MARITAL SATISFACTION IN AUTONOMOUS AND ARRANGED MARRIAGES: SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN SAMPLE

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Abstract

The aim and the purpose of this study was to explore the marital satisfaction of couples of arranged marriages and autonomous marriages. The sample was composed of 88 marital dyads from a suburban population. Participants completed questionnaires regarding their satisfaction with their marriages. The dependent variable of marital satisfaction was measured by the dyadic adjustment scale and Kansas marital satisfaction scale.

The results of the analysis of variance indicates that couples of autonomous marriages are more satisfied with their marriages than couples of arranged marriages. The setting in which a couple met and the degree of love at the time of marriage has a significant effect on the marital satisfaction of couples. Findings extended prior research by demonstrating that the manner in which couples are selected has an impact on their marital satisfaction within their relationships.

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Chapter 1
The exploration begins

"Love does not solve everything.
I just think it does."
- Lois Wyse

1.1 Introduction

Scientists remain divided whether matches are made in heaven or down on earth. According to Moreno (1988), in India astrologers have to look at the horoscope of both the partners and check if they are compatible, only then can further arrangements be made.   Other researchers specifically from western cultures believe that marriages are decisions made by the individuals involved (Schwartz & Scott, 1994). We may never know how the heavenly angels formula works but there is palpable evidence that on this earth we have marriages where the partners find each other (autonomous marriages) and marriages where the partners are selected for them by a third party-typically their parents (arranged marriages).

Arranged marriages have been known through the ages even today in large parts of Africa, Asia and the Middle East, a significant proportion of all marriages are arranged (Applbaum, 1995). Consequently social scientists of all disciplines have sought to study the intricacies of arranged marriages. In fact, to commemorate 1994 as the international year of the family, the UNESCO commissioned a large study on the changing family in Asia (Batabyal, 2001). Arranged marriages received a considerable amount of attention in this study. The popularity of arranged marriages had researchers interested in the martial interaction within arranged marriages and whether it differs from autonomous marriages.

The researcher became aware of the number of young couples in the community who were separating after only a few months of marriage.   In discussion with elderly people in the community with regard to this observation, the conversation evolved into one that allowed for a debate of how in the earlier days when marriage partners were selected by parents for their children how much more successful they were. This discussion spurred

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the thought in the researcher's mind of whether the method of selection of mate influences marital satisfaction.

Earlier studies conducted by Robert Blood (1967) on arranged marriages were based on the assumption that the difference between the two types of marriages was only in the selection, Swaminathan (1995), noted that although the principal differences are the mate selection, there are also differences in the married life and husband-wife relationship. These differences affect the quality of the marriage.

Robert Blood (1967) conducted a survey in Tokyo Japan on marital satisfaction and his research results showed that both types of marriages showed a downward decline towards less expression of love and lower marriage satisfaction over time. From the point of view of satisfaction both marriage types showed similarity with satisfaction expressed by gender gaps and that the wives of autonomous marriages are happier whereas husbands of arranged marriages are more satisfied (Blood, 1967). King, Whyte and Xiache, (1990) confirmed Blood's results by, establishing that women in autonomous marriages are more satisfied in their marriages. In the research completed by Lev-Wiesel and Al-Krenawi, (1999) with regard to marital quality among the Arab society in Israel, the results yielded that arranged marriages showed a lower level of marital satisfaction compared to autonomous marriages

1.2 The statement of the problem

The Indian community's social structure emphasises the collective over the individual. People see themselves primarily as extensions of their kinship, extended family and the nuclear family. There exists an authoritarian, collective principle as well as democratic individualistic principles. Indian people's value systems (culture & religion) are very family oriented and there is not much room for individual sexual preference or freedom of choice of mates (Hicks & Gwynne, 1994). Even though unattached Indian people are allowed to "date", inevitably the parents have to decide whether they can marry each other or not. Although autonomous marriages are on the increase and do exist in Indian communities, arranged marriages is a practice that is

still used (Batabyal, 2001). The primary purpose of this study is to investigate the marital satisfaction between couples of arranged marriages and that of autonomous marriages in an Indian community in South Africa.

1.3 The Rationale for this study

The rationale of conducting this research is that there has been a lack of information about the impact of arranged and autonomous marriages with regard to the South African Indian population. Within the South African context, if systematic research on arranged marriages has been undertaken the exploration is unavailable to the scientific world. Whether this is due to the past apartheid era where customary marriages were not recognised and for this reason any significant research that was done may not have been published (Vally, 2001).

Being a South African Indian poses quite a great challenge in terms of adaptation to the changing, modernising environment. One of these areas that seem to be a challenge is that of the mate selection process. The two systems of marriages coexist in the communities and therefore the study of marriages and investigation of the different aspects of marriage will assist psychologists, relationships therapists and marriage counsellors in better understanding the dynamics of Indian marriages. This understanding can contribute to a more fruitful therapeutic encounter.

1.4 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework that the research is grounded on conceptualises marriage as a developmental process that occurs in adulthood and that results in the establishment of various marital interaction processes. These marital interaction processes are either behaviours that are transacted within the relationship or interpersonal dynamics that evolve within the relationship and influence marital satisfaction.   According to Spanier (1980) the marital interaction processes referred to interactions of the couple and not just to the actions of the individual. The work of Spanier and Lewis (1980) concentrated on three interaction processes: consensus, cohesion, and affectional

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expression. Consensus refers to agreement on matters of finance, ways of dealing with parents and in -laws, recreation, religious matters, friendships, proper behaviour, philosophy of life, agreement on time spent together, decision making, division of household labour, leisure activities and career decisions. Cohesion refers to the degree with which an individual feels connected to or separate from the marital relationship system. Craddock (1991) indicated that cohesion involves emotional bonding or how close partners feel to each other. Affectional expression pertains to demonstrations of affection and sexual relations.

1.5 The purpose of the investigation

The purpose of the research is to investigate two goals, namely:

Goal 1: to ascertain whether there is a difference in marital satisfaction between couples of arranged marriages and autonomous marriages among South African Indians.

Goal 2: to make a comparison between autonomous marriages and arranged marriages with specific reference to:

1) Dyadic Consensus
2) Dyadic Satisfaction
3) Dyadic Cohesion
4) Affectional Expression

1.6 Concept elucidation

The following concepts need to be defined and examined in the context of the research:

Marital satisfaction- is the subjective feeling of happiness, satisfaction and pleasure which married couples experience. Marital satisfaction refers to a partner's personal experience of satisfaction or happiness within a marital relationship (Wolf, 1996).

Autonomous marriage- Is a marriage where the partners meet each other and by their own choice decide if they want to marry or not.

Arranged marriage- Is where the partners are selected for them by a third party- typically their parents.

Dyad- is a relationship between two people who are closely involved.

1.7 Program of research

The following is the layout of the research program:

Chapter 2- Cultural background of Indians in South Africa

This chapter is based on a literature survey: the culture and history of Indian people, the caste system and marriages within the different religious groups.

Chapter 3- Mate selection and Marital Satisfaction

This literature study explored the process of mate selection, factors relating to mate selection and the explanation of mate selection from Exchange theory and Stimulus value role theory. Mate Satisfaction and marital interaction processes are also explained in this chapter.

Chapter 4-Research methodology

The research methodology is a quantitative approach and includes an explanation of the research process.

Chapter 5-Results

The results are reported in this chapter, which includes an analysis of the research data.

Chapter 6- Discussion, Conclusions and Recommendations

The discussion of the results, conclusionary remarks and the limitation of the study are dealt with here. Recommendations are also made for further exploration.

Chapter 2
Cultural Background of Indians in South Africa

"Did we ever have a hope?' he said. 'We rebelled against an Empire that has shaped everything in our lives; coloured everything the way we know it."
- Ram Raichand

2.1 Introduction

The context of marriages in the Indian communities is set within a backdrop of political, social, religious and moral circumstances. To better understand these circumstances, one needs to understand the history of Indian people in South Africa, political aspects involved in the establishment of the Indian community and the evolvement of a modernised Indian community in South Africa. Almost one and a half centuries ago Indian immigrants came to South Africa carrying with them the fundamental principles and accepted social behaviours of their country (Kumar, 2000). These principles and behaviours were re-enacted in South Africa to help "Indians" construct their identity that was different from both the rest of the South African population and from the people back in India.

2.2 The history and background of Indians in South Africa

The development of the sugar industry in Natal stimulated the immigration of indentured Indian labourers to South Africa in the nineteenth century. This was the outcome of a fierce debate around the need to import cheap labour to work for the Natal farmers. The white and Zulu workers did not welcome the labour intensive work required in the production of sugar cane and they did not want to work for a minimum wage. The solution to the shortage of labourers was then to import workers from elsewhere. The Act 14 of 1859 lead to the import of labourers from India. The first wave of migration of Indians as indentured labourers had begun. The vast majority of indentured immigrants were Hindu, and referred to themselves as either Madrassi if they were Tamil or Telegu speaking, or Calcuttie if they were Hindi or Gujarati speaking (Kumar, 2000).

The Indian indentured labourers were not the only immigrants to South Africa; there was a second wave of immigrants who established themselves as

merchants and shop owners. Among these immigrants, a small number of them were Muslim and Christian. This posed a dilemma for the Natal authorities, as they wanted the much-needed workers for the plantation but also the white businessman viewed the Indian traders as competition. The negative reaction to the Indian traders led to the passing of a series of anti-Indian laws. The independence of the South African Republic from the British Colonial power freed the Boer government from any restrictions when they passed anti-Indian legislations. Indians were banned from obtaining the same rights as the whites but in the Transvaal they could acquire property rights in allocated areas. At that time Indians were British subjects, which complicated their dealings with the government of the British colony of Natal and acted as a protection against the abuse of the Indian people. In 1923 the Asiatic Bill was passed, the explanation for the passing of this Bill was to discredit the "Indian' traders and farmers by declaring them outsiders and by segregating them on grounds of unsanitary premise and unfair competition. The final aim was to bring down the Indians and pressure them to leave the country (Vally, 2001).

The independence of India in 1947 changed the relationship between the Union of South Africa and the British government concerning the treatment of British subjects. During the period between 1947 and 1961, the Indians were considered to be Indian citizens with the status of foreign residents and in 1950 the Group Areas Act was adopted. This Act determined and controlled the space in which each population group defined by the Population registration Act was to be relocated. Within this Population registration Act, Indians were classified as coloured, and did not appear as a separate group. In 1950 the National party still hoped that the Indians would go back to India. It was only in 1961 that Indians were considered as a permanent population and a separate population group whereas previously they were considered part of the coloured population group. The decision was neither a sign of newfound enlightenment nor a generous gesture on the part of the South African government. It was a way of stopping India's interference in South African affairs (Vally, 2001). The group areas act and the population act denied most South Africans including Indian people the right to mobility.

Therefore, they had constructed their own communities. Within these boundaries and despite being boxed into categories, they were able to stay together and reinforced their socio-cultural beliefs that formed their identities, namely, religion, language and caste.

2.3 Stratification of the Indian identity

Indian identity was shaped by a multitude of elements. The most accepted and widespread parameters to identify an Indian identity would be language and religion. These "Indian" identity markers are derived from the heritage of the caste system. "Indian" identity depends on caste, language, religion and origin (Vally, 2001).

2.3.1 The Caste system in India

Caste is one of the main layers of the Indian identity. In Hindi the word to designate caste is *jat*. The caste system in India is an important part of ancient Hindu tradition and dates back to 1200 BC. Portuguese travellers who came to India in the 16th century first used the term caste. Caste comes from the Spanish and Portuguese word "casta" which means "race", "breed", or "lineage". Many Indians use the term "jati". At a spiritual level, jat defines the self, soul, and the essence of the being. At a social level, it can be used to express divisions, gender, race, or breed. The caste is divided into sub-castes called jatis and within that into fraternities, called in Hindi *biradari* or *bhaiband,* which are a group of extended families (Kumar, 2000)

There are 3,000 castes and 25,000 subcastes in India, each related to a specific occupation. These different castes fall under four basic varnas:
Brahmins--priests
Kshatryas--warriors
Vaishyas--traders
Shudras—labourers

Caste not only dictates one's occupation, but dietary habits and interaction with members of other castes as well. Members of a high caste enjoy more wealth and opportunities while members of a low caste perform menial jobs. The importance of purity in the body and food is found in early Sanskrit

literature. Untouchables have separate entrances to homes and must drink from separate wells. They are considered to be in a permanent state of impurity. Upward mobility is very rare in the caste system. Most people remain in one caste their entire life and marry within their caste (Henning, 1993).

