females aged 30 – 34 years in Jakarta were still single (Jones, 2004; Situmorang, 2007). Similarly, in Nigeria, statistical reports revealed that yet-to-marry women aged 30 – 34 years increased from 5.2% in 1991 to 11.8% in 2006 and those aged 45 - 49 years rose from 2.2% in 1991 to 3.7% in 2006 (NPC, 2009).

Against this background, the article examines marriage pressures yet-to-marry women experience and the general perceptions on singlehood in Nigeria. In this article, women of concern are those that are 30 years of age and above (excluding religious celibates) but are not married, not cohabiting, and are childless (Isiugo-Abanihe, 2000; Rozita & Zaharah, 2009; Ntoimo & Isiugo-Abanihe, 2014).

LITERATURE REVIEW

While several authors have been preoccupied with unravelling the reason for the increasing marital singleness among women (Lichter, 1989; Davidson & Moore, 1996; Kalmijn, 1998; De Silva, 2000; Simon, 2002; Berg-Cross et al., 2004; Katjasungkana, 2004; Giddens, 2006; Alam et al., 2008; Tanturri & Mencarini, 2008; El-Halawany, 2009; King & Allen, 2009; Rozita & Zaharah, 2009; Dykstra & Poortman, 2010; Wongboonsin, 2011; Piatkowski, 2012; Ntoimo & Isiugo-Abanihe, 2013, 2014; Adewusi, 2017), few have been able to examine the marriage pressures and perceptions of being single among yet-to-marry women. Although, some studies have revealed that single people are relatively perceived to be more immature, self-centered, miserable, lonely; as well as less well-adjusted, some others have adjudged them happy, attractive, responsible; sociable, warm, and caring (Conley & Collins, 2002; Hertel, Schütz, DePaulo, Morris, & Stucke, 2007; Morris, DePaulo, Hertel, & Taylor, 2008).

Katjasungkana (2004) is of the opinion that single Indonesian women in their early 30s are often perceived either as 'left-out ladies' (Rozita & Zaharah, 2009) or 'old maids'

who could not get a man because they are unattractive, handicapped or incompetent; or a 'city single' who does not want a man because she is highly educated, ambitious, single-minded, determined, active and a career person. Studies have also shown that, although the negative perceptions of single people are stronger as they become older, these perceptions also exist even among 25-year-old single women (Hertel et al., 2007; Morris et al., 2008). Furthermore, research has demonstrated that people have negative perceptions of both single men and single women, and they do so regardless of the perceiver's sex, age, or relationship status (Hertel et al., 2007; Morris et al., 2007; Greitemeyer, 2009; Morris et al., 2008).

Studies have also shown that, in dealing with the public perception about their status, single women propagates a feeling of being displaced in their social worlds. This was regarded as 'singlism' by DePaulo & Morris (2005) and Sharp & Ganong (2011). The researchers discovered that the messages that are usually sent to women about their failure to marry at a conventional age and the need to get married on time, are passed through both visible and invisible mediums. Specifically, the aforementioned scholars noted that marriage pressures could constitute themselves into different messages. These messages could come in form of a creation of awareness to single women regarding the changing reality as they became older as well as the changing pool of eligible men. Also, watching friends and co-workers marry and possible pregnancy risks; reminders that they were on a different life path through others' inquiries and 'triggers' such as experiencing others' inquiries and unsolicited advice about their marital and parental statuses, encountering assumptions of the ideologies of marriage

and family, and weddings, and the displacement in their families of origin such as pressure on an older woman because the youngers are married could also be embedded in such messages.

From the foregoing, it is necessary to state that the negative perceptions of single women have been replicated across studies. However, a major methodological weakness of past studies is that they widely considered the public opinions regarding the marital status of yet-to-marry women. However, less attention has been paid to the opinions of yet-to-marry women about their marital status. DePaulo & Morris (2005) and Sharp & Ganong (2011) may have examined 'singlism' as a form of marriage pressure. However, a significant gap in the aforementioned study is that they considered how certain category of single women perceive these pressures from parents, grandparents, siblings, and co-workers. Nonetheless, they placed less attention to how other forms of social gatherings such as the attendance in religious events and parties and those from parents could be sources of marriage pressure and how these pressures shape their perceptions singlehood. Also, DePaulo & Morris (2005) and Sharp & Ganong (2011) studies did not consider the socio-cultural values attached to child procreation among parents and how this may contribute to marriage pressure. Put differently, while it may be true that people perceive single women negatively, studies are yet to examine the sources of marriage pressures and how these pressures shape the perceptions of single women about themselves within the socio-cultural belief system of the Nigerian society.