The main observation one can make about the caste system is that the Indian individual exists not as an individual but as a member of a group. The caste is an association of sub-castes and fraternities, which represents a value within the Dharmasastra- an individual's place in the cosmic order. Against this backdrop it is possible to imagine that individuals whose socialisation took place in a caste driven society would have internalised values pertaining to the caste system. These values would be the origin of many of his/her conscious acts (Vally, 2001)

It is therefore conceivable that such individuals that had to adapt to a foreign environment, would immediately attempt to reproduce acquired and familiar social representations. The reproduction of the entire system would be impossible, due to geographical distances from their elders and extended families. There were certain traditions and rituals that could not be preserved therefore individuals transformed some of their social practices and conformed them to the new situations.

2.3.2 The caste system in South Africa

The process of immigration brought about three fundamental losses for the Indian individual and community: the loss of the caste and sub-caste, loss of the Brahmin (guardian of the Vedic traditions and rituals) and the loss of the elders. The caste and sub-caste is the most visible component of the hierarchical system within which the individual functions. The caste system is not only a component of the daily life of Indian individuals but also refers to how one situates oneself in one's own social environment (Vally, 2001).

In South Africa, the reduced numbers of Indian people and isolation separated "Indians" conception of the world from the sub-caste they belong to. This radical subversion of the caste system and the importance of belonging to a group was so internalised among Indian immigrants to South Africa that they started situating themselves within a group in order to relate to those outside

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the group. This phenomenon could be seen as an early sign of the demise of the caste system during the first decades of the Indian immigrant. The development of the linguistic group supplanted the caste system, and through the need to survive in an unknown and hospitable land the Indian immigrants rid themselves of certain aspects of the caste system and tried to transform them into linguistic groups. Linguistic differences operated within each of the three categories, the Madrassi, Calcuttie and the passenger group. These groups allowed the Indians to deepen social stratification through the creation of smaller groups. These linguistically constituted groups, which are still found today within the Indian community, were Tamil- speaking, Telegu speaking, Gujarati speaking, Mehmon speaking and Hindi speaking. The linguistic groups were formed on the basis of Indian majority languages and dialects. These caste-based practices such as endogamy that was sought to maintain caste purity were rapidly transformed into these linguistic groups (Kumar, 2000).

The Indian immigration to South Africa resulted in the loss of the elders. The Indian fraternities consisted of the extended families where the ultimate authority rested with the eldest male, being the father or grandfather. The very process of recruiting labourers left out the elders. Most of the immigrants were either nuclear families or single parent families with children under the age of fifteen years. The unequal ratio between men and women, the small amount of nuclear families and the fact that the families were separated upon arrival, together with the predominance of people under the age of thirty, made it impossible to reproduce and replicate the structure of the Indian extended family in South Africa (Henning, 1993).

The formation and existence in South Africa of the three linguistic groups of Tamil, Telegu and Hindi could have constituted as a substitute in the absence of the caste system. The Indian immigrants started to reconstruct a social reality with the means at their disposal. Values and practices inherited from the caste system started operating within the linguistic groups that constituted the Madrassi, Calcuttie and passenger Indians (Henning, 1993). From the perspective of the process of development of an Indian identity these markers

evolved from the stratified social identity characteristic of the Indian caste system into an Indian identity mostly confined by religious parameters. This overarching process determines the approach to diversity within the Indian community. The analysis of the different groups in the Indian community will be done through the lens of the two major religious communities in South Africa namely, the Hindu and Muslim communities (Vally, 2001).

2.4 The Hindu community

In the Hindu community language is the first level of identification. Hindu people can be Gujarati speaking, originally from the north of India, Tamil or Telegu speaking South Indians or Hindi speaking from the central and northern India. Linguistic differences reflect of the social hierarchy that developed between the Gujarati speaking descendents and the Tamil, Telegu and Hindu-speaking people. The history of Indian immigration to South Africa and the caste system combine to establish distance between Gujarati on one hand and Tamil, Telegu and Hindustani on the other hand. The perception of Tamil, Telegu and Hindustanis being low caste is reinforced by the practice of endogamous behaviour among the Gujarati people. The Gujarati community was able to transpose its caste-like structures to South Africa because the members of the Gujarati community emigrated as entire fraternities and as members of sub-castes from the same villages. This transposition of the caste structure implied, that Gujarati speaking immigrants were not exposed to members of another caste, therefore the social mixing across castes was not experienced. In terms of the caste system this has kept the Gujarati pure and unpolluted. The strictly endogamic practices of the Gujarati fraternities and the links with today's India are an expression of the importance of the caste in the life of this group (Vally, 2001).

Marriage is by far the most important occasion in an Indian family, regardless of whether they are Hindu or Muslim. Marriage represents the union of two families and two fraternities. It also celebrates the couple's entry into adulthood and accompanying responsibilities. Marriage is a sacramental union in the Hindu faith. "One is incomplete and considered unholy if they do not marry" (Kuppusami, 1983). In Hindu view, marriage is not a concession to

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human weakness, but a means for spiritual growth. Man and woman are soul mates who, through the institution of marriage, can direct the energy associated with their individual instincts and passion into the progress of their souls. The Vedas also have emphasised the fact that the mutual spiritual unfolding of man and wife is a central purpose of marriage. The Vedas exhort, "United your resolve, united your hearts, may your spirits be one that you may long together dwell in unity and concord!" That is why Hindu marriage ceremonies are quite an elaborate affair where an overabundance of traditions and customs are followed (Kuppusami, 1983). The Hindus believe that marriage is not only a means of continuing the family but also a way of repaying one's debt to the ancestors. The Vedas too affirm that a person after the completion of his student life should enter the second stage of life, which is the life of the Grihastha or householder.

In Vedic times, the normal human life was regarded as eighty-four years, consisting of four sections of twenty-one years each. The first twenty-one years is called the Brahmacharya, the stage of youth or learning, which requires a certain discipline, guidance and purity for its full flowering. The second twenty-one years, from ages twenty-one to forty-two, is called the Grihastha or householder phase. This is the main time for having children and raising a family, as well as for working and fulfilling our duties to society. The third section of twenty-one years, from ages forty-two to sixty-three is the Vanaprastha or the hermitage phase. This is a time for return to contemplation and for guiding society in the distance. The fourth and last section from sixty-three to eighty-four is the Sannyasa or renunciation phase. The person, now an elder full of wisdom, inwardly aims to renounce all the outer goals of life. He also becomes a teacher of the spiritual knowledge and no longer partakes in social or political concerns (Kuppusami, 1983).

 Indian marriages are celebrated with splendour and usually mean exorbitant expenses for one of the families. Marriages take place within each Hindu community between fraternities who belong in the same endogamous and linguistic sphere. Parents or relatives identify potential relatives for their child. In South Africa, Hindu marriages and related practices differ from one community to another. Even if marriage has the same significance for all

Hindus, preparation and rules differ (Kumar, 2000). Between the Hindi and Gujarati speaking community the bride's family is responsible for the wedding financially, whereas with the Tamil speaking people, the groom's family is responsible.

The rituals and ceremonies surrounding marriage are associated primarily with fecundity and validate the importance of marriage for the continuation of a clan, people, or society. They also assert a familial or communal sanction of the mutual choice, and an understanding of the difficulties and sacrifices involved in making what is considered, in most cases, to be a lifelong commitment to and responsibility for the welfare of spouse and children (Kumar, 2000).

The most universal ritual is one that symbolizes a sacred union. This may be expressed by the joining of hands, an exchange of rings or chains, or by the tying of garments. However, all the elements in marriage rituals vary greatly among different societies, and components such as time, place, and the social importance of the event are fixed by tradition and habit (Kumar, 2000).

2.5 The Muslim Community

The Muslim community appears homogenous and this is consistent with the Islam egalitarian precept according to which there is no social stratification within the Umma. 'Indian' Muslims do not escape the rule and present themselves as followers of the universal principles of Islam, obedient to its duties and requirements. The actual practice of these precepts within the Indian Muslim community does not necessarily follow theological orthodoxy. On the contrary, very powerful linguistic, traditional and territorial divisions prevail within the Muslim community. It seems possible that this sense of hierarchy and difference is the outcome of the influence of the stratified Indian social system that Muslims might have experienced before migrating to South Africa. Despite the principles of the Umma, in South Africa there was a strong emphasis placed on language and village origin. These groups namely, Gujarati, Urdu, Mehmon and Konkani were based on linguistic divisions. These groups favour matrimonial unions along endogamous lines defined by both village and language. The Larger Gujarati and Urdu-speaking groups

tend to favour village origin over language for marriage. Caste cannot be acknowledged or even thought of within the Muslim community, yet social stratification of the Muslim community as well as some practices within each group do present analogies with the stratification and behaviours pertaining to a caste system (Govender, 1996)

The ancestors of today's Indian Muslims were converted to Islam. However unthinkable it is to most Muslims the fact that their ancestors were Hindu prior to conversion and that after conversion they still lived in close proximity to Hindus suggest that Hindu social structures must have influenced Muslims after conversion. The subtle influence of a Hindu past does not stop at the practice of endogamy, which can be observed in certain ritual practices too. The meaning of Muslim marriages is very similar to that of the Hindu marriages described before. Marriage seals the union of two families and consolidates fraternities. The Muslim marriage is a contractual commitment that assures the social continuity of a family. Marriage in this sense is socially as well as religiously meaningful.

2.6 Marriages in the 21st Century

In modern times, arranged marriages are still very common in India. Brothers and their families live together in one house usually when their parents are alive. The eldest person in the family makes most of the decisions on family matters. The younger family members are encouraged to obey and respect older family members. In this type of environment most children are well disciplined and they respect elders such as their parents and teachers. However, often females face discrimination. They are considered a burden on the family because parents with limited financial resources worry about expensive dowry along with wedding expenses for their daughters. Parents are always more concerned about getting their daughters married rather than their sons. Social stigma associated with marriage failure puts tremendous burden on the female's parents. Most of the blame goes to the female and her family. The male's parents make every possible effort to keep their daughters' in-laws happy (Govender, 1996).

Furthermore, the tradition of arranged marriages is still common in the Indian community living in the west of India, but tradition of dowry (bride wealth) is not practiced at all. The first generation of South African immigrants did not adjust very well into western society, because of difference in language and cultural customs. For many immigrants transition from their homeland to large urban centres may not have been very smooth. Then, the second generation comes along and because they grew up in different social environment; their beliefs and values vary from their parents. Parents see those differences as loss of cultural identity. However, it may or may not be a loss of cultural identity, but rather parents and children showing conflicting interests and viewpoints. Although, the second generation of Indian youth are still well connected to their cultural roots, when it comes to arranged marriages most of them are worlds apart from their parents. Youth prefer to choose their life partner rather than an arranged marriage. In the west of most of the arranged marriages that take place in our Indian community are little different from the ones that take place in India. Here, parents just bring together the male and female. The individuals do get a chance to talk to their life partner; if they don't feel confident about each other most likely they will not marry (Govender, 1996). In the modern arranged marriages the choice of partner is based on the agreement of choice by the parents and the individuals who are to marry.

Finally, as one can see, arranged marriages present both advantages and disadvantages. Divorces are very rare in traditional arranged marriages which provide a good opportunity for children to grow up in a stable family. However, these marriages create unfair attitudes toward females, because of dowry and other wedding expenses associated with the marriage. Furthermore, the females, would not want to embarrass the family by ending the marriage. The lack of financial resources and the idea of single parenthood thereby imprisoning her in a marriage that she may no longer want to be in. Arranged marriages are based on the assumptions that marriage is not only a union of two souls but also two families. Therefore, parents should be involved in the process of selecting a life partner for their son/daughter, but the two partners should make the ultimate decision. Parents and children can learn and understand from each other which can create a positive environment to

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express themselves. Therefore, the family becomes more stable and provide a better opportunity for future generations to prosper and grow (Govender, 1996).

By contrast, in societies in which the small or nuclear family predominates, young adults usually choose their own mates. It is assumed that love precedes (and determines) marriage and less thought is normally given to the socio-economic aspects of the match. In India love marriage are frowned upon (Vally, 2001). In South Africa, with the influence of Western culture arranged marriages are slowly becoming a less popular option for marriage. Even today, love marriage is looked down upon and the orthodox Hindu priests interdict a love marriage. This is mainly because such wedlock usually defies the barriers of caste, creed and age.

Exposure to both an African and Western society that is based upon different values and ideals from their parent's, Indian youth are constantly faced with conflicts. These conflicts are a result of the youth to defend their beliefs to their peers, while being proud of their rich cultural heritage. Indian immigrants, who came to South Africa in order to create a better life for their families, often see their children washed upon the shores of cultural confusion, especially when dealing with marriage. It is well known that in societies in which individuals choose their own mates, dating is the most typical way for people to meet and become acquainted with prospective partners of the opposite sex. Successful dating may result in courtship, which then usually leads to marriage whereas in arranged marriages the selection is the responsibility of a third party which are usually the parents. Although differences lie in mate selection and social implications, the main concern faced by Indian youth is determining which situation ideally fits their lifestyle and at the same time making sure parents and relatives are content. The 'Apartheid Group Areas Act' allowed a system of control which allowed the 'community' to ensure people went to the mosque, temple or church and that social stratification and practices such as arranged marriages could be maintained (P, Nadarajah, personal communication, August 22, 2004). The value attached to the group

among Indians fitted in an odd way with Apartheid's ideology with ethnic groups.

2.7 Conclusion

Almost two centuries ago, Indian immigrants came to South Africa, bringing with them the principles and accepted social behaviours of their country, India. These principles were adapted to fit with the new country and environment in which they found themselves. The concerns that Indians had with issues of caste, purity and endogamy within different groups made it easier for them to grasp Apartheid's fear of miscegenation. Indians benefited from the social stratification of Apartheid because they had the opportunity to perpetuate caste system values, which they brought from India and in turn utilised, arranged marriages as a way of sustaining this caste system. Since the end of Apartheid, the Indian youth have become more and more influenced by the South African culture that envelops them daily. The certainties of apartheid have disappeared and the comforts of living among one's own are challenged by the social mobility of the democratic South Africa. The following chapter deals with the process of selecting a marital partner and marital satisfaction.

Chapter 3
Mate selection and marital satisfaction

"Marriage is that relation between men and women in which the independence is equal, the dependence mutual and the obligation reciprocal" - L. Anspacher

3.1 Introduction

In most cultures, marriage is seen as a normal and desirable type of existence for adults. However the process by which marriages are contracted and the criteria for mate selection vary widely across cultures. The word marriage may be taken to denote the action, contract, formality, or ceremony by which the conjugal union is formed. The word is derived from the Latin word maritare, which means union under the auspices of the Goddess Aphrodite-Mari (Gupta, 1991). The main legal function of marriage is to ensure the rights and define the relationships of the children within a community. Marriage universally confers a legitimate status on the offspring, which entitles him or her to the various privileges set down by the traditions of that community, including the right of inheritance. It also establishes the permissible social relations allowed to the offspring, including the acceptable selection of future spouses (Gupta, 1991).

Arranged marriages have been an enduring feature of human existence and even in the most modern countries in the world it still exists. Numerous studies have been conducted on this topic in many countries around the world. Robert Blood conducted a study on arranged marriages in Japan in 1967 and Turkey Greer Fox (1975) also conducted a similar study in Ankara. Other studies include that of Michael Walsh and Jerome Taylor (1982), Applbaum (1995), Imamoglu and Yasak (1997) and Batabyal (2001). The research findings covered issues regarding the satisfaction in arranged marriages, the socio-economic status of women in arranged marriages , the attitudes of individual with regard to arranged marriages and the prevalence of arranged marriages in modern societies.

According to Lee and Stone (1980) mate selection systems may vary from autonomous in which individuals select their own spouses or arranged in which some other party selects and negotiates the union. In a study conducted by Lee and Stone (1980) in Ankara Turkey, their findings showed arranged marriages were based on non-romantic criteria and that they were more prevalent in extended family systems since in most cases the spouse would be incorporated into the existing family. In autonomous marriages, selection can be based on love, friendship, pregnancy out of wedlock and compatibility and they are found more in nuclear family systems. Blood (1967) is also of the opinion that the criteria for mate selection will differ between an autonomous marriage and an arranged marriage and that self- selection of one's spouse usually reflects one's personal choice and compatibility that is usually based on love. In arranged marriages the parents, on the basis of their caste or socio-economic status, select the prospective spouse. An arranged marriage is therefore a contract between families, not individuals. The parents investigate the woman's background before initiating the talks between the elders in the families. They want to ascertain that the woman's family is of the same class, is of comparable financial status and is of good reputation among the class elders. In some cultures like the Indian culture if the man's mother is satisfied, a composed friend who may be a relative to the woman's family is consigned and has the difficult task of revealing this interest to the woman's parents. Whereas in the Chinese culture the father has a dominant voice in the choice of the wife for his son (Lev-Wiesel & Al-Krenawi, 1999). If the woman's parents are happy that the prospective groom's family will care for their daughter, a meeting is arranged. At this meeting the woman and man meet, if he likes her and the parents like each other, the parents will finalise the date for the engagement and the wedding (King, Whyte & Xiache, 1990).

In the modern societies the 'modern arranged' marriages is slightly different in that the couple meet via an arranger who is in a position of authority such as a colleague, when the introduction occurs at the workplace or else where and they like each other, the man has to ask for permission to court the woman from her parents and usually that ends in a proposal. The criteria by which the arranger might select the prospective brides, is based on the criteria given by

the family of the prospective groom. Later the parents decide on the engagement and the wedding, which usually gives the woman and man more time to get to know each other (Flanigan, 2002)

The mate selection in an autonomous marriage is based on the choice being made solely by the individuals involved in the union and not families as in the case of arranged marriages. The foundation of autonomous marriages is interpersonal attraction and love (Lee & Stone, 1980). In an autonomous marriage a common friend or family member can introduce the couple without the intention for a marriage proposal to follow (Swaminathan, 1995). Unlike in the arranged marriage, an autonomous marriage includes a dating and a courtship period that precedes the proposal. The couple may develop an emotional involvement or find that they are compatible and enjoy each other's company. During their dating period, the man and the woman invite each other to their homes and introduce each other to their parents. This is the exact opposite of the arranged marriage introduction where the parents introduce the woman to the man (Swaminathan, 1995). When the love is strong enough, these proposals move toward a formal engagement, even if there is a possibility that their parents might not agree with the union.

3.2 Factors that influence mate selection

In theory it would seems that autonomous marriages are totally based on free choice when selecting our mates, but in reality however whether in an arranged marriage or autonomous our choices are limited by rules of mate selection. If we know what the rules are, we can make deductions about whom we are likely to choose as our partners.

3.2.1 Homogamy and Heterogamy

Within many cultures social approval is a particularly influential factor in determining mate choices. The pool of eligibles in which young people are expected to select a mate is determined in every society by the groups that they regard as socially significant; race, religion, ethnicity and generation from the nucleus of group identities. Homogamy refers to the fact that most persons select marriage partners who resemble themselves in certain ways and is often encouraged by members of the social or cultural groups to which

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they belong. The social or cultural groups that individuals belong to tend to cherishes a sense of "us" and this intense feeling of group belonging is often accompanied by antipathy toward the out-group or individuals from other groups (Benokraitis, 2005).

Marriage is important not only to the individuals who are being married but also to their families and the larger social groups, for marriage is the means by which the group perpetuates itself. Marriage involves the pairing of fertile members of the group to produce the next generation and thus ensure the group's future. Marriage between members of an in–group tightens the structure of that group (Benokraitis, 2005). A requirement that marriage is within a particular class, race, religion, or ethnic group is called a rule of homogamy: marriage within the group (Davidson & Moore, 1996).

Marriage may also be the means of creating an alliance across group lines. Alliances between nations or tribes require people to choose mates outside of their group. A requirement that people marry outside of their own group is called a rule of exogamy. In every society, the pool of eligibles is bounded on one side by the rules of homogamy and on the other by the rules of heterogamy. When referring to arranged marriages, questions about rank and wealth are given serious consideration for their nubile offspring. In South Africa, there are many different cultures and ethnic groups, therefore the concept of an in-group is very much in existence as each group wants to maintain their values and culture (Vally, 2001). Heterogamy denotes differences in personal characteristics rather than similarities (Davidson & Moore, 1996). Therefore an individual might select a partner that is different to them.

3.2.2 Religion

Marriage and family life are highly valued by most religions and a consensus with regard to religious beliefs within a marriage is also important. In an arranged marriage, the same religious orientation is of great importance when a partner is to be selected. Religion often sets clear standards regarding respectable family styles. In communities, religiously similar spouses typically

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share basic beliefs about child rearing; other family issues; compatible views of marriage; commitment and marital and familial roles (Benokraitis, 2005).

3.3 Theoretical viewpoints on mate selection

Relationships have both advantages and disadvantages that make choosing a partner a complex and sometimes confusing task. Social scientists have long been interested in the factors and processes that lead men and women to choose a marriage partner. In this chapter we explore some of the theories that explain the process of mate choice.

3.3.1 Exchange Theory

Exchange theory focuses on the social assets and liabilities that each partner brings to a relationship (Wolf, 1996). According to exchange theory, the choice of a partner depends on the perception that the assets and liabilities of the partner are roughly equivalent to one's own assets and liabilities. Exchange theories have frequently been used to account for both homogamy and the departures from it. One of the clearest statements is in Benokraitis, (2005) where Edwards employed an exchange theory-utility maximisation perspective to explain homogamy through four interconnected propositions:

a) Marriageable persons seek partners who will maximise their rewards from marriage.

b) Persons with equivalent resources are most likely to maximise each other's rewards, because each is likely to reject those with fewer resources.

c) Couples with equivalent resources are most likely to have similar characteristics.

d) Marriages are likely to be homogamous.

Recognising that couples with equivalent resources need not be similar with respect to all characteristics relevant to marriage choice can extend Edward's explanation. Their overall equivalence could result from a balance of pluses and minuses in different areas. In terms of an arranged marriage the criteria for selection will include concerns such as socio-economic status of the prospective spouse and his/her family, health, beauty, strength and the

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temperament of the spouse. In arranged marriages equitable gift exchange and bride wealth is also important when choosing a mate. The families want to maximise their rewards from the marriage. In an arranged marriage, factors such as religion and caste are also significant when a partner is to be selected. In autonomous marriages the criteria of selection depends on feelings that the individuals have for each other but they also look at the resources that each of them bring to the relationship. Marriage has been seen as the exchange of a man's economic resources for a woman's social and domestic services and the assumption of a male "Breadwinner" and a female "wife and mother" is deeply rooted in the legal marriage contract. While the traditional division of labour by sex has been diminishing, the socio-economic status of the husband is still more important than the wife's in determining the social standing of the couple (Steven, Kiger & Riley, 2001). Schwartz and Scott, (1994) are of the opinion that men desire women who are beautiful, young and in some cases virgins, they also prefer women who have high earning jobs and are highly educated. Among women they also want someone with a high education and the ability to be a good provider. Physical attractiveness is also another important factor for women when looking for a potential mate. In an autonomous marriage compatibility and companionship is another factor that is considered as couples expect to spend the better part of their lives with the other person (Schwartz & Scott, 1994).

Although the exchange theory proposes a comprehensive explanation regarding the process by which mate selection occurs, the theory centres on the rational and calculated manner in which individuals choose a mate. Exchange theory in mate selection is modelled on economic exchange and implies that dating takes place in a marketplace in which a person shops for a partner and examines assets. Exchange theory tends to be mechanical and overlooks both the emotional aspects of romantic love and interpersonal dynamics by which romantic attraction is developed.

3.3.2 Stimulus Value Role theory

Bernard Murstein (1970, 1980) has proposed a theory of the development of dyadic relationships and marital choice. The intent of the theory known as Stimulus Value Role theory (SVR) is to explain the process within which relationships develop. The stimulus value role theory maintains the basic premise of exchange theory that people are drawn toward potential mates who have overall assets and liabilities equivalent to their own. Murstein's theory is a filter theory that views courtship as a series of stages.

The theory proposes that relationships begin with an initial stage in which attraction is based primarily on non-interaction cues (stimulus stage). The stimulus stage or the physical attraction stage begins with the couple's first meeting. They are attracted to each other by readily observable characteristics such as physical appearance, voice, dress, and reputation. The information on which the potential partner is evaluated is easily obtainable. If the partners are happy with the assets such as appearance, social class and reputation, they are likely to continue to the value stage (Davidson & Moore, 1995), where interaction facilitates the comparison of values and the appraisal of compatibility.

In the value stage the couple discuss their likes and dislikes, talk about their values and discuss what they want out of life. Values are broad, vague, ideological positions such as a commitment to career, political ideology, religious beliefs or the importance of family and children. The couple may influence each other; each partner may change personal values in order to bring them closer to those of their mate. If the couple decide that they have compatible values, they move to the role stage of the courtship (Davidson & Moore, 1995).