This paper, therefore, examines the marriage pressures and the perceptions of yet-to-marry women on singlehood in Ibadan, the

capital of Oyo State, Nigeria. Specifically, this article examines the sources and documents the influence of marriage pressures on women's perception of singlehood. It should be stated here that, the forces or symbols reminding single women about their status and the need to move from being single to becoming married are, in this article, referred to as marriage pressures/forces.

METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted in Oyo state, Ibadan metropolis, specifically. The choice of Ibadan was not arbitrary but was given preference because it is a major commercial and industrial centre. Ibadan is located in South-Western, Nigeria. Ibadan is the capital city of Oyo State and the third-largest metropolitan area, by population, in Nigeria, after Lagos and Kano, with a population of over 3 million (2006, National Population Census). It is the largest metropolitan geographical area. Ibadan metropolis comprises five (5) urban areas and six (6) rural areas as defined by the Federal Government of Nigeria (National Population Commission, NPC 2006). These Local Government Area (LGA) classifications by NPC (2006) can also be described as Ibadan city (urban) and Ibadan suburbs (rural).

This study was purely descriptive. A total of 24 yet-to-marry women, who were not less than 30 years old, were extensively interviewed. The justification of the minimum age grade was buttressed by scholars when they argued that the age of 30 seems a turning point as women are reminded of their failure to meet conventional expectations of marriage and motherhood (Adams, 1976; Stein, 1981; Byrne 2000; Rozita & Zaharah, 2009; Sharp & Ganong, 2011; Ntoimo & Isiugo-Abanihe, 2013, 2014; Adewusi, 2017). Yet-to-marry women are those who neither religious celibates nor espoused to spirits as priestesses, but have, at no time, pronounced to be the wife to another.

Four urban LGAs, out of the eleven LGAs in Ibadan, were purposively selected for the study. Specifically, six yet-to-marry women each from Ibadan North East, Ibadan North, Ibadan North West and Ibadan South, were selected through purposive and snowball sampling techniques. All participants were middle-aged adults (age ranged from 30 – 50), with an average monthly salary that is four times the minimum wage[1] of the country. All participants were educated, with majority being Christians. Participants hailed from large-sized family and they occupy the role of an elder sister to an average of four married siblings. The demographic components of the participants were summarized in Table 1:

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[1]The minimum wage of the country was 18,000 naira as at the time of this study

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of Participants

S/N	Variables	Statistics
1	Total number of Respondents	24
2	Mean Age	34.9
3	Average Monthly Income (n=11)	₦69,125 (US$191.5)
4	Highest Educational Qualification	
	NCE/OND	2(8.4%)
	B.sc/HND	17(70.8%)
	MBA/M.Sc.	5(20.9%)
5	Religion	
	Christian	19 (79.2%)
	Muslim	5(20.8%)
6	Average Family Size	6
7	Average Birth Order	2nd
8	The average number of Married Siblings of Participants (n=16)	4

Qualitative method of data collection, specifically an in-depth interview guide, was used to gather requisite data. Single females, not below the age of 30 were used as field assistants to forestall any complexity that might be engendered by marital status or age difference. The rationale was that the pilot study that was conducted by young male and female research assistants who were mostly married (especially the females) yielded little or no results as the participants felt reluctant to provide detailed responses to the questions asked. Meanwhile, the data gathered were thematically reported.

Lastly, international best practices in social science research involving humans were observed. First, the research instruments were standardized to conform to ethical principles within and outside the academic environment. Professional and pragmatic attention were paid to fundamental elements of ethical research. In all, participant's rights to anonymity, integrity, and freedom from harm/risk were respected and upheld throughout the research process.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

After a critical analysis of the data, the study found that there are two categories of marriage pressures experienced by yet-to-marry women: the direct and indirect marriage pressures. In this study, a direct marriage pressure is a message that is deliberately sent to single women reminding them of the need to get married. Exciting examples of this type of pressure are those experienced from parents and close family members. However, an indirect marriage pressure is an implicit message used emphasize the need to get married in other to function in certain social gatherings with family, friends, and co-workers. The next paragraphs explain these findings in a more detailed manner.