In the third or role stage, the relationship moves on to where the couple assess their perceived role fit, personal adequacy and sexual compatibility. Partners begin to observe how their mates perform their social roles, such as boyfriend, girlfriend, student, employee, friend, daughter or son, in order to

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see how compatible they would be in husband or wife roles. This stage involves observation of the partner's actions. The task of the individual shifts from a discussion of abstract values to observation of the partner's concrete behaviour. Another task of the role stage is to compare the partner's behaviour to the partner's stated values. People expect the behaviour of a partner to be consistent with that partner's stated values (Davidson & Moore, 1995).

This theory defines roles as expectations of one's self and partner as well as perceived fulfilment of these role expectations. As their range of behaviours broadens, partners are more likely to become conscious of how marriage roles may be handled. If the relationship continues, partners tend to focus more on their individual desires and preparedness for marriage. The relationship partners going through the stages of stimulus, value, and role will in most cases have mentally constructed a balance sheet of both assets and liabilities in their relationship. They must decide whether their assets outweigh liabilities to accurately appraise the potential of the relationship for marriage.

3.4 Marital Satisfaction

A Marital relationship is difficult to measure, predict or define because of its complex and changing nature and therefore "Marital Satisfaction" is an elusive concept that does not have a uniform definition. Marital Satisfaction differs for everyone, for some marital happiness is closely associated with reducing general feelings of isolation, depression and meaninglessness of life whereas with others marital satisfaction may demand a particular financial status in order to take that longed for trip around the world (Bradbury, Fincham & Beach, 2000) According to Zuo (1992) marital satisfaction is the subjective feelings of happiness, satisfaction and pleasure which married couples experience. Marital satisfaction refers to a partner's personal experience of satisfaction or happiness with a marital relationship (Wolf, 1996). Commensurate with Crawford (2002), satisfaction in a marital relationship refers to an individual's subjective evaluation of the quality of a relationship. Marital satisfaction is multidimensional, a number of factors influence marital

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happiness and couples may be satisfied with some aspects of their relationship and disappointed with others (Wolf, 1996).

All marriages are aimed at happiness in one way or another; most couples that marry are filled up with expectations. Some of the expectations will be realistic while others are unrealistic. This is due to the complex nature of marriage and each individual is as complex as a universe. Therefore, in marriage two universes come together. Happiness, satisfaction and fulfilment of expectations are possible only by mutual adjustments that lead to a common concept of marriage. In Kurdek (1998) it was expressed that Carl Rogers views this concept of marriage as a basis of many marital adjustments. He speaks about two main concepts of marriage: '...for some it (marriage) is a romantic box...a tight fence, limiting freedom, ... roomy comfortable box.... a magic box, resolving the difficulties in their relationship...'. for some, 'it is an exciting exploration of new avenues... each is given freedom and encouragement to develop full potential'. If both parties perceive accurately and understand clearly their concept of marriage, things go smoothly and good understanding takes place. When there are differences in their concept and perception, problems are likely to occur. McNulty and Karney (2004) see this as the major role transition between the couples values, attitudes and beliefs when they start living together. The study done by Gottman and Levenson (2000) also reveals that spouses enter a marriage relationship with different beliefs about happiness and they differ in their expectations of happiness too.

Marital satisfaction is a life long process, as Noller and Feeney (2002) points out, understanding the individual traits of the spouse is an on going process in marriage, because even if two people know each other before or at the time of marriage, there is a possibility that people change during their life cycle. In agreement with this, Mackey and O' Brien's (1995) described marriage as a developmental process that occurs in adulthood and within this process the establishment of marital interaction processes take place. Marital satisfaction therefore calls for maturity that accepts and understands growth and development in the spouse. If this growth is not experienced and realized fully,

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death in marital relationship is inevitable. In Lewis (2001), Garon describes the dying of a relationship between couples as not an instantaneous moment but rather a slow process.

The majority of studies have instead been focused primarily on length of marriage as a predictor, ruling out the role that age may have as an influence. Some research has suggested that the longer couples are married, the lower their marital satisfaction tends to be (Bradbury, Fincham & Beach, 2000); Mitchell, 2002). However, other studies have shown that this satisfaction does not merely decrease steadily, but rather it revives and increases later in the marriage (Vaillant & Vaillant, 1993; Myers, 1998). Such research as the latter depicts marital satisfaction as being represented by a U-shaped curve. An effect upon marital interaction is likely to occur as a result of marital satisfaction or dissatisfaction; the two may perhaps even mirror one another. If this is the case, then couples who have been married for only a short amount of time are likely to have more negative interaction than couples who have been married longer, based on the U-shaped curve, representative of marital satisfaction. In 1967 Blood conducted a survey in Tokyo Japan that was designed specifically to compare autonomous marriages and arranged marriages. His research results showed that in both types of marriages there was a long- term trajectory towards a decline in the expression of love and lower marital satisfaction. From the standpoint of satisfaction the marriage types showed some similarity, the wives of love matches are happier whereas husbands of arranged marriages are more satisfied (Blood, 1967). In a later study in the People's Republic of China (King, Whyte & Xiache, 1990) there was a partial replication of the Tokyo's study. It was found that women in autonomous marriages are more satisfied (King, Whyte & Xiache, 1990). In more recent studies among the Arab society in Israel it was found that couples in arranged marriages showed a lower level of marital satisfaction compared to autonomous marriages (Lev-Wiesel & Al-Krenawi, 1999).

3.4.1 Marital Interaction Processes

The term interaction describes a process and each partner in the relationship is viewed as active, rather than passive, in adapting to situations in which they

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are placed (Saxton, 1999).   Nearly all the concepts in the interactionist approach refer to the action or the interaction in relation to the internal processes in the marriage (Benokraitis, 2005). According to Spanier (1989) marital interaction processes are interpersonal dynamics or interactions between the couple that evolve within a relationship and influences marital satisfaction. The work of Lewis and Spanier (1979) concentrated on three marital interaction processes, namely Dyadic Consensus, Dyadic Cohesion and Affectional expression. Five marital interaction processes were identified by Mackey and O' Brien (1995), specifically, containment of conflict, mutuality in decision-making, quality of communication, sexual and psychological intimacy, and relational values of trust, respect, empathetic understanding and equity. In the following paragraphs the three interaction processes that were identified by Spanier and Lewis (1980) will be discussed in relation to marital satisfaction. The measurement instrument utilised in this research, the dyadic adjustment scale, is based on the theoretical foundation of the abovementioned processes.

Dyadic Consensus encompasses the agreement between partners in a relationship with regard to the following; matters of finance, recreation, religious matters, friendship, proper behaviour, philosophy of life, ways of dealing with parents and in laws, agreement on aims and goals, agreement on time spent together, decision making, division of labour, leisure activities and career decisions (Spanier & Lewis, 1980). White (1983) lists six areas of marital adjustment, they are religion, social life, mutual friends, in laws, money and sex. Blood and Wolfe (1960) speak about eight areas of marital adjustment namely money, children, recreation, personality, in-laws, roles, religion and sex. Ladewig and McGee (1986) see ten areas of adjustment namely; values, couple growth, communication, conflict resolution, affection, roles, cooperation, sex, money and parenthood. White and Booth (1991) speak of adjustment in the following areas: companionship, recreation, parenting, rearing children and sexual satisfaction. Edwards, (1989) who made a study on marriage and marital adjustment in Metro Manila presents social activities and recreation, training and disciplining of children, religion, in-

law relationships, financial matters, sexual relationship, communication, mutual trust and companionship as the areas of marital adjustment.

Conflicts are foreseen in all the above-mentioned areas in marital relationships. Most of the problems in marriages can be classified into three categories. They are unequal growth patterns, sex role stereotyping and sacrifice (Gottman & Krokoff, 1989). Similarly, we can see three ways of conflict resolution in marriages: Compromise, accommodating and hostility. The first two build up relationships and the latter moves towards separation. Saxton (1999) sees the beginning of conflict and other adjustment problems from the fourth month of marriage when the man starts to think that she is not the woman whom he married and the woman silently complains that he is so different.

A strong religious orientation in the marriage provides a source of social support and an opportunity for engaging in family activities and religious service together (Davidson & Moore, 1996). It is the opinion of Giblin (1994) that couples who were more religiously orientated showed greater marital satisfaction resulting from increased give and take, increased self -sacrifice and altruism. There was also evidence of a contribution to individual and marital growth. Couples of arranged marriages would yield more satisfaction as they usually come from a staunch religious background.

More negative statements, disagreements, and higher hostility ratings among couples who have been married for a short time is predicted but these should increase (to positive effects) as the length of marriage increases (Davidson & Moore, 1996). Fewer negative statements and disagreements, as well as lower hostility ratings, are expected to be prominent among couples who have been married for a long period of time (18+ years). Because past research suggests that with age comes less arousal, yet happier times, age is hypothesized to be the third best predictor of marital interaction. Thus, less interaction and fewer disagreements and negative statements are predicted as couples' age increases (Giblin, 1994).

In arranged marriage the power structure tend to be patriarchal. The husband usually makes the final decisions regarding important matters, such as sexual intercourse, financial decisions, holiday outings and the education of the children (King, Whyte & Xiache, 1990). In autonomous marriages the power structure can be either patriarchal or egalitarian. In modern societies there are usually aspects of both power structures in a marriage. The wives in autonomous marriages often have as much say as her husband with regard to important decisions and also with regard to sexual relations, the care of the children and finances (Swaminathan, 1995). Authors such as Imamoglu and Yasak (1997) found that marital satisfaction increases in the marriage consisting of more aspects of egalitarianism power structures. A study done by Edwards (1989) in Metro Manila shows that many autonomous marriages are endangered today by the reverse role of the women being the breadwinner in the family. The couple tends to be unsure of their roles and this may result in one or both partners in the marriage being unhappy.

In arranged marriages which is often more traditionally oriented, a traditional role orientation is mostly prevalent. The wives in arranged marriages are mostly vested with the responsibilities of children and the home. The husband is usually the sole breadwinner and is responsible for providing and protecting the family (Swaminathan, 1995). In arranged marriages, the wife completed most of the total household chores and there were very few tasks in which the husband contributed. Although in arranged marriages the husband and wife have set roles, compared to the couples of autonomous marriages they may appear more satisfied with the division of labour (Lev-Wiesel & Al-Krenawi, 1999).

In autonomous marriages the husband and wife may both be involved in household responsibilities and caring for the family financially to a more or less degree (Wolf, 1996). In autonomous marriages division of labour has an effect on marital satisfaction of the couple. It was found that marital satisfaction is the highest for couples that have worked out an agreeable division of labour (Stevens, Kiger & Riley, 2001). For women, satisfaction with

the division of household tasks, dealing with problems at home and their contributions to household and status-enhancement tasks was the most significant predictors of marital satisfaction. Satisfaction with the division of labour, dealing with problems at home and housework were significant predictors for men's marital satisfaction (Stevens, Kiger & Riley, 2001).

Dyadic Cohesion refers to emotional bonding, how close each partner in the relationship feels towards each other (Craddock, 1991). Cohesion also refers to how connected or separate the partners are in the marriage system (Spanier & Lewis, 1980). Saxton (1999) quotes Mace who speaks about three kinds of involvement in a marriage relationship: minimum, limited and maximum. Minimum involvement is seen in the traditional marriages that are aimed at safe guarding the structures to serve utilitarian ends. Limited interpersonal involvement in marriage gives reasonable comfort and security to the couples. Maximum involvement gives the couple a sense of satisfaction and confidence in the relationship. To have maximum involvement, the couple has to grow in their understanding of each other and adjust in different factors that affect the core of the family life. Intimacy refers to feelings of togetherness, bondedness, or closeness in loving relationships (Sternberg & Barnes, 1988). An intimate relationship provides warmth and emotional support to the partners. The lack of intimacy is one of the major reasons why couples break up their marriages. Sternberg identified ten signs of intimacy in a close relationship**:**

1) Desiring to promote the welfare of the loved one.
2) Experiencing happiness with the loved one.
3) Having high regard for the loved one.
4) Being able to count on the loved one in times of need.
5) Mutual understanding with the loved one.
6) Sharing one's self and one's possessions with the loved one.
7) Receiving emotional support from the loved one.
8) Giving emotional support to the loved one.
9) Having intimate communication with the loved one.
10) Valuing the loved one on one's life.

Viljoen (1982) makes mention of empathy as an essential characteristic for what she terms "skilful interaction". To avoid feelings of anxiety, jealousy and depression during a marriage it is important to be able to empathise with one's partner, to feel as she/he feels. Empathy is understanding another's feelings needs and wants (Schwartz & Scott, 1994). To empathise with one's partner is to share true intimacy that results in greater satisfaction (Schwartz & Scott, 1994).

Couples who set aside time to spend in family activities tend to have higher marital satisfaction than those who are occupied with individual activities. The couples usually grow apart because they are involved in separate activities and spend very little time together (Schwartz & Scott, 1994).

Commitment, which involves the decision to maintain a love relationship over time, is closely associated with marital satisfaction (Wolf, 1996). Commitment is a foundation for any successful marriage and although deep commitment does not always guarantee success in a marriage, commitment is an important variable (Davidson & Moore, 1996). Marriages that are both happy and enduring are characterised by the partner's commitment to each other as individuals and to the institution of marriage. High commitment to a marital relationship is associated with high marital satisfaction when couples have effectively dealt with relationship disillusionment in the beginning of marriage (Davidson & Moore, 1996).

Therefore, mutual communication and sharing are the backbone for adjustment in marriage. The study done by Edwards (1989) among married couples in Metro Manila show a high level of marital adjustment among those who communicated well. He points out that there is a positive correlation between communication and adjustment. Couples, who communicated more regularly, adjusted themselves better to interpersonal and situational problems while others found it difficult. Communication is the life-breath of love, awareness of each other's feelings, needs, problems and expectations.

In a good marriage the requirement of affective, open and rewarding communication whether verbal or non-verbal is essential for marital satisfaction (Schwartz & Scott, 1994). Positive communication patterns are needed to discuss problems and to listen to each other's point of view with respect in order to have a high level of marital satisfaction (Schwartz & Scott, 1994). Two positive communication patterns are associated with the marital satisfaction namely discussing issues and avoiding cross complaining. Children may also influence communication patterns therefore it was found that childless couples were more communicative, felt closer to each other, had higher marital satisfaction, and placed a higher value on their marriage. Couples with children talked less to one another, and upon doing so, spoke primarily about their children (Schwartz & Scott, 1994).

Communication plays a central role in marriage. For example, communication problems are the relationship difficulty most frequently cited by couples in community surveys (Wolf, 1996). A popular assumption has been that the cause of many marital communication problems is deficient communication skills on the part of spouses (Wolf, 1996). Communication encompasses other factors such as understanding, intimacy and empathy. Couples in autonomous marriages seem to rely on each other more emotionally than couples of arranged marriages (King, Whyte & Xiache, 1990). They often tell each other their troubles and issues that are important to them. Couples in arranged marriages are often more reserved; they discreetly communicate their troubles and worries on each other as with sometimes less equality and sharing in the structure of the marriage, the partner might sometimes seems less accessible (Lev-Wiesel & Al-Krenawi, 1999). According to Walsh and Taylor (1982) the reinforced division between the world of the husband and the wife tends to reduce the emotional accessibility and the amount of interaction between them. In autonomous marriages the husband and wife might have better understanding in their relationship that could indicate better communication (Walsh & Taylor, 1982). In a study done by Rao and Rao (1988) on marital satisfaction and communication practices it was found that in Indian arranged marriages all three modes of communication (verbal,

nonverbal, sexual) are less influential in affecting the marital satisfaction compared to couples of autonomous marriages.

Love is an emotional response that is highly valued (Sternberg & Barnes, 1988). A review of research on love suggests three stages of love: passionate, romantic and companionate love (Sternberg & Barnes, 1988). Passionate love involves intense arousal and a strong sexual base. Romantic love is difficult to separate from passionate love but romantic love is based on idealisation of the other person rather than on the sexuality of the other person. Companionate love is the least intense form of love and it usually occurs after being married for some time. At this point the couple know each other very well and they begin to develop more permanent bonds of affection and trust.

According to Sternberg and Barnes (1988) the reverse is true for arranged marriages. The relationship starts with the decision or commitment component known as empty love. The marital partners may start with the commitment to love one another without actually having any feelings of love at the time of marriage (Sternberg & Barnes, 1988). The attitude towards love is that it is not the important aspect of marital satisfaction but that the couple tends to grow to love one another. They do not share the same passion and intimacy as couples of autonomous marriages (Lev-Wiesel & Al-Krenawi, 1999).

Robert Blood (1967) held the opinion that arranged marriages were based on the assumption that autonomous marriages start out with intense passion and love that changes and later dissipates. This implies that romantic marriages typically involve a very tense romantic involvement accompanied by a unrealistic perception of the partner in the period prior to marriage but that domestic chores, child care burdens, financial burdens leads to a decline in romantic feelings and satisfaction with the relationship over the years (King, Whyte & Xiache, 1990).

Affectional expression pertains to demonstrations of affection and sexual relations (Spanier & Lewis, 1980). Fulfilment of sexual needs in terms of quantity and quality is very important in the well-being and happiness of a

marriage (Davidson & Moore, 1996). Research findings from the 1990's on sexual frequency have noted that sexual frequency was found to be associated positively with general relationship satisfaction in married couples (Christopher & Sprecher, 2000). Sexual satisfaction appears to be one of the more important predictors of marital satisfaction (Christopher & Sprecher, 2000). The satisfaction with one's sexual relationship also appears to be associated with feelings of satisfaction for one's spouse or partner (Christopher & Sprecher, 2000). In de Munck, (1998), Huston and Vangelisti did a longitudinal study on the relationship between affection, sexual interest, negativity and marital satisfaction. They interviewed 106 couples over the first two years of marriage. They found that the wives sexual interest was related to the husband's satisfaction, but that sexual affection as a whole was unrelated to either spouse's marital satisfaction. Huston and Vangelisti tried to explain this in a number of ways. This study shows that the relationship between sex and marital satisfaction is more complex than originally thought and that the frequency of sexual behaviour is not the only indication of sexual satisfaction.

Sexual satisfaction is an important aspect of marital satisfaction in both types of marriages. Studies found that sexual satisfaction was related to the existence of a close personal relationship with one's sexual partner (Mitchell, 2002). The level of sexual satisfaction was related to the overall quality of the relationship. Other researchers such as Mackey and O' Brien (1995) have indicated that for woman, the closer the emotional relationship with their partner, the greater the chance of a satisfying sexual relationship. In the sexual area, wives in autonomous marriages often have more freedom to express their sexuality more spontaneously and aggressively than their counterparts in arranged marriages who are often more submissive (Imamoglu & Yasak, 1997).

3.5 Conclusion

In this research the degree of marital satisfaction is investigated. As we have mentioned above, marital satisfaction is not an easy term to define as satisfaction with relationships can vary from individual to individual. Marital

Satisfaction is influenced by a number of factors and processes that occur between partners in the marriage irrespective of how the marital partner was selected. In the following chapter the research process and related aspects will be discussed.

Chapter 4
Research Methodology

*"Discovery consists of seeing what everybody
has seen and thinking what
nobody has thought"*
- Albert Szent - Gyorgyi

4.1 Introduction

In order to answer the various hypothetical questions regarding the relationships between marital satisfaction and arranged or autonomous marriages, a sample of South African Indians was required to participate. The study was conducted quantitatively and by performing statistical analyses of the data, it was envisaged that it would be possible to make comparisons between the marital satisfaction of these two types of marriages. The rationale behind using this approach is that there has been substantial social science research into quantifying aspects of marriage.

4.2 The Study Design

The study is primarily designed to investigate the perceived aspects of marital satisfaction from a cross section of couples from arranged marriages and autonomous marriages. According to Mook (2001) this type of research is a quasi-experimental design and is characterised by seeking to pinpoint or establish causal relations by selecting cases in which the independent variable varies. Quasi-experiments of research do not seek to manipulate the variable but rather tries to isolate causal influence by selection. The independent variable is the type of marriage: autonomous marriages or arranged marriages and the dependent variables are aspects of marital satisfaction.

4.3 Sample

The study was conducted in an Indian community called Laudium in the province of Gauteng. The size of the community is approximately 50 000 people of which the members are generally part of two main religious groups namely Hindus and Muslims (Kumar, 2000). The couples were identified through approaching a number of different individuals namely, medical

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practitioners, hairdressers and beauticians to fit into the required sample. They were asked to identify couples of different ages (old and young) and who were married for at least a year. Participants who had been married less than a year were deemed unsuitable as the first year of marriage has a great number of adjustments for the couple (McNulty & Karney, 2004). A sample of 44 couples (n=88 individuals) was selected using a non-probability purposive sampling technique from the population. All couples that were approached to participate in the study agreed. In the sample, 48 individuals (24 couples) were from autonomous marriages and 40 individuals (20 couples) were from arranged marriages. For all couples this was their first marriage.

4.4 Measurement instruments

Perceived marital satisfaction was measured by using the Dyadic Adjustment Scale (DAS) (Spanier, 1976) and the Kansas Marital Satisfaction Scale (KMS).

4.4.1 Dyadic Adjustment Scale

Spanier (1976) introduced the Dyadic Adjustment Scale (DAS) as an improvement on the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Test. The DAS can be considered the first of the current generation of marital adjustment and satisfaction measures. An initial pool of 200 items was reduced to the 40 items that discriminated between married and divorced individuals. The variables were analysed using a t-test for significance of difference between means of the married and divorced samples. Items, which were not significantly different at a $p< 0.001$ level, were eliminated. A factor analysis produced four factors utilizing the 32 items with the highest loadings on Dyadic Consensus, Dyadic Satisfaction, Dyadic Cohesion, and Affectional Expression scales (Spanier, 1976). The questions on the DAS have to be answered on a likert scale. The DAS is hand scored (Fower, 1990).

The scale consists of the following sub scales:
Dyadic Consensus encompasses the agreement between partners in a relationship with regard to the following; matters of finance, recreation, religious matters, friendship, proper behaviour, philosophy of life, ways of dealing with parents and in laws, agreement on aims and goals, agreement on

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time spent together, decision making, division of labour, leisure activities and career decisions (Spanier & Lewis, 1980). There are 13 items that measure consensus and an example of the type of questions asked, "Most persons have disagreements within their relationships. Please indicate below the appropriate extent of the agreement or disagreement between you and your partner for each item on the following list "Handling of finances or Matters of recreation".

Affectional expression pertains to demonstrations of affection and sexual relations (Spanier & Lewis, 1980). This factor is made up by four items and the following is an example of the questions asked, "Please indicate below the appropriate extent of the agreement or disagreement between you and your partner for each item on the following list "Sex relations or Demonstration of affection". This question has to be answered from a 5 point scale ranging from always disagree to always agree

Dyadic Cohesion refers also to how connected or separate the partners are in the marriage system (Spanier & Lewis, 1980). There are 5 items that represent this scale and examples of these questions asked are, "In general, how often do you think that things between you and your partner are going well".

Dyadic Satisfaction refers to the overall satisfaction within the relationship. 10 items represent this factor and the questions asked are, "how often do you and your mate leave the house after a fight".

The DAS have demonstrated the following reliability coefficients: overall DAS score, 0.96; Dyadic Consensus, 0.90; Dyadic Satisfaction, 0.94 Dyadic Cohesion, 0.90, and Affectional Expression, 0.73. Similar reliabilities were replicated by Filsinger (1983) and content validity was provided by three independent judges' examination of the items. The instrument's criterion-related validity was supported in Spanier's (1976) demonstration that each DAS item discriminated between married and divorced individuals; this result was replicated by Sharpley and Cross (1982). The concurrent validity of the

DAS was affirmed by its correlation with the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Test (r= 0.86). The construct validity of the DAS has been well established in its use in over 1000 studies (Spanier, 1976).

There is no readily available data on test-retest reliability or norms for the DAS. Although Spanier (1976) and Filsinger (1983) suggested a cut-off score of 100 to differentiate distressed and nondistressed couples, they considered this "arbitrary pending further investigation". While Spanier and Lewis (1980) published a study, which confirmed the factor structure of the DAS, two subsequent factor analyses produced results that differed from Spanier's original findings (Spanier, 1976)

4.4.*2* The Kansas Marital Satisfaction Scale (KMSS)

The Kansas Marital satisfaction scale (KMSS) was used as a confirmatory scale of the Dyadic Adjustment Scale (DAS). The KMSS was developed by Grover, Russell, Schumm and Paff-Bergen in 1984. Most of the marital satisfaction scales are very lengthy and when using it as a research tool it causes a problem (Grover, et al, 1984). The need was addressed by developing the Kansas Marital Satisfaction Scale (KMSS) that is both briefer and valid. This scale has been developed from the theoretical comments of Spanier and Cole (1976) with regard to conceptual differences between questions on spouses, marriage and marital relationships. The KMSS is an extremely brief (3-item) instrument and attempts to measure the overall satisfaction of partners with regard to their relationship. The three areas include:

1) How satisfied are you with your marriage?
2) How satisfied are you with your husband/wife as a spouse?
3) How satisfied are you with your relationship with your wife/husband?