Direct Marriage Pressures
According to the respondents, messages which can be classified as direct or indirect are often sent to elderly unmarried women to influence them to get married. Participants reported that they face direct singlehood accusations from their mothers; an accusation of getting too old for marriage and the need to procreate. This accusation is spe-

cifically weighty among parents who have only given birth to one woman who is yet to get married while her parents still live. This undermines the *Morenikeji* phenomenon among the Yoruba people who believe that the parents of a yet-to-marry female child will be left with nothing if their only child is later incapacitated (whether by death or reproduction) to give birth to a child the grandparents can look up to and can replace latter after their demise. Also, participants acknowledged that it is understandable to receive direct pressures from parents, especially the mothers, on the need to get married and bear children while they are still alive.

A participant who is an only child of the mother said, "Statements such as 'give me a grandchild...' *funmi ni enikeji mi* (give me my partner)" are the most frequent statements of her mother whenever the mother visited her in Ibadan. She concluded by saying 'I quite understand her plight, but I can't just get married simply because of the sentiment attached to being the only child'

Another participant said that:
> My parents have been on my neck to get married and to begin to have children. I consider it normal because having their grandchildren attracts their original value, especially when the grandmother of the potential grandchild is still alive. When the mother of the child is still alive, it allows her to play some crucial roles in the upbringing and monitoring of the newly-born within the first 40 days or more of life. However, I don't mind them because I have siblings that are married and have kids… So if they want kids, they should go to my sib-

lings because I can't be hurried when it comes to marriage.

The responses above show that the participants acknowledge the socio-cultural value that is attached to procreation, especially when the grandparents of the potential grandchild is alive. This is due to the crucial role usually played by grandmothers during the first 40 days of the child`s life. In Nigeria, this practice is called *Omugwo* among the Igbo, *Jegonchi* among the Hausa and *Ojojo Omo* among the Yoruba. It is an activity that is either performed by the maternal or paternal grandmother (depending on several factors which include the couple's decision, their distance, and their capacities).

Furthermore, another participant stated that her mother had been a source of pressure as regards her marital status. She noted that there has been a paradigm shift from what constituted marriage during her parent's era and what it is presently. Specifically, she considered marriage as a burden. She aptly expressed that:
> You know how the typical Nigerian mothers are. They are usually like, when is he coming? Who is this man in your life? We want to meet him… She often yell at me saying that my younger ones have gotten married… blah…blah… blah… So, she wants me to use my siblings as a yardstick for getting married? I don't think they understand the frustration women are facing these days. They don't know that how marriage worked during their time is different from now… Most of them had to be full housewives who had nothing to do aside taking care of the family. But it is a different ball game for someone like me that have a career to pursue. To me, marriage will constitute a burden to my career.

The response gathered from this participant who happens to be a banker vividly portrays the fact that she has remained single despite the pressures from her mother who uses the marital status of her siblings as a yardstick. However, this single woman considers marriage as a burden that could negatively affect her career at this time. This finding was similar to the result of Katjasungkana (2004) who perceived the single woman as a 'city single' who does not want a man because she is highly educated, ambitious, single-minded, determined, active and a career person. In addition to the marriage burden perception of yet-to-marry women, a civil servant claimed that being single has given her unlimited freedom and rest-of-mind. She asserts that being independent should not attract negative connotations from people who have not 'been there before' (been in their shoes). She specifically said that:

> I think my singleness has given me uninterrupted freedom. For someone like me, I like being independent. When I get engaged or married, there would be limitations to everything I do… My being single has also fetched me rest of mind. However, some see singlehood as a problem; why should you blame single women for their single status? You don't judge a situation you've not been into…

It is likely that the interrupted freedom, independence, and rest-of-mind that are being enjoyed by this single woman have received negative connotations by the agents of marriage pressures. Hence, this woman seems to have a justification for her singleness at the age of forty-one. A probe into her lengthened period of singlehood revealed that the reason elderly unmarried women decide to maintain their status quo may be due to the negative experience they had from previous relationships, and the marital breakdown and divorce cases which are rampant in today's society. For instance, a participant has this to say:

> …my experience with men is the reason I have decided to remain single. For instance, I recently dated someone, and it is evident that he was after my money. There was even a time we broke-up, but due to the love I had for him and the fact that we have been dating for six years, I was the one that begged for reconciliation because I could not date another man and start all over again. I later discovered that he had impregnated a very close friend of mine. Things like that won't make me eager to be in a relationship.

One other participant said that:

> I have been making attempts to get married, but I want a man whose "star" is compatible with mine. This is because I have seen marriages that crashed as a result of childlessness or as a result of one problem and the other. There was a wealthy friend of mine who did not only go broke after getting married to a man but also didn't get pregnant during her marriage. She initially thought it that the prevailing economic circumstances and the axiom of 'waiting for Gods time' were responsible for her financial breakdown and childlessness. Due to the pressure she experienced from her husband's family, she had to visit several spiritual houses before she knew that the "star" of the man she got married to was not compatible with hers. She was heartbroken when she discovered but had no choice but to painfully end the marriage. You can imagine the difficulties she must have gone

through during her marriage, the ones she would have faced when she wanted to divorce him, and the one she is currently facing as someone who was married before but is now divorced. She will be criticized for her actions, but can she explain the reason for divorcing her husband to everyone? I don't want to pass through all this. Therefore, I will have to "check" whether the man that will ask me to marry him is spiritually compatible with me. But the challenge I am having is that none of the men I have dated succumbed to the idea of 'checking' for 'star' compatibility. This has been a major reason for the several breakups I have had.

Despite pressures from her parents, a participant talked about the difficulty experienced in meeting a man that loves her in return. She is of the opinion that:

> Marriage is a prison yard where you are restricted to doing and not doing certain things. While some have perceived us as persons with bad luck; not being able to get someone to marry; I see my situation as a normal phenomenon because I am yet to meet someone that will love me as I do in return… Love exists to whom or those that find the right person and right choice. Marriage is not what you can rush in, you take your time.

Another participant stated that she had been continuously advised by her friends, who ironically, frequently fight with their husbands, to get married:

> …I even receive pressures from my friends and other family members… Some of my friends who already have children attending primary and secon-

dary school levels usually tell me 'go and marry… Look for husband and marry…. Don't continue with this single of a thing'. I don't care about that because about three usually get beaten by their husbands; they fight almost every time. These are women that were pressurized to get married because they were getting too old. Most of these women manage their marriage, but I want to enjoy it.

From the foregoing, it may have been inappropriate to have perceived single women as either immature, self-centred, miserable, lonely, left-out ladies, old maids or city singles, and less well-adjusted, or happy, attractive, responsible, friendly, warm, and caring without an in-depth analysis of what may have prompted them to remain single (Conley & Collins, 2002; Katjasungkan, 2004; Hertel, Schütz, DePaulo, Morris, & Stucke, 2007; Morris, DePaulo, Hertel, & Taylor, 2008; Rozita & Zaharah, 2009), without an in-depth analysis of what may have prompted the status quo. Therefore, as stated by the participants, some of the reasons they have stayed single were due to the previous heart-breaking experiences, the challenges of men not reciprocating love and the difficulty of securing a spiritually compatible man who will be willing to 'check' before marriage.

Indirect Marriage Pressures

As attested to by respondents, marriage pressures also come indirectly. For instance, a participant claimed that there is an event she was restricted to attend simply because she had no spouse:

> There is usually an event that takes place periodically in a hotel on the highland (Lagos State). If you are not attending the event with your spouse

or probably go with someone that can pretend to be one, one won't be able to gain access to the hotel premises. This even happens in my church; there was one time they had a programme they announced that it was meant for the married ones. As much as I am usually interested in these programmes, a major challenge is that I am not married.

The response above shows that aside pressures by parents, grandparents, and co-workers, placing restrictions on attendance of specific programmes may indirectly prevent the elderly unmarried women from functioning effectively in the society (DePaulo & Morris, 2005; Sharp & Ganong, 2011).

Aside the social isolation experienced by these women at various events, they also claim that they usually feel some form of alienation when they have conversations with their co-workers as revealed in this statement:

> I usually wish I am a married woman sometimes…There are times my co-workers discuss among themselves, and if I want to contribute, they will tell me I can't talk or contribute because I am not married.

Another participant claimed to be emotional whenever any of her co-workers gave her an invitation to their wedding:

> There are times when my co-worker gives me an invitation letter to their wedding. The moment this happens, I usually ask myself… 'When will my time come?'

Hence, an invitation to the wedding has a way of reminding these women of their failure to find a spouse. This corroborates the findings of Sharp & Ganong (2011); they found that women observe an increasing number of friends and others around them marrying, with each wedding symbolizing that they are losing their chances of getting married.

THEORETICAL DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This article was anchored on Social Action theory. According to Weber (1978), an individual justifies his or her actions (singlehood) regarding institutionalized expectations (marriage), which constitutes rational, valuational, traditional, or affective action. They facilitate *Verstehen*, which connotes the understanding of an action by the actor(s) point of view (Olutayo, 2012). It establishes the relationship of the act to two points of reference, namely, another person's course of action to which the actor's behaviour is orientated, and, second, the typology of ideal types which the sociologist uses to distinguish between different action forms (Weber, 1978).