The KMSS has excellent internal consistency for a short scale, with an alpha of .93. No test-retest data was reported (Corcoran & Fischer, 1994). The KMSS has relatively consistent concurrent validity, significantly correlating with the Dyadic Adjustment Scale and the Quality of Marriage Index (Corcoran & Fischer, 1994). The KMSS is also correlated with a measure of marital

social desirability, suggesting some degree of bias in responses (Corcoran & Fischer, 1994). The KMSS is hand scored and very easy to use.

4.5. Procedure

The contact details of the couples were obtained through networking. The participants were contacted and informed about the nature of the study. The researcher expressed the desire to get their viewpoint on marriage and learn more about their marriage. A consent form was attached to each questionnaire to seek their agreement to participate in the study. The questionnaire was personally delivered to the participants at their homes by a research assistant. The male and female of the relationship were given separate questionnaires to fill out, with instructions to work independently of their partners. The questionnaire included background information, instructions for answering, as well as space for any additional comments. The participation of the couples was voluntary and withdrawal from participation was possible at any stage of the research. It was agreed with the participants that the questionnaires would be destroyed if a respondent decided to withdraw.

4.6. Hypotheses

From the literature review and research findings the following hypotheses are formulated for this study:

Hypothesis I

Autonomous marriages will be significantly more satisfied than arranged marriages, in regard to the dimensions on the dyadic adjustment scale and the Kansas Marital Satisfaction Inventory

Hypothesis II

Husbands of arranged marriages will show greater Dyadic Adjustment and Martial Satisfaction in regard to all the dimensions of the Dyadic Adjustment Scale and the Kansas Marital Satisfaction Scale.

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4.7 Analysis of Data

For the purpose of this research an Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used for examining differences between the marital satisfaction of the autonomous and arranged participants. The results were analysed for the subgroups with regard to aspects such as type of marriage and gender.

4.8 Conclusion

The methodology of this study has been approached from a quantitative standpoint. The respondents were selected from an Indian community called Laudium in Gauteng and the data was collected from questionnaires. The following chapter looks at the results of the research.

Chapter 5
Results

"It is a capital mistake to theorize before one has data"

-Sherlock Holmes

5.1 Introduction

This study was conducted in order to assess whether the marital satisfaction (or more technically - dyadic adjustment) of couples of autonomous relationships differ from that of couples in arranged marriages. It was expected that couples of autonomous marriages would yield greater satisfaction than couples of arranged marriages. In particular, it was anticipated that on the four constructs of the dyadic adjustment scale viz: dyadic adjustment, dyadic satisfaction, dyadic consensus, dyadic cohesion, dyadic affect and the Kansas marital satisfaction scale that couples of arranged marriages would be worse off than couples of autonomous marriages.

5.2 Descriptive Statistics

The descriptive statistics are used to present the demographic information pertaining to the participants. All 88 individuals were surveyed, of which 48 (54.5%) were within autonomous marriages and the other 40 (45.5%) were within arranged marriages. All couples were heterosexual with genders split evenly in both groups. A breakdown of the length of marriages is presented in Table 5.1

Table 5.1 Number of years married		1-5 years	6-10 years	11-15 years	> 15 years	Total
Autonomous	N	20	10	4	14	48
	%	41.7%	20.8%	8.3%	29.2%	
Arranged	N	12	4	10	14	40
	%	30.0%	10.0%	25.0%	35.0%	

The above table indicates a relatively uniform distribution of marriage duration for both types of marriages, however the autonomous marriages are

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somewhat underrepresented in the 11-15 year category, while the same can be said of the arranged marriages in the 6-10 year category. This temporal variation is insignificant given that the variable was not used to determine any statistics.

In regard to religion, by far the bulk of the participants classified themselves as Hindu (77.3%) with the balance being made up of Islam (20.5%) and Christian (2.3%). Most of the participants (61.4%) regarded themselves as "observant", while a substantial number preferred the label of "spiritual", and a negligible number (3.3%) thought of themselves as "agnostic".

Given the nature of the study, the couples were probed on how they first met. The results are presented in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 How the couples first met		Family Function	Study Institution	Social Gathering	Chance Meeting	Formal Introduction	Other	Total
Autonomous	N	2	18	17	2		9	48
	%	4.2%	37.5%	35.4%	4.2%		18.8%	100.0%
Arranged	N	3				33	4	40
	%	7.5%				82.5%	10.0%	100.0%

As is evident, the autonomous group met their partners primarily based on their own initiatives, while the bulk (82.5%) of the arranged group was formally introduced either at a special meeting or at a family function. Of the arranged marriages group, 51% were introduced by parents, 24% by an older relative, with the balance being introduced by friends, siblings or somebody else.

In regard to courtship, the question was asked how long the participants had known each other before they got married. The results are presented in table 5.3 below.

Table 5.3 Courtship durations		< 1 year	1-2 years	3-4 years	5-6 years	7-8 years	> 8 years
Autonomous	N	0	10	12	3	15	6
	%		21.7%	26.1%	6.5%	32.6%	12.9%
Arranged	N	8	21	7	0	0	4
	%	20%	52.5%	17.5%			10%

The phrasing of the question might have prompted some of the participants to record how long they had known each other instead of how long they were actively engaged. This is perhaps why some of the durations extend passed 9 years. The table does however indicate a marked but expected skewness for the arranged marriages, with 55% being married within the first year, and 72.5% being married by the second year. This compares with only 21.7% of the autonomous marriages who are married within 2 years. Clearly arranged marriages are executed most expeditiously.

5.3 Inferential Statistics

The reproducibility reliabilities for the instruments calculated for this particular sample were as follows:

Dyadic Satisfaction α = .86; Dyadic Cohesion α = .68; Dyadic Consensus α = .78; Dyadic Affect α = .55; Dyadic Adjustment α = .92; Kansas Marital Satisfaction α = .95. The unsatisfactory reliability of Dyadic Affect (made up of 4 items) indicates a lack of consistency amongst those answering it, and might suggest that there was some variability in the way people interpreted the questions. Overall however the reliabilities are in line with those found by Spanier (1976) and very robust, particularly that of overall Dyadic Adjustment and the confirmatory Kansas Marital Satisfaction.

5.3.1. Hypothesis I

Analyses of variance were done to examine Hypothesis I, which stated: *Autonomous marriages will be significantly better off than arranged marriages, in regard to the dimensions on the dyadic adjustment scale and the Kansas Marital Satisfaction Inventory.* The results of this are presented in Table 5.4 and 5.5 below:

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Table 5.4 – Means and Standard Deviations on all dimensions for Autonomous and Arranged marriages

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
Dyadic Satisfaction	Autonomous	48	48.98	6.902	.996
	Arranged	40	44.38	7.070	1.118
Dyadic Cohesion	Autonomous	48	17.73	3.299	.476
	Arranged	40	16.08	3.826	.605
Dyadic Consensus	Autonomous	48	46.38	7.160	1.033
	Arranged	40	43.25	7.128	1.127
Dyadic Affect	Autonomous	48	16.00	3.255	.470
	Arranged	40	14.75	2.889	.457
Dyadic Adjustment	Autonomous	48	125.27	16.721	2.414
	Arranged	40	115.58	16.928	2.677
Kansas	Autonomous	48	18.38	2.663	.384
	Arranged	40	17.10	2.590	.410

Table 5.5 – ANOVA on all dimensions for Autonomous and Arranged marriages

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig
Dyadic Satisfaction	Between Groups	462.509	1	462.509	9.497	.003*
	Within Groups	4188.354	86	48.702		
	Total	4650.864	87			
Dyadic Cohesion	Between Groups	59.700	1	59.700	4.744	.032*
	Within Groups	1082.254	86	12.584		
	Total	1141.955	87			
Dyadic Consensus	Between Groups	213.068	1	213.068	4.173	.044*
	Within Groups	4390.750	86	51.055		
	Total	4603.818	87			
Dyadic Affect	Between Groups	34.091	1	34.091	3.560	.063
	Within Groups	823.500	86	9.576		
	Total	857.591	87			
Dyadic Adjustment	Between Groups	2051.109	1	2051.109	7.254	.009*
	Within Groups	24317.254	86	282.759		
	Total	26368.364	87			
Kansas	Between Groups	35.468	1	35.468	5.128	.026*
	Within Groups	594.850	86	6.917		
	Total	630.318	87			

*$p < 0.05$

As can be seen from Table 5.4 and Table 5.5 above, all the means in all the dimensions were significantly higher for autonomous marriages than for arranged marriages. The exception here is Dyadic Affect, whose difference

was not significant. In addition to the four dimensions of the Dyadic adjustment scale, the global score for the instrument is also reflected. The Kansas Marital Satisfaction Questionnaire was also done to confirm the findings of the Dyadic adjustment scale.

5.3.2. Hypothesis II

A multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVA) was done to examine Hypothesis II, which stated: *Husbands of arranged marriages will show greater Dyadic Adjustment and Martial Satisfaction than women in arranged marriages in regard to all the dimensions of the Dyadic Adjustment Scale and the Kansas Marital Satisfaction Scale.* The MANOVA examined the interaction between Gender and Marriage Type (Autonomous or Arranged) to see how these two variables on all the dimensions of both scales that were used. The results of this are presented in Table 5.6 and 5.7 below.

Table 5.6 Gender Differences on all dimensions for Arranged Marriages				
	Gender	**Mean**	**Std. Deviation**	**N**
Dyadic Satisfaction	Male	43.40	7.272	20
	Female	45.35	6.907	20
	Total	44.37	7.070	40
Dyadic Cohesion	Male	16.55	3.720	20
	Female	15.60	3.966	20
	Total	16.08	3.826	40
Dyadic Consensus	Male	43.25	8.353	20
	Female	43.25	5.875	20
	Total	43.25	7.128	40
Dyadic Affect	Male	14.40	3.050	20
	Female	15.10	2.751	20
	Total	14.75	2.889	40
Dyadic Adjustment	Male	114.85	18.463	20
	Female	116.30	15.691	20
	Total	115.58	16.928	40
Kansas	Male	17.00	2.656	20
	Female	17.20	2.587	20
	Total	17.10	2.590	40

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Table 5.7 – ANOVA of Gender within Arranged marriages

Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	Dyadic Satisfaction	38.025(a)	1	38.025	.756	.390	.020
	Dyadic Cohesion	9.025(b)	1	9.025	.611	.439	.016
	Dyadic Consensus	0.000(c)	1	6.821E-13	.000	1.000	.000
	Dyadic Affect	4.900(d)	1	4.900	.581	.451	.015
	Dyadic Adjustment	21.025(e)	1	21.025	.072	.790	.002
	Kansas	.400(f)	1	.400	.058	.811	.002
Intercept	Dyadic Satisfaction	78765.625	1	78765.625	1565.958	.000	.976
	Dyadic Cohesion	10336.225	1	10336.225	699.202	.000	.948
	Dyadic Consensus	74822.500	1	74822.500	1434.900	.000	.974
	Dyadic Affect	8702.500	1	8702.500	1031.488	.000	.964
	Dyadic Adjustment	534303.225	1	534303.225	1820.168	.000	.980
	Kansas	11696.400	1	11696.400	1701.620	.000	.978
Gender	Dyadic Satisfaction	38.025	1	38.025	.756	.390	.020
	Dyadic Cohesion	9.025	1	9.025	.611	.439	.016
	Dyadic Consensus	.000	1	.000	.000	1.000	.000
	Dyadic Affect	4.900	1	4.900	.581	.451	.015
	Dyadic Adjustment	21.025	1	21.025	.072	.790	.002
	Kansas	.400	1	.400	.058	.811	.002
Error	Dyadic Satisfaction	1911.350	38	50.299			
	Dyadic Cohesion	561.750	38	14.783			
	Dyadic Consensus	1981.500	38	52.145			
	Dyadic Affect	320.600	38	8.437			
	Dyadic Adjustment	11154.750	38	293.546			
	Kansas	261.200	38	6.874			
Total	Dyadic Satisfaction	80715.000	40				
	Dyadic Cohesion	10907.000	40				
	Dyadic Consensus	76804.000	40				
	Dyadic Affect	9028.000	40				
	Dyadic Adjustment	545479.000	40				
	Kansas	11958.000	40				
Corrected Total	Dyadic Satisfaction	1949.375	39				
	Dyadic Cohesion	570.775	39				
	Dyadic Consensus	1981.500	39				
	Dyadic Affect	325.500	39				
	Dyadic Adjustment	11175.775	39				
	Kansas	261.600	39				

As can be seen from Tables 5.6 and 5.7 above, there was no significant effect for gender within arranged marriages, indicating that Hypothesis II was not supported.

5.3.3. Other Significant findings

5.3.3.1 Impact of meeting

The conditions under which the couple first met proved to be an indicator of marital satisfaction on most of the dimensions measured. Please note that conditions 1 (met at a family function) and 4 (chance meeting) were omitted from the analysis, as the number of participants in these categories was too small. Tables 5.8 and 5.9 presents the data in this regard.

Table 5.8 – Means and Standard Deviations for Marriage Type and First Met					
	Marriage Type	**N**	**Mean**	**Std. Deviation**	**Std. Error**
Dyadic Satisfaction	Study institution	18	45.94	8.412	1.983
	Social gathering	17	51.47	4.611	1.118
	Formal introduction	33	43.45	6.215	1.082
	Other	13	49.46	7.688	2.132
Dyadic Cohesion	Study institution	18	17.44	4.232	.997
	Social gathering	17	18.65	1.998	.485
	Formal introduction	33	15.55	3.906	.680
	Other	13	17.69	2.496	.692
Dyadic Consensus	Study institution	18	42.67	7.889	1.859
	Social gathering	17	49.29	6.507	1.578
	Formal introduction	33	43.27	5.246	.913
	Other	13	45.15	9.949	2.759
Dyadic Affect	Study institution	18	15.28	3.495	.824
	Social gathering	17	17.00	2.550	.618
	Formal introduction	33	14.64	2.759	.480
	Other	13	16.77	2.948	.818
Dyadic Adjustment	Study institution	18	117.56	20.141	4.747
	Social gathering	17	132.71	10.728	2.602
	Formal introduction	33	114.27	14.438	2.513
	Other	13	124.00	19.438	5.391
Kansas	Study institution	18	17.83	2.854	.673
	Social gathering	17	19.18	1.741	.422
	Formal introduction	33	16.79	2.459	.428
	Other	13	18.92	2.565	.711

Table 5.9 – ANOVA on all dimensions using First Met

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig
Dyadic Satisfaction	**Between Groups**	843.729	3	281.243	6.208	.001*
	Within Groups	3488.592	77	45.306		
	Total	4332.321	80			
Dyadic Cohesion	**Between Groups**	125.611	3	41.870	3.462	.020*
	Within Groups	931.278	77	12.095		
	Total	1056.889	80			
Dyadic Consensus	**Between Groups**	503.122	3	167.707	3.395	.022*
	Within Groups	3803.767	77	49.400		
	Total	4306.889	80			
Dyadic Affect	**Between Groups**	83.581	3	27.860	3.253	.026*
	Within Groups	659.555	77	8.566		
	Total	743.136	80			
Dyadic Adjustment	**Between Groups**	4127.357	3	1375.786	5.312	.002*
	Within Groups	19942.519	77	258.994		
	Total	24069.877	80			
Kansas	**Between Groups**	82.097	3	27.366	4.587	.005*
	Within Groups	459.409	77	5.966		
	Total	541.506	80			

$p < 0.05$

As indicated in the above tables, the means on all dimensions were highest for partners who met at social gatherings and lowest for those who met by means of formal introduction.

5.3.3.2 "In love" at marriage

In the questionnaire given to the participants, the question read: "On the following scale, how much in love were you with your spouse when you married? (Choose one)" Table 5.10 indicates the results of the survey for that item.

Table 5.10 Frequencies for extent of being in love at marriage

Category	N
Not at all	4
A bit	3
Below average	2
Average	12
Above Average	16
A lot	17
Totally	34

Further investigation (See Table 5.11), that is only the participants from arranged marriages who fill the bottom three positions of this category. By far the bulk of the autonomous marriages (62.5%) were "totally in love" at marriage compared to only 10% of the arranged partners.

Table 5.11 "In love" at marriage

		Not at all	A bit	Below average	Average	Above average	A lot	Totally
Autonomous	N				4	7	7	30
	%				8.3%	14.6%	14.6%	62.5%
Arranged	N	4	3	2	8	9	10	4
	%	10.0%	7.5%	5.0%	20.0%	22.5%	25.0%	10.0%

The first three categories contained too few participants to produce reliable statistics, thus categories 1 – 3 were collapsed into one new category of "Below average and lower". Table 5.12 indicates this new grouping.

Table 5.12 New frequencies for extent of being in love at marriage

Category	N
Below average and lower	9
Average	12
Above Average	16
A lot	17
Totally	34

Table 5.13 presents the ANOVA for "in love at marriage" as measured against all the dyadic dimensions.

Table 5.13 ANOVA on all dimensions using "in love"

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Dyadic Satisfaction	Between Groups	2356.421	4	589.105	21.311	.000**
	Within Groups	2294.442	83	27.644		
	Total	4650.864	87			
Dyadic Cohesion	Between Groups	243.796	4	60.949	5.632	.000**
	Within Groups	898.158	83	10.821		
	Total	1141.955	87			
Dyadic Consensus	Between Groups	1648.900	4	412.225	11.579	.000**
	Within Groups	2954.918	83	35.601		
	Total	4603.818	87			
Dyadic Affect	Between Groups	271.660	4	67.915	9.620	.000**
	Within Groups	585.931	83	7.059		
	Total	857.591	87			
Dyadic Adjustment	Between Groups	12859.753	4	3214.938	19.753	.000**
	Within Groups	13508.611	83	162.754		
	Total	26368.364	87			
Kansas	Between Groups	287.743	4	71.936	17.429	.000**
	Within Groups	342.575	83	4.127		
	Total	630.318	87			

*** $p < 0.01$*

The extent of being in love at marriage appears to be a highly significant variable in regard to future satisfaction. In order to further analyse the situation a further cross-tabulation was done, this time exploring how being in love at marriage had translated into later marital adjustment. To achieve this, the continuous global score of dyadic adjustment was categorised into a 5 point scale and cross-tabulated with marriage type and "in love" (using the original 7 point categorisation once again). The results are depicted in Table 5.14 below.

Table 5.14 Crosstabulation of "In love" * Marriage type * Dyadic adjustment

Dyadic Adjustment	Marriage Type		Not at all	A bit	Below average and lower	Average	Above average	A lot	Totally
Unsatisfied	Autonomous	N				4		1	1
	Arranged	N	3	1	2	2		2	
Marginal satisfaction	Autonomous	N					3		2
	Arranged	N		2		5	7	1	
Average satisfaction	Autonomous	N					2	2	7
	Arranged	N	1			1	2	1	1
Well satisfied	Autonomous	N					1	3	10
	Arranged	N						2	
Highly satisfied	Autonomous	N					1	1	10
	Arranged	N						4	3

Table 5.14 demands some close scrutiny. Chi-squares have not been done on the results, as the participants in each cell are too small. The trends however are relatively clear with the extent of being in love at marriage showing a high degree of congruence with subsequent satisfaction.

5.4 Conclusion

The data from the research survey revealed a host of interesting analyses. All findings will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 6
Discussions, Conclusions, Recommendations

" Have no respect whatsoever for authority; forget who said it and instead look at what he starts with, where he ends up, and ask yourself, "Is it reasonable?"
-R. Feynman (1988)

6.1 Introduction

The broad goal of this study was to investigate whether there is a difference in marital satisfaction when comparing autonomous versus arranged marriages. There appears to be very little research in this field internationally (Blood, 1967; Lev-wiesel & Al-krenawi, 1999) and none at all was found that involved South African samples. Yet arranged marriages have cultural forces that bind them and perhaps the energy that goes into sifting partners in autonomous relationships does not add significant value. These were the kinds of questions that prompted this research project.

6.2 Discussion of results

The two key hypotheses that were formulated for this project were:

Hypothesis I

Autonomous marriages will be significantly better off than arranged marriages, in regard to the dimensions on the dyadic adjustment scale and the Kansas Marital Satisfaction Inventory.

Hypothesis II

Husbands of arranged marriages will show greater Dyadic Adjustment and Martial Satisfaction in regard to all the dimensions of the Dyadic Adjustment Scale and the Kansas Marital Satisfaction Scale.

6.2.1 Hypothesis I

Table 5.5 indicates that there is a significant difference ($p < 0.05$) between the means of marital satisfaction of autonomous compared to arranged marriages. This was true for all dimensions measured except for Dyadic Affect, which although showed a similar trend was not statistically significant. A review of Table 5.4 indicates that the means for the subscales were always

higher in autonomous marriages (higher scores mean higher satisfaction) than in arranged marriages. The Kansas Marital Satisfaction questionnaire supported the results of the Dyadic Adjustment Scale. The effect sizes (η^2) for the Dyadic Adjustment sub-scales were modest but useful, with Dyadic Satisfaction being approximately 10% and Dyadic Adjustment 8%. This means that on the whole being married voluntarily accounts for about 10% of Dyadic satisfaction and about 8% of one's Dyadic Adjustment. These results indicate a shift from the findings of Robert Blood (1967) which indicated couples of arranged marriages and that of autonomous marriages do not differ in their marital satisfaction. The research does however confirm the more recent findings of Lev-Wiesel and Al-Krenawi (1999) with regard to marital quality among the Arab society in Israel, whose results yield that arranged marriages showed a lower level of marital satisfaction compared to autonomous marriages. The results support the idea that people who choose their own marital partners are more likely to have higher marital satisfaction than individuals within arranged marriages.

6.2.2 Hypothesis II

This hypothesis suggested that husbands are more likely to be satisfied than wives within arranged marriages. Table 5.6 presents the means for gender within arranged marriages and Table 5.7 presents the ANOVA of the same. The results indicate that there are no significant gender effects within arranged marriages. This is despite several other studies having reported higher marital satisfaction of husband's in arranged marriages. For example Robert Blood's (1967) groundbreaking initial research indicated such a finding, which was and was later replicated by King, Whyte and Xiache (1990). These studies have shown that husbands within arranged marriages are more satisfied with their marriages than their wives. A possible explanation for the inconsistency of the data from other research can be explained by the study conducted by Safilios- Rothschild (1993). This suggests that a wife's satisfaction with the marriage impacts and influences the husband's satisfaction and that if the wife is highly satisfied with the marriage there is a likelihood that the husband also might be highly satisfied. The current study shows no differences and this could be due to the fact that

in this study the levels of satisfaction experienced by the wives influences the levels of satisfaction of their husbands. From the data another possible explanation can be made. The research conducted by Robert Blood (1967) was done over 35 years ago. Since that time society has changed with regard to marriage and family. The roles and expectations within marriages have evolved. The end of the patriarchy family system has made way for the feminist movement and has resulted in women being more independent, career oriented and assertive. The evolvement of the rules of division of labour and other marital roles has resulted in marital couples having to find their own balance between cultural expectations and couples own expectations of marital roles and responsibilities. There is a possibility that due to the fact that women are more assertive today, their past role of the subservient wife who fulfilled the needs of her husband has ceased to exist and this has possibly resulted in lowered satisfaction levels for husbands within arranged marriages.

6.3 Other significant findings

6.3.1 Initial meeting

An aspect that supported the previous data concerned the situational conditions under which partners originally met. Tables 5.8 and 5.9 indicate that informal and casual meetings tend to lead to higher dyadic adjustment. A perusal of the means in Table 5.8 indicates across the board higher means across all indicators where partners meet at social gatherings. Clearly in these types of situations partners are free to informally mingle and be more selective than formal or arranged introductions. The participants in the study who had met their partners informally translated into marriages in which there was greater satisfaction, affection, cohesion and consensus. This is congruent with the previous finding that autonomous partner selection tends to result in greater dyadic adjustment than arranged partner selection.

6.3.2 Extent of love at marriage

The study also probed participants how "in love" they were at their marriage, and compared this with their subsequent dyadic adjustment and marital

satisfaction. Table 5.12 presents the frequencies for the sample. Nine participants of the 88 (about 22%), indicated that they were "below average and lower" in regard to how much love they felt for their partner when they got married. Interestingly, Table 5.11 indicates that all 9 were from the group of arranged marriages. At the other end of the scale, whilst over 60% of the autonomous partners felt "totally in love", only 10% of the arranged partners felt the same way. These frequencies are important because as table 5.13 indicates, the extent of being in love at marriage is a highly significant indicator of subsequent dyadic adjustment in all its dimensions.

The estimates of effect size (η^2) for this statistic were also revealing, with Dyadic Adjustment η^2 = 49%; Dyadic Satisfaction η^2 = 52%; Dyadic Consensus η^2 = 38%; Dyadic Affection η^2 = 32% Dyadic Cohesion η^2 = 22% and Kansas Marital Satisfaction η^2 = 49%. Taking only the global score, this suggest that almost 50% of an individual's later Dyadic Adjustment is accounted for by the extent to which they are in love at the time of their marriage. Given the low proportion of arranged partners who feel high levels of love at their marriage, it is not surprising to find that these marriages have overall less satisfied partners. Table 5.14 demonstrates this effectively with crosstabulated frequencies of being in love and subsequent Dyadic Adjustment. Of the 9 participants within the arranged marriages who reported the extent of their being in love at marriage as "below average and lower", 6 described themselves on the lowest level (Unsatisfied) of Dyadic Adjustment, 2 reported marginal satisfaction. Also interesting was that of the 4 participants in the arranged marriages who described themselves as "totally" in love at their marriage, 3 reported the highest level of dyadic adjustment (Highly Satisfied). By comparison, of the 30 participants in the autonomous marriages who also described themselves as "totally" in love at the time of their marriage, 66% (20) considered themselves to be Well Satisfied or Highly Satisfied in regard to their Dyadic Adjustment, while the other 10 (33%) ranged between Average satisfaction and Unsatisfied. Two participants whose marriage was arranged were "a lot" in love, but became very unhappy. One individual, whose marriage was autonomous, was "totally" in love at marriage but turned out to be considerably disaffected. Overall one could suggest that

the extent of love at marriage whether autonomous or arranged, gives a good indicator of later satisfaction. There are exceptional cases that go against the trend, for example, in regard to being very in love at marriage but the marriage not living up to expectation. There were no cases in this sample that showed below average love at marriage whose marriages later showed above average satisfaction. To some extent then, marriages that start off with promise can prosper or fail, but it's unlikely for a marriage to prosper fully if its partners have a low emotional connection at inception. Overall, the extent of love that a person feels at when getting married can be a useful predictor of subsequent satisfaction. It also dovetails usefully with the findings regarding arranged and autonomous marriages and their subsequent satisfaction levels. The degree of love at the time of marriage shows a great significance to the couples' adjustment and satisfaction with their marriages. The results from the data show that how in love a couple is when they are courting is related to how satisfied and successful their marriage will be. From this we can make an assumption that love is an important ingredient needed in a marriage. In a study done by Roizblatt, Kaslow, Rivera, Fuchs, Conejero and Zacharias (1999) comparing marital satisfaction and couples from a number of countries has shown that love is one of the components of marital satisfaction that was thought important by most couples in the sample and had an impact on their marital satisfaction, most couples of arranged marriages were not in love at the time of marriage. A possible explanation for these results could be that the participants of this study were asked to answer the questions retrospectively regarding their marriages. To a certain extent their current satisfaction with their marriages might distortion their recollection of their satisfaction and degree of love at the time when they got married.

6.4 Limitations and recommendations

The sample of this study was fairly modest, and for this reason all conclusions should be tentative before this study can be replicated with a greater sample. The demographics of the sample were also limited to the Indian community of Laudium, and that is also undesirable. Future studies would do well to consider a broader base of arranged and autonomous marriages. The research focuses only on one racial group, specifically Indian population,

which cannot be generalized to other racial groups. The method of securing the participants was purposive, and more randomness within the sample would also have been more desirable. The self-report nature of the questionnaire might also have introduced some distortions due to inhibition, discussing the questions with their partners, or a host of other reasons. The questionnaire also asked questions retrospectively, which might have introduced further distortions, for example participants might colour the way they recall the extent of their love when they got married by their current emotional reactions to their relationship. Longitudinal research would have addressed this aspect more effectively. Another possible limitation could be that love is a concept that is difficult to quantify and to propose a single definition to explain it. The participant' definition of love might have been different from each other and the researcher's definition thereby impacting on the results.   The modest reliabilities (Cronbach Alphas) of two of the dimensions within the scale suggest that perhaps peoples understanding of the questions within those subscales were unsatisfactory.

6.5. Conclusion

The present study investigated the relationship between arranged marriages and autonomous marriages and its impact on marital satisfaction. The results of this study indicate that autonomous marriages are more likely to result in subsequent satisfaction than arranged marriages, but that there is considerable variability within the two groups. Clearly some arranged marriages work out well, while some autonomous marriages also fail. Overall the dependent variable of arranged versus autonomous marriages turned out to be a useful but modest predictor of subsequent dyadic adjustment. There was no evidence that any gender benefited from either type of marriage. A sub-investigation within the study demonstrated that the extent to which a partner felt emotionally attached to their partner (in love); at the inception of their marriage was a more powerful predictor of later adjustment. Being in love seems to count, and since it is mostly within arranged marriages where there is a dearth of love at inception, these types of marriages are less likely to prosper. With all the energy that goes into selecting a mate in autonomous marriages, the years of dating, rejecting, exploring, assessing and evaluating

potential partners, one might expect a higher level of marital satisfaction, than partners who had their spouses selected for them. Although on the whole dyadic adjustment was higher in the autonomous marriages, the effect size was a moderate 10%. This suggests that the effort in finding the "right" partner in autonomous marriages does not have the magnitude of effect that one might expect.

Although there are many theories and models of marital satisfaction that attempt to understand how relationships begin, maintain themselves and end, there is a sense that no matter how much is discovered and explained, there will always be something intangible that remains. However, no matter how well documented the study of marital satisfaction has been, it is clear from the consistently high divorce rates that still too little is known about ways to achieve and maintain a sufficient level of marital satisfaction to assure marital success.

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Annexure A

Questionnaire

Dear Participants

Thank you for taking the time and the effort to complete this questionnaire. Participants should answer the questions independently and not consult one's spouse. If you have any enquires, you can contact me on the following numbers:

012-3742199/ 082 619 2202

Section 1

1. Age:_____   2. Sex:_____

3. No. of years that you are married:_____

4. Religious orientation: (tick one of the following)

1.Christianity	
2.Hindiusm	
3.Islam	
4.Judiasm	
5.Buddaism	
6.Other (please specify)	

5. In regard to religion, do you consider yourself to be: (Tick all that apply)

1. Observant		2. Spiritual	
3. Agnostic		4. Atheist	
5. Other (please specify)			

6. What below best describes the setting in which you first met your spouse ?

1. Family Function	
2. Study institution	
3. Social gathering with friends	
4. Chance meeting	
5. Formal introduction as a marriage prospect	
6. Other (specify)	

7. If you answered '5' above, please answer else ignore

Who made the introduction? (Choose one)

1. My parents	
2. His parents	
3. An older sibling	
4. A friend	
5. A colleague at work	
6. An older relative	
7. A young relative	
8. A minister or religious leader	
9. A neighbour	
10. Other (specify)	

II

8. How long did you know each other before you got married (Years and months)?
_____

9. On the following scale, how much in love were you with your spouse when you married? (Choose one)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all	a bit	below average	Average	above average	a lot	totally

Section 2

Most persons have disagreements with their relationships. Please indicate below the appropriate extent of the agreement or disagreement between you and your partner for each item on the following list.

5= Always agree
4= Almost always agree
3= Occasionally disagree
2= Frequently disagree
1= Almost always disagree
0= Always disagree

Indicate with a cross your answer

1. Handling family finances	0	1	2	3	4	5
2. Matters of recreation	0	1	2	3	4	5
3. Religious matters	0	1	2	3	4	5
4. Demonstration of affection	0	1	2	3	4	5
5. Friends	0	1	2	3	4	5
6. Sex relations	0	1	2	3	4	5
7. Conventionality (correct or proper behaviour)	0	1	2	3	4	5
8. Philosophy of life	0	1	2	3	4	5
9. Ways of dealings with in-laws	0	1	2	3	4	5
10. Aims, goals and things believed important	0	1	2	3	4	5
11. Amount of time spent together	0	1	2	3	4	5
12. Making major decisions	0	1	2	3	4	5
13. Household tasks	0	1	2	3	4	5
14. Leisure time interests	0	1	2	3	4	5
15. Career decisions	0	1	2	3	4	5

Please indicate below approximately how often the following items occur between you and your partner.

1= All the time
2= Most of the time
3= More often than not
4= Occasionally
5= Rarely
6= Never

	1	2	3	4	5	6
16. How often do you discuss or have you considered divorce, separation, or terminating the relationship ?	1	2	3	4	5	6
17. How often do you or your mate leave the house after a fight ?	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. In general, how often do you think things between you and your partner are going well?	1	2	3	4	5	6
19. Do you confide in your mate?	1	2	3	4	5	6
20. Do you ever regret that you married?	1	2	3	4	5	6
21. How often do you and your partner quarrel?	1	2	3	4	5	6
22. How often do you and your mate "get on each other's nerves?"	1	2	3	4	5	6

23. Do you kiss your mate?

Every day	Almost every day	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
4	3	2	1	0

24. Do you and your mate engage in outside interests together?

All of them	Most of them	Some of them	Very few of them	None of them
4	3	2	1	0

How often would you say the following events occur between you and your mate?

1= Never
2= less than once a month
3= once or twice a month
4= once a day
5= more often

25. Have a stimulating exchange of ideas	1	2	3	4	5

26. Laugh together	1	2	3	4	5

27. Calmly discuss something	1	2	3	4	5

28. Work together on a project	1	2	3	4	5

There are some things about which couples sometimes agree and sometimes disagree. Indicate if either item below caused differences of opinions or problems in your relationship during the past few weeks. (Circle yes or no).

29. Being too tired for sex	Yes	No

30. Not showing love	Yes	No

31. The numbers on the following line represent different degrees of happiness in your relationship. The middle point "Happy" , represents the degree of happiness of most relationships. Please circle the number that best describes the degree of happiness, all things considered, of your relationship.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Extremely unhappy	Fairly unhappy	A little unhappy	Happy	Very happy	Extremely happy	Perfect

32. Please circle the number of one of the following statements that best describes how you feel about the future of your relationship?

5	I want desperately for my relationship to succeed, and would go to almost any length to see that it does
4	I want very much for my relationship to succeed, and will do all that I can to see that it does
3	I want very much for my relationship to succeed, and will do my fair share to see that it does
2	It would be nice if my relationship succeeded, but I can't do much more than I am doing now to make it succeed
1	It would be nice if it succeeded, but I refuse to do any more than I am doing now to keep the relationship going
0	My relationship can never succeed, and there is no more that I can do to keep the relationship going

Section C

Extremely dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Mixed	Somewhat satisfied	Very satisfied	Extremely satisfied
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

1. How satisfied are you with your marriage?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. How satisfied are you with your husband/wife as a spouse?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

1. How satisfied are you with your relationship with your husband/wife?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Thanks very much for your time.

Annexure B

Informed Consent

Department of Psychology
Faculty of Humanities
University of Pretoria
Pretoria

Dear Participant

The following document gives you a brief understanding and explanation regarding the research project. The title of study is the Marital Satisfaction in Autonomous marriages and Arranged marriages. The researcher would like to get your viewpoint on marriage and learn more about your marriage.

The procedure is fairly simple, in that you and your partner will be given separate questionnaires to fill out, with instructions to work independently of each other. The questionnaire will also include background information, instructions for answering will be include as well as space for any additional comments. The questionnaires will be given to you and can be completed on your own time. The questionnaire will not take longer than an hour and will be collected a week from the day you have received it. There are no risks involved and participation in this study may not cause any harm to you. Your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw from participation in the study at any time and without any negative consequences. The questionnaires will be destroyed if you choose to withdraw.

All questionnaires and information given is keep confidentiality and only the researcher and involved supervisors of the research will have access to the research data. Throughout the duration of the study, you will be able to have contact with the researcher if they have any enquires or want to talk about your relationship. In the event that you or your partner may experience emotional distress as a result of the awareness of dissatisfaction in your relationship, the following Clinical psychologist Mrs Haleena Cichon can be contacted for psychological assistance and support.

Contact details for Mrs H. Cichon: (012) 991 0149

I _____ hereby give consent to participant in this research project.

_____ (Participant)   _____(researcher)

Date: _____   Place: _____

VII