The foregoing exposition recapitalizes on the fact that single women remain never married (action) due to the previous heart-breaking experiences, the challenges of getting men that can reciprocate their love and the difficulty of securing a spiritually compatible man who will be willing to 'check' before marriage. The actions above can be linked to the fear of re-experiencing heartbreaks, one-sided love, and the fear of divorce (Verstehen). Furthermore, the primary task of sociology is the study of social action encapsulating the different aspects of human behaviour, meaning, purpose and value of human behaviour (Olutayo, 2012). In addition to this, Weber has described various stages of social action relating to different types, namely:

1. **Rational-purposeful action**: The action is primarily motivated by reason(s). The pursuit of goals is a corollary of the facts; the rational choice involves consciousness of ends or purposes.
2. **Valuational action**: Religious and ethical actions come under this typology. The actions prevailing in this type of action are about religious and ethical values.
3. **Emotional action**: An emotional reaction to the action of others comes under this stage. Here there is the prevalence of expression of love or hatred in response to the behaviour of other individuals.
4. **Traditional action**: This stage is characterized by long-standing customs, traditions, and usages. So all those actions, which are guided and determined by customs and traditions, are covered under this category.

The action of mothers and other indirect marriage pressures such as restriction of attendance at certain events, remind these women of their failure to get married at age 30 or more (iaction). This can also be linked to the socio-cultural value that is being attached to procreation, especially when the grandparents of the potential grandchild are still living (valuational action). This is due to the crucial role being played by the grandmothers during the first 40 days, the newly born child spends on the planet earth. Also, parent's pressure may be due to the fear that their female child(ren) could experience reproductive incapacities or death. This is particularly weighty among parents that have given birth to only the woman who is yet to marry or bear children (emotional action). However, despite these pressures (actions), these women still believe in maintaining the status quo due to the disadvantages inherent in getting married to a wrong man (men who break participants' heart; men who are not willing to check for 'star' compatibility and; men that are not able to reciprocate participants' love). The action of remaining single, which is a rational and purposeful, is primarily due to the issues hitherto highlighted.

The traditional action is reflected in the elderly unmarried women's acknowledgement of the need to get married someday. This is reflective of the fact that marriage is a long-standing custom and tradition in Nigeria, because singlehood has no place in socio-cultural fabrics of Nigeria, except for women who are religious celibates or espoused to spirits as priestesses (Ezumah, 2008). However, for the elderly single, the condition for getting married is that they meet their desired spouses, otherwise, they remain unmarried. While the actions of both direct and indirect marriage pressuring agents may fall within the valuational and emotions realms, the action of yet-to-marry women remains purposeful-rational and traditional. These actions (such as purposeful-rational and traditional) are responsible for the 'singlehood is not a disease' perception commonly held by single women. Hence, while the society may have perceived them negatively (Conley & Collins, 2002; Hertel, Schütz, DePaulo, Morris, & Stucke, 2007; Morris, DePaulo, Hertel, & Taylor, 2008), yet-to-marry women perceive themselves as being rational in that they seem to be taking precautions from marrying a wrong man; therefore, they do not consider their marital status as problem.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This article provided a fresh insight into the marriage pressures and the perceptions of yet-to-marry women on singlehood in

Ibadan, the capital of Oyo State, Nigeria by understanding the sources and documenting the influence of marriage pressures on single woman's perception of singlehood. The study found that there are two sources of marriage pressures namely the direct and indirect marriage pressures, which could be from family members, friends, co-workers or established organisations in the society. Contrary to previous studies which submitted that elderly unmarried women are perceived to be societal misfits, in this article, these women see themselves as being wrongly judged. They rather claim to be independent and free, but need to be careful in selecting a partner to minimize the pressures.

In addition, this article shed light on the reason(s) parents, especially the mothers of yet-to-marry women, frequently remind their single female child(ren) of the need to give them grandchildren while they are still alive by getting married. While it is possible to provide grandchildren without necessarily being married (e.g., adoption, artificial insemination, incubation etc.), it is only culturally accepted in Ibadan, Nigeria that women produce their younger ones themselves through getting married to a man. This issue is specifically weighty among parents who have only given birth to one woman that is yet-to-marry and procreate while her parents are still alive. This erodes the *Morenikeji* belief among the Yoruba parents who think they will be left with nothing if their child is incapacitated (whether by death or reproduction) to give birth to a child the grandparents can look up to and can replace them after their demise.

